BOOK REVIEWS

Travels with Tooy: History, Memory, and the African American Imagination. RICHARD PRICE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. xiv + 452 pp. (Paper US$ 24.00)

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Ethnography has proved a flexible form over the course of the twentieth century, not only in its presentation, but also in the range and depth of research that it reflects. Despite official invocation of ideals of extended engagement, relatively few ethnographers have produced truly long-term studies of particular groups or communities, even before moving out of villages. And although collaborative approaches enjoy a current vogue amid discussions of method in contemporary American anthropology, the conception of collaboration tends to focus on present interest and political claims rather than longer historical or cosmological trajectory. Richard Price's latest offering, *Travels with Tooy*, is thus a doubly rare and precious thing: the product of extended, historically minded engagement with a people and their worldview, simultaneously cast in a collaborative mode. Featuring Price's multifaceted (and multisited) encounters with a Saramaka wise man and healer, it is intensely personal in terms of both subject and mode of exposition, as well as rich in scholarly detail. The author's commitment to his interlocutor remains palpable on every page, matched only by an equal concern for academic rigor.

Such a level of engagement stems directly from a lifetime of study. For some four decades Richard Price has faithfully returned to visit Saramaka Maroons, first in Suriname, and later, following political conflict and subsequent migration by members of the group, in French Guiana. Although thus geographically anchored, the products of this research (authored both individually and jointly with Sally Price) have been strikingly wide-ranging in terms of topic, conceptual approach, and narrative form. *Travels with Tooy* is no exception; the text manages to be classically ethnographic and experimental at one and the same time. The work contains a treasure trove of mate-

rial related to Saramaka cosmology and esoteric language, all of lasting value in the archival sense to both specialists and the Saramaka themselves. At the same time it illustrates the actual practice of this knowledge by concentrating on the experiences of one óbia-man named Tooy. In presenting his story, Price emphasizes that it is neither unique nor typical, but rather exemplary. Moreover, Tooy is a close friend, in the complicated sense of a distinct, challenging equal, rather than the breezy American euphemism for a pleasant acquaintance. Even as Tooy shares his work with Price the anthropologist, he incorporates him into it, treating him in a parallel role as assistant. As noted in a prelude discussion of authorship (pp. viii-ix), however, though their lives may intertwine, they maintain separate spheres of expertise. In the end it is up to Tooy to prescribe treatments and to Price to write a book.

The complexities of relationship between the protagonists are apparent from the start. Rather than French Guiana or Suriname, Price's adopted hometown in Martinique serves as an initial narrative stage, when the author helps broker an attempted healing by Tooy for a Martiniquan businessman. Arriving by plane to consult with this client, the healer stays at the anthropologist's house and enlists his aid as a translator in performing the initial rituals. But the anthropologist is already deeply involved, connected by extensive village ties to the businessman, by a lifetime of study to the Saramaka, and by long-standing interest to the subject matter. Although the moment may appear extraordinary, as the work continues it grows clear that this is but a minor amplification of Tooy's usual practice in French Guiana. There, a BMW or Mercedes can easily park by his modest shack at the outskirts of Cayenne, its occupant drawn by promised relief from a personal problem, and following a chain of connections, beliefs, and recommendations that lead to this door.

In following and describing Tooy's vocation, Price traces many roots and tendrils, from a page of a *grimoire* worn by a Saramaka soldier in World War II to the multiple plants and gods that infuse this particular óbia-man's practice. It is here that the book most obviously rests on decades of cumulative research, as Price refers to an almost dizzying array of names, events, and story fragments, sorting them into the vast and ever-shifting puzzle of cosmology that informs Tooy's consultations. Moving back and forth between exposition and synthesis, the author allows the reader to share in moments of discovery and realization as well as suggesting underlying patterns. Most critically, perhaps, what emerges is an intricate and partial map, one that suggests both the full measure of his protagonist's knowledge and simultaneously how many gaps and loose ends remain for them both. No individual, not even a master practitioner like Tooy or a lifelong student like Price, can quite claim the whole. Nonetheless, they can certainly master a great deal, as both the healer's practice and the anthropologist's book attest.

In between Tooy's ritual performances, Price recounts other aspects of his subject's life: his political standing in the Saramaka community; a recon-

struction of his chronology; and his everyday relations with family members and friends. However dedicated to knowing gods, spirits, songs, and stories, the healer is very much a worldly man in a Saramaka way, renowned for his sexual appetites. Amid the pantheon surrounding Tooy is a troublesome spirit known as Frenchwoman. Despite warnings from his matrilineage, he fails to come to terms with this spirit before finding himself the subject of a court case, charged with rape from an encounter many years earlier with an underage partner. The ensuing trial, in which Price becomes involved both as a friend and as a cultural authority, is alternately fascinating and disturbing, a mix of minor tragedy and farce in a late colonial context. As Price (p. 177) summarizes, "This is not a pretty story and it has no heroes." In the event Saramaka understandings of sexuality prove incommensurable with those of French law, and Tooy is convicted. The same state that intervenes to punish him, however, ultimately saves his life by diagnosing him with a heart condition and providing medical treatment. Tooy is eventually released from prison on medical grounds, and resumes both his practice and efforts to achieve full recognition as a Saramaka political leader. After chronicling this dramatic moment, Price likewise returns to his cosmological explorations, offering a summation and comparison with other Caribbean religions, appropriately entitled "Reflections from the Verandah."

All said *Travels with Tooy* is a supremely rich and ambitious text. An unapologetic display of serious scholarship, chockablock with careful ethnographic and historical detail, it nonetheless breaks with classic conventions by highlighting personal experience and interweaving multiple threads. Fortunately the writing remains engaging throughout, and the many chapter and section breaks allow the reader to move in nonlinear fashion to check and retrace connections. Although the book lacks an index, it has an extensive coda detailing the esoteric language it references (with audio files accessible at http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/price/), as well as a helpful list of dramatis personae. But ultimately the work stays true to the classic ethnographic challenge of presenting another worldview: this is Tooy's story, and to follow it we must travel along. It is deeply appropriate, as well as heartening, that *Travels with Tooy* has won the 2008 Victor Turner Prize for Ethnographic Writing.

Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean. COLIN A. PALMER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. xii + 354 pp. (Cloth US$ 34.95)

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British historian E.H. Carr always warned his students to study the historian before they began studying the historian's presentation of the "facts." In a way, Carr had adopted this methodological stricture from his nineteenth-century compatriot, Herbert Butterfield, who warned that one should be aware of the big difference between "history" written after the facts and "history" written as events were unfolding. How very important, but also how very difficult both strictures are for anyone attempting to record the career of Eric E. Williams, the Caribbean's politician cum historian *par excellence*. The story of this Trinidadian man of words and of action can be said to have started with the writing of his Ph.D. thesis at Oxford and its publication in 1944 as the path-breaking *Capitalism and Slavery*, to have continued with *The History of the Peoples of Trinidad and Tobago*, written in the heat of the 1961 electoral campaign and move to independence, and his premature autobiography, *Inward Hunger* (1969); and to have ended in 1970 with his magisterial *From Columbus to Castro.* Never, during that extraordinary stretch of time, was it ever evident that Williams did anything other than write history as explanation and as guide to his all-consuming interest in politics.

It is evident, therefore, that it would take a person with highly developed analytical insights into the *dramatis personae* as well as mastery of long stretches of local and regional history to produce something original. Some half dozen attempts at biography were already on the shelf. Was there really a call, let alone an intellectual need, for yet another portrait of Williams the politician? Colin Palmer's deliberate decision not to write another biography was a felicitous one. His was a more complicated plan: to elucidate Williams's activities on the larger Caribbean stage by tracing what he calls the "dialectical relationship" between his domestic imperatives and his political positions – those taken on his own initiative and those cast upon him. Needless to say, writing this sort of history in such a way as to produce something original and relevant to our times required a wide array of multidisciplinary skills. Palmer's fine-honed insights into human nature and more specifically into Williams's own complex personality, his knowledge of the Trinidadian

and wider Caribbean context, and, crucially, his dexterity and knowledge of archival research all contribute to his success. He is the first to have accessed whole batches of official sources on the man and his times in London and Washington. Palmer begins the story in 1956 with the electoral victory of Williams's political creation, the Peoples National Movement (PNM) and ends it in 1970, when the Black Power rebellion came close to destroying everything Williams had created. It was an era in which both the nation state and the region were roiling in the turbulent seas of decolonization. Palmer's chapter on the struggle with the United States over the World War II antisubmarine base, Chaguaramas, helps focus the decolonization battle in its wider (i.e., not simply British colonial) dimension. His analysis of the dissolution of the West Indies Federation and the failure to create a unitary state with Grenada is simply first rate.

Palmer is equally enlightening when showing that even as Williams was crossing swords with the British and the Americans, he had to confront something that, although not of his making, was a problem he often did much to exacerbate: the racial and communal question that had long divided Trinidad (and British Guiana) but which had now reached a boiling point. Even as he was excoriating the Indo-Trinidadians for speaking of "Mother India," Williams was attempting to solidify his Afro-Trinidadian base by a prolonged tour of West African nations. In both cases the attempts at a primordial link were shown to be nothing if not wishful thinking. The historical connection between West Africa and the West Indies, Williams told some university students upon his return, "is nothing to be ashamed about, though the West Indians don't like it and I get the feeling that the West Africans like it even less" (p. 235). From then on he seemed to be governed by the old Trinidadian saying, "You have to grow where you are planted" – not an easy sell in a society so divided. Any student of ethnonationalism will benefit from reading this study of the intractability of nation-building when one side sees the nationalist movement as little more than an attempt at forcefully imposing racial and cultural homogeneity. Palmer is masterful in describing the thrust and parry of racial campaigning followed by contrite attempts at amends only half-heartedly accepted. It is sad but true that the society was more ethnically divided when the "father of the nation" passed away in 1971 than it had been when he began his politics in 1954.

Where Palmer's approach leaves some unfortunate informational lacunae is in his final discussion of the 1970 Black Power riot and the mutiny of the military Regiment. The nearly total dependence on British and American diplomatic dispatches proved to be inadequate to the task of unraveling so complex an affair. As much of Palmer's previous scholarship shows, he is aware that there exist ample published scholarly eye-witness accounts of that dramatic period. Those accounts could, and should, have complemented the archival documentation he used. That said, however, Palmer has given us a terrific read which

will surely stand the test of time amidst the many other studies on the life and times of this fascinating but complex personality which are sure to follow.

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Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic, 1880-1916. TERESITA MARTÍNEZ-VERGNE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. xviii + 235 pp. (Paper US$ 24.95)

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Thoroughly researched, and imaginatively and subtly interpreted, *Nation & Citizen in the Dominican Republic, 1880-1916* is a must-read for students of Dominican history and society. It also merits close reading by students of Latin American and Caribbean politics, historians of gender, and students of feminist research methods. Those who know the literature on Dominican history may be surprised by what little salience Martínez-Vergne accords to processes that loom as giant developments in other historians' accounts of this period. The definitive entry of the Dominican Republic into the United States' neoimperial orbit and the rise of large-scale sugar producers to economic and political dominance are topics dispatched in a page or two in *Nation & Citizen*. Rather than dwell on these obviously momentous shifts, Martínez-Vergne devotes page after page to minute concerns of daily governance of the capital city of Santo Domingo and the eastern sugar port city of

San Pedro de Macorís. Minutes regarding trash disposal problems and court records of property and interpersonal disputes and on cases of petty thievery and drunken and disorderly public behavior, on the one hand, and idealistic initiatives to build a modern infrastructure and institutions of education, civic life, healthcare and hygiene, on the other hand, and perhaps above all, memoranda of the constant and, it seems, often frustrated efforts to police and regulate the daily lives of these cities' poorer denizens – these are the main sources from which *Nation & Citizen* builds its picture of urban life.

Rather than being mainly about the development of a sense of national identity in the Dominican Republic, as its title might suggest, the book makes an argument, not so easily pigeonholed into trendy categories of analysis, that the Dominican political landscape of the period witnessed an inchoate and short-lived blossoming of ideals of liberal, participatory democracy. While Martínez-Vergne disclaims any intention of debunking earlier accounts, this argument may look surprising to scholars who think of this period in Dominican history as the era of the *caudillo*, when governments were sustained and changed by the rifle rather than the ballot box.

Not surprisingly, Martínez-Vergne's emphasis on the ascendance of liberal ideals is most persuasive with regard to elite visions of a future of ever-expanding enlightenment and progress. She makes a notable contribution to Dominicanist history especially by analyzing the way patriarchal conjugal and family ideology resolved the contradiction between liberal meritocratic ideals and the exclusion of women (even those of education, property, and respectable family backgrounds) from political office and full enfranchisement as citizens.

She hits shaky ground when she asserts that working people, in seeking to enlist the support of state agents for their own ends, acted upon both a new subjective sense of themselves as "citizens" with "rights" and tacitly validated the state's authority as an impartial arbiter of rights claims. She is at times judiciously ambivalent in putting forward this argument, duly taking note of the dismal opinion that the Dominican elite held of the abilities and habits of their lower-income co-urbanites. Ambivalence gives way to confusion, however, when Martínez-Vergne makes claims that seem diametrically opposed; at one point she writes that the working class of Santo Domingo and San Pedro "act[ed] precisely as the intelligentsia had envisioned an active citizenry" (p. 155), but elsewhere states that "seemingly everywhere, the working class posed a threat to the renovation of the nation" (p. 127). While her argument, that the working class actively sought incorporation in the project of liberal governance, is worthy of serious consideration, it rests on sources that are simply too sketchy and uninformative to sustain sweeping generalizations about the subjectivities of the urban proletarian and artisanal classes. Based on the evidence she provides, it is not clear, for example, what plaintiffs in interpersonal disputes, lumped by the authorities under the heading of *escándalos*

(scandal or disorder), had in mind when they approached the police for assistance. Were they asserting "rights," as Martínez-Vergne claims? Or were they acting out of an injured sense of "honor" or "decency"? In soliciting the aid of the authorities, were these people making an implicit claim to "citizenship" or positioning themselves as dependent clients of the police officers, bureaucrats, and politicians whose help they sought? Many other such questions could be raised. The larger point is that Martínez-Vergne does her own case no favor by giving short shrift to the other models of politics that might viably explain her evidence. Her argument, that an inchoate cross-class consensus was emerging around principles of liberal governance, might have been strengthened had she made a sustained effort to reconcile or contrast this fin-de-siècle vision of the Dominican future with the "caudillist" politics that Dominicanist scholars widely understand to have held sway during this period.

It is therefore telling that at one point Martínez-Vergne writes that "working men and women were asking the government ... to validate their 'rights,' although *they may not have used that word*" (p. 160, my italics). Especially in a historical context in which the terms "citizenship" and "rights" might have been new or even alien to many working-class Dominicans, the meanings of their actions are not as transparent as Martínez wishes us to think. At the book's end, I am left hungry for more evidence to sustain, refute, or, more likely, complicate the depiction of the working-class politics of "scandal" and "honor" that *Nation & Citizen* so innovatively if only partially illuminates.

Tuning Out Blackness: Race and Nation in the History of Puerto Rican Television. YEIDY M. RIVERO. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2005. xii + 264 pp. (Paper US$ 21.95)

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Yeidy M. Rivero points out that in spite of Puerto Rico's political relationship with the United States, the representation of blackness on Puerto Rican television has been defined through a complex range of relationships, dialogues, and the re-articulation of local, Caribbean, and Latin American contexts. In addition to contributing to the historicizing of these relations, her

essay includes an analysis of racism and the ethnic frontiers in Puerto Rican television. Understanding the complexities of the representation of blackness in Puerto Rican television goes beyond the deconstruction of discourses of "racial democracy" Puerto Rican style that have developed around myths such as "racism doesn't exist," "everybody is mixed," or "talking about race or racism merely imitates intellectual discourse in the United States." Rivero historicizes the key moments of these representations in the period 1940-1990 and she closes with an epilogue in which she discusses the dilemmas of local Puerto Rican television when confronted by the supremacy of huge corporations such as Univisión-Puerto Rico, based in the United States.

The first chapter, "Caribbean Negritos: Ramón Rivero, Blackface and Black Voice in Puerto Rico," focuses on the artistic trajectory of the famous comedian Ramón del Rivero (Diplo) and his use of "blackface" in Puerto Rican theater and television, making the connection clear between Cuban *teatro bufo* (1860s, a genre whose influence can be traced back to the Spanish Golden Age) and the "blackface" of the Puerto Rican author. The influence of what Rivero, following critic César Salgado, calls "Cubarican" sociocultural expression is central for her argument, since she goes fully into a "transnational" consensus of the representation of race in both countries.

These alliances clearly occurred in popular culture (Diplo saw the mask for the first time on Cuban comedian Leopoldo Fernández), and as Rivero points out, they strengthened with the Vanguard movements and cultural and literary *negrismo* (négritude) as in the poetry of Palés Matos and Nicolás Guillén. During those years, Fernando Ortíz was already the director of the "Sociedad de Estudios Afrocubanos" (Society of Afro-Cuban Studies) where Tomás Blanco presented his conference "Racial Prejudice in Puerto Rico." The allusion made to a particular discourse on race and racism that was being articulated in similar modes on both Hispanic Caribbean islands indicates that the radicalism and the complexity of Diplo's black mask goes beyond a mere copy of the scripts and accent from Havana. It is a trans-Caribbean mask that represents – "from the top" and "from the bottom" – a series of discourses and social, cultural, and political issues. In the transition to television the radicalism of the scripts was transformed, making way after the death of Ramón del Rivero to other representations in "blackface," such as Paquito Cordero's character "Reguerete" (1965, *La taberna India*) and the Negrito "Doroteo" by Tino Acosta (1960), that lose the social and political cleverness of Diplo's characters.

Chapter 2, "Bringing the Soul: Afros, Black Empowerment and the Resurgent Popularity of Blackface," analyzes the 1970s in Puerto Rico and a more politicized discourse on racism in the mass media. Political and social alliances created by Puerto Ricans in the diaspora with African Americans in cities such as New York and Chicago are central to understanding the sociocultural and political debates about race. Rivero highlights the founding of the "Young Lords," the Puerto Rican chapter of the Black Panthers in

Chicago, and the visit of Stokely Carmichael to Puerto Rico and his meeting with Juan Mari Brás, the leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The first part of this chapter presents several interviews, photos, and images of variety shows, from the beginning of Lucecita Benitez's career as a singer of the *nueva ola* (new wave) until the moment of her political radicalization. Rivero points out that this can be seen at a musical level on her record *Raza pura* (1971) in which the singer interprets songs with a radical political edge, and at a visual level, in the singer's choice to transform her hair to an Afro style and to dress in a masculine manner. These gestures forced her out of local television for a number of years, although it gave her a degree of international fame: Lucecita won the Festival OTI in México in 1969, singing "Génesis" dressed in a blue gabardine suit and donning an Afro.

Rivero points out that discussions of race also touch on issues of gender and sexuality and analyzes Lucecita's polemic Afro in that intersection. Ironically, local programming closely followed musical shows in which African-American "soul" styles were the fashion, and Rivero mentions the Boricua version of *Soul Train* with Carol Myles and Melín Falú, the latter with a U.S.-style Afro. The second part of this chapter concentrates on the victory of Wilnelia Merced in the "Miss Mundo" contest and the reaction of the press. Rivero argues that Merced's victory revealed the ambiguity of racial categories in Puerto Rico. If for some journalists Wilnelia was *trigueña* (brown-skinned), for others her skin color was due to the "strength of the tropical sun" rather than her racial origin.

Chapters 3 and 4, "The CubaRican Space Revisited" and "*Mi familia*: A Black Puerto Rican Televisual Family," concentrate on comedies of the 1980s and 1990s. Rivero explores the importance of the presence of Cuban screenwriters such as Manuel Montero "Membrillo" and Felipe San Pedro for the production of comedies on local television. The world of Latin American soap operas owes a large debt to scripts for Cuban radio soap operas such as *El derecho de nacer* (The right to be born) written by Delia Fiallo, and Puerto Rican comedies also reflect the influence of Cuban scripts and comedies that arrived on the island before 1959. After the Revolution of 1959 and with the emigration of Cubans dedicated to media-related work, producers, directors, and scriptwriters went on to form part of the mass media of Puerto Rico.

If, as José Cobas and Jorge Duany (1997) point out, an anti-Cuban discourse against the new emigrants began in the 1960s ("Cubans are right-wing," "they always talk about Cuba," "they think they are better than Puerto Ricans," etc.), scriptwriters such as Manuel Montero "Membrillo" represented these issues in television comedies, interrogating, deconstructing, and redoing many of these stereotypes. The comedy *Los suegros* (The in-laws) is a clear example of these "ethnic" and "international" borders in Puerto Rican television. Rivero analyzes the scripts of several episodes to trace the interaction between the Puerto Rican and Cuban families, and at the same time, to

show how they reacted to Kathy, the character from the United States. The quality of the scripts created a conflict between Montero and various sectors of the Cuban community in Puerto Rico who considered that he was not "anti-Fidel" and did not have a "clear" political commitment to Cuba. One of the contributions of this chapter is the elaboration of this "Cuba-Rican" border in social, political, and cultural arenas. It also makes clear that the Cuban community in Puerto Rico since the 1960s has been as heterogeneous in its political visions as it is today in any part of the world.

Chapter 4 deals with the popular series *Mi familia*, starring Otilio Warrington (Bizcocho) and the late Judith Pizarro, highlighting the *puertorriqueñidad* represented by the characters that created a "de-racialized" image – one of the show's initial proposals. Rivero analyzes which of these instances are positive and negative vis-à-vis that "de-racialized" image, while underlining its importance and popularity on Puerto Rican television. He points out that the comedy was a workshop for many black Puerto Rican actors, and contrary to other African-American series, it wasn't necessarily focused on upper- or middle-class black families. After the chain Univisión purchased Channel 11 and turned it into Univisión-Puerto Rico in 2001, many local programs disappeared. *Mi familia* was canceled in 2003.

The book's "Coda" discusses the social, cultural, and political implications of the control that conglomerates now hold over programming in Puerto Rico and Latin America more generally. If Puerto Rican television has not been a mere "copy" of programs from the United States or Latin America but rather a creative and dialogical expression of local contexts and spaces, what are the repercussions of programming that does not speak about local or national debates and racial, ethnic, and sociopolitical borders? Due to pressure from the large U.S. television chains, numerous Puerto Rican actors now live in Mexico, Miami, or Los Angeles to participate in this market. Making the jump from the local to the U.S. "pan-Latino" representations is equivalent to the creation of new languages of interpretation that, contrary to spaces such as the *Cubanorriqueño* (of a pan-Caribbean nature), make reference to postnational and globalized contexts. Are positive results possible or is local Puerto Rican television a colonial victim of the "equalizing" and "commodifying" currents of globalization? Rivero does not answer all of these questions, although she does emphasize that the products, actors, and creations of local television need to be defended and that there is a sense of urgency for academics on the island and in the United States to make these debates visible.

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Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1807. EMMA CHRISTOPHER. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xviii + 241 pp. (Paper US$ 21.99)

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Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730-1807 is Emma Christopher's ambitious attempt to fill a significant gap in the historical literature on the eighteenth-century transatlantic slave trade. While historians have rightfully focused on either the statistical significance of the trade or African slaves' suffering within it, no study has thoroughly examined the role of the thousands of sailing men (and some women) who made the transatlantic slave trade possible. Christopher makes careful use of sailors' journals, Admiralty Court records, newspaper reports, and other printed material to build on the scholarship of W. Jeffrey Bolster, Marcus Rediker, and others (see, for example, Bolster 1997, Rediker 1987, and Linebaugh & Rediker 2000). In doing so, she tells a compelling story about sailors who demanded their own liberty while they kept others in chains.

The book is divided into two sections of three chapters each. Christopher first traces why slave ship sailors took up the task, acknowledging that it entailed poor pay, hazardous working conditions, and little chance of economic improvement (even as the well-connected slaving captains could make fortunes off the trade). These sailors were often "crimped" into service, through methods that could involve trickery, bribery, and even outright force. The second chapter examines the multiracial makeup of slave ship voyages. Though there might have been more on the women or Asian *lascars* involved in the slave trade, this chapter effectively contradicts the assumption that only white sailors carried black slaves. The section ends with a gruesomely disturbing chapter on the brutality and violence that characterized a slaving voyage. Herein lies the central paradox of sailors' experiences: while they were often targets of the captain's cat-o-nine-tails, slave ship sailors could just as easily turn that vicious whip onto their captive cargo.

Section 2 begins by following slave ship sailors' prolonged visitations to West Africa, either as convicts in British prisons, runaways seeking refuge, or womanizers looking for a good time. In fact, Christopher is at her best when discussing the sexual interactions between slavers and African women. Invoking Orlando Patterson's idea that slavery is best understood as a pro-

cess, she also suggests that slave ship sailors were the crucial mechanism whereby African *captives* were commoditized during the Middle Passage into African *slaves* (through the use of violence, subjugation, and then cleaning). The book ends with a detailed examination of the conditions that these sailors faced once in the West Indies. While they were necessary for the slave trade, ships that took less risky cargo from the Caribbean had no need for slave ship sailors, making the skills they learned during the Middle Passage virtually obsolete once slaves were sold on land. Stuck on the islands, they often maintained close friendships with slaves and free Blacks, making the local elite increasingly uneasy about alliances that cut through both race and class.

As fascinating as this text is, *Slave Ship Sailors* also leaves many questions unanswered. First, Christopher claims that the unique situation of slave ship sailors put them at the forefront of the fight for freedom in the eighteenth-century Atlantic. Their close proximity to African slaves obviously gave them a point of comparison from which to draw rhetorical energy. Sailors thus used their unique position of being close to slavery, but not actually in it, to resist unfair wages and nasty working conditions. This argument is not as clearly developed as it might have been, as Christopher could have used more examples to examine how sailors' individual fights for freedom had wider implications throughout the Atlantic world. Another problem is the issue of chronology. The title claims that the period from 1730 to 1807 will be covered, but the book never explains why these dates were chosen. Readers are left to assume that Christopher chooses 1730 because that was when British slave trading intensified. The official conclusion of British involvement in that trade, 1807, is an obvious ending point. Between these two dates, however, there is no sense of historical development or change. Did slave ship sailors' lives get better or worse over time? How was the nature of slave ship sailing transformed as a result of Atlantic revolutions? Perhaps most importantly, how did the end of the slave trade affect these poor seamen's lives? Did this momentous event represent for them a golden opportunity or a financial disaster? While Christopher does an admirable job of tracing sailors' journeys throughout the space of the Atlantic world, she seems less concerned with charting their historical changes through time.

This book nevertheless makes an important contribution by investigating an aspect of the slave trade that historians have too often neglected. Though it will probably not catalyze a paradigm shift in our understanding of slavery, maritime culture, or the Atlantic world (in fact, when Christopher cites historians, she often does so to support her own interpretation rather than to disagree with them), this was not the intention of the work in the first place. Instead, the text fills an important gap, examining the sailors who served as cogs in the massive wheel of the transatlantic slave trade. As Christopher reminds us, to ignore these Sons of Neptune is to misunderstand the central

role that slaving seamen played in the construction of racial slavery, transatlantic commerce, and ideologies of freedom.

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This is by any standards an excellent first book. Like that genre it carries some of the marks of the Ph.D. dissertation from which it derives, but Douglas Hamilton brings a coherent argument to the forefront and usefully points to sources and questions that warrant further research. Like previous authors who have identified Scottish involvement with the West Indies as an important subject of study, Hamilton estimates the number of Scots who might have migrated to the West Indies over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but he parts company with his predecessors (notably Alan Karras, Trevor Burnard, and Bernard Bailyn) both in suggesting a higher total than any of them allow for (almost 21,000 in place of the previous highest estimate of 17,000), and in arguing that it was the quality and capability of the Scots, rather than their number, which rendered their presence in the Caribbean important, especially during the eighteenth century.

Hamilton shows that throughout these two centuries there were always some people in Scotland, driven more by want and social dislocation than by the spirit of adventure, who saw the possibility of making good in the Americas. However he finds that Scots could take but scant advantage of the better opportunities that this region presented until they were enabled by the Act of Union of 1707 between England and Scotland to engage as equals with their English counterparts in trade and colonization in the Atlantic. Thus, he concludes that after the events of 1707, Scots who would make their careers or fortunes overseas looked increasingly westward rather than, as previously, to the Baltic regions of continental Europe, and to the province of Ulster in Ireland. As they sought after opportunity in the Caribbean, Scots found that little was available on islands that had long been in British possession, and they therefore concentrated on islands that were only then being developed by the British (notably Jamaica), or those that came into British possession at the conclusion of the various treaties that ended the sequence of wars fought during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and on the Atlantic. Thus, again, as Hamilton portrays it, politics determined where in the Caribbean Scots would make their most enduring impression, while domestic political configurations determined which Scots gained access to the patronage networks in Britain that determined who might purchase estates or procure appointment to civil and military positions in the British islands of the Caribbean.

Those of most interest to Hamilton are those who became members of the emerging colonial elites on the islands of Jamaica, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago. He has much to say also of the Scots whose educational attainments at home qualified them to hold positions as bookkeepers, financial managers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, clerks, and ship captains in the businesses associated with the various Caribbean islands on which Scots became a significant, or even a dominant element, and from which they established transcolonial networks extending from Demerara to Berbice to Florida. Hamilton gives special attention to the "clannishness" of the Scots, whether of Highland or Lowland origin, but more compelling is what he has to say of the progress made by Scottish merchant houses in advancing themselves in English port towns, notably Bristol and London. Most interesting is his account of the great Scottish trading house of Houstoun & Co., whose rise he attributes to its application in the Caribbean of the store system associated with the tobacco trade in the Chesapeake, and whose fall he attributes to its practice of investing its profits in British land that could not be easily liquidated to deal with the financial crises that arose at moments of uncertainty.

This brief summary will convey some impression of the original explorations and findings in *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, while the bibliography, and especially the detailed list of manuscript sources that shed light on the Scots in the Caribbean, means that this book will be the essential starting point for future scholars working on any aspect of British

trade and settlement in the Caribbean. My only regret is that Hamilton has failed to use his sources more fully to reconstruct the quotidian experiences of a few exemplars of the Scottish community in the Caribbean, which also would have enabled him to give more attention to Scottish, as opposed to English, responses to the inhumane work regimes with which traders and planters in the Caribbean were necessarily associated.

The British Atlantic Trading Community, 1760-1810: Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods. SHERRYLLYNNE HAGGERTY. Leiden (the Netherlands): Brill Academic Publishers, 2006. xiv + 287 pp. (Cloth US$ 120.00)

A Deus ex Machina Revisited: Atlantic Colonial Trade and European Economic Development. P.C. EMMER, O. PÉTRE-GRENOUILLEAU & J.V. ROITMAN (eds.). Leiden (the Netherlands): Brill Academic Publishers, 2006. xxx + 358 pp. (Cloth US$ 134.00)

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After taking the field of Early Modern history by storm in the 1980s and 1990s, the notion of Atlantic history seems to be losing its luster. The two books under review illustrate different aspects of Atlantic history's difficulties. One of the attractions of the idea that the Atlantic World should be studied as a unit is the notion that Atlantic trade, especially trade with colonies in the Americas, played an essential role in Europe's economic development, especially in its industrialization. The essays in *A Deus ex Machina*, first presented at a conference at the University of Lorient in France in September 2001, interrogate the connection between colonial trade and European development and conclude that the idea has little merit. While this is a longstanding subject among Early Modernists and the conclusion is hardly new, the volume does make some unique contributions to a central debate in the field of Atlantic history. Usually, this debate has focused on Britain in the years between 1500 and 1800. *A Deus ex Machina* considers the impact of colonial trade on Spain, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden as well as Britain and extends the analysis into the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries, thus crossing the divide between the "old" and "new" colonialism. Despite its broad temporal and geographic scope, the contributors reach several common conclusions. First, they point to the fact that – with the possible exception of Britain – "trade to and from the non-Western world was marginal and served as a *chasse garde* for uncompetitive firms" (p. xxviii).

Second, they note that "all authors agree that the spin-off effects of non-European trade were limited in economic as well as in geographic scope" (p. xxviii). This implies that the question is best explored at a local rather than a national level. Third, "most contributors confirm the fact that the British model of expansion and colonial trade seems to have been the exception and not the rule" (p. xxix). On the whole the essays are persuasive. While it is unlikely that this book will end the debate, certainly those who wish to support the notion that colonial trade played a major role in the development of Europe will have to contend with the evidence and arguments it presents. While I learned a lot from these essays, I do have a complaint. The volume lacks a full scholarly apparatus. Several of the essays are only lightly footnoted, a major handicap in a volume that is often historiographical in its focus. Further, there are no maps and no bibliography. Certainly, given the prices Brill charges, readers have a right to expect a more impressive scholarly apparatus.

If *A Deus ex Machina* is a direct frontal assault on the notion of Atlantic history, Sherryllynne Haggerty's study is an oblique flanking movement. The major competitor to the idea of treating the Atlantic littoral as a whole is the much older tradition of slicing it up into several discrete parts defined by the empires of the various European nations that colonized the Americas. Thus there is a British Atlantic, French Atlantic, Iberian Atlantic, and so on. As Haggerty's fine study demonstrates this older tradition still has much to recommend it.

Haggerty uses case studies of Philadelphia and Liverpool to study the British Atlantic trading community over the years 1760 to 1810. Usually, studies of those involved in trade have focused on elite male merchants. Haggerty breaks with the dominant historiographical tradition by defining trader more broadly to include everyone involved in the distribution of goods – retailers, auctioneers, peddlers, higglers, and hucksters – and this allows her to assess the role of lesser traders, including women in the distribution of goods around the Atlantic. Although Haggerty's argument that Britain's "Empire of Goods" could not have functioned without the contributions of these "lesser folk" is persuasive, I am not fully convinced that all these traders constituted a "community." Haggerty argues that they shared a common business culture of risk, enterprise, trust, and reputation, and that they constituted a "community of interests" (p. 966) because of similar concerns with politics and government. While she tells us a lot about who these traders were and how they functioned within the distribution network, she fails to

show them coming together to pursue a common political goal and thus is not fully persuasive that the traders constituted a community.

Despite her failure to show that traders in either city actually functioned as a community, Haggerty has written an important book that deserves the close attention of all students of Early Modern trade. By defining trader broadly, she is able to show in great detail how goods were distributed in the British Atlantic world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The comparison of Philadelphia and Liverpool is effective and illuminating. The two cities shared enough to merit comparison: both aspired to be the second city of the Empire, both were deeply involved in Atlantic trade and were home to substantial Quaker populations, both are well documented, and the volume of trade between them was high. While the two cities were similar in many respects, there were enough differences to make comparison revealing. Haggerty's standards of scholarship are high. She makes good use of the available sources, city directories, newspapers, court records, and the private records of traders. Her care in using city directories is especially impressive and should be consulted by anyone contemplating using such sources. While this book is primarily a contribution to the history of trade and commerce, it is also an important contribution to women's history, for Haggerty shows how, despite the substantial legal and cultural obstacles they faced, women still played a central role in the business of distributing goods throughout the British Atlantic.

Haggerty does not directly take on the issue of the impact of colonial trade on European development, but some of her results do speak to the issue. First, she seems to agree with the contributors to *A Deus ex Machina* that the profits of colonial trade did little to finance industrialization. With the exception of sugar refining and shipbuilding, few of the traders Haggerty studied invested in manufacturing activities. On the other hand, the distribution and credit networks she describes, initially created to serve the needs of Atlantic and colonial trade, could easily be turned to serve the needs of England's new industrialists. Indeed, it is here, on the impact of colonial trade on distribution and credit networks and associated institutions rather than on the sources of capital for industrialization that the debate over the impact of the Americas on European economic development is likely to focus in the future. Finally, the networks Haggerty describes seem to have been entirely contained within the British Empire, suggesting that while there clearly was a British Atlantic, the larger, more inclusive Atlantic World that has so captured the attention of historians in recent decades is largely the product of the imagination of a few historians.

Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement. GELIEN MATTHEWS. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006. xiv + 197 pp. (Cloth US$ 42.95)

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Within the last few decades a number of scholars have focused attention on slave agency in the abolition of British slavery in the Caribbean. A few of them, such as Hilary Beckles and Richard Hart, have expressed the firm conviction that it was the enslaved people who were largely instrumental in the abolition of the system. While they do not argue that the enslaved played as comprehensive a role in abolition as their counterparts in St. Domingue, they assert that they challenged the slave system in a more deliberate way in the last few decades before abolition. The polemical title of Hart's work, *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery* (1985), speaks clearly to this viewpoint. Earlier, Eric Williams, in dealing with the issue of slave agency, had asserted that it was a case of "emancipation from above, or emancipation from below. But EMANCIPATION" (Williams 1994:208).

Traditionally, interpretations of abolition have placed considerable, and in some instances almost exclusive, emphasis on the role of the British abolitionists in effecting the demise of slavery. While slave uprisings in the Caribbean were noted, they were often viewed as irritants or factors that tended to mitigate the slavery system and to place the abolitionists in a difficult position to maintain the view that these "bloodthirsty savages" were ready for emancipation. In other words, they tended to retard the progress of emancipation, the argument went, by indicating clearly that the enslaved were not sufficiently civilized to understand the meaning of freedom and to make positive use of it.

Gelien Matthews's book confronts these two, seemingly opposing, views of abolition and in a sense tries to reconcile them. She makes it clear that her intention is not to prove the precedence of one over the other, but rather to show that they interacted closely with each other in bringing about abolition. She declares that her book "provides the missing volume in the history of British abolitionism by examining the activist response to and utilization of the rebellion of nineteenth-century slaves in the English Caribbean" (p. 10), and she points out that her theory presents two foci. "First, it sets the slaves' agency against the abolitionists' in its analysis of the struggle against slavery. Second, the theory emphasizes that the major historical significance of

slave rebellions was the achievement of emancipation" (p. 10). At the same time, she argues that the theory of "emancipation from below" is seriously flawed because it "ignores that slavery was practically ended by British parliamentary legislation" and "erroneously elevates slave rebellion above other factors in the achievement of emancipation" (p. 11). Certainly, Matthews has not reflected the contention of Williams here, for, as noted above, he argued that the British parliamentary decision to end slavery was based largely on economic circumstances in Britain that had made slavery in the Caribbean colonies an anachronism, and he praised the humanitarians for the propaganda campaign that they conducted (1994:136, 169, 178).

The strength of Matthews's study does not lie in any attempt to determine whether emancipation was effected from above or below, but rather to show in much more elaborate and careful detail the interrelationship between slave rebellions and antislavery propaganda. She assembles more than enough evidence to build a cogent argument for the view that the leaders of the antislavery movement moved cautiously, but in the end boldly, to the conclusion that slave rebellions were a logical reaction to the brutalities of slavery, and that such rebellions were used to promote the cause of abolition in Parliament. She opines that whereas before, members of the antislavery group were largely on the defensive when the pro-slavery group (represented largely by the West India interest in Britain) accused them of directly or indirectly fomenting rebellion in the colonies through their propaganda (p. 3), they now openly attacked the pro-slavers by arguing that it was the latter who were responsible for the rebellions (pp. 92, 103, 106, 121, et passim). She also argues that by the early 1830s it was these rebellions that were putting the pro-slavers on the defensive, while providing ammunition for the antislavery arsenal (pp. 55, 96). Using the Jamaica rebellion of 1831-1832 as one of several examples, she declares that "the crucial lesson of their failure helped stir the abolitionists into propaganda action" (p. 111). She goes on to point out that the London Anti-Slavery Society decided to hold public meetings in several parts of the United Kingdom to highlight the plight of the enslaved in Jamaica that led to the revolt and its brutal suppression.

Matthews's book is well researched. Her primary sources include various published debates and other documents of the British Parliament; numerous pamphlets and other publications produced by the Anti-Slavery Society and a number of leading abolitionists' unpublished documents in the British National Archives, the various missionary societies, the West India Committee, and so on; and the large body of polemical literature found in various magazines, newspapers, and periodicals in Britain. The debate on British abolitionism will continue long after the publication of her study, but her work should find an important place in the vast body of literature on the subject. My only regret about this work is that it does not include an index. I can only presume that this was due to an oversight (a major one) on the part of the publishers.

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Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas. ALVIN O. THOMPSON. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2006. xi + 381 pp. (Paper US$ 40.00)

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This synthetic work wavers between modesty ("Because of space constraints ... I have not dealt, except in passing, with the social and cultural dynamics of Maroon life" [p. 8]) and expansive claims ("No study to date has attempted to provide the pan-American scope that is critical in understanding the role of marronage in the struggle of the hemisphere's enslaved populations for freedom and dignity" [rear cover]). The book's goals are laudable but the author's reach tends to exceed his grasp. In the end, it is just one more addition to a growing bookshelf on its chosen subject.

Placing the basis of marronage in a kind of naturalized ideology of freedom, Alvin Thompson draws on numerous, largely historical, secondary sources to skim through such themes as the establishment of Maroon communities, military expeditions against them, the uses of judicial terror in slavocracies, the physical organization of Maroon communities, Maroon government, Maroon economy, and finally negotiations and treaties, and Maroons and revolutionary struggle. In the process, he touches on several topics that have drawn increasing attention during the last few years – maritime marronage, urban marronage, and relations between Maroons and Indians.

The text shies away from serious comparison and takes the form of strings of cherry-picked facts, giving it a faintly old-fashioned air. This thematic organization works better for some topics, such as punishments (for which the cumulative horror of multiple cases is palpable), than for others, such as

government, which demand greater depth. Its dependence on older historical syntheses (those of Yvan Debbasch, Gabriel Debien, and José L. Franco) rather than works by anthropologists who have lived with Maroons considerably lessens its overall persuasiveness. For example, to write about Maroon treaty-making without drawing on (or even citing) Kenneth Bilby's incisive comparative analysis (1997) or to deal with the aftermath of treaties and the return of runaways without reference to *Alabi's World* (Price 1990) undercuts its analysis and conclusions. And to discuss the formation of the two largest Maroon societies in the Americas, the Ndyukas and Saramakas, without reference to the two most important books on Ndyuka history (Thoden van Velzen & Van Wetering 1998 and 2004) and without any mention at all of any of the half-dozen relevant books by the Prices on Saramaka history published since 1983 (see, for the full list, http://www.richandsally.net) seems at best puzzling.

Thompson's judgments sometimes run counter to current orthodoxies. He deserves praise for arguing against the thesis, promoted by John Thornton and others, that Maroon communities based their organization on African ethnic identities. But much of the available evidence for his argument is in sources he does not cite.

Since *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Price 1973) first laid out the contours of the field, a significant number of general books have appeared on runaways, maroons, and slave revolts – by scholars as diverse as Eugene Genovese, Michael Craton, Gad Heuman, Rafael Duharte Jiménez, and Flávio dos Santos Gomes. Thompson's new synthetic attempt adds little to that growing shelf. Indeed, the in-depth studies that continue to appear on the history of *particular* Maroon societies (such as Bilby 2005, Price 2008, or Thoden van Velzen & Van Wetering 2004, to mention just a few) often seem to go farther toward answering the kinds of questions that Thompson poses – what was the role of African ethnicity? how did gender roles develop? what was Maroon military organization like? what was the role of ideology in the formation of these societies? and so forth – than this historically and ethnographically uncontextualized summary.

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Mambisas: Rebel Women in Nineteenth-Century Cuba. TERESA PRADOS-TORREIRA. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xii + 185 pp. (Cloth US$ 59.95)

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With *Mambisas: Rebel Women in Nineteenth-Century* Cuba, Teresa Prados-Torreira has provided a much needed exploration of the role of women in Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain. In the last ten or so years, there has been a resurgence of work on Cuban nationalism and anticolonial insurgency, much of it focused on the links between slavery, race, and nationalism. But none of this work has taken as its central concern the participation of women in anticolonial politics. On that score alone, *Mambisas* represents an important contribution to our understanding of the history of Cuban independence and the history of Cuban women. But what is further noteworthy about the book is the fresh and dynamic way Prados-Torreira goes about recovering that history.

She begins with three background chapters devoted to the place of women in Cuban society before the start of the first war of independence in 1868. The heart of the book, however, is in the following chapters, which treat in depth the period of insurgency against Spain, beginning with the Ten Years War (1868-1878), the interwar period (1880-1895), and the final War of Independence (1895-1898). Prados-Torreira lays out the main problems at stake in each of the conflicts and argues that women's participation was

central throughout. Using brief, well-crafted, and engaging biographical portraits to carry her narrative forward, she paints a dynamic portrait of women active in both the military and political wings of the nationalist movement. Thus, though the term *mambí* was usually used to denote armed (or unarmed) insurgents camped in the woods and doing physical battle against the Spanish army, Prados-Torreira's *mambisas* are that and more. For both wars, she finds ample evidence of women taking active roles in armed insurgency: as fighters, as messengers, as nurses traveling with the troops, and in rare cases as officers. But she also pays significant attention to women who participated in different ways, as members of organized pro-independence groups in exile, as journalists and essayists, and, in general, as civilian activists who raised money, advocated, and participated centrally in debating and imagining the nation. These were women who met semisecretly with Ulysses S. Grant to request protection for Cuban medical students recently arrested by the colonial government; who outlined petitions to the United States to grant belligerency status to the Cuban rebels; and who served as delegates to receive funds being sent from revolutionary Cubans in exile.

Though much of the women's activism and energy was devoted to the cause of independence, there were some instances in which they sought an expansion of their rights not only as Cubans but also specifically as women. Early in the first war at the meeting of the First Constitutional Assembly, Ana Betancourt took the floor to praise the revolution's willingness to "destroy the enslavement of the cradle ... [and] the slavery of color" and to call on it to attack the unfreedom of women as well (p. 84). In the final war, women such as Edelmira Guerra and Aurelia Castillo wrote specifically about the expansion of women's rights in independent Cuba, the former (unsuccessfully) petitioning the rebel government to include women's suffrage in the rebel and then the national constitution. For Prados-Torreira, these women represent the "double aspirations for Cuba's freedom and women's citizenship" (p. 82). Still, she argues, for most of the women studied in the book, it was the former that appeared to take precedence. In this way, her study of Cuban women is broader in scope that Lynn Stoner's important work on twentieth-century Cuban women (1991), which limited its focus largely to women and politics explicitly feminist.

Prados-Torreira has done a commendable job with a topic inherently challenging because of the scarcity of sources. Information on women involved in the military campaigns is diffuse in the records and, when present, it is often enticing but frustratingly thin. Prados-Torreira acknowledges and discusses these obstacles and then goes about constructing a lively narrative that is still able to convey a world of politics and war populated, if unevenly, of women of different class and racial groupings. Less satisfying at times is her discussion of the things that moved these women to become involved. Though the answer most often is nationalism, that nationalism too often remains a vague and naturalized entity. Laying aside the certainty that that

was always the motivating factor, or going further in questioning particular meanings of nationalism at particular moments might have left more room for richer interpretations of women's patriotic poetry, of vibrant letters written from wives to husbands, and of women's public and private defenses of their incursion into the male world of war and politics. Still, Prados-Torreira has written an important and original contribution to the study of Cuban women and Cuban nationalism. In this admirable book, we see a facet of the independence movement that not only has long been overlooked, but one that was a central feature of its operation.

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Music and Revolution: Cultural Change in Socialist Cuba. ROBIN D. MOORE. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. xvi + 350 pp. (Paper US$ 24.95)

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Cuban music enjoys a long history of international dissemination and recognition. After 1959, debates surrounding the island's cultural production have been characterized by what Cuban critic Rafael Rojas (2006) describes as a symbolic war over memory and representations. Looking at the Cuban music scene before and after the Revolution from schematic "revolutionary" or "counterrevolutionary" points of view has been detrimental to gaining an understanding of the complex relationships between music and politics in contemporary Cuban history. Robin D. Moore's *Music and Revolution* is a thoroughly documented book that undertakes the challenging project of passing balance over Cuban music production in the last five decades, in order to "broaden the dialogue about the lessons to be learned from the revolutionary experience" (p. xiv).

The book addresses the trajectories of major popular genres, placing a special emphasis on the impact of cultural policies upon music production, and the ways in which musicians have responded to changing political and social circumstances. It is broad in scope and contains rich and detailed information on the island's musical milieu – clearly, the result of years of extensive research. Aside from the impressive documentation effort, the main contribution of *Music and Revolution*, in my view, is its focus on how transformations in musical styles and in music-making take place. Moore succeeds in presenting Cuban music within the context of changes in the island's political, economic, and social conditions since the 1950s, and yet not merely as a reflection of those transformations. Thanks to a great amount of testimonies, as well as a careful examination of music production, he manages to trace the ways in which musicians participate in the shaping of new styles and practices. Music is addressed here as a site for negotiating individual and collective concerns about the role of culture within a socialist society.

The book's introduction states its purpose – examining the relationship between socialist thought and cultural policies in socialist states, using Cuba as a case study (p. 2). The consideration of how Marx's ideas, Soviet social realism developed under Stalin's rule, or the Chinese Cultural Revolution influenced Cuban cultural policies is indeed an interesting subject, partially addressed in *Music and Revolution*. However, Cuban political and cultural history presents too many particularities, within the context of former Socialist states, to serve as a locus for answering such a far-reaching initial question. Throughout the book, Moore offers interesting references on cultural policies in the Soviet Union and other socialist contexts, but the book is clearly focused on Cuba and its specificities as a Caribbean and Latin American socialist society.

Even though *Music and Revolution* focuses on the decades following 1959, it provides substantial background information on Cuba's music environment before the Revolution. Actually, Moore devotes a whole chapter to a depiction of the musical scene of the 1950s. In subsequent chapters, while examining the trajectories of specific genres, he offers valuable references to the pre-Revolutionary period. This approach is worth noting, since it enables an analysis of cultural transformations in socialist Cuba that does not overemphasize a radical rupture. While addressing the impact of significant changes in the political and economic spheres on music-making, Moore also develops interesting explanations for musical transformations that take into account certain persistent practices and traits of Cuban cultural dynamics. For instance, a historical overview of dance music, allows him to suggest that the dance music genres, such as modern timba, continue to offer a place for the Afro-Cuban youth to affirm blackness in a society where racial prejudice defies political changes. It should be mentioned that Moore is also the author of an excellent book on Afro-Cuban culture in the prerevolutionary period (Moore 1997).

The impact of sudden transformations – due to new political situations – in music-making and the development of cultural policies under the socialist regime are the subjects of Chapters 2 and 3. Among the issues discussed here are: the early compositions praising the revolutionary triumph; the crisis of cabarets as a result of the sudden decrease in tourism and the closing of casinos; the nationalization of theaters and cultural spaces; the intellectual and literary effervescence during the first years following the Revolution; the inauguration of a massive literacy campaign; the promotion of an amateur's artistic movement; the establishment of significant cultural institutions such as Casa de las Américas and the ICAIC (Instituto Cubano de Artes e Industrias Cinematográficas); the initial abolition of copyright and its consequences to the music industry; the development of specialized music education; the centralization of music businesses under the state's control; and questions concerning artistic freedom.

Chapters 4 through 7, which develop analyses of dance music, *nueva trova,* Afro-Cuban folklore, and sacred music, constitute the core of the book. All of these case studies stand as great contributions to the history of music-making in socialist Cuba. The decision to encompass such a broad historical period and such a wide range of genres, however, limits the possibilities for deeper analyses. Even though Moore provides certain musical examples to sustain his views, none of the musicians or styles addressed in the book is the subject of a profound discussion.

Music and Revolution is a fundamental contribution to the understanding of cultural dynamics in contemporary Cuba. It is well written and supported by serious research. Readers who are not familiar with the Cuban Revolution will find a fascinating overview of political and social processes, through the lens of musical production. At the same time, connoisseurs of the Cuban process will discover new perspectives and insights into the multifaceted relationships of culture and politics in the island.

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Cuba's Agricultural Sector. JOSÉ ÁLVAREZ. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xxvi + 307 pp. (Cloth US$ 75.00)

Reinventing the Cuban Sugar Agroindustry. JORGE PÉREZ-LÓPEZ & JOSÉ ÁLVAREZ (eds.). Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2005. xxv + 323 pp. (Paper US$ 27.00)

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With all the recent talk of transition in Cuba, and the desperate need to address the longstanding crisis in living conditions, surprisingly little attention seems to be given these days, in the popular press, to the problems of Cuban agriculture. From a historical standpoint, after all, every period of significant economic prosperity in Cuba was dependent on a thriving agricultural sector. It seems quite unlikely that prosperity could be restored in the near future without it depending on agriculture. The two books under review here bring together the state of current academic knowledge about the performance and future prospects for Cuban agriculture, and thus represent absolutely essential reading.

Cuba's Agricultural Sector, by prominent expert in Cuban agricultural economics, José Alvarez, is a comprehensive treatment of the state of Cuban agriculture, tracing its development from before the Revolution of 1959 through the 1990s. It opens with a sobering reflection: "It is impossible to write a book on Cuba's agricultural sector without at least mentioning the waste of resources resulting from projects badly conceived and executed" (p. xii). The core of the analysis in the pages that follow does more than "mention the waste of resources," painstakingly studying the agricultural measures undertaken since 1959, and documenting and analyzing empirically the decline in the efficiency of Cuban agriculture through the 1990s.

Alvarez traces the development of Cuban agriculture from the beginning of the republican period to the end of the 1990s. Part 1 offers an insightful overview, summarizing the most significant events and developments prior to the Revolution, highlighting the transformation after 1959, and then focusing on the antecedents to the new agricultural policies adopted in the 1990s. Part 2 describes and assesses the principal policy changes of the 1990s. This part gives particular attention to the adoption and performance of Basic Units of Cooperative Production (UBPCs) which have been the major vehicle for partial (really marginal) privatization in agriculture, the reauthorization of

small private farmers' markets, and the limited role of foreign investment in agriculture. Part 3 examines problems of food security and environmental degradation. And Part 4 offers some valuable reflections on the future of Cuban agriculture.

One of the laudable aspects of the work is its broad focus on the agricultural sector as a whole, including export crops (sugar and tobacco) and the major food crops. The main proposition involves a comparison of changes in productivity after 1959 in state and nonstate sectors. Alvarez finds that from 1959 to 1993 state production was consistently less productive than nonstate production, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. This is in spite of the fact that nonstate agriculture faced disadvantaged access to factors of production. Furthermore, although the 1994 reforms introducing UBPCs were expected to improve productivity by providing stronger incentives, Alvarez concludes that they generated mixed results at best, and an apparent decline in the productivity of the nonstate sector, as they transferred the problems that were plaguing the state sector to the nonstate sector.

Reinventing the Cuban Sugar Agroindustry gathers an all-star cast of experts on Cuban sugar, including the editors, Jorge Pérez-López and José Alvarez, and reflects a remarkably forward outlook on recent developments, international context, and prospects for recovery of the Cuban sugar industry. Given limited space, it is impossible to assess the contribution of each of the outstanding essays in this extraordinary collection. Although collections of this nature usually display significant variability in quality and some significant gaps in coverage, this volume suffers from neither weakness. All the essays are of the highest quality and the coverage exceeds expectations, with some truly imaginative and brilliant contributions. As a whole, it is an invaluable collection of analyses of the utmost relevance to the current problems facing Cuban sugar today.

Part 1 consists of essays on four major dimensions of sugar agroindustrial development in historical perspective. The first, by Joseph Scarpaci and Armando Portela, explores how the each of the major historical periods has shaped the natural and cultural landscape. The second, by Jorge Pérez-López, is an analysis of the state of Cuban sugar at the end of the 1990s, relative to the post-1959 decades, showing the veil of inefficiency that was lifted by the ending of Soviet subsidies. The third, by Brian Pollitt, is an examination of the adoption of new technology in Cuban sugar production, which demonstrates, among other things, that the technical changes toward mechanization also produce more import-intensive technology, with obvious implications for the adjustment to the post-1990 crisis. The fourth essay, by G.B. Hagelberg, chronicles Cuba's troubled history of international trade in sugar, leading to the decline of preferential purchases of sugar by the Soviet bloc and sugar-oil swaps in the 1990s. He shows that production targets are now no higher than those of the Great Depression.

Part 2 examines the current international environment, which sets the parameters for Cuban sugar exports in the near future. Sergey Gudoshnikow examines prospective growth in international demand for sugar to 2010. Tim Josling considers the outlook for liberalization of the sugar trade in WTO negotiations. Devry Boughner and Jonathan Coleman explore the legal possibilities for a reopening of the U.S. sugar market to Cuban sugar.

Part 3 examines the most pressing issues surrounding the uncertain but ongoing transition in Cuban sugar agroindustry. José Alvarez and Jorge Pérez-López outline how the restructuring of the Cuban sugar industry has proceeded from 2002 to 2004, an important extension to the analysis Alvarez offers in his book *Cuba's Agricultural Sector*. As an important complement, G.B. Hagelberg and José Alvarez assemble the available evidence on the costs of sugar production. On the assumption that capital requirements for the reconstruction of the Cuban sugar industry will pressure the Cuban government to privatize, Matías Travieso-Díaz examines the problems that will emerge from outstanding legal claims of expropriation of sugar mills and plantations by former owners. Undoubtedly, these matters would become of greater significance if the Cuban government, as part of the transitional plan, were to normalize international relations with major industrial leaders. Travieso-Diaz's essay gives a valuable examination of the issues and possible ways forward.

Part 4 considers possible paths of future improvement and product diversification of the Cuban sugar industry. Guilherme Rossi Machado, Jr. explores the age-old problem of putting more research energy into the development of new cane varieties. José Alvarez and George Snyder examine the possible benefits of the rice-sugar rotation program. Findlay Pate outlines the use of sugarcane by-products for cattle feed, discussing its advantages and limitations. Lindsay Jolly considers the possibilities for developing a market for organic sugar. Pedro de Assis examines the prospects for using sugarcane as a raw material for ethanol and electricity, as a possible way to reopen the seventy mills that have been closed, showing significant advantages that should be taken seriously if the forecasts for an international market for ethanol continue to develop. Sergio Trinidade extends this kind of analysis to discuss the revolutionary idea of a sugarcane biorefinery – a value chain that uses sugarcane to produce an entire range of products, including solid and gaseous fuels, stillage, fiber, sucrochemicals, and ethanol-derived chemicals, clearly in expectation of continuing declines in the demand for sugar exports. All in all it represents a remarkable program for transforming Cuban sugar agriculture into a modern, green, and diversified sugar agroindustry.

These two books are the most important works to appear on the range of proposals for a successful transition in Cuban agriculture. Critics may object to the continued focus on sugar when for decades economists have been recommending a more diversified industrial structure, but the extensive evidence in the pages reviewed here makes clear that sugar remains the sector in

which Cuba would have the greatest latent comparative advantage, if reforms could inject more capital for modernization, and the greatest depth of productive knowledge and skills. Reinvigorating those skills, then attending to their spillover into other sectors, is a more promising strategy than abandoning them in pursuit of a singular focus on tourism and other services. One of the most pronounced messages of these two books is that, to date, post-1959 state policies toward agriculture have ended in failure, but the prospects, if the right steps are taken, could reestablish Cuba as a leader in the global industry – a goal worthy of pursuing.

Islands, Forests and Gardens in the Caribbean: Conservation and Conflict in Environmental History. ROBERT S. ANDERSON, RICHARD GROVE & KARIS HIEBERT (eds.). Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean, 2006. xxii + 266 pp. (Cloth US$ 22.35)

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The literature on environmental history in the Caribbean has been relatively limited compared to such research on other regions. Thus, *Islands, Forests and Gardens in the Caribbean* is a welcome addition. The collection had its origin in a 1991 environmental conference on the island of St. Vincent commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the creation of the Kings Hill forest reserve on that island. It is regrettable that it took so long to appear.

As in any edited volume based on a conference, the chapters vary in quality, but overall the collection is a valuable resource for Caribbean researchers interested in history and environment. The major focus is on environmental institutions and legislation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although most chapters focus on the British Caribbean, useful comparative material on French colonial environmental initiatives helps broaden the book's appeal. The chapters excel in providing historical details and analysis, but little reference is made to broader debates in the literature on environmental history.

Robert S. Anderson, the conference organizer, provides the context for the other chapters by focusing on two hundred years of environmental institutions and asserts that there is a direct lineage between today's population and those

in the late eighteenth century who established the St. Vincent botanical garden and the Kings Hill forest reserve. Roughly half of the chapters are devoted to St. Vincent (those by Richard A. Howard, Adrian Fraser, Michael Kidston et al., and Hymie Rubenstein), while others highlight cases from Dominica (Lennox Honychurch), Barbados (David Watts), Saint Domingue (James E. McClellan III), and Martinique (Clarissa Kimber). Two chapters are more comparative in orientation – Richard Grove's work on the origins of forest conservation in the Eastern Caribbean and Madeleine Ly-Tio-Fane's discussion of plant transfers between the Indo-Pacific and Caribbean regions. Key themes throughout the chapters are the significance of early botanic gardens, attempts to control deforestation and soil loss, the impacts of settlement and plantation agriculture, and the cultural importance of gardens and forests.

The most impressive part of the volume focuses on early botanic gardens in the region and their linkages to emerging empire-wide scientific networks in which plants such as coffee, cocoa, clove, nutmeg, and peppers were redistributed throughout the world and provided the economic foundation for colonial enterprises. Readers obtain a clear and comprehensive understanding of the endeavors of botanic gardens, which involved varying combinations of knowledge-seeking, experimentation, cataloging, intrigue, theft, cooperation, and strategic planning. Madeleine Ly-Tio-Fane's work is the most wide-ranging, discussing early Italian, Portuguese, and Dutch efforts at plant transfers and subsequent botanic initiatives by the British and French. Her insightful chapter portrays the importance of the search for medicinal plants as an initial inspiration for establishing botanic gardens, the resulting excitement generated in Europe by the introduction of exotic flora and fauna, and the geopolitical and economic significance of plant transfers for competing empires. James E. McClellan's article on the French colony of St. Domingue is enlightening in its portrayal of the environmental hazards and constraints faced by early settlers and the environmental impacts of plantations. Clarissa Kimber's chapter focusing on the first botanical garden in the French Antilles – Le Jardin Colonial des Plantes de Saint-Pierre on Martinique – is particularly well researched. She notes that the garden contributed to the accumulation of diversity within the gene pools of economic plants and to the island's biodiversity. Richard H. Howard describes the early years of the St. Vincent botanical garden, which was established in 1765, with a particular focus on the remarkable career and contributions of Alexander Anderson, the second director of the gardens who was instrumental in developing the ordinance to protect the forests on Kings Hill.

The second strength of this volume is the analysis of scientific ideas about the environment and environmental legislation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Two chapters stand out in this regard. David Watts's impressive discussion of environmental institutions and legislation on Barbados examines efforts by both successive government administrations

and individual planters to cope with environmental degradation. He attributes the lack of legislation directed toward preserving environmental quality on Barbados to political uncertainty during the period and the emphasis at the time on using colonial resources to spur economic growth in the empire. The longest and most substantive of the chapters in the collection is Grove's analysis of the origins of forest conservation in the East Caribbean during the eighteenth century, which carefully details early environmental initiatives on Tobago and St. Vincent and their relationship with intellectual currents within Britain. Grove's chapter reveals a complex set of influences on the development of environmental legislation, ranging from European conceptions about the relationship between forests and climate, initiatives of the London-based Society of Arts, and determined resistance by Caribs on St. Vincent.

This collection is not meant to be a comprehensive review of environmental history in the Caribbean. For example, it does not include any materials on the critical period of the second half of the nineteenth century during which the Colonial Office in London spurred empire-wide efforts at controlling deforestation. Nonetheless, it is an important and worthwhile addition to the limited literature on Caribbean environmental history.

The Kings Hill Enclosure Ordinance of 1791 – the inspiration for this volume – created a forest reserve on St. Vincent with the hope that it would attract clouds and rainfall. Hopefully, this volume will attract more interest in the environmental history of the Caribbean.

The State and Small-Scale Fisheries in Puerto Rico. RICARDO PÉREZ. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xx + 218 pp. (Cloth US$ 59.95)

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In 1972 James C. Faris published his landmark ethnography, *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Settlement*, a book that inspired a number of young scholars to enter the field of maritime anthropology. Nevertheless *Cat Harbour* was not a book about fishing, but an extraordinary study of the complex social and historical processes that were transforming coastal communities in Canada.

Similarly, Ricardo Pérez's *The State and Small-Scale Fisheries in Puerto Rico* is not a book about fishing, but an excellent monograph on the plight of coastal communities in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Using an ethnographic and historical approach to study three communities in the municipalities of Peñuelas and Guayanilla in southern Puerto Rico, Pérez introduces readers to a riveting analysis of development and how that process was entrenched in the daily lives of coastal dwellers.

Pérez's meticulous examination of fisheries development provides a "human face" to the complexities of the colonial and postcolonial modernization projects. Through examination of a number of technical reports, unpublished materials, films, historical documents, and interviews with government officials and fishers, Pérez reconstructs the role of the "state" in fisheries development and describes the ways in which such actions were intertwined with agrarian reform and the industrialization strategies of the government of Puerto Rico.

Pérez concludes that fishing was the last item on the list of priorities, given the array of developmental alternatives available to the island throughout the twentieth century, including the legacy of the New Deal (under Franklin D. Roosevelt) in the reconstruction of the local economy and the industrialization program of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. In fact, fisheries development focused on the seemingly superficial aspects of the industry (the aesthetic and health conditions of the landing centers) while investing a dismal amount of funds in the buildup of the infrastructure needed for production growth.

In other words, the government of Puerto Rico retarded fisheries development, in a context dominated by the slow demise of agriculture, increased industrialization and modernization, and an always cheap supply of salted cod from Newfoundland. The "state" maintained the status quo in which the fishers and their communities remained a flexible source of labor for other, more important, sectors of the economy. Pérez's well-documented and elegant analysis of fisheries development is perhaps the most important contribution of his book. Indeed, recent debates on the local fisheries are using Pérez's findings to assess policies and build strategies for the future.

Coastal communities are at the epicenter of economic development, as they are located in landscapes characterized by high capital mobility and devastating transformations of nature imprinted in the "fragments of memory" of coastal peoples. The communities studied by Pérez are located at the margins of the largest petrochemical complex and refinery built on the island, now partially defunct. Sponsored by the government in the late 1950s, the Commonwealth Oil Refining Company (CORCO) became the site for capital investment and infrastructure development for many transnational companies. As a result, the coastal environment changed dramatically and the agricultural landscape disappeared. Such enormous capital investment, construction, and production processes altered the social and labor fabric of

the nearby towns, which attracted and forced many communities into wage labor in this new form of production or to migrate to other labor markets; a familiar process for many Caribbean islands, such as Trinidad and St. Croix. Pérez's ethnography is a powerful documentation of the perceptions and memories of the environmental disaster that CORCO brought upon the landscape and its coastal communities and habitats.

In that historical context, fishers, as "petty commodity producers," were an essential component of the "flexible communities" that restructured household production and labor strategies to adjust to new opportunities, threats, and constraints imposed by industrialization. Fishers engaged in production for the new markets and became operators of "small-scale commercial fisheries," as this type of fisheries required a "small capital commitment to sustain (or further) production" (p. 36). In this theoretical shuffle, Pérez eliminates the use of the terms "artisanal" and "traditional," often appearing interchangeably in the literature. Ironically, he uses the incomplete term of "small-scale fisheries" throughout the book, and even in the title.

Pérez covers plenty of ground in his book, as he criticizes "maritime anthropology" for its lack of a clear theoretical beacon. Instead, he argues, "maritime anthropology" must focus on the labor arrangements and diverse forms and relations of production into which coastal communities are inserted on a local, regional, and global scale. To underscore his point, Pérez presents short life histories of the complex trajectories of fishers-laborers on those scales. Although I should be the last person to critique such a point of view, I would argue that he brushes aside too quickly the value of a maritime anthropology interested in fisheries biology, ecological adaptations, and forms of knowledge. This is a minor concern, as Perez's review of maritime anthropology is one of the best critiques available.

The book is a fundamental contribution to the anthropology of development, postdevelopment, and coastal communities. Its narrative is a conduit for the many and different voices that experienced this colossal social change and development (including technocrats) – voices gathered and organized from the "fragments of memory," which should have been the title of the book, as was the original title of his dissertation.

REFERENCE

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Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness. KAMARI MAXINE CLARKE & DEBORAH A. THOMAS (eds.). Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006. 407 pp. (Paper US$ 23.95)

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This edited volume, the fruit of a session at the 2001 American Anthropological Association meetings organized by Deborah Thomas, Kamari Clarke, and John Jackson, is a theoretically ambitious attempt to reframe globalization studies by placing blackness at the center. Clarke and Thomas seek to "recuperate the power of race as a central category of social analysis without either falling into essentialisms or forestalling the possibility of developing a critical analysis that overarches the specificities of location" (p. 3).

Consisting of an introduction and sixteen chapters that cover Canada, Cape Verde, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, England, Germany, Italy, Jamaica, Nigeria, Puerto Rico, South Africa, Sweden, and the United States, it is divided into three sections. The contributors address a compelling range of cultural sites, from dance classes, fashion, heritage industry, housing, geopolitics, and migrant labor to music, nationalism, religion, television, tourism, gentrification, and modernity. In the process, they map new theoretical approaches and empirical sites in their analyses of the consumption, production, translation, and negotiation of blackness.

The volume is conceptually bound together by three theoretical strands. First, there is analysis throughout on the meanings and limitations of the concept of diaspora. Several of the authors problematize the concept, formations, and racial logics of "diaspora" and diasporic communities as they have been imagined, institutionalized, and reproduced in the United States, Europe, and the Caribbean. There is also a sustained focus on capitalist markets, consumption, marketing, and the circulation of products and practices that present "authentic" blackness or Africanness. Commercialized versions of "blackness" are embedded in the negotiation of power and the meanings of "Africanness." A third theoretical strand examines mobility, travel, and the spatial dimensions of racial and cultural production. Space, travel, and the racialization of specific neighborhoods, labor regimes, housing developments, and national narratives are examined in the chapters on Canada, Cape Verde, New York, and U.S./Nigerian relations.

Commentary on a few representative chapters from each section of this rich volume may serve to illustrate the range of empirical data and the theoretical breadth. Part One, "Diasporic Movements, Missions and Modernities," introduces the themes that "will animate the rest of the volume." In two theoretically compelling chapters, Tina Campt and Jacquelyn Nassy Brown problematize and interrogate the "limits and tensions of diasporic solidarity" (p. 108). Campt, a historian, argues that "diaspora does not constitute a historical given or universally applicable analytic model for explaining the cultural and historical trajectories of all black populations" (p. 108). She notes that what distinguishes black Germans from U.S. Blacks is "the lack of shared narratives of home, belonging, and community that sustain so many other black communities on which they draw as 'resources' in numerous ways. As a result, [she goes on] black Germans have never regarded a sense of relation and belonging among themselves or to other black communities as self-evident" (p. 95). Brown's analysis of the relationships between U.S. black soldiers and Blacks in Liverpool argues that gendered ideologies about locality "produced black Liverpool and black America as social spaces to be differently occupied" and that for black women in Liverpool, "black America represented a resource for attaining a form of self-respect that was unavailable locally" (p. 87).

Part Two, "Geographies of Racial Belonging," is organized around the theme of travel and spatial mobility. Kamari Maxine Clarke moves between South Carolina, Nigeria, and the U.S. academy to analyze the meaning, marketing, and consumption of "roots tourism" by U.S. Blacks actively constructing transnational black identities. She concludes that African nobility-redemption and slavery narratives that emerged in the United States in the 1960s are central to "conceptions of racial belonging embedded in a more aggressive form of capital institutionalism conducive to the marketing of black Americanness" (p. 135). Kesha Fikes analyzes migrant labor codes in Cape Verde, exploring how a "legal relationship to free or indentured travel" constituted "race" and racial ambiguity through "spatial" distribution of bodies, leaving residues on contemporary national debates.

In Part Three, "Popular Blackness, Authenticity and New Measures of Legitimacy," Ariana Hernandez-Reguant examines the popularity of timba music in Havana during "late socialism" and after the loss of Soviet support which generated an economic crisis in Cuba. As capitalist markets created new opportunities for disenfranchised Afro-Cubans, timba circulated on radio and television and in dance clubs and contested official national discourses by locating the "black experience at the heart of what it meant to be Cuban in a post-Soviet era caught between the imperatives of socialist morality and market expansion ... it naturalized blackness and along with it difference and inequality" (p. 251). Lena Sawyer analyzes the marketing, meanings, and consumption of African dance classes by white European women in Stockholm, where Swedish women constitute half of the instructors of African dance. Sawyer

argues that African dance classes are "a space where people *performed* 'Africa' to debate and negotiate racialized, gendered, and sexualized understandings of belonging and community in Stockholm ... in these particular spaces African dance was commodified and formed through the desires of middle-class white Swedish women and working class black African men" (p. 332). Oneka Labennet analyzes the cultural consumption of black New York girls of West Indian parentage in Brooklyn to understand their employment of food, fashion, music, and television to assert a transnational black identity.

The editors and contributors to this volume deliver what they promise. This is a theoretically breathtaking contribution to the study of globalization, nationalism, racism, late capitalism, late socialism, migration, and cultural production. With insights that will enrich interdisciplinary and international studies as well as African and black studies, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, European studies, and Latin American studies, it should be required readings in courses devoted to global capitalism, migration, race, and cultural studies, and not just to those dealing with Blacks or the African diaspora.

Haitians in New York City: Transnationalism and Hometown Associations. FRANÇOIS PIERRE-LOUIS, JR. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. viii + 158 pp. (Cloth US$ 55.00)

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This book is a tightly focused look at a single unit of organization – hometown associations – among Haitian immigrants in New York City. Through this focus, François Pierre-Louis, Jr. is able to contribute to the literature on ethnic identity formation, transnationalism, immigrant citizenship, and the role of the sending state in transnational processes. Those particularly interested in the Haitian case, or in comparing transnational social organizations, will find this an interesting work. It is most useful in its description of the particular political dynamics of hometown associations and the tensions they mediate within Haitian society in its various locales.

Hometown associations (which are never explicitly defined in this book) are voluntary clubs consisting of immigrants from a particular village (in this

case in Haiti) now living in a host society (in this case New York City). Pierre-Louis describes how they are at once social clubs, fund-raising groups for development projects back in the hometown, political platforms from which to forge coalitions with other groups in New York, and arenas for cultivating prestige and status. Drawing on the literature on transnational migration and ethnicity, he agrees with those who argue that Haitians have adopted a segmented assimilation pattern (in other words, maintaining cultural differences while at the same time seeking to incorporate themselves into the U.S. economic and political system). He sees hometown organizations as an arena within which to practice this strategy while simultaneously intensifying involvement in Haiti. "They have become the linkage institutions that maintain contact with Haiti while helping immigrants integrate in U.S. society" (p. 5).

Pierre-Louis explores the interesting and perhaps not self-evident dynamic whereby a person who becomes active as a political actor in Haiti through a hometown association in New York is likely, in turn, to become active in politics in the United States. For Haitian immigrants, building prestige, connections, and capital in one place translates readily into cultural capital in the other, and often politicians in New York will be expected to connect local issues with those in Haiti. Ironically, Haitians in New York have learned that when it comes to defending what they perceive as Haiti's best interests they can be more effective as U.S. citizens than as mere legal residents (p. 10).

Chapter 1 examines the differences between Haitian and Mexican realities. The Mexican state has been much more proactive in formalizing relationships with hometown associations as "fully fledged partners of the state," which has led to the associations prospering, while the Haitian government has been unable to coordinate any formal support, leaving the Haitian organizations independent and struggling (pp. 18-19). Haitian hometown organizations in turn became spaces for ethnic identity formation in the United States. Pierre-Louis also argues that U.S. Haitians who learn participatory democratic practices work to bring those values and practices to Haiti.

Chapter 2, "The Social Construction of New York's Haitian Community," examines the history of Haitian migration to that city and explores how earlier exile politics differed from more current, integration politics. Chapter 3 looks at hometown associations as a hedge against African-American status and as organizations that do the development work the Haitian government has failed to perform. Chapter 4 looks explicitly at the failure of the Haitian state to pass any legislation to incorporate diaspora Haitians – or hometown associations – into the political process, but for a few measures in 2002 that do not equal other countries' more effective policies. Pierre-Louis argues that hometown associations are more effective than foreign NGOs in addressing the needs of their region – a significant claim that unfortunately goes unsupported.

Chapter 5 focuses on New York City, and it presents data showing that Haitians involved in hometown associations are typically first-generation

immigrants who have maintained ties with Haiti, are U.S. citizens, and are also involved in other organizations such as churches, neighborhood groups, unions, and the PTA. Chapter 6, on race and religion, argues that Haitians disaffiliate with African Americans to some extent, and that "anything that has to do with the country [Haiti] becomes sacred and revered" (p. 102). Chapter 7 looks at the development, since the 1970s, of Haitians as a separate ethnic group – and political voting bloc – in New York, and demonstrates how Haitians have consistently organized separately from African Americans.

Theoretical weakness marks this otherwise valuable work. Pierre-Louis alternates between the terms "segmented assimilation," "integration," and "incorporation," without engaging the theoretical implications of these differently freighted concepts. Likewise, no theory frames his discussion of the Haitian state's relationship to hometown associations, especially in terms of long-standing systems of patronage (and corruption). Transnationalism theory is also underdeveloped. Pierre-Louis may be overly celebratory of hometown associations, which he says are democracy promoting and class leveling and contribute to the breaking down of historically oppressive social barriers between urban and rural Haitians. The celebratory tone contradicts many problems illustrated in the book, such as the ways the associations concentrate development projects in the hands of ex-patriot benefactors without professional training or state coordination, the duplication of projects by competing groups, the tensions between local and diaspora Haitians, and the sheer potential for corruption and mismanagement of funds raised in New York. Pierre-Louis does a nice job of self-reflexively describing his own social position as a first-generation immigrant to New York himself, as a Queens College political scientist who was also a cabinet member of former Haitian President Aristide, and as a member of a Haitian hometown association. His careful presentation of information on these interesting grass-roots transnational political and social organizations will be of great interest to many.

Mobilizing India: Women, Music, and Migration between India and Trinidad. TEJASWINI NIRANJANA. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006. 272 pp. (Paper US$ 21.95)

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Mobilizing India is motivated by two central concerns. It represents Tejaswini Niranjana's encounter with Indo-Trinidadians and the ensuing questions about the construction of "Indian" identity that her own subcontinental subjectivity raised during visits to the West Indies. And it represents her desire to join the scholars who have sought to displace Western/metropolitan vantage points as the standard against which questions about modernity, nationalism, and gender in non-Western/nonmetropolitan contexts are measured and debated. In creating theoretical frameworks where comparative discussions among Global South countries can be undertaken, Niranjana's objective is to counter the conventional use of such concepts as gender and modernity and emphasize the different meanings they acquire in different contexts – for example, what it means to call oneself "Indian" in two Southern locations, India and Trinidad. Arguing that she is what she is "*because* of who the East Indian woman in Trinidad is" (p. 20, her italics), Niranjana discusses the ways female indentured laborers were defined, notably in terms of their gender and sexuality, by Indian nationalist agendas which constructed the modern Indian woman as the bourgeois antithesis of her independent, bold diasporic sister in the cane. Niranjana suggests a linkage between this history and the meaning of "Indian" represented in contemporary cultural practices such as calypso, and in Indo-Trinidadian women's subversive agency in chutney soca – the latter representing their "refusal ... to be 'translated'" into definitions of proper gender identities (p. 52). Ultimately, her project involves the search for alternative, non-Western/nonmetropolitan forms of consciousness about bases of solidarity that can emerge from popular culture.

With her "fellow South Asians" in mind (p. 3), Niranjana raises a number of questions having to do with the ways we might "learn to question the epistemological structures through which knowledges about Third World peoples are produced" (p. 14). Making a point that echoes calls by such internationalist thinkers as W.E.B. Du Bois (among others), Niranjana urges speaking "to each other across the South" (p. 13) in order to emphasize shared (colonial and neocolonial) histories and the similar stakes that multiple nationalities

have under particular historical conditions. Toward this end we are asked to consider what kinds of new significance might be given to old assumptions, for example, what happens when "a South Asian reads the West Indian Kamau Brathwaite" (p. 13). Yet this raises the issue of epistemological traditions and the subject positions emerging from them. Is there a possibility that such contrasts unwittingly sustain essentialized identities? Who is that South Asian, who is that West Indian? Also, while conversations between Southerners unmediated by the Global North are imperative, we must take care to approach all Global South locations as themselves hierarchically positioned – economically, geopolitically – and as objects in the Western/metropolitan gaze. The "spectacular international visibility of the 'Indian'"(p. 6) today partly reflects a hierarchy within the Global South. While Niranjana rightly critiques "classical anthropology" for studying the Other largely to tell the West about itself (p. 9), the goal of Indians in India to learn about their own past (p. 19) from South Asian diasporas requires careful crafting to avoid being similarly motivated or interpretable in the same way.

This is not to suggest that comparative, revisionist efforts are not important or that they are unrealizable, but only that the mutual influence that Southern localities have on each other is a multilayered and complex kind of juxtaposition. For example, Niranjana suggests that it is important for "East Indians and India Indians not ... to disavow chutney-soca as derivative or hybrid," but to term it "Indian," since doing so underscores the continuity and discontinuity of this identity, making it simultaneously "Indian" and "Trinidadian" (p. 54). On-the-ground examination, however, makes this simultaneity unlikely to be consistent: in local cultural politics "Indian" and "Trinidadian" are commensurate only according to particular contexts. Moreover, raised again is the question of essential, and "Indian," identities. What are the cultural boundaries around the subaltern? If chutney soca is multiply resonant and subversive, then it could also be so among grass-roots Afro- and other non-Indo-Trinidadians. Niranjana is clearly aware that the symbolic importance of India is put into play on the ground of Afro-Indo relations. Yet her interest in representations and the deployment of categories, such as "women," for example, and disinterest in "simply talking about empirical women" (p. 218) requires that we steer our conceptual frameworks between the Scylla of overabstraction and the Charybdis of essentialism. Not only is empirical fieldwork never simple, but talking to (rather than merely about) "empirical women" allows them to contribute to any research project, especially ones that seek to de-center Western/metropolitan hierarchies and create alternative, ostensibly more just spaces for solidarity.

Based on secondary and primary archival sources and complemented by a number of interviews conducted between 1994 and 2004, the discussion in *Mobilizing India* covers ground that will be familiar to Caribbeanists, for example, the politics of calypso and chutney, indenture and diaspora,

Trinidadian history, contemporary racial tensions, and Third World scholars' relationship with the Other. But Niranjana is building on key works and themes in order to make a larger case for the value, nay, necessity, of comparative research agendas that displace an "inherent asymmetry" (p. 11), dislodging the West from its centrality. If *Mobilizing India* traverses familiar terrain, it focuses our attention on some key issues in the relationships among colonial and postcolonial identity formation, popular culture, and modernity. It also productively reminds us about the always crucial question of epistemological perspective that shadows efforts, even revisionist ones, to challenge hegemony and reconceptualize hierarchy. Finally, it reminds us that diasporas are shaping and mediating forces in themselves, rather than yet another manifestation of cultural shreds and patches.

Afro-Central Americans in New York City: Garifuna Tales of Transnational Movements in Racialized Space. SARAH ENGLAND. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. xvi + 274 pp. (Cloth US$ 59.95)

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While a number of scholars have conducted helpful work on the Garifuna in Central America (e.g., Taylor 1951; Gonzalez 1969; Kerns 1997; Roessingh 2001), with several notable exceptions (e.g., Palacio 2005) there has been a relative paucity of research on the transnational migration of the group. Sarah England who has conducted field work in Limon, Honduras, and New York City has written an important book on this issue, including much discussion of the impact of family relations, economic practices, and grass-roots social organizations.

The Garifuna are, as England aptly notes,

> an Afro Indigenous people born out of the mixture of Africans and Caribs on the island of St. Vincent, exiled to Central America, and turned transnational migrants to the United States since the 1940s. They are thus members of three diasporas – the African diaspora, the Garifuna diaspora, and the Central American diaspora. They are simultaneously black, indig-

> enous, and Latino; Honduras, Belizean, Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and North American; part of Central America and part of the Caribbean. As an ethnic group they share a common language, history, and culture that unites them across national borders. (p. 1)

England estimates the total population of Central American Garifuna to be about 200,000, with the largest concentration (about 100,000) in Honduras. She argues that the population of Garifuna in the United States is about the same as the total population of Garifuna in Central America, with the highest concentrations in New York City, Los Angeles, and New Orleans.

The book is sensibly organized. In the first chapter, England surveys the intellectual terrain, noting that she does not intend to privilege either Limon or New York City but instead to treat both with equal weight. She reminds readers that for two hundred years the Garifuna have traversed national borders for work, family, and ritual reasons, and thus, in one powerful sense at least, migration to the United States is not as much of a break with tradition as a continuation of a way of life. Her next chapter is a concise yet helpful history of the Garifuna from the St. Vincent years to the present. Her third chapter examines matrifocal kinship as it is manifested transnationally. Chapter 4 focuses on the challenges of a division of labor when family members live in multiple nations. Finally, the last several chapters focus on the development of grass-roots organizations and on racial and ethnic identity politics in the Garifuna diaspora, especially given the realities of a Garifuna population that has been described as a "nation across borders" (Palacio 2005).

What has motivated the continued migration? Among a number of factors, England notes the impact of success stories of migrants that appear, Horatio Alger style, to fulfill the American Dream of rags-to-riches. She relates the story of one such migrant who arrived in the United States in the 1970s and, working as janitor, sent a monthly remittance of about one hundred dollars home to his mother in Honduras. Ultimately, he was able to build a nice cinderblock house in Limon for his mother, complete with stereo, television, a VCR, and an electric generator. While this migrant is seen as a model of a good native son, the Garifuna of modernity express a variety of views concerning migration. For some, it is viewed as progress; for others, it is the disintegration of economic autonomy for Garifuna villages. Indeed England notes that the Garifuna among whom she lived sometimes refer to remittance dependency as "Garifuna welfare."

England also notes the dramatic impact of Hurricane Mitch in 1998 on Honduras and the Garifuna. The devastation from this disaster left approximately 22,000 dead and three million homeless, destroying homes, roads, and crops and dramatically impacting the GDP of the nation. Before the hurricane, the number of Hondurans migrating to the United States was surpassed by migrants seeking to avoid civil strife in El Salvador, Guatemala,

and Nicaragua, but after it the number of Hondurans migrating increased. Deportations from the United States have also increased, and England discusses the issue of the deportation of "tens of thousands of gang members to El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras" (p. 58) who were reared mostly in the United States, many speaking no Spanish, whose "only prospects for survival are to continue gang activity in Central America" (p. 58). England attributes the fact that the murder rate in Central America has risen, even above Colombia's notoriously high rate, to these deportations.

England's discussions of transnational migrations and social movements are intriguing, and one finds it hard to resist making comparisons between the Garifuna of Limon and the Garifuna in other nations and other indigenous Central American groups, such as the Maya. For instance, how have the sociohistorical and cultural contexts of these other groups along lines of race, class, and gender impacted cultural survival? Detailing such comparisons is a tall order and perhaps England has sensibly left such work for future researchers. Nevertheless, she has outlined some important developments in a Pan-Garifuna identity, such as transnational Garifuna activist groups and cultural organizations.

England's multisited ethnography represents a substantial contribution. It will undoubtedly be a book that both university libraries and scholars with interests in the Garifuna, migration patterns, and cultural survival will want to add to their collections.

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Black Puerto Rican Identity and Religious Experience. SAMIRI HERNÁNDEZ HIRALDO. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. xxii + 292 pp. (Cloth US$ 55.00)

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This book offers a welcome, timely history of religious pluralism in Loíza, characterized in the national imaginary as one of the most "African" (and seemingly poorest) towns in Puerto Rico. Focusing on a number of recently established religious transformations within Catholic and Protestant churches, Samiri Hernández Hiraldo suggests quite convincingly that contrary to popular assumptions not all Loízans find the revitalization of their African heritage, in general, and the practice of Afro-Puerto Rican religions (such as popular *espiritismo*, *brujería*, and Santería), in particular, the proper answer for their spiritual/cultural needs. I consider this to be the most valuable contribution of the book.

The centrality of religion in Loíza is evidenced by the presence of more than thirty-eight registered Protestant churches as well as several nonregistered small churches on every corner among a population of thirty thousand people. Also, Hernández Hiraldo notes the rapid growth of traditional and nontraditional Pentecostalism and the dramatic transformation of historical Protestant and Catholic churches toward more charismatic modes of worship. The vitality of various religious organizations (especially Pentecostal) is further evidenced by a growing access and control of the media and participation in national public debates and community services, as well as involvement in a thriving Christian-music industry.

Hernández Hiraldo claims that Loízans are primarily concerned about their identity – "individual, family, community, town, national, transnational, socioeconomic, religious, cultural, racial, generational and gender" (p. 4) – the religious management of their identity being "both the cause and the result of this central role of identity" (pp. 3-4). What remains unresolved throughout the book, however, is the empirical explanation for the mushrooming of religious institutions and the apparent obsession with identity of both religious leaders and churchgoers in Loíza.

Hernández Hiraldo decides instead to "focus on religion to explore identity" (p. 5), which in my view ends up limiting the methodological and theoretical import of this book, particularly in addressing the complex phenom-

enology of religious experience. For instance, even though a large part is dedicated to tracing in great detail the competition, development, rise, and fall of various religious leaders and institutions, as well as the *opinions* of residents *about* their identity, readers learn comparatively little about how issues of identity are actually elaborated during worship in these institutions and in the messages delivered by these leaders (except in the sermon of Pastor Correa [pp. 2-3]).

Perhaps my expectations based on the book's title explain my slight disappointment at the end when I realized that it focused less on the connection between "black identity" and "religious experience" than on the development of religious leadership and institutional dynamics, peppered with the opinions of religious and community leaders and residents as to the reasons for church attendance, and less (except the excellent discussions in chapters 6 and 9) on the actual religious experiences of those Loízans who perceive their blackness as a major aspect of their self-identification.

Hernández Hiraldo situates her research interests in Loíza and in religion as a native (white) anthropologist and practicing Baptist raised in a nearby town. Readers learn that this closed as well as opened many doors for her during twelve months of fieldwork, consisting of an unspecified number of visits spread over seven years, during which she conducted archival, textual, and some participatory research that included administering a census and interviewing.

The book reads well overall, except for a number of spelling errors, awkward wording, and editing problems (such as offering dates for the founding of organizations and explanations for new terms, after having already mentioned them earlier in the text). Also, some judgmental conclusions are unfortunate; for example, those that dismiss certain so-called "tangible" (i.e., expressive, emotional) aspects of charismatic Protestant worship and healing for gratifying "poor and uneducated" worshippers "much as a placebo" (pp. 84-85), and others that express the author's "hope" for more church activism in solving the problems of Loíza.

These misgivings aside, the book makes an important contribution to mapping the history, development, and internal dynamics of religious institutions in a highly competitive context, dispelling the public image of Loíza as a hub of primarily Afro-Latin cultural and religious practices.

Post-Emancipation Race Relations in the Bahamas. WHITTINGTON B. JOHNSON. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. xii + 190 pp. (Cloth US$ 59.95)

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In the book under review author Whittington Johnson selected the period 1834-1865 as these were formative years for a free society in the Bahamas. Since the Bahamas was a former slave-holding society Johnson focused his research mainly on persons of African descent. This included those who were freed by the 1833 Emancipation Act, those who were free before 1834, and those Africans who had been rescued from slave ships and resettled in the Bahamas after the slave trade was abolished. As this transition period was very unsettled in places such as Jamaica and the southern American states, Johnson is most interested in understanding the factors that contributed to a peaceful transition in the Bahamas.

Little research has been done on this period in Bahamian history so this book is a welcome addition to Bahamian historiography. Gail Saunders's *Bahamian Society after Emancipation* (1990) focuses more on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Johnson used an array of archival documents in examining the nature and extent of change to race relations in postemancipation Bahamian society. He examined the level of access black Bahamians had in politics, education, and the justice system as well as the role established religion played in this transformed Bahamian society.

His questions about political change centered on issues of whether the nonwhite electorate would vote only for nonwhite candidates and create a nonwhite majority in the assembly. He also wondered whether Mulattoes would form their own political group or whether they would ally with Whites. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act of 1833 accorded Creole Blacks the same privileges as Whites but was not extended to African-born persons. This was based on the prevailing attitude that Africans were not sufficiently "civilized" to be able to appreciate these privileges.

Though Blacks were the overwhelming majority in the population only a handful were elected to parliament. On the Out Islands (those other than New Providence), white merchants easily manipulated the electorate because they controlled the supply of goods on which residents depended. In the public service nonwhites (the term Johnson prefers to use) were appointed to

a range of posts including a few top level ones. By the 1840s the colonial policy was to avoid using racial categorizations except in the case of African-born individuals.

The Bahamas was not a prosperous colony. Johnson considered what impact the addition of over ten thousand freed laborers had on the post-emancipation Bahamian economy. Most apprentices, as they were officially known, became sharecroppers or squatted on what was presumably government land since the purchase price was generally too high for many to afford. The majority of the populace lived on the Out Islands but New Providence had the most varied population with the largest percentage of Whites and the largest number of upper- and middle-class nonwhites.

With few opportunities for cash wages, apprentices preferred the perceived independence of small-scale production and maritime ventures as wrecking and collecting sponges. This had the greatest impact on the two main export products – salt and pineapples. As exports there was money to be earned in their production but the production process made for difficult working conditions. Efforts to bring in more workers all failed. Johnson's primary finding on the postemancipation economy was that although former slaves were free to choose how they made a living, wealthy Whites still controlled the colony's economy, so the substantial changes in their legal status did not translate into any equally significant economic changes.

Johnson laments that the Anglican Church in the Bahamas did not make a greater effort to proselytize Bahamians of African descent. They established several chapels on New Providence to accommodate apprentices and liberated Africans but little was done on the Out Islands where most people lived. Several Out Islands had no Anglican church and priests rarely visited. This opened the way for the Methodists and Baptists to win more converts throughout the Bahamas.

After emancipation the Anglican Church maintained a policy against racially segregating their worship services or schools. In the Anglican cathedral in Nassau seating set aside for the poor at the back of the cathedral and in the choir loft would have been filled by Blacks but middle- and upper-class nonwhites were not restricted to these areas. The Methodist Church had no such policies and they developed their largest congregations on the few Out Islands with substantial white populations. The Baptists, on the other hand were most popular among black Bahamians.

The Anglican Church was also very involved in public education in the Bahamas. However they focused mainly on elementary education. One attempt at establishing a college prep school failed because of disagreements between denominational groups. The colonial government gradually assumed more responsibility for education but this included no increased funding for facilities, staffing, or tertiary-level education. Wealthier families, regardless of color, were not affected by these policies. In the criminal justice system

the first black Bahamian lawyer was able to point out some of the inequities in a judicial system based on a highly stratified society.

Johnson did a thorough analysis of the institutional effects of the immediate postemancipation years on nonwhite Bahamians. However his research suggests that other factors, such as population demographics and social status, also served to limit access and stifle dissent. His point is well taken as the patterns that developed in this thirty-year period set the trends for the next century. For the Bahamas the hurdles to overcome were not just race but also social class.

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Planning the Past: Heritage Tourism and Post-Colonial Politics at Port Royal. ANITA M. WATERS. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. x + 123 pp. (Paper US$ 18.95)

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The history of Port Royal has something for everyone, points out Anita M. Waters about the plans for the renovation of one of Jamaica's most famous towns as a "heritage tourism site." That is part of the problem for Port Royal. It is also, perhaps, a problem for this interesting, well-researched if uneven piece of writing.

There is a great story here as Waters has uncovered. The historical associations of Port Royal, on the tip of the etiolated peninsula that frames Kingston's harbor, are rich and stimulating. Port Royal was once described as "the wickedest town in the western world"; nowadays, travel writers (and planners and tourist board bureaucrats) call it a "sleepy fishing village." Its history is multilayered and depends on your perspective. Take your pick: Arawaks, pirates, sailors, admirals, prostitutes, slaves, free people, herbalists, architects, fishermen, goldsmiths, inn-keepers, merchants, millionaires have all, at one time or another, peopled its community. Some characters, of

course, are more fascinating – and more problematic – than others, especially if you are planning a theme-park Disneyfication of history.

Proposals for the reconstruction of Port Royal's history as a tourist attraction is the rationale of this book. People interpret the past in different ways according to their own needs and imaginations and, of course, many people, especially the powerless, have their pasts "remembered" for them by others. This is particularly relevant, as Waters, points out in the context of Jamaica – and, indeed, the whole Caribbean.

For tourism developers, Port Royal has two key historical identities to draw on: as a rip-roaring, piratical, and fantastically wealthy trading port in the seventeenth century, and as a British colonial naval station in the eighteenth century, briefly visited by Lord Nelson. These two beams of colonial interest are chronologically separated by the earthquake of 1692 when Port Royal disappeared beneath the waves.

Plans for the restoration of what is now a small – and neglected – town as a tourist showcase have been in the pipeline since independence. None, to date, have materialized. The reasons for this, Waters argues, are as much about an ambivalence of identity and historical representation as they are about a failure to secure investment and the product of political will.

Waters documents the different proposals in some detail. All reflect changing trends in tourism thinking – from a concentration on white sand beaches (with imported sand) and resort hotels to a more nuanced package that includes "interactive street performers" (p. 40) and an underwater archaeological museum. More importantly, she analyzes how, over the years, a Eurocentric narrative has been replaced by a more inclusive one.

Even so, pirates – a very Eurocentric preoccupation – and Port Royal go together. Indeed, the pirate theme is popular throughout the Caribbean (Jolly Roger cruises in Barbados, a pirate museum in the Bahamas, for example) of the tourists' imagination: pirates represent freedom (cruising around the high seas, no government to tell you what to do, with wenches on each arm and doubloons in every pocket). What is interesting though is that this iconography does not extend to African-Caribbean populations and, in particular, to some African Jamaicans who view pirates as "common thieves."

Waters backs this up with evidence from a range of sources, including her own research among the contemporary community of Port Royal. Indeed, she finds pirates blamed for the crime rate in Jamaica. "Renowned buccaneers such as Henry Morgan are being labeled as great Jamaicans. It is therefore not surprising that the Jamaican society is so besieged with so many delinquencies," commented a group of students who had made their own proposals for the redevelopment of Port Royal (p. 56).

Beyond the developers, historians, tourists, archaeologists, and politicians who are engaged in putting Port Royal back on the map are the town's residents. Waters does not forget this group of 1,100 or so citizens – often

ignored in the design of tourism projects. While the developers sit on their hands, the environment of Port Royal suffers from neglect – buildings and infrastructure crumble. Residents wait for something to happen. They, too, have different views of development – some welcome it; some recognize how tourism brings negative impacts ("Anywhere the money is, men come with their violence .... Badness might come here, too" [p. 90].)

Meanwhile, Waters discovers that members of the Port Royal community know little of their own history; interestingly, they also identify with a colonial view of their town's story. "What was unexpected was the extent to which Afro-Jamaican Port Royalists embrace the Anglocentric narrative. It seems to offer them a way of drawing distinctions between themselves and other Kingstonians" (p. 103). Such conflict of interests and narratives among the players is one reason why Port Royal is still living in the shadows of its past, its population the victims of their own – and other people's – considerations of history.

Waters's book is dogged by a style that suggests an anxious essay writer prone to throwing information at the reader for fear of leaving something out. It is also annoyingly repetitive; and there's no map. Yet this is a book that addresses important themes: it does so with enthusiasm and uncovers some revealing insights central to the development of Jamaican (if not Caribbean) identity along the way.

The American Discovery of Europe. JACK D. FORBES. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. xii + 251 pp. (Cloth US$ 34.95)

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A departure from Jack Forbes's earlier works on race and ethnic identity (e.g., Forbes 1993), this new book offers evidence of transatlantic voyages by native peoples of the Americas prior to 1492. *The American Discovery of Europe* is dedicated to challenging the historical interpretations of the intercontinental exchange between the Old and New Worlds, and indeed to questioning the concepts associated with "discovery" and defining the perspectivality of "Old" and "New." While it argues for revisions of accepted

historical canons, it is apt to remain, like Forbes's early studies of marginal peoples, on the periphery of academic discourse.

During a period when new ideas are continuing to surface and evidence mounts for a longer indigenous occupation of the Western Hemisphere, Forbes's book enters into the debate with a surprising amount of documentary and archaeological concurrence. From Caribbean maritime traditions to Greenlandic voyagers, it weaves nautical and botanical knowledge alongside recovered artifacts of seemingly bizarre placement. Translated obscure primary documents form testimonies of "Indians" visiting the coasts of Ireland, Norway, and France in boats made from either skin or dugout logs.

While engaging for the reader, Forbes's argument does little to address the wider impact of these Atlantic exchanges. More than likely, this absence is due to what most scholars have already concluded; occasional and intermittent contact did occur between the "Old" and "New" World, but these interactions had little lasting effect on culture and were not sustainable. Admittedly, Forbes acknowledges that the majority of American "discoveries" are the result of forced landings from Atlantic storm systems, captives of long-range European fishing excursions, and contact with sparse human settlements along the edges of the Arctic. He fails to consider the relative size of the world prior to the emergence of a global system. Communication across a half dozen European languages, the lack of general literacy among the populace, and the instability of feudal Europe did not provide a uniform understanding of the globe or the climate for exploration beyond the limits of the "known" Old World. Equally, the examples presented suggest that voyages by American Indians occurred in a single direction, thereby limiting the diffusion of knowledge from one side of the Atlantic to the other. In turn, the amount of "discovery" that could result in large-scale cultural change or reverse exploration from the Americas to Europe was equally limited. Simply put, there is evidence to indicate that there were multiple cross-Atlantic contacts between the Old and New World, but that testimony does little to alter our present understandings of human history or to reveal mechanisms that shaped cultures experiencing contact phenomena prior to the cataclysmic events surrounding 1492.

Forbes is far-reaching in his assertions and hypotheses of continental exchange, often overlooking more conventional explanations for the offered evidence of genetic variation and anomalous archaeological findings. One such example centers on the presence of several Inuit bone harpoon points found along the western beaches of Ireland and Scotland. Forbes views these rare occurrences as archaeological evidence for an Inuit presence in Western Europe prior to 1200 A.D., but neglects to consider the numerous ways in which this deposition may have taken place. Ignoring his earlier arguments about the power and force of eastwardly moving currents that placed botanical drift from America along the shores of Europe's Atlantic coast, Forbes

never considers the possibility of expired, beached, or wounded mammals from Inuit waters depositing both carcass and points at the edge of the Atlantic's eastern drift. While minor to the overall presentation, cases such as this, and far-reaching evidence for American Indian presence in Europe (i.e., Indians of the Roman or Medieval era) detract from *The American Discovery of Europe*'s stronger arguments and cast an unfortunate shadow on an otherwise engaging ethnohistory.

In contrast to the focus on the possibility of American Indian "discovery" of Europe, the book's stronger suit deals with the relatively unknown nautical traditions of the Atlantic Americas. Forbes offers examples of primary documents describing the various forms of Caribbean, South American, and Northeastern vessel types and indigenous knowledge of wind and currents as well as an overview of native material culture associated with seamanship, actually filling a void in the current scholarship on hemispheric maritime practices.

More valuable are the references to numerous Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese primary documents. The book's strongest sections translate Columbian writings and obscure Scandinavian references, and they chronicle the movements of peoples through the waters of the Pre-Columbian Caribbean and among Newfoundland, Greenland, and Iceland in the North Atlantic.

Ultimately, Forbes hopes *The American Discovery of Europe* will "forever change the way history of the Americas is defined and taught" (Forbes 2007). He attempts to resituate the concept of "discovery," challenging readers to consider indigenous engagement and agency before and during the emergence of a global system. His book adds to the ongoing dialogue on the human experience and the events that foreground the beginning of colonial encounters. Unfortunately challenging notions of "discovery" will probably remain too unconventional and obscure to become the legacy that Forbes hopes.

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Reading Erna Brodber: Uniting the Black Diaspora through Folk Culture and Religion. JUNE E. ROBERTS. Westport CT: Praeger, 2006. xiv + 278 pp. (Cloth US$ 94.95)

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In her recent *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature*: *Critical Moments in Anglophone Literary History*, Alison Donnell deplores the critical neglect of the writers "who retained an island base in terms of the focus of their work" (2006:86), Jamaican Erna Brodber among them. As the first book-length study of this major literary voice, June E. Roberts's *Reading Erna Brodber* is a welcome addition to the field of Caribbean literary criticism. The purpose of this dense, occasionally abstruse volume is to demonstrate the aesthetic and ideological originality of a writer who is not only "engaged in the act of redefining the novel" (p. xii) but, as a radical "intellectual worker" (p. ix), has also developed her own folk-based approach to the Caribbean diasporic discourse.

This book is organized in two sections. The first one, made up of five chapters, is devoted to an extensive contextualization of Brodber's work. It examines its revisionism in relation to the tradition of Caribbean literature as a whole, in particular that of women writers, and illuminates the interdisciplinary nature of Brodber's writing by focusing on the movements that have shaped it, especially Rastafarianism, black nationalism, and African spirituality. The argument throughout is that Brodber's unique, revolutionary aesthetic is informed by an indigenous folk culture which needs to be taken into account if one wants to fully understand the writer's fictions. Nevertheless, insightful and well informed as it may be, Roberts's attempt to depict Brodber's intellectual background is only partly successful, for her account tends to be repetitive and to lack clarity, not only because of a refusal to simplify the Jamaican writer's complex agenda. In addition, if *Reading Erna Brodber* provides an informative overview of Caribbean literature and of Brodber's place in it, it also contains inaccuracies – for example, when it lists Caryl Phillips among women writers on p. 36 (while describing him as a male writer on p. 50) or when, on p. 52, it says that *Myal* won the "esteemed Booker Prize for literature" (it was the Caribbean and Canadian Regional Winner in the 1989 Commonwealth Writers' Prize).

The second part of the book, comprising eight chapters, provides closer readings of Brodber's fiction, *Jane and Louisa Will Soon Come Home* (1980),

Myal (1988), and *Louisiana* (1994), three nonlinear novels which "attempt to create a new social history of the Caribbean experience" (p. 126). The first one, originally meant as a case study for Jamaican social workers, dramatizes the spiritual healing of Nellie, a young middle-class Jamaican of mixed ancestry suffering from cultural schizophrenia, and celebrates the crucial role played by black vernacular culture, including orality, in the construction of "a healthy diasporan identity" (pp. 100-101). However, *Jane and Louisa* can also be read, Roberts points out, as a political allegory of a nation which needs to overcome its Manichean social system and as an engagement on Brodber's part with the 1968 Walter Rodney affair. Roberts further surveys Brodber's methodological choices, which are meant to "achieve communalism" (p. 90), and dwells in particular on the symbol of the *kumbla*, an ambiguous trope, both prison and cocoon, and on Brodber's allusive prose which refers, as in the title, to a traditional ring game, but also to Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and to Zora Neale Hurston, a major influence on Brodber. Reading *Myal* requires a good knowledge of the Afro-based religious system that developed in Jamaica in the wake of slavery. Roberts therefore explains at length the "dialectical tension between good and evil" (p. 144), between Myalism and Obeah, that affects the spiritual awakening in the 1920s of Brodber's heroine Ella, the victim of colonial and patriarchal "spirit thievery," who is eventually rescued by a group of black and white Myalists who communicate telepathically. Roberts's extensive discussion of the novel also includes a focus on its secondary plot, Anita's story of rape and incest, on the functional role of this novel as an incentive to revise Jamaica's educational system, and, interestingly if more marginally, on the similarities between Ella's background and Bob Marley's. If in *Myal* Brodber already brings the Caribbean and African-American diasporas together through its heroine's experience of passing, it is in *Louisiana*, however, that she fully develops this fruitful parallelism, focusing this time on another aspect of African religiosity, spirit possession. This third novel focuses on a young anthropologist, first called Ella then Louisiana, who ends up a conduit for two dead Garveyites, Louise and Anna, two "cross-diasporic spirit sisters" (p. 238). Roberts reads *Louisiana* as an "allegorical revision" (p. 223) of the life of Zola Neale Hurston, both a writer and a researcher interested in African diasporic folklore, like Brodber herself, and she devotes many pages to arguing this comparison. She also demonstrates that the novel promotes a "decolonization of anthropology" (p. 264) at the same time as it operates a conciliatory reunification of various currents of diasporic thought, chiefly represented by Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois.

The strong point of this otherwise loosely argued study – which also contains several irritating typos – is the way in which it illuminates the "cultural tapestry" (p. 212) woven by Brodber's fiction. *Reading Erna Brodber* is also impressively wide-ranging. Yet it is to be regretted that it does not include

Brodber's 2003 collection of lectures, *The Continent of Black Consciousness*, a book that constitutes an interesting complement to the fiction of a truly remarkable writer.

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Race, Culture, and Identity: Francophone West African and Caribbean Literature and Theory from Négritude to Créolité. SHIREEN K. LEWIS. New York: Lexington Books, 2006. xx + 167 pp. (Paper US$ 25.95)

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Race, Culture, and Identity: Francophone West African and Caribbean Literature and Theory from Négritude to Créolité is an ambitious endeavor. As Shireen K. Lewis indicates, her book is "the first comprehensive study to date to map literary and theoretical discourse by Francophone intellectuals associated with Négritude (Léon Damas, Léopold Senghor, Aimé Césaire, Paulette Nardal), Antillanité (Edouard Glissant), Créolité (Jean Bernabé, Raphaël Confiant, Patrick Chamoiseau)" (p. xii). She situates her diachronic analysis in the larger debate around modernism and postmodernism in order to trace the varying identitarian shifts within French West Indian literature. Lewis examines these shifts as they evolve from a concern with African origins and racial and cultural purity toward a preoccupation with creolization, hybridity, and fragmentation, arguing for the inclusion of female Martiniquan intellectuals as significant participants in the birth of modern black Francophone and Caribbean literature. Doing so, she claims that she is "the first scholar to conceptualize black women's relationship to Négritude" (p. xv).

Chapter 1 presents the sole issue of *légitime défense* as the guiding manifesto for nine young Marxist-Leninist and surrealist Martiniquans and argues that it represents a flawed precursor to Césaire's *Négritude*. Lewis contextualizes their cultural project within French modernism and argues that Martiniquan students of the time, despite their anticolonial stance and attack against the mimetic writing of most French West Indians, did not themselves create a poetry that was rooted in black experience or Creole culture. Ironically, while engaging in their own type of imitation, they merely reproduced the surrealist genre.

In Chapter 2, Lewis reads *Négritude* not only as an attempt to assert a modern black subjectivity, but also as the expression of modernism itself by black subjects in a colonized world. She argues that modernism influenced the *Négritude* poets who in turn contributed to its development. Lewis provides a close reading of several poems from Damas, Senghor, and Césaire in order to present "alienation, fragmentation, and disintegration" as modernist themes that pervade *Négritude* poetry during the interwar period (p. 30). And she emphasizes that while *Négritude* encompassed the Francophone black world as a whole, much of the creative force at play in this project came from the French Caribbean.

Chapter 3 explores a biography of Paulette Nardal in order to examine the ways in which gender shaped the *Négritude* movement. Presenting a substantial historical contextualization of the French Caribbean community in Paris, Lewis affirms that Nardal and her sister Jane blazed the trail for Senghor and Césaire. Indeed, she argues, Nardal's essays and translations of Harlem Renaissance writers introduced Césaire and Senghor to ideas they would later develop in their movement.

In Chapter 4, Lewis explores the work of Edouard Glissant and the theoretical models he developed, which influenced the creolists, particularly the questioning of historical knowledge. In doing so, she perceives Glissant's notion of *Antillanité* as a bridge between *Négritude* and *Créolité*. In her attempt to historicize the local and the peripheral and to acknowledge the fragmentation of past events in her examination of Glissant's postmodernist concerns, she glosses over his concepts of creolization and chaos-world.

In Chapter 5, Lewis contends that in using *Négritude* as the foil for their own aesthetics of *Créolité*, the *créolistes* inadvertently contribute to the relevance and revival of the declining *Négritude* project. She provides a historical contextualization of the *créolistes*' movement, which she dates from the creation of the GEREC (*Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherche en Espace Créolophone*) in the1970s, foregrounding the role of Jean Bernabé in the cultural and political debates concerning the creole language.

The broad scope of Lewis's study might disappoint some readers, particularly African specialists. Indeed, despite its title, it mainly deals with French Caribbean theory. Additionally, although she discusses *Négritude*

and *Créolité* as two antithetical movements, she does not delve into the differences between the approaches of Césaire and Senghor, nor does she contextualize the backgrounds of these two writers. These authors share a desire to construct an Afrocentric identity within a French colonial field, but they are rooted in radically different sociopolitical contexts. The political and cultural stakes of the *Négritude* project in an African society are very different from those in a French overseas department. Equally problematic is Lewis's lack of attention to the political and racial complexity of the French Antilles, which leads to a simplification of key concepts such as Glissant's notion of creolization. This prevents the nonspecialist reader from realizing how this sociopolitical context influences French Caribbean writers. Although Lewis does a thorough job of framing them within the context of France, she glosses over the context of their homeland. Finally, her survey of the field of French Caribbean literature is spotty. Striking examples of this include the omission of Suzanne Césaire among Lewis's "women of Négritude" and the lack of engagement with important scholarship by Brent Hayes Edwards (2003) and Denean Sharpley-Whiting (2002).

Despite some debatable claims and omissions (which are inherent to a project of this scale), Lewis's book contributes to a rethinking of traditional concepts within Francophone literature. In a predominantly Anglocentric field, her project is successful in its goal of moving away from "treating Francophone literature as introductory or presenting it in terms of a survey" (p. xiii) by introducing French Caribbean intellectuals as key agents in the development of a black modern subjectivity. And it makes an important contribution to the literature on *Négritude* by highlighting the contributions of female writers such as Martiniquan Paulette Nardal.

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Autofiction and Advocacy in the Francophone Caribbean. RENÉE LARRIER. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. x + 186 pp. (Cloth US$ 59.95)

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Autofiction and Advocacy in the Francophone Caribbean utilizes *Danmyé,* the Martiniquan tradition of dance combat, as a leitmotif structuring a discussion on Caribbean subjectivity in novels by Joseph Zobel, Patrick Chamoiseau, Gisèle Pineau, Edwidge Danticat, and Maryse Condé. Renée Larrier reproduces the aesthetics of this simulated fight between two men as she wrestles with the role of advocacy in the genre of Caribbean autobiographical fiction she calls "autofiction," following on work by Serge Doubrovsky. Bridging the gap between literary and dance criticism, she studies how the careful discursive choreography of these Caribbean novels can be understood through "the combat dance's principles of narration, initiation, resistance, confrontation, interaction, surprise, anticipation, improvisation, resistance, positionality, displacement, balance, and negotiation" (p. 6). The two combatants and the ring of clapping and drumming spectators that surround them provide Larrier with a rich metanarrative to understand the vigorous and often contestatory nature of cultural production and reception in the Caribbean.

Chapter 1 looks at the way in which the character of José in Zobel's *La Rue Cases-Nègres* challenges the silences of master narratives that refuse to acknowledge the brutality of French colonization in the Antilles. Like a *Danmyé* master, José – as author and protagonist of the text – "lands on his feet" as he succeeds at establishing this counter-discourse. Larrier then moves on, in Chapter 2, to explore the collective ethos of the *Danmyé* through the interaction of author, narrators, and protagonists in seven novels by Patrick Chamoiseau. Here, she studies how the role of the encircling chanting chorus of the fight, the *répondé*, help to advance and define the course of the narration in *Chronique des sept misères*, *Antan d'enfance*, *Chemin-d'école*, *Solibo Magnifique*, *Texaco*, *A bout d'enfance*, and *Biblique des derniers gestes*.

The remaining three chapters explore novels by women from Guadaloupe and Haiti. The role of female resistance to patriarchal oppression in Gisèle Pineau's autofiction is the subject of Chapter 3. Larrier interprets the role of the encircling spectators of the fight as the community of characters surrounding the main protagonists in *Délivrance*, *L'Exil selon Julia*, and *L'Espérance-*

macadam. In this last novel, the tragedy engendered by Rosette's inability to believe that her husband abused their teenage daughter Angela speaks to the need of those surrounding the colonial and gendered struggle to support the oppressed warrior. In Chapter 4, Larrier analyzes the character of Amabelle Désir in Edwidge Danticat's *The Farming of the Bones* as a *Danmyé* fighter who overcomes obstacles, crosses borders, and builds new communities, reinscribing the diasporic odysseys of many Caribbean writers. As refreshing as it is to see Haitian literature studied as Francophone, one wonders how this paradigm limits the possibilities of analyzing relevant works written in Haitian Creole. With respect to Martiniquan Creole, Larrier displays great inconsistency and frequently defers to French terminology. For example, she chooses *répondeurs* over *répondé* and *Laghia de la Mort* over *Ladjialamò*. Chapter 5 deploys the metaphor of the *Danmyé* to understand the multiple narrative positionalities in the work of Maryse Condé. By cataloguing Condé's novels as first-person novels (*Moi*, *Tituba* and *La Vie sclérélate*), third-person novels (*Ségou* and *La Belle Créole*), and multivoiced texts (*Traversée de la mangrove*, *Histoire de la femme cannibale*), Larrier constructs a shifting metacritical narrator in the midst of an entourage of onlookers who provide competing, and often questionable, interpretations of the narrative struggle.

Throughout the elegantly interlaced chapters, Larrier stitches the provocative, yet ultimately undeveloped notion of *Collages text[îles]* in an attempt to present how the reappraisal of Caribbean identity in the novels she examines is founded on the deep commitment and advocacy that their authors have for their respective Caribbean homelands. While Larrier successfully underscores several of the authors' activist roles in favor of education, freedom of expression, and other social justice causes, the full deployment of *Collages Text[îles]* remains unexplored. As a term borrowed from Guadeloupean painter Franceline Dawkins, whose work graces the cover of Gisèle Pineau's *L'Espérance–macadam*, *Collages Text[îles]* embodies a strong sense of female solidarity across artistic media that could redefine traditional women's work into a form of gendered agency capable of effectively overcoming patriarchal oppression in the literary realm. More importantly, Larrier misses the opportunity to deploy the Caribbean feminist discursive needlework of *Collages Text[îles]* to counterbalance the strong masculinism of the *Danmyé* fight.

Larrier's broad knowledge of Caribbean popular culture and critical theory enables her to foresee how projecting First World theoretical paradigms onto the area would add to an already long list of political, military, and cultural impositions. Believing that Caribbean cultural products can break open their own shell from within, she re-interprets performativity as a creolized Caribbean aesthetic. This exempts her from the need to cite the work of Judith Butler, Joseph Roach, Victor Turner, and Richard Schechner, leading North American academics in the field of performance studies. Her critical boldness brilliantly re-enacts the very resistance of the Martiniquan dance combat leitmotif.

While Larrier's critical understanding of Francophone Caribbean autobiographical fiction is superb and ensures a well-focused argument, one wonders how the argument could have been strengthened through a sustained engagement with literary, choreographical, and pugilistic traditions in other territories and linguistic traditions of the greater Caribbean. As it is, Larrier's newest work marks a bold step in the development of a truly interdisciplinary and comparative understanding of life-narration and performance in the Caribbean.

Patrick Chamoiseau: Espaces d'une écriture antillaise. LORNA MILNE. Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2006. 226 pp. (Paper US$ 62.00)

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Martiniquan writer and essayist Patrick Chamoiseau gained international recognition with the bilingual edition of *Eloge de la Créolité/ In Praise of Creoleness*, cowritten with Jean Bernabé and Raphaël Confiant. This essay gave a prominent place to the Creole language of the French Antilles in the construction and definition of the islands' cultural identity and made two of its authors, Confiant and Chamoiseau, figureheads of the Créolité movement. Given the strong emphasis placed on Creole by the *créolistes* writers (which also includes Gisèle Pineau), critical assessments of Chamoiseau's work have interpreted his writing in the light of his own essays on language and identity. Lorna Milne's monograph seeks to redress the balance and rests on the valid observation that the geographic and topographic elements understood to both symbolize and contribute to the formation of Antillean identity have so far been overlooked. Milne's study is then an exploration of the symbolic value of space in the development of identity and history in Chamoiseau's narrative fiction. The monograph looks at how imagined representations of real, tangible spaces are transformed into imaginary literary spaces, a process through which, she argues, aesthetic representation and lived experience can converge.

Three main strands – space, history, and identity – run through Milne's analysis, and these are linked ultimately to a fourth idea: the question of the role of the writer and of the creative process in the construction of identity in

a postcolonial context. The starting point lies in Chamoiseau's own critical writing, and in particular his essay *Ecrire en pays dominé*, which presents the island of Martinique as a subordinated space under French economic, political, and cultural domination. Opening with a chapter that outlines the role of space in the forging of the community's identity, the analysis places Chamoiseau's representation of Martiniquan identity within the wider context of Caribbean discourses on cultural identity, mainly through the essays of Antonio Benítez-Rojo and Edouard Glissant. In *Ecrire en pays dominé*, Chamoiseau underscores the need for Martiniquans to differentiate themselves from a dominating French identity and develop community through a foundational event, which Milne identifies as the Middle Passage.

Chapters 2-5 look at the affirmation of identity through an in-depth analysis of four key spaces in Chamoiseau's imaginary which are embedded in the history of Martinique: the hold of slave ships, the market, the Creole habitat, and the forest. The hold of the slave ship is seen as the site of origin (or *espace d'origine*) (p. 37) in Chamoiseau's writing. Milne demonstrates how it serves as communal site of experience not only for descendents of slaves but also for other Caribbean ethnic and racial groups. Displacement is viewed as an initiation, a passage from one place, one history, and one identity to another. The originality of Milne's analysis of the symbolism of the hold lies in her perception of this particular space as a dual sign in Chamoiseau's fiction: a void which strips those who traverse it from their origin – and by extension their original history and identity – yet also a uterine space which serves as the catalyst for the construction of a new history and identity. Chapter 3 explores the aesthetic representation of the traditional Creole market which in the contemporary Caribbean is gradually losing its social function as a place of communication and exchange. Although Chamoiseau's portrayal of the market could be interpreted as distorted and nostalgic, Milne argues that his imagery of the market space contributes to the transmission of the past to a new generation of readers. It then becomes a model for future generations and helps them to relate to the space they inhabit. The following chapters focus on constructed spaces (the Creole habitat) and natural places (the woods). Chapter 4 discusses how the Creole habitat, and in particular the *quartier*, a fragile Creole entity in *Texaco,* is also a place of physical and cultural struggle between (post)colonial authorities and the ordinary people. Chapter 5 looks at quest and transformation through the trope of the woods, *les bois*, a liminal space beyond the plantation's domination. The forest symbolizes the rejection of slavery and allows for the transformation and affirmation of a Creole identity. At the same time, Milne shows that Chamoiseau's images of the woods highlight their function as a site of encounter and *rapprochement* between békés and Creoles, especially in her reading of *L'esclave vieil homme et le molosse*.

Important aspects of Milne's analysis are, on the one hand, the constant links made between Chamoiseau's critical writing and his fiction, and, on the

other hand, the attention given to his reflections on the creative process and the role of the writer. She concludes that Chamoiseau's own novels illustrate both the creative and political limits and the possibilities of fiction. Writing has what Milne terms *nature mortifère*, a deadly nature that suppresses orality and crystallizes the representation of a world otherwise too unpredictable and subject to change to be fully grasped symbolically. But writing also has a political and aesthetic function: it promotes one's own values and recognizes the existence of alternative values.

Milne's book includes a useful glossary of Creole words and expressions. It also provides an exhaustive and detailed examination of both Chamoiseau's critical and creative writing by looking at the development of the themes of identity and history through the symbolic representation of space. The book shows the evolution of Chamoiseau's poetics in his fiction which, despite being labeled "magic realist," has received little scrutiny.

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