



**JOURNAL
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY**

**NUMBER 10
1980**

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Founded and incorporated, January 1974, at St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands as a non-profit, scientific organization.

The object for which this corporate society is formed is to bring together those persons having a serious interest in archaeology, history and related studies; to explore, excavate (under the aegis and direction of the appropriate authorities), chart and study the cultures of primitive peoples who once inhabited our Islands; to publish the Society's findings; to communicate with other archaeological and historical societies and disseminate knowledge acquired through such activities.

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VIRGIN ISLANDS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY



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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

MARTHA SHARP JOUKOWSKY attended Brown University, and obtained her A.B. in Classics from New York University, and her M.A. in archaeology from the American University in Beirut. She anticipates the defense of her Ph.D. (*Doctorat d'État*) from the University of Paris I in June 1982. She resides part of the year in her Cotton Valley, St. Croix, home, teaching at Brown University during the academic year.

DARRELL ADDISON POSEY received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Georgia in 1979. Currently he is Mellon Visiting Professor at the Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh. He has published on various topics concerning folk taxonomic systems, folk biology and ethnoentomology. He is a founder of the *Journal of Ethnobiology*, for which he serves on the Editorial Board.

GEORGE FREDERICK TYSON, JR. is a native of Davenport, Iowa. He took his B.A. at the University of Southern California, and his M.A. in history at Columbia University. Associated for some years with Island Resources Foundation, he teaches at the College of the Virgin Islands since 1979. He is the author of several books and articles on the history of the Caribbean.

GARY STOCKTON VESCELIUS is a native of Montclair, New Jersey. His uncle, Harry E. Taylor, was Administrator of St. Croix for many years, so Gary was drawn to the Virgin Islands at an early age. While still an undergraduate at Yale University, Vescelius conducted an extensive archaeological survey of St. Croix, which became his Honors Thesis in the Scholar of the House program. Later, he attended the University of Michigan, where he earned a M.A. in anthropology. After much field work in Peru, Gary S. Vescelius became the second Territorial Archaeologist of the Virgin Islands of the United States (1975-1979). He is now a consultant in archaeology.

For the biographical notes of William Fleming Cissel, please see the inside back cover of issue number 9; for that of Kenneth Charles Dick, issue number 4, p. [45]; for the biographical notes of Alfredo Ezequiel Figueroa and Bruce Errol Tilden, see issue number 2, p. 27.



VISTA DE UN PUEBLO DE LOS ANTIGUOS CUBANOS

XIX CENTURY ROMANTICIZED PRINT
SHOWING THE VILLAGE LIFE
OF WEST INDIAN ABORIGINES
AROUND A.D. 1500.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE FIRST ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ANGUILLA, WEST INDIES

By Kenneth C. Dick, Alfredo E. Figueredo, Bruce E. Tilden,
and George F. Tyson, Jr.

During the five days from 21-25 November, 1979, a party of four archaeologists and historians undertook the first archaeological survey of the Island of Anguilla, West Indies. This party was under the joint auspices of Island Resources Foundation, the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society, and the Government of Anguilla. The archaeologists and historians were Kenneth C. Dick, Alfredo E. Figueredo, Bruce E. Tilden, and George F. Tyson, Jr. The direction of the survey was entrusted to Mr. Figueredo.

Anguilla, one of the outer or 'Limestone' Caribbees, is a low lying albeit hilly island of some 35 square miles' surface area. It presents a characteristic Karst topography and an accidented coastline abounding in sheltered anchorages. Water flowing on the surface is rare, but there are many fresh or brackish pools and lakes. Despite historical accounts of high forests, a scrub vegetation predominates, rendered patchy by the uneven and discontinuous soil pockets, themselves of different types.

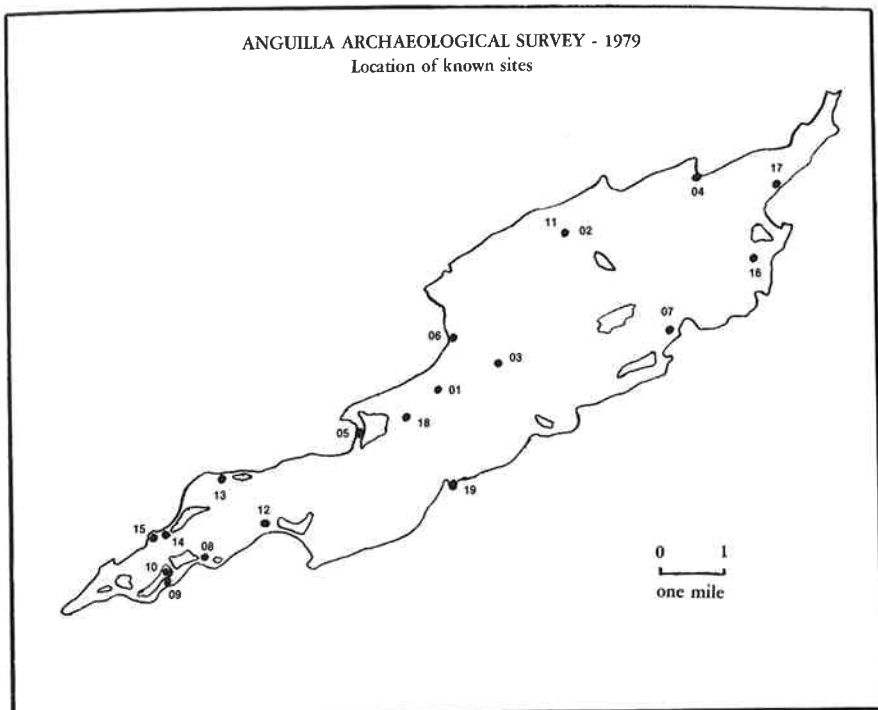
The fauna of Anguilla is relatively impoverished, as is the case on both sides of the 'Corner of the Antilles'. This area, comprised on the one side of the Virgin Islands and on the other of the St. Martin-Anguilla Bank and its many islands, is where the two major faunistic regions of the West Indies nearly touch, and are stretched each on its own side to a veritable tapering or thinning off. Were humans considered in biogeographical terms, one could argue in favor of a similar phenomenon on both sides of the 'Corner', with 'tramp' species or cultures being the only ones to effect successful crossings from one faunistic region to the other.

Despite the great deal of attention which has been given to the Virgin Islands by archaeologists, a similar intensity of interest has not been shown to the other side of the 'Corner of the Antilles'. Archaeological work has concentrated on St. Martin, where J. P. B. de Josselin de Jongh, Ripley P. Bullen, and Alfredo E. Figueredo have conducted investigations, with some work also done on St. Bartholomew, but not of a professional nature.

The nearby islands of Saba and St. Eustatius have received some attention from de Josselin de Jongh and Figueredo, while Antigua has an active and prosperous Archaeological Society and St. Christopher's has been explored intensely these last three years. Anguilla itself has received much less attention.

ANGUILLA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY - 1979

Location of known sites



The first archaeological report dealing with Anguilla was published in 1869, and concerned itself with an isolated artifact found in Cavannah Cave. The possibility of an association between the shell celt discovered and the bones of an extinct and very large rodent also found in the Cave, has made for speculation.

In 1967, Mrs. June Flowers of St. Thomas visited The Fountain and informed Figueredo some time thereafter of the presence of petroglyphs on the Cave walls. Figueredo was unable to verify this report until this writing.

The last and only other archaeological information which is available for Anguilla, is the visit, on U.S. Navy business, of Mrs. Linda S. Robinson. She collected some pottery fragments around the Commissioner's house, according to unconfirmed hearsay.

The archaeological survey was more successful than anticipated. A total of 19 sites were located, some of truly large proportions by West Indian standards. A list of these sites follows.

01 Cavannah Cave

The Cave where the first archaeological find on Anguilla was made, over a century ago. No new archaeological or palaeontological discoveries were made, as the

Cave has been dug out for fertilizer, and no prehistoric carvings or paintings were to be found on the Cave walls.

02 The Fountain

A Cave containing a fountain, wherein were found petroglyphs and an Indian midden. A very important site worthy of further investigation.

03 Commissioner's House

Site visited by Mrs. Linda S. Robinson. No new finds were made.

04 Island Harbour

A small midden partially disturbed by contemporary construction.

05 Sandy Ground

One of the largest Indian sites in the West Indies, regrettably covered over in great part by a modern village.

06 Crocus Bay

A small midden by the beach landing, containing possibly preceramic artifacts similar in shape to those found at Salt Pond, Antigua.

07 Sandy Hill

A very large Indian site near the Old Fort and Police Station.

08 Cove Bay

A substantial site, with many features visible.

09 Maunday's Bay

A large site threatened by ongoing construction.

10 Maunday's Bay Pond

The bottom of the Pond has yielded what may be the earliest pottery on Anguilla, related to the Golden Rock Style of St. Eustatius, and the Palo Seco Style of Trinidad.

11 Fountain Hill

Some pottery and other evidence was found outside The Fountain.

12 Rendezvous Bay

A very large Indian site, with mounds still visible.

13 Long Bay

A small midden, hardly more than a surface scatter.

14 Maid's Bay

A respectable site on high ground.

15 Barnes Bay

A small Indian site where was found a valuable three-pointed stone.

16 Indian Bottom Hill

A small and shallow midden in a spectacular, windward setting.

17 Savannah Bay

A small midden.

18 The Spring

A sherd scatter near the only flowing spring to be found by the party, on Road Salt Pond bottom.

19 Little Harbour

A good-sized site on a promontory. Rather interesting cairns to be found there, probably of very recent origin.

Indian pottery was found at all except the first of the 19 sites. This pottery is almost all of the 'Insular Saladoid' type, with a great emphasis placed on red paint. These traits would remind one of Ostionoid-tending pottery from Guadeloupe and from the Virgin Islands. Some stone and shell tools were found as well.

In sum, it is fair to say that Anguilla has a rich archaeological heritage, which it would be well to protect and develop. Anguilla was populated heavily during Indian times, more so apparently than nearby St. Martin. This, coupled with its strategic position, renders the study of Anguillian archaeology of the greatest interest to anthropologists, historians, and human biogeographers. Hopefully, more will be done.

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THE DANISH CRUISER *VALKYRIEN* IN THE WEST INDIES 1901 - 1902 and 1915 - 1917

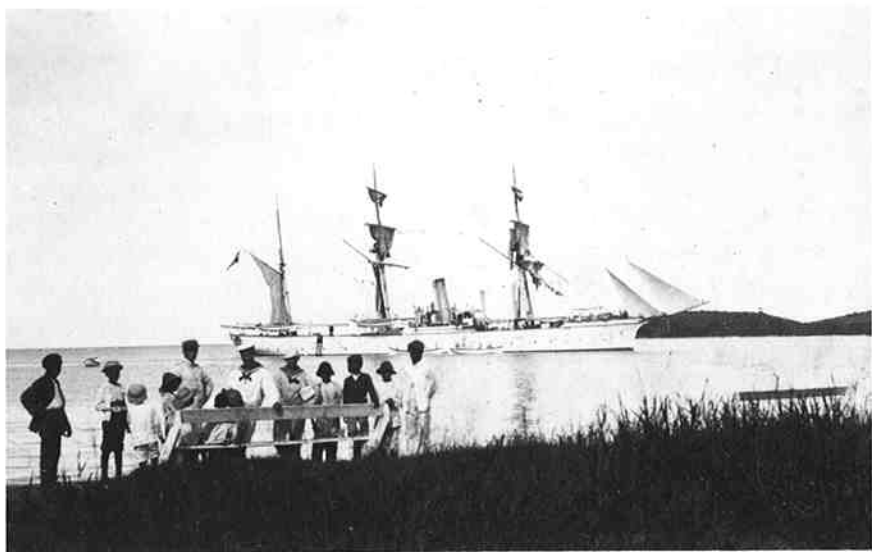
By William F. Cissel

Like other Scandinavian countries, Denmark has had a well-recognized maritime tradition involving exploration, trade, and conquest. The Danish naval heritage, originating in the age of the Vikings, was nurtured by wars with the Hanseatic League over Baltic trade (*ca.* 1370), and with Sweden in the fifteenth century. The existence of a Danish navy, *per se*, was relatively firmly established by the Late Middle Ages. During the reign of Hans (1481-1513), there was a considerable expansion in the construction of warships, an event paralleled in England at the same time. The later growth of Denmark's merchant fleets by virtue of sea-borne trade with Africa, Asia, and the West Indies called for a proportionate increase in the navy, and it was not long before a formidable force was achieved. In spite of—or perhaps because of—her neutrality in foreign affairs, special attention to the navy has been a Danish legacy (May and Annis 1970 I:135).

With British and Napoleonic competition for extension of their influence into Northern Europe at the close of the eighteenth century, coupled with the adoption of the Treaty of Armed Neutrality by Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia and Austria, Denmark was brought into conflict with Great Britain in 1801 and again in 1807.¹ The rebuilding and reëquipment of the Danish fleet after 1814, with attention paid to innovations, ensured that Denmark would retain an important place in the maritime world. In the 1864 war over the question of Schleswig-Holstein, her ships more than held their own against the Austrian and Prussian squadrons. Since that time, Danish naval forces have been regarded, for all practical purposes, as defensive. This tactical point of view is mirrored today in Denmark's contributions to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The presence of the Danish Navy in the West Indies since the mid-eighteenth century has centered around the dual purpose role of defense and training. In the early twentieth century, that presence was confined to two ships: the *skrueskonnerten* (combination steam and sail) *Ingolf*² and the *krydserkorvetten Valkyrien*. The *Ingolf's* eleven West Indian cruises (between 1884 and 1912) consisted largely of training and hydrographic and other scientific expeditions (Larsen *Mss.* 1923: "Ingolf").

Of the two ships, the *Valkyrien's* role was to prove much more eventful. Her keel was laid down at Holmen (the Royal Naval Dockyard), Copenhagen, in 1888. Launched the following year, the *Valkyrien* was completed in 1890.



The *Ingolf* off the Lagoon, Christiansted, 1912. Among the Black natives, she was familiarly known as the 'Boy of War'.

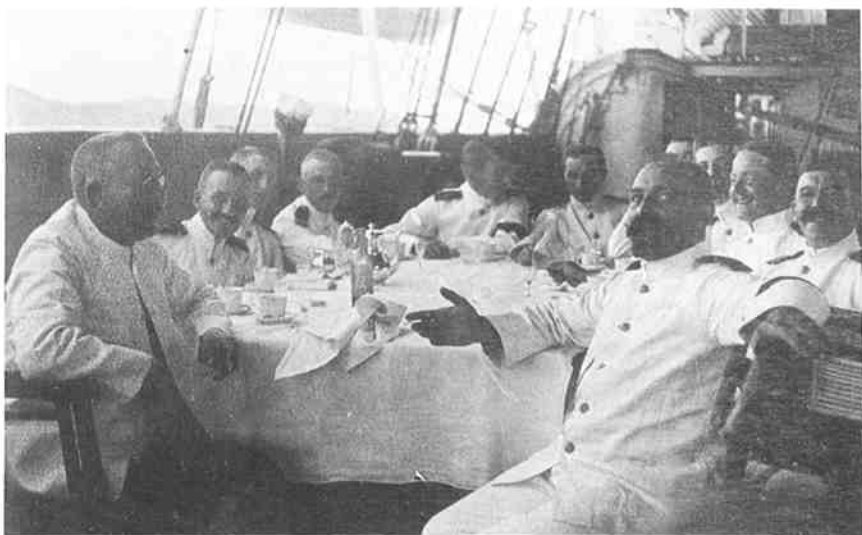
Classified as *krydserkorvetten* (a light- or second class armored cruiser) with a displacement of 3020 tons, she had an overall length of 266½ feet, a beam of 43¼ feet, and a maximum draught of 18¼ feet. A steam powered ship with a coal bunkerage capacity of 496 tons, the *Valkyrien's* Burmeister and Wain engines—supplied by six boilers—were capable of producing a maximum forced-horsepower of 5300 *rpm*. Propelled by twin screws, she had a maximum speed of 17½ knots (Jane 1898:33).

The *Valkyrien* displayed the combination of ram-bow and hull-mounted torpedo tubes favored by many of the world's navies in the 1880's and 1890's. In addition, the cruiser offered some novel features, including a pair of hull stabilizers. Her armament in the 1890's, manufactured by the British firm of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., was as follows (*ibid.*):

8.2 inch, 18 calibers ³ cannon	× 2 (fore and aft)
6 inch, 32 calibers cannon	× 6 (barbettes) ⁴
6 pounder (57 <i>mm</i>) cannon	× 4 (two pairs amidships)
1 pounder (37 <i>mm</i>) cannon ⁵	× 10 (various locations on super-structure)
torpedo tubes ⁶	× 5 (a pair in the bow, two diametrically opposed amidships, and one astern).

As completed, the *Valkyrien* had a deck armor plate of 2½ inches, an engine hatch armor of 3 inches, and an armored command bridge (*ibid.*).

The *Valkyrien's* maiden cruise, under the command of Carl Adolph Garde with



The officers of the *Ingolf* at mess off of St. Thomas. In the right foreground is the ship's commander, Henri Konow, later Governor *ad interim* of the Danish West Indies, 1916-1917. Courtesy of Orlogsmuseet, Copenhagen.

a complement of 305 men, lasted from 4 June to 25 September, 1890. Her next extended voyage took place from 16 June to 28 September, 1893, under the command of the same officer. In 1896, the *Valkyrien* underwent her first refit, after which she sailed under Captain Georg Eduard Fugl and a complement of 286 men on 6 June. She returned to Copenhagen on 30 September of the same year. From 3 October, 1899, until 31 July, 1900, the *Valkyrien* embarked on a Far East cruise under the command of His Royal Highness, Prince Valdemar, with 272 men (Østen 1959:198-9; Topsøe-Jensen 1919:110-1, 116, 404-5).

Her next assignment, from 16 October, 1901, to 15 July, 1902, was on the West Indian Station. Her commander was Hans Peter Holm, and she had a complement of 279. On 8 May, 1902, as the *Valkyrien* rode at anchor in St. Thomas' harbor, a cable was received advising of the eruption of *la montagne Pelée* on the French island of Martinique. Governor of the Danish West Indies Carl Emil Hedemann⁷ immediately ordered the cruiser to render assistance. The *Valkyrien's* participation in the subsequent rescue operations have been preserved in the notes of M. Haller, the French Consul in St. Thomas, who accompanied the ship:

Immediately after the receipt of the disastrous news which was received by cable on the night of the 8th May the Danish cruiser "Valkyrien," after hurriedly taking in three lighter loads of provisions and medicines, proceeded for Martinique on the 9th at 2:30 p.m.

While the channel of Dominica on the evening of the 10th a very thick cloud of smoke and ashes obliged Commander Holm to proceed with great caution and to survey very minutely the course with which he had to traverse. Towards 11 o'clock p.m., having gone clear of the uncomfortable smoke, we perceived on the port bow a glare and on approaching recognized a burning town — it was St. Pierre being consumed.



A gun crew of the *Valkyrien* poses manning one of the starboard Krupp 57 mm cannon off St. Thomas ca. 1916-1917. Note the sailors in their work uniform, and especially the resemblance of their headgear to the U.S. Navy issue during the same period.

It being impossible to approach the land, the Commander resolved to await the dawn, the current carrying the ship northward, and early on Sunday morning, the northern point of Martinique, called Pointe-de-Preclur, was seen. This point was then a little freed from the ashes and smoke. This observation allowed us to proceed to the ruined city continually making our way through clouds of smoke, ashes, and soot, which poisoned the atmosphere which all on board were inhaling for 12 hours.

At about 9 o'clock we perceived on the coast a dismantled vessel still floating from which a black column of smoke was ascending—it was the steamer "Roraima" which was totally destroyed. On approaching nearer we saw a second vessel, in good condition. It was the French man-of-war "Suchet". Commander Holm at once communicated with her and learned that there were about 2600 persons in danger to the North of St. Pierre. He at once decided to go there succour with the "Suchet" and the "Pouyer Quartier" of the French Cable Co. The three vessels proceeded together for the same destination.

Clouds of ashes encircled the ships and prevented our seeing and directing the ship's course to such an extent that we were obliged to blow the foghorns to prevent collisions, the darkness at moments being intense.

Towards 11 o'clock we were able to take our positions in front of the hamlet of Preclur, the "Valkyrien" being more to north. Everything on board was in readiness—the ambulance and medical staff, the boats, and steam launch were put into the water with the greatest alacrity, each in command of an officer who approached the shore as near as possible to remove the victims from their critical position. The poor people were in want of everything and were nearly all suffocated by the ashes which threatened to envelop them.

The state of the sea and the difficulty of seeing clearly rendered their rescue extremely dangerous. Nevertheless after 4½ hours of persevering work, carried on in an exemplary manner, she rescued about 600 victims, men, women, aged and infirm, especially a great number of children.

The zeal and devotion displayed by Commander Holm, all his officers, and the entire crew, deserve the admiration of all, especially when it is known that the Commander did not hesitate to go to the most perilous places through blinding smoke, approaching the land under a shower of soot thrown thick and furiously . . .

All along the coast where St. Pierre was built between the villages of Precheur and Carbet there remains but a plain of gray sand. One sees there some vestiges of habitation and the ruins caused by the lava which has covered the river beds burning and devastating all in its path. The villages which were within its limits and which were not consumed are covered with a thick layer of sand, which gives them a sad and desolate aspect.

Of the 25,000 inhabitants who were in St. Pierre and its surroundings on the 8th at 7:45 in the morning not a person was alive at 8:00 o'clock.¹⁰

The cataclysm which swallowed up everything in 5 minutes did not spare but 40 persons, who were saved by the first rescuers who arrived in the port, but of which the greater part have already succumbed from the frightful burns which they received. Among them were some Italian sailors belonging to a ship which was in port and which disappeared in the chaos. The scene presented by this immense devastation can hardly be compared to Pompeii, which we have seen. There at least exists some vestige of once beautiful edifices, whereas at St. Pierre there remains but a mass of charred ruins. The vault of the "Banque Coloniale" was found intact and the treasure which it contained has been saved and carried to Fort de France.

The "Valkyrien," after having completed her work, started for Fort de France, where she arrived with her rescued victims at 5 o'clock p.m.

The commander of the Arsenal sent lighters to disembark them and they were lodged in the public buildings of the town. The provisions and medicines were accepted with the most grateful marks of gratitude and landed the following day (i.e., Monday).

The town of Fort de France as well as the southern end of the island has not suffered. But the inhabitants have abandoned their homes and are flocking to the Capital, which is inconvenienced by the great number of people through overcrowding and the great drought which has prevailed for more than three months.



Members of the *Valkyrien's* crew pose on and around the fore Krupp 5.9 inch gun. St. Thomas ca. 1916-1917.

Courtesy of Orlogsmuseet, Copenhagen.

As soon as the "Valkyrien" had anchored, Commander Holm, accompanied by the French Consul resident at St. Thomas who embarked on the said cruiser, paid their official visit to the Acting Governor,¹¹ to the Commander of the Troops, the Mayor of the town, and the Commander of the Port.

Everywhere Commander Holm was received with the greatest marks of sympathy and gratitude for the very prompt and devoted assistance he was able to render the panic-stricken population. The "Valkyrien" was the first of the (foreign) warships on the scene of the terrible catastrophe, the German cruiser "Falke" coming next from Venezuela,¹² and the U.S. "Potomac"¹³ from Puerto Rico did not arrive until the 11th in the afternoon, bringing also provisions.

On the 12th at 8 a.m. a Solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated, at which all the principal officers of the different ships in port assisted. All along their way to and from the church the inhabitants watched with a touching admiration those brave mariners who had come in their midst to render assistance at such a terrible time . . . (*St. Thomas Tidende*, 17 May, 1902).

In appreciation, the President of the French Republic, Emile-François Loubet¹⁴ conferred the *Legion d'Honneur* on both Governor Hedemann and Commander Holm (Canegata 1968:44).

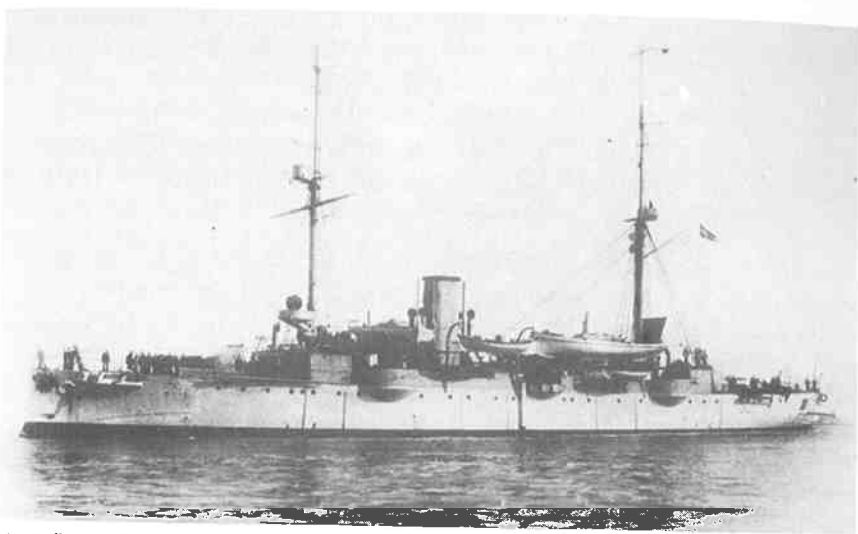
The *Valkyrien's* next several cruises were away from West Indian waters. They were, respectively: 1 July to 30 September, 1903 (Captain Vilhelm Carl Schlüter, 288 men); 1 November, 1913 to 14 February, 1914 (Captain Anton Ferdinand Evers, 204 men); 30 September, 1914 to 10 May, 1915 (Commander Georg Carl Amdrup); and 10 May to 21 September, 1915 (Captain Hector Frederik Kiaer, 250 men) (Topsøe-Jensen 1919:6-7, 91-2, 338-9; Østern 1959:199-200).

In the interim, in 1913, the *Valkyrien* underwent a major refit. In addition to altering the configuration of her masts, her armament was modernized as follows (Jane 1918:390):

5.9 inch cannon (Krupp)	× 2 (fore and aft)
6 pounder (57 mm) cannon (Krupp)	× 6 (barbettes)
machine guns	× 2 (forecastle)
torpedo tubes	× 3 (one pair in the bow, one astern).

The *Valkyrien's* subsequent cruise—and her last to the West Indies—occurred between 8 November, 1915 and 9 May, 1917. The groundwork that resulted in the cruiser's stationing in the Danish West Indies in late 1915 was laid earlier that year. David Hamilton Jackson,¹⁵ establishing himself as the principal spokesman for the agricultural laborers on St. Croix, embarked on a struggle against the planters and (ultimately) the Danish West Indian Government. He demanded, in essence, the right to form a labor union (with an inherent guarantee of assembly), the right to publish a (union-owned) newspaper exempt from government censorship, and higher wages for workers on the estates.

Jackson's first mission to Denmark in search of reforms took place in the Spring of 1915. There he met with the Socialist Prime Minister, Eduard Brandes, and received certain commitments. His return to St. Croix was followed in a few



The *Valkyrien* after her refit of 1913. Of interest here are the sweep of her ram bow, the port bow torpedo tube, the armored command bridge (just forward of the funnel), the three deck-level barbettes, and the steam launch just forward of the mizzenmast.

Courtesy of Orlogsmuseet, Copenhagen.

months by the publication of the *Herald*, and in turn by the organization of the St. Croix Labor Union (Canegata 1968:99).

Canegata (1968:99-100) maintained that 'the movement which brought Jackson into prominence . . . initially was not a labor movement at all, but was meant to be more of a middle-class movement for socio-economic reforms of which the hospitals and prisons were the focal points.' This, he said, changed after the publication of the *Herald*.

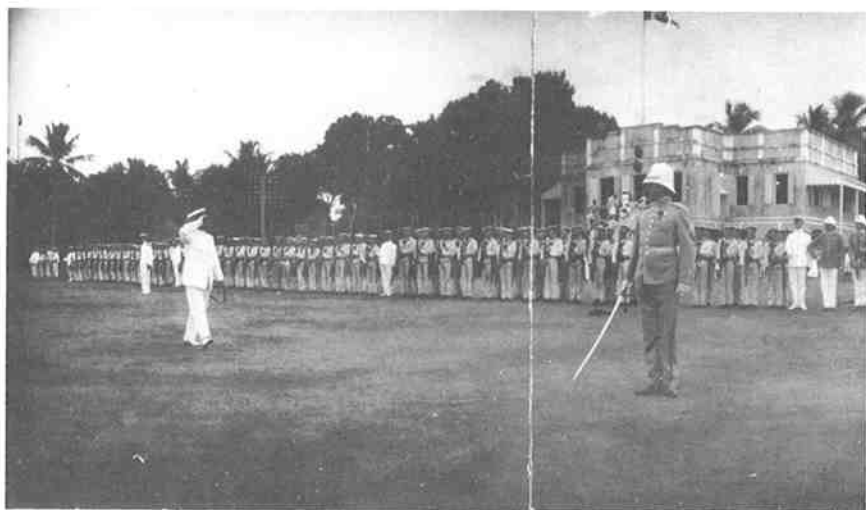
D. Hamilton Jackson, using his position as editor of the *Herald*, kept up a steady and inflammatory commentary on the local labor and social milieu. He even went so far as to cable a member of the Danish *Folketing*,¹⁶ Hans Nielsen, that ' . . . the white planters (were) irritating and ill-treating the labourers in order to make them revolt. . . ' (*St. Croix Avis*, 1 December, 1915). Jackson eventually came to focus on the Governor of the Danish West Indies, Lars Christian Helwig-Larsen,¹⁷ as the embodiment of what he considered the 'tyranny' of the upper class. Subjected to a constant torrent of verbal abuse from this quarter, Helwig-Larsen reacted firmly at an official welcome in Christiansted upon his return from Denmark in late 1915: 'Gentlemen, if any one tries to disturb the peace of this island, he will be met with the strong hand of Government' (*St. Croix Avis*, 11 December, 1915). Complete intransigence thus reigned on both sides, with an accompanying deterioration of public order.

As a result of the mounting unrest during this whole period, the Danish home government—fearing a repetition of 1878¹⁸—ordered the *Valkyrien* to sail to the

islands on short notice (Larsen 1928:350). The cruiser arrived at St. Thomas on 8 December, 1915, at 12:45 p.m. (*St. Croix Avis*, *Loc. cit.*). She was under the command of Captain Henry Konow,¹⁹ with Commander E. Jessen as second-in-command. Her other officers included *Premier Løjtnanterne* (1st Lieutenants) A.V. Jorgensen, E. Garde, Foss, and Westermann; Engineers Thorup and Munkeboe; Chief Physician Halberg, and Assistant Physician Martenson. The accompanying ship's band had seven men (*West End News*, 13 December, 1915).

The Danish West Indian Government used the occasion of Queen Alexandrine's birthday on 24 December, 1915 to stage a large military parade in Christiansed. The *St. Croix Avis* for 29 December, 1915 reported that the parade was 'an imposing spectacle' despite a heavy shower that prevented many from attending the review. With the band of the *Valkyrien* in the van, the Naval Brigade, detachments of Gendarmes and Militia, as well as three 'mitrailleuse'²⁰ followed. This large military parade actually served a dual purpose: to honor the Queen, and to provide a show of force at a time of considerable unrest.

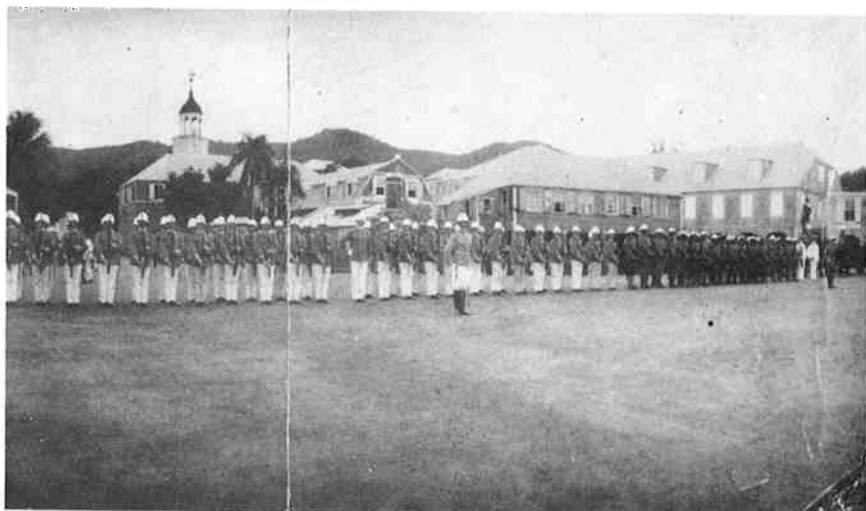
In spite of an address given by Helwig-Larsen at the Governor's traditional New Years Day levee, to the effect that the Government had the interests of both employer and employee equally at heart (*St. Croix Avis*, 5 January, 1916), labor union agitation had reached such a pitch that the *West End News* (13 January, 1916) anticipated the landing of 1st Lieutenant A. V. Jørgensen and thirty marines in Frederiksted. This detachment was quartered in the barracks at Fort Frederik.



Combined military and naval parade on the Christiansted wharf, 24 December, 1916. In the background, from left to right: the band and Naval Brigade of the *Valkyrien*, the *Gendarmekorps* (light blue tunics and white

At last, Hamilton Jackson formally requested a raise in pay from the planters on behalf of the field and factory workers. As was expected, this was flatly turned down. A general strike was therefore called in mid-January, 1916.²¹ Many estate owners retaliated by evicting the strikers from their properties. As a consequence, whole families began an exodus to one of the two towns (if they had relatives living there), or camped along the roadsides with all their possessions and livestock for the duration of the strike (Fleming *Ms.* 1980). While Christiansted remained relatively calm (*St. Croix Avis*, 29 January, 1916), the same was not necessarily true in the country, where incendiarism in the cane fields was the greatest concern (e.g., *West End News*, 22 February, 1916).

The *Ordenskorps*²² (Militia) was called up for continuous duty, supplementing the foot and cavalry patrols, of the *Gendarmerikorps*²³ in the rural districts. The Naval Brigade of the *Valkyrien* provided additional security forces, patrolling the streets of Christiansted and Frederiksted. Security arrangements in the former town included the stationing of a detachment of 20 marines with two machine guns at the Customs House (thereby controlling King Street west of the Wharf for several blocks) and an officer with 10 marines posted at the Government House with a 'magazine rifle'²⁴ in order to preclude any disruption of governmental functions at that building (Larsen 1928:351; *West End News*, 27 January, 1916). The marines also strengthened the garrison at King's Hill, and a special guard was posted at the Central (sugar) Factory at Estate Bethlehem (*West End News*, 24 January, 1916).

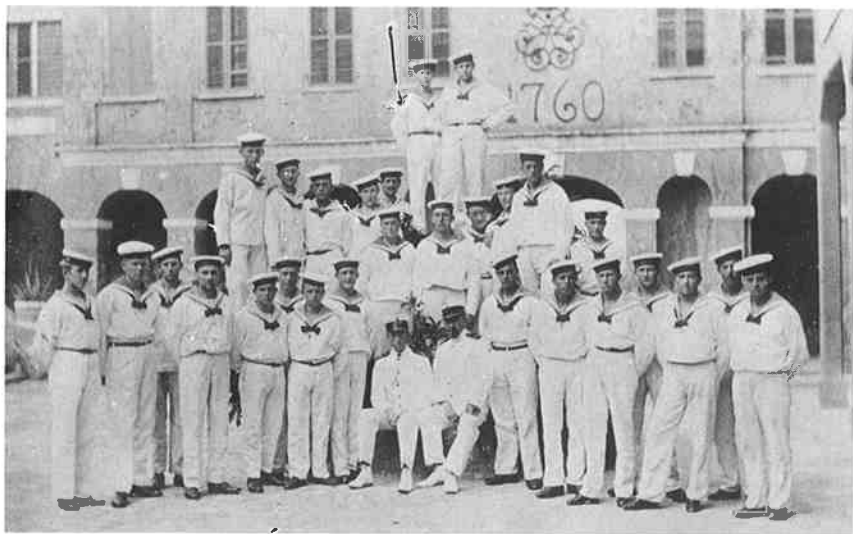


trousers), and the *Ordenskorps* (khaki uniforms). The field artillery is barely visible at the extreme right. In the foreground, taking the salute, is Captain Konow; in the center, Captain N.C.F. Fuglede of the Gendarmes.

For many of the middle- and upper-class inhabitants of St. Croix (especially the Whites), the presence of the *Valkyrien* was a great source of relief, because of the racial overtones that had surfaced just prior to and during the strike (Fleming *op. cit*). Finally, through government mediation, the strike was settled by an agreement reached between the negotiators,²⁵ in the presence of the Governor, on 25 February, 1916 (*St. Croix Avis*, 29 February, 1916).

By this time, the third and ultimately successful bid on the part of the United States to purchase the Danish West Indies²⁶ was well under way, so the *Valkyrien* was ordered to stay on in tropical waters. Her Captain, Konow, was promoted to commodore and appointed Governor *ad interim* on 20 September, 1916, following the resignation of Helwig-Larsen. By order of the Danish War Ministry, Konow at the same time retained command of the *Valkyrien* (Larsen 1940:82-3).

During the night of 9-10 September, 1916, a very severe hurricane struck the Danish islands. The *Valkyrien*, underway to St. Croix in the early evening, noted the very stormy sea conditions and returned to St. Thomas. By midnight, alarm-guns had been fired from all the forts.²⁷ Battened down and with all anchors set, the cruiser rode out the storm in good fashion (Larsen 1928:362). At first light, her crew began to assist the other vessels in St. Thomas harbor, most of which had suffered very badly. Among those whom the *Valkyrien* rescued was the crew of the Danish schooner *Thor*, which had run on a reef and capsized (*St. Thomas Bulletin*, 11 October, 1916).

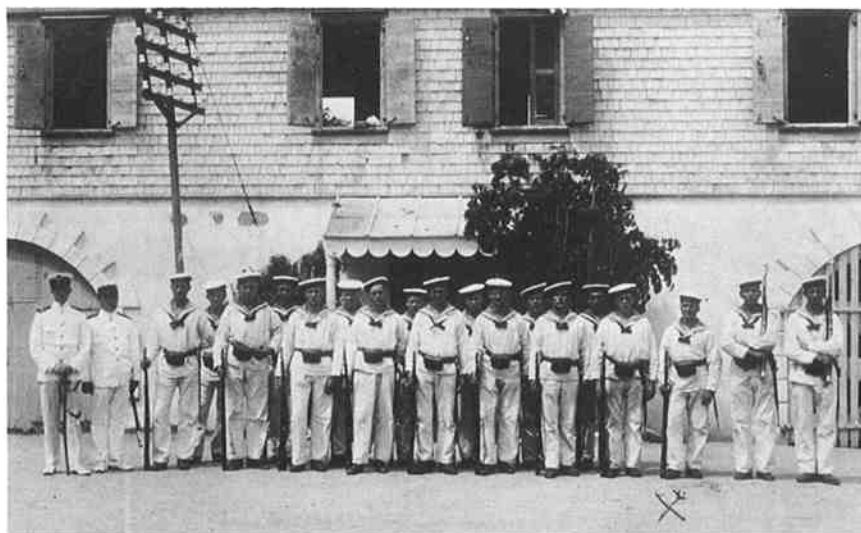


Marines from the *Valkyrien* in the courtyard of Fort Frederik, Frederiksted, ca. January - February, 1916. This detachment reinforced the Gendarmery garrison and performed security duty in the town during the General Strike. Seated in the center are their commander, *Premier Løjtnant* A.V. Jørgensen (left) and Captain Henry Konow (right).

Courtesy of Orlogsmuseet, Copenhagen.

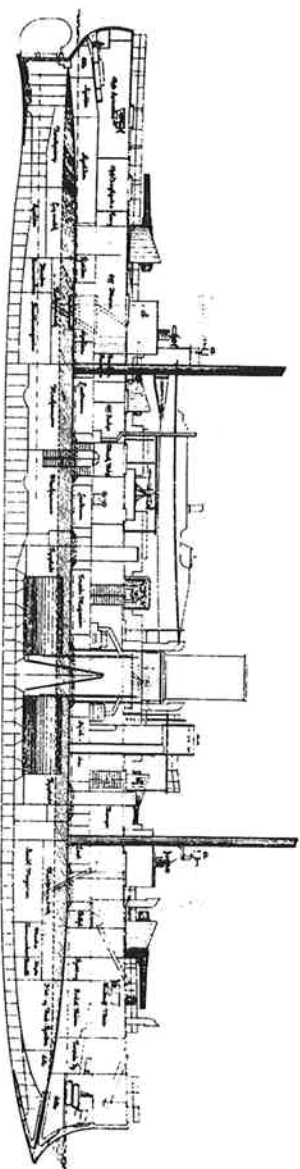
Although the agreement to sell the Danish West Indies was ratified on 17 January, 1917 (see Note 26), the formal transfer of the islands did not occur until 31 March. On 18 February, the Dutch Reformed Church in Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, was the scene of a moving 'farewell' service. The pulpit was draped with the *Dannebrog* (the Danish national flag). The Governor and various administrative officials, members of the Colonial Council (legislative assembly), officers from the *Valkyrien* and the Gendarmery, consuls, clergy from the other churches, and many of the island's influential planters and merchants were in attendance. After the sermon, which summarized Danish achievements in the West Indies over the last 245 years, the Danish Royal Anthem, *Kong Christian*, was sung before the service concluded with the benediction (Zabriskie 1918:274-283).

The transfer of the three islands was celebrated, as previously noted, on 31 March. St. Thomas, being the capital, was the site of the most impressive ceremony. Commodore Konow and Commander Edwin Pollock, U.S.N., signed the instruments of transfer at Fort Christian. At the same time, a Danish honor-company of marines from the *Valkyrien*, under 1st Lieutenant Jørgensen, formed a line facing the U.S. naval detachment (under the command of Lt. Leach) on the square fronting the fort. Promptly at 4:00 p.m., Konow and Pollock positioned themselves at the head of their respective honor-companies. Commodore Konow, after reading a message from His Majesty

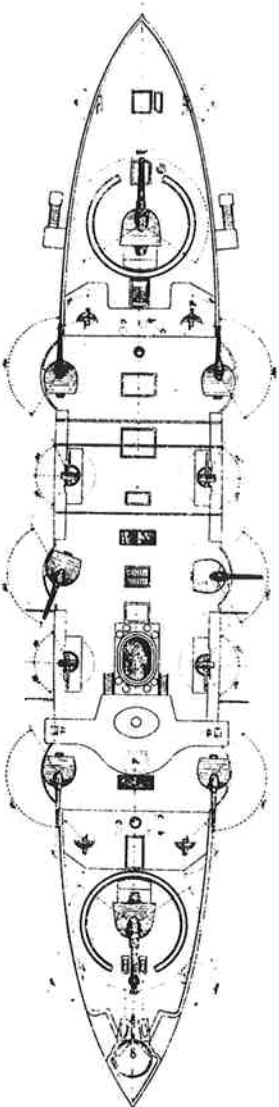


The detachment of Danish Marines assigned to guard the wharf area of Christiansted. In the background, the Scale (weighing) House. The two Marines at the right demonstrate the proper Danish form of shouldering arms while standing watch.

Courtesy of Orlogsmuseet, Copenhagen.



Dæksplan



Længdesnit og dæksplan af krydserkorvetten VALKYRIEN med ombordbasering af torpedobådene af 2. klasse Nr. 10 og 11. Man bemærker revolverkanonernes placering i underofficersmessen og cheftens spisesalon samt opstillingen af de 57 mm HK på jernkonsoller mellem de 15 cm BK.
(a: projekter, b: opbejlsning til 21 cm, c: opbejlsning til 15 cm, d: opbejlsning til 57 mm HK og R.v.K.)

King Christian X, gave the order to lower the *Dannebrog*. This was done to the accompaniment of strains of *Kong Christian* played by the band from the *Valkyrien*, and 21-gun salutes from the fort's water battery and the warships in the harbor. Commander Pollock then declared the islands to be the property of the United States, whereupon the Stars and Stripes was raised to *Hail, Columbia*, played by the band from the U.S.S. *Olympia*,²⁸ and accompanied by the requisite salutes. The Danish honor guard then reboarded the *Valkyrien* (Larsen 1928:365-6).

After embarking the Gendarmes and such military and administrative stores as the Danes had chosen to retain under the terms of the Treaty of Cession, the *Valkyrien* sailed from St. Thomas on 5 April, 1917 with the U.S. flag flying from her mizzenmast and her cannon firing a 21-gun salute. She then set a course for Copenhagen by way of Bermuda and the Farøe Islands. Since the *Valkyrien* had to sail through both the British and German war zones, and especially the latter with its unrestricted submarine warfare, Commodore Konow ordered floodlights to illuminate the oversize Danish battle ensign at night so as to identify her as a neutral vessel. After a tense voyage, the *Valkyrien* arrived safely at her home port on 9 May.

During the war, the *Valkyrien* served with Danish Naval Security Forces. Thereafter, she sailed on several more training cruises until 1923, when the ship was decommissioned and scrapped.

The cruiser *Valkyrien's* role in shaping West Indian—and especially Virgin Islands—history over the relatively short time-span of 25 months mirrored the best qualities of Danish naval tradition. Unlike her namesakes in Norse mythology, who bore fallen warriors to Valhalla, the *Valkyrien's* contributions fell within the realm of humanitarian and peace-keeping duties. Perhaps the achievements of the *Valkyrien* and her crews, as briefly presented here, may begin to correct a long-standing imbalance in local history through a new awareness of the influence and contributions of the military and navy in the colonial period.

Notes

¹On 2 April, 1801, the British attempted to force the Danes to abandon their position of neutrality to one opposing Napoleon. Admiral Horatio Nelson, leading a British battle squadron against the Danish fleet in the Copenhagen Roads, succeeded in bottling up and destroying the latter after a day of heavy fighting. The Danes suffered almost 6,000 casualties. Consequently, the Danish Crown Prince openly embraced the French. In retaliation, Great Britain militarily occupied the inadequately-defended Danish West Indies for seven months from 1801 to 1802. The islands were restored by the Peace of Amien. In 1807, the Danes once again resisted British naval force (attempting to stop and search neutral vessels). The Danish West Indies were again promptly occupied, this time for seven years. The islands were returned to Denmark by the Treaty of Kiel (1814).

²The *Ingolf* was completed in 1876. She had a displacement of 1012 tons, and carried 11 cannon (see Note 5). Her normal complement was 117 men. The *Ingolf*, under steam, could produce 600 horsepower (Larsen 1923 Ms.: *Ingolf*).

³A form of measurement used to determine the barrel length (from muzzle to breech) of cannon. The diameter of the bore, in this case 8.2 inches, constituted one 'caliber'.

⁴On warships, an armored projection (in this case, semi-circular) in the upper hull encasing naval guns.

⁵These could be either the five-barrelled Hotchkiss revolving cannon, adopted by the Danish Navy in 1880 (which had a cyclic rate of fire of 40 rounds per minute), or the 37 mm quick-firing steel cannon (37 mm *b.S.K.M.*), M. 1896, manufactured by the Maxim-Nordenfeldt Gun and Ammunition Company located at Erith, near London, which had a belt-fed cyclic rate of fire of 250 rounds per minute (Personal correspondence, Arne Hoff, Ph.D., Director, *Tøjhusmuseet*, Copenhagen, to William F. Cissel, 2 May, 1977).

⁶In all probability Whitehead steam-driven torpedoes at this date.

⁷C.E. Hedemann, R.D., was born 17 February, 1852 in Aahrus, Denmark. His military career was as follows: made Second Lieutenant in the Army Infantry (13th Battalion), 30 July, 1872; First Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps, 16 June, 1875; Captain and Instructor of Military Science at the Officer Training School, 23 November, 1885; appointed Judge Advocate (gazetted to the War Ministry) in 1883; made commander (Colonel) of the Engineer Regiment, 25 April, 1891. Hedemann was appointed Governor of the Danish West Indies and Chief of the *Haerstyrke* (Military Force) on 25 October, 1893. He served in that capacity until 17 April, 1903. He retired from the Army on 6 August, 1902. Hedemann died in Copenhagen on 16 June, 1929 (Larsen 1940:72-3).

⁸The S.S. *Roraima* belonged to the Quebec Steamship Company.

⁹More correctly identified as a cruiser.

¹⁰Although several dozen persons survived the initial blast, they all died from burns within a short time. The final tally was corrected to read one survivor, prisoner, who was dug out of his cell in the depths of the jail at St. Pierre (*St. Croix Avis*, 17 May, 1902).

¹¹The Governor, who had taken up residence in St. Pierre to allay the fears of the populace of a pending eruption, was then missing and later counted among dead (*Ibid.*).

¹²The *Falke* was described by another source (the *St. Thomas Bulletin*, 15 May, 1902) as reaching Martinique *via* Trinidad.

¹³The U.S. *Potomac* was described in the same source as a 'tug'.

¹⁴Loubet, born 31, December, 1838 in Marsanne, France, was the seventh President of the French Republic, and served from 1899 to 1905. His administration was notable for the commutation of the sentence imposed in the retrial of Captain Alfred Dreyfuss of the French Army, as well as breaking the close ties between the Vatican and France. He died in Montelimar, France, on 20 December, 1929.

¹⁵David Hamilton Jackson was born at the public school at Estate East Hill, St. Croix (where his father was principal) on 28 September, 1884. After studying Law at Howard University, Washington, D.C., he returned to St. Croix, where he taught briefly in the public school system before being dismissed by Governor Helwig-Larsen in 1912. His activities as founder of the St. Croix Labor Union and the *Herald* are recounted in the text. Hamilton Jackson was elected to the St. Croix Colonial Council in 1926, and in the Municipal Council from 1941-1946. He was also first Chairman of the St. Croix School Board, a post which he subsequently held for fifteen years. From 1931-1941, Hamilton Jackson served as Judge of the Police Court for the Christiansted Jurisdiction. David Hamilton Jackson died on St. Croix on 30 May, 1946.

¹⁶The lower house of the Danish Parliament.

¹⁷L.C. Helwig-Larsen was born on 30 October, 1860, in Copenhagen. He came to the Danish West Indies in 1888, and served with the administration on St. Croix until 1895. He was appointed Policemaster for St. Thomas

in that year, and held that post until 1898, when he returned to St. Croix to serve as the Assistant Judge for the Frederiksted Jurisdiction. This he did until 1900. He was Government Secretary, and finally appointed as Governor of the Danish West Indies on 5 March, 1912. He resigned his post on 3 October, 1916, over criticisms in certain Danish political circles on his handling of the labor union and strike issues. Helwig-Larsen was invested with the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, as well as being made *Ridder* (Knight) *af Dannebrog*, *Dannebrogmand*, and *Kommandør* (Commander) *af Dannebrog*. He died on 27 November, 1934 (Larsen 1940:74).

¹⁸The Labor Riot (the so-called *Fireburn*) which originated among the agricultural laborers on 1 October, 1878, on St. Croix. Over 50 plantations, schools, and other buildings were destroyed in a five day period before order was essentially restored. The official death toll stood at 84 Blacks and 3 Whites.

¹⁹Henri Konow was born in Copenhagen on 7 February, 1862. He was made Second Lieutenant in the Danish Navy on 30 August, 1883. He was third in command of the *Valkyrien* on her West Indian cruise of 1901-02, and took part in the Martinique rescue operation. Konow was captain of the *Ingolf* on her West Indian cruise of 1909-10, and similarly of the *Valkyrien* from 1915-17. Up to that time, he had served as Instructor in Maritime Science to King Haakon VII of Norway, Chief of the Torpedo Boat Commission, and the first Chief of the Naval Barracks at the Royal Dockyard (Holmen) in Copenhagen. He had also served four years in the French Navy. Konow was appointed Governor *ad interim* of the Danish West Indies on 20 September, 1916, replacing L.C. Helwig-Larsen. After the transfer of the Danish West Indies to the United States on 31 March, 1917, he was appointed Squadron Chief of Danish Naval Security Forces (from 1 September, 1917 to 27 November, 1918). He was promoted to Rear Admiral in 1920, and to Vice Admiral on 1 April, 1923. Admiral Konow died on 18 January, 1939 (Larsen 1940:82-3; *West End News*, 13 December, 1915).

²⁰In reality, the Hotchkiss revolving cannon, 37 mm, on field artillery mounts. See Note 5.

²¹The first notice of strike activity in the Christiansted Jurisdiction was noted in the *St. Croix Avis* for 26 January, 1916. From all appearances, however, the estates in the western part of the island could have been affected earlier, since they were the scene of the greatest union activity.

²²The Militia, consisting of colored citizen-volunteers under Danish officers and non-commissioned officers, was instituted for St. Croix on 12 February, 1907. Manpower allocations were: 30 men for Christiansted, 40 for Frederiksted, and 50 (including cavalry) at Kingshill in the center of the island.

²³The Gendarmekorps was a security force specifically raised for service in the Danish West Indies on 6 April, 1906. It replaced the *vestindiske Haerstyrke* (the West Indian Military Force), which had served in the Danish islands from 1852-1906, as part of an economy-oriented reorganization. Gendarmes were recruited from those serving in regular Army battalions in Denmark. Their tour of duty was three years. This Corps, although performing essentially police and internal-security duties, was nevertheless a military in the organizational and legal sense. They were armed from 1907 to 1916 with Danish contract single-shot Remington Rolling Block rifles and carbines (designated M. 1867/97) in caliber 11.43 mm centerfire (Personal correspondence, Bjørn Nielsen, Curator, *Tøjhusmuseet*, Copenhagen, to William F. Cissel, 26 February, 1980). Officers and cavalymen were armed with a single-action, six-shot revolver (m. 1865/97) in caliber 11.45 mm centerfire (Personal correspondence, Arne Hoff, Ph.D., Director, *Tøjhusmuseet*, Copenhagen, to William F. Cissel, 2 May, 1977). The Corps on St. Croix (approximately 90 men), which was divided into infantry and cavalry detachments stationed in Christiansted, Kingshill, and Frederiksted, were also supplied with 3 Hotchkiss 37 mm revolving cannon (Hoff to Cissel, *op. cit.*).

The *St. Croix Avis* (9 February, 1916), quoting a Copenhagen correspondent at the height of the general strike by agricultural laborers, noted that 'a great number of modern rifles with ammunition have been shipped to the West Indies, in order to rearm the Gendarmes.' Although this writer made the supposition that these weapons were in all probability the bolt-action Krag-Jørgensen rifle (M. 1889), caliber 8 mm, then in service in the Danish Army, no further references to this issue was found in available sources. Recently, however, a photograph showing the Gendarmery detachment in Christiansted (under the command of Captain N.C.F. Fuglede) at the time of the transfer ceremonies has come to light. The Gendarmes are shown with the abovementioned weapon. To what extent the M. 1889 replaced the M 1867/97 is not known.

²⁴This is a question of interpreting inexact terminology. Larsen (1928:351) refers to the weapon(s) as *magasin gevaer* (literally, "magazine rifle"). This could describe the Krag-Jørgensen M. 1889 described in Note 23. However, this does not necessarily coincide with the standard rifle issued in the Danish Navy: a modification of the Remington Rolling Block M 1867, with conversion to an 8 mm centerfire cartridge, shorter barrel length, and a wood (upper) hand-guard cover. The other possibility is a wood shoulder-stocked, bipod mounted squad machine gun (M. 1910). 'Machine gun' in Danish is *maskin gevaer*. Since this weapon was fed by a top-mounted curved magazine, it may be possible to refer to it as a 'magazine rifle'.

²⁵The principal negotiators during the strike were, for the Planters Association, George B. Fleming, C.J.G. Sørensen, and Karl Lachmann; representing the St. Croix Labor Union were Ralph J. Bough, Charles C. Reubel, and C.R.T. Brow (*St. Croix Avis*, 29 February, 1916).

²⁶Two prior conventions for the purchase of the Danish West Indies (24 October, 1867 and 24 January, 1902) had fallen through. Finally, a third convention was signed at New York on 4 August, 1916, and ratified by the U.S. Senate on 7 September of that year. The Treaty was ratified by both houses of the Danish Diet (Parliament) on 22 December, 1916. 1917 saw the Treaty's ratification by President Wilson on 16 January, followed by a formal exchange between Denmark and the United States the next day. The Treaty for the Cession of the Danish West Indies was officially proclaimed on 25 January, 1917, and formally consummated at 4:00 p.m., 31 March, with the exchange of a Treasury cheque for \$25 million in gold in New York (Tansill 1968:517-37).

²⁷The procedure for signals to be given by all the forts and military garrisons at the approach of hurricanes were as follows: at night and in the daytime, two cannons fired consecutively, followed by another two after the interval of one half-minute. The traditional hurricane flags (red with a black square center) were to be flown simultaneously from the forts' flagstaffs (*St. Croix Avis*, 20 July, 1912).

²⁸This same cruiser was Admiral Dewey's flagship at the Battle of Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War (1898).

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A CULTURAL TAXONOMY FOR WEST INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

By Gary S. Vescelius

Over the course of the last few years, I have been attempting to systematize our information on the prehistory of the Virgin Islands, and, inevitably, that effort has involved the restructuring or refinement of the existing frames of reference for the West Indies as a whole. In this, the first of a series of short papers on the general subject of new frames of reference for West Indian archaeology, I propose to discuss the matter of cultural taxonomy, and to outline a scheme for the classification of the ancient cultures of the Caribbean. In various subsequent articles I shall be dealing with a diversity of other topics: chronology, ecology, the labelling of ethnic groups, evolutionary terminology, and universal codes for the designation of archaeological sites, plant and animal taxa, soil taxa and those forms of rocks and minerals with which archaeologists working in the Caribbean are likely to be confronted. It is my hope that at least some of the schemes I have devised will prove to be useful to other investigators, and that they will therefore be adopted elsewhere, but, whether or not that should ever come to pass, these articles will serve, at any rate, to explain some of the concepts, procedures and terms that I have been employing in the course of my recent work in the Virgin Islands. I do not intend to cover these matters in detail in this particular set of articles; they could not be treated fully in anything shorter than a long monograph. My main object, at this point, is to define some newly devised terms, and to redefine some older ones, that I will be employing in my reports on other aspects of the archaeology of the Virgin Islands.

With respect to the matter of cultural taxonomy, it seems to me that we are urgently in need of a rigorous hierarchical classification of local cultural complexes, and I have devised such a classification. It does not represent much of a departure from existing systems. It can be viewed, instead, as a refinement of the prevailing scheme, the main features of which were formulated by Cruxent and Rouse in the late fifties. It is also compatible with such recently developed schemes as those of Kozłowski on the one hand and Veloz Maggiolo and his associates on the other.

In the rather simple form in which it was originally laid out, the Cruxent-Rouse scheme involved the assignment of individual assemblages to cultural *complexes* of a fairly specific nature, followed by ordering of those complexes into larger classificatory units called *series*. (This represents something of an overstatement, in that Cruxent and Rouse, in dealing with assemblages containing pottery, really limited themselves to the classification of just a *portion* of the

material remains—to the classification of the *pottery* alone, and to the definition of the *partial* complexes they called 'styles'. For present purposes, however, this is not a matter of any great consequence.)

The series concept has proven to be a very useful one here in the Caribbean area. There has been a tendency to replace the word '*series*' itself with the term '*tradition*', but the basic notion remains the same. By 1970, the notion of the tradition was in widespread use throughout the Western Hemisphere.

I think, however, that we require a somewhat more elaborate framework than the simple one devised twenty years ago by Cruxent and Rouse. For one thing, there is, as I see it, a pressing need for some sort of intermediate taxonomic unit—something *less* specific than the complex or style but *more* specific than the series or tradition. I propose to refer to a unit of such a grade or level as a *pattern*, and I will be dealing later, with various *patterns* represented in the Virgin Islands. The *Saladoid* cultures of the Virgin Islands, for example, can be sorted out, tentatively, into three patterns: an early (and very wide-ranging) one, which I will call the *Cedrosian*; an intermediate one, which I will call the *Cuevan*; and a later one which I will call the *Longfordian*.

There is also a need—or there is shortly going to *be* a need, almost everywhere in the West Indies—for a taxonomic unit *more* specific than the complex or style (in the sense in which the notion of complex/style is currently employed, at any rate). Though the term '*phase*' has frequently been used, in many different parts of the Western Hemisphere, more or less synonymously with 'complex' or 'style', I would prefer to reserve it for application to the most *specific* units we are capable of defining—to *subdivisions* of those larger units currently labelled as complexes or styles.

In the Central Andean area, where I have done a large part of my own work, the notion of the *phase* as a very specific classificatory unit is well established and has proven to have a great deal of utility; and I think it is going to turn out to be equally useful here in the West Indies.

Fundamentally, then, the classificatory scheme I am currently using is one involving taxonomic units of four different grades or levels of specificity. In order of *decreasing specificity* (or *increasing generality*), those units are: the *phase*, the *complex*, the *pattern* and the *tradition* (or *series*). These are the *basic* units of the taxonomic framework. Just as in the case of the Linnaean classification, it may be convenient, in certain instances, to distinguish units of finer, broader, or intermediate grades; but there is no need to go into that matter at this point, other than to note that there is obviously a need, under certain special conditions, for at least one additional sort of unit. In some cases, we may have reason to believe, in trying to classify a particular assemblage, that it does *not* represent a whole cultural complex but that, on the contrary, it represents only one limited set of activities: shellfish-gathering, for example, or stone-quarrying, or some particular set of ritual activities. In such instances, we need to erect some sort of special tax-

onomic unit, and I propose to call such a unit a *facies*. To give just a couple of examples, it seems to me that the materials recovered by Pantel in the course of his investigations at the Cerrillo workshop site in western Puerto Rico should be considered to represent only one *facies* of some fuller cultural complex, as yet undefined. They seem to represent only a very limited portion of the material culture of a particular community. By the same token, the materials from the Arboretum site on St. Thomas are best interpreted, as I see it, as representing nothing more than one particular *facies*—a shellfish-gathering *facies*—of what is likely to have been a considerably more complicated way of life.

The important point here is *not* whether I happen to be correct in considering this or that particular assemblage to represent nothing more than a *facies*. It *is*, rather, that we should all be aware of the fact that the materials with which we are dealing may fall into such a category, in which case we must be careful not to treat them as if they were full-blown assemblages.

As to nomenclature, I will simply observe that I have been following the conventional practice of naming complexes after type sites, and traditions or series after type complexes (using the suffix '-oid' as a marker). For patterns, I follow the traditional model, but use the suffix '-(i)an' in place of '-oid'. For phases, I follow the Central Andean convention, numbering them in serial order from early to late.

In this very brief exposition of my own approach to cultural taxonomy, I have had to skip over all sorts of important points; but I hope I have been able to give an idea of the general nature of the taxonomic framework, at any rate.

There are likely to be some people to whom the very notion of a rigorous hierarchical classification of ancient West Indian cultures is likely to be remarkably unappealing—people by whom this sort of thing is likely to be viewed as some sort of giant leap *backward* (all the way back to the thirties, in fact, when North American archaeologists were exhibiting such a notable preoccupation with McKern's 'Midwestern Taxonomic System').

I would agree that a preoccupation with classification as a thing unto itself is bad policy, but I would also argue strenuously in favor of the idea that we are not likely to make much progress on other archaeological fronts—including the ecological front—unless and until we can marshal our data into some sort of really meaningful culture-historical framework. I think we need *more* rather than *less* cultural taxonomy in order to arrive at sound interpretations of an ecological nature, or in order to investigate general processes of cultural evolution, or in order to do almost anything else that archaeologists—including those who would style themselves 'New' with a capital *N*—profess to be interested in doing.

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FOLK APICULTURE AND FOLK ETHOLOGY OF THE KAYAPÓ INDIANS OF THE AMAZONIAN BASIN OF BRAZIL*

By Darrell A. Posey

Introduction

The Kayapó Indians are one of the largest remaining relatively unacculturated tribes in Latin America. Their villages are dispersed over a two million hectare area of the Rio Xingú drainage of the Amazonian Basin.

The Kayapó are excellent agriculturalists, but rely upon gathered foods as a major portion of their diet (*cf.* Bamburger 1967). The thoroughness of their ecological exploitation, and the wide variety of plants and animals that are utilized from that exploitation, has allowed the Kayapó to range over a variety of ecological zones effectively (Posey 1979). It has even been suggested that the Kayapó may have had aboriginal villages in excess of 5,000 inhabitants (Posey 1979). This is also suggested in historical documents (Turner 1965).

Previously I have pointed out the widespread use of insects by indigenous peoples of the lowland tropics (Posey 1978). Inevitably bees are one of the most valued sources of gathered foods. Both bee's wax and honey are important items in Indian commerce. Honey of stingless bees is also a nutritious item in Amerind diets.

Two terms will be utilized in this paper with specific meanings: 'folk apiculture' refers to the keeping of bees by the Kayapó. These are bees that return to their disturbed hives and offer sources of multiple exploitation. 'Folk ethology' refers to the Kayapó's knowledge of bee behavior. It will become readily apparent that the Kayapó are excellent observers of nature and are especially astute in their knowledge of bee behavior.

Apiculture and Ethology

Honey-producing bees are extremely important to the Kayapó as a source of honey and beeswax. Most of the bees in the area are stingless (*Meliponini*) and produce a highly flavorful, though somewhat acidic, honey. There are two folk species of stinging bees, one of which is the recently introduced hybrid European

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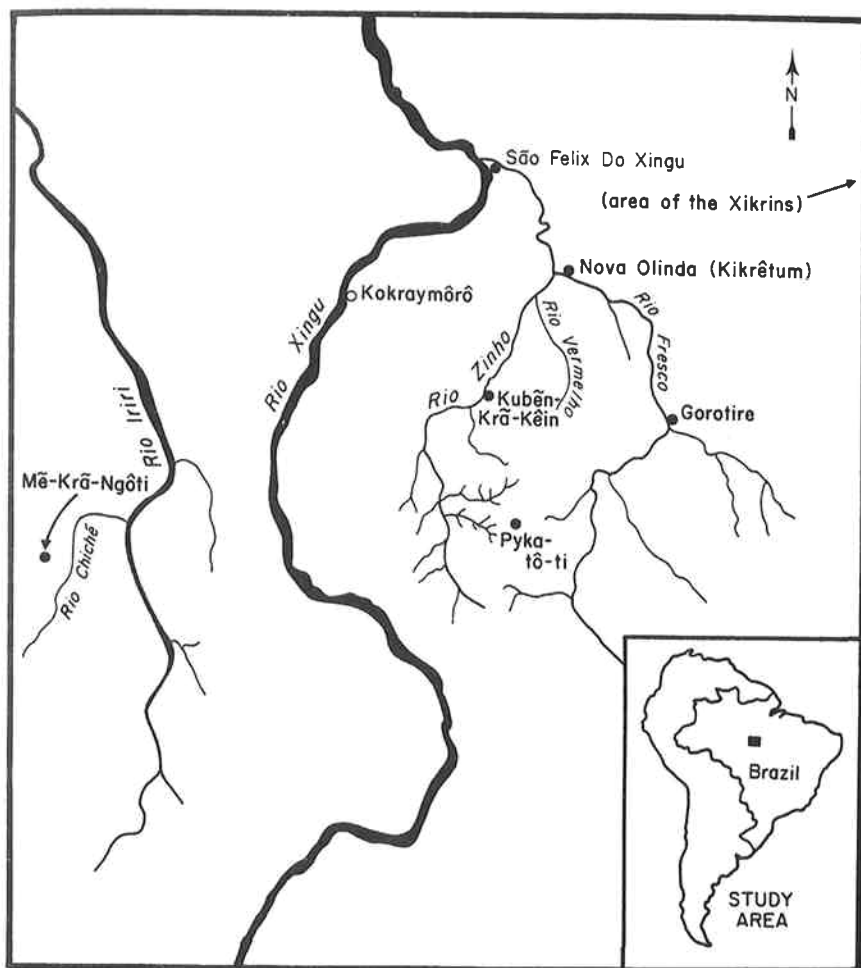


FIGURE 1.
General Geographic Orientation of the Kayapó Indian Villages of Central Brazil.

bee (the so-called 'Brazilian bee'; *Apis mellifera*). The Kayapó have grown to like the abundant, sweet and thick honey of the Brazilian bee (*ngâi-pêrê'y*), but still prefer the flavor of the honey from stingless bees. This Brazilian bee is a source of great concern for the Kayapó because of the bee's aggressive behavior. Since its arrival in the area in 1971 (the Indians know the year and month when the first *ngâi-pêpê'y* was collected), the Brazilian bee has driven out or taken over the nests of native bees. The Kayapó claim that the availability of native bee honey has drastically declined because of the colonizing exuberance of the *Apis mellifera*.

There are various ways of grouping bees (*mehn*). One system groups bees by 'ecological zones'. The Kayapó recognize three (3) major zones:

1. *kapôt* (campo) of which there are four (4) types:
 - a. *kapôt-kên*—campos with short grasses;
 - b. *kapôt-kamepti*—campos with trees;
 - c. *kapôt-kam-bôiprek*—campos with high grasses;
 - d. *pykati'ô'krai*—campos with intermittent trees;
2. *krai* (mountains), and
3. *bâ* (forest) of which there are four (4) types,
 - a. *bâ-kamrek*—gallery or riverine forest;
 - b. *bâ-êpti*—dense jungle;
 - c. *bâkati* or *pi'y-kô*—high forest; and
 - d. *bâ-rârârâ*—forest with intermittent openings.

Informants were able to group bees under these ecological zones with consistency.

Another classification systems is utilitarian, based on the violence or aggressiveness (*akrê*) of the species. Although *Meliponini* do not sting, they can bite and invade eyes, ears, and hair. Some will bite off hairs or even tackle the skin. Some species cause small painful blisters to appear on the skin. Thus it is practical for Kayapó to know with which species he is dealing.

Bees that are *akrê* (bite, burn or sting) are procured by using fire and smoke to drive the bees from their nests. Long sticks with flammable, dry palm leaves tied to their ends are ignited and rammed into the colonies. A tree may be felled if the nest is too high and a fire built near the entrance of the nest to drive away the furious bees.

Five (5) types of stingless bees (scientific classification undetermined to date) are actually semi-domesticated. A portion of the nest with the queen (called the *benadjwârâ* or 'chief') is left in the nest site. The Indians say the bees will return to the queen and re-establish the colony after the honey is robbed. Trees that have such colonies are carefully watched and visited periodically. These nests are in a sense 'owned' by the man or men who first discovered the colony.

There are two (2) types of bees (unidentified to date) that build external, round nests in trees. The Kayapó will cover these nests with leaves to keep the bees from fleeing and carry nest, bees and all back to the village. These nests will



A Corotire Kayapó man showing a nest of a termite commonly found in the savanna. Inside the nest resides, in conjunction with the termites, a colony of honey-producing bees.

be hung from the eave of a hut or suspended over a house's thatched roof. Another species of bee will nest in cavities in the posts of houses. These bees produce little honey, but their presence is encouraged by the Kayapó.

A ground-nesting bee is also encouraged by the Kayapó to nest in earth walls of holes built in fields. These holes are approximately one meter deep, one-half to one meter in diameter and located in the partially shaded margins of fields. The locale is apparently ideal for two bees, one that nests in the sides of the pit, and another that nests in logs thrown into the pit. The Indians will gather a few rotting logs to place in the holes to encourage the latter type of bee. The Kayapó believe these bees to be 'good' for the fields. Although they have not conception of pollination as we do, the Kayapó clearly associate bees with crop and productivity.

Men are always the honey gatherers. During the dry season, groups of men often go off for days just to procure honey. Honey is constantly sought after on hunting trips and is prized as much as meat. A Kayapó hunter may infrequently make a kill, but he never comes back from the forest empty-handed. He will always have acquired some wild plant, nuts, or honey. To my knowledge, all meat and gathered foods, except honey, are brought to the village and given to the wife or wife's mother (the eldest female of the household). She then distributes the meat or produce as she pleases amongst relatives. This is not the case with honey; a man is free to distribute honey as he pleases. Rarely does any honey ever reach the village, however, for it is relished and consumed with such gusto that most is drunk on the collection site.



The nest of the *rorot-kam-mehn* is cut open with a machete to reveal the honey combs of the stingless *Trigona* bee.



The Kayapó are avid hunters of honey. This man smilingly displays the nest of the *ngà'i'ý* bee.



This young Kayapó warrior shows a split bamboo cane in which is found the nest of the *rorot-kam-mehn* which produces small portions of very tasty honey.



A Kayapó woman rests against a ladder next to her house. Above the roof extends a nest of one of the semi-domesticated *Trigonids*.

The Indians make honey buckets on the spot from multiple layers of banana leaves. The leaves are folded upward to form an impromptu collection vessel. When no honey remains in the vessel, the leaves are licked to glean the last drops that may have escaped through the leaf cracks.

The Kayapó take stalks of wild ginger and masticate the thick base until an absorbent brush-like object is produced. This is dipped into the honey and pulled through the mouth. This is a very efficient and clean way for several people to consume honey at the same time. Some Kayapó dispense with any proprieties and drink the honey like water. It is hard to say how much honey is consumed by the average Kayapó in a year's time. Most honey is consumed *in situ*. I have seen a single Indian boy drink a half-liter of honey in one sitting. The Kayapó men like to drink honey until they are almost drunk from its consumption.

Often sections of the nest combs that are filled with larvae, pupae, or pollen are also eaten. These have very light, wafer-like texture and taste and are excellent with a bit of honey on top. These combs are as highly-prized as the honey itself.

When honey is removed from the hive, a portion is always left behind for *Bep-kôrôrôti*. *Bep-kôrôrôti* was a powerful shaman who was taken into the sky in a flash of lightning. He resides in the clouds, or rather is the clouds, and sends lightning, thunder, and rain. Anyone who does not share with *Bep-kôrôrôti* and his fellow Kayapó is risking being struck by lightning. To prevent the wrath of the great shaman, the Kayapó always leave something for *Bep-kôrôrôti*.

Honey, wax and bees are associated with the heavens and rains because of *Bep-kôrôrôti's* penchant for honey. Beeswax is burned to produce a smoke that is believed to attract storm clouds and rains. This smoke is also believed to repel evil, purge houses from lingering ancestral spirits, and protect children from witchcraft.

Beeswax is also used for many Kayapó artifacts. In most cases I was unable to ascertain if the beeswax had special ceremonial importance in artifact production, or if it served purely functional purposes.

Feathers and bow points are cemented into arrows with beeswax. Wax is also used to strengthen and lubricate bow string. Black wax is used to darken cotton string that is used in making various wooden and bone artifacts.

The most impressive article made from beeswax is the *mê-kutôm*, a wax hat worn by young men about to receive ceremonial names. The beeswax for these hats is inherited and stored as a ball in a hole in the earthen floor in the family's house. At the time of a name-giving ceremony, the wax ball is exhumed and formed into the *mê-kutôm* by a male relative of the boy. The form of the *mê-kutôm* is highly symbolic (see Figure 1).

The front point of the *mê-kutôm* is called the 'morning sky pole' (*kaikwa kratx*); the rounded back is the 'evening sky pole' (*kaikwa nôt*). These poles represent the beginning and ending points of the sun's path across the sky. The two 'legs' (*pa*) are equivalent to north and south cardinal directions. There are



Two Kayapó men dance, hand-in hand, through the village of Gorotire. They are wearing the *mê-kutôm*, a model of the Kayapó world made from beeswax.

painted patches on the *pa* that represent the idealized geographical relationships between village and fields. The village is the *ñipôk*, or center circle. The circle also represents the sun. The smaller circle inside the *ñipôk* represents the moon superimposed over the sun. The painted paths from the sky poles indicate the paths of the sun and moon through the sky (*kaikwa*) and over the earth (*pyka*).

From a side view (see Figure 2), the *mê-kutôm* represents another plane and relationship between sky and earth. The wax hat itself is seen as a floating, somewhat concave, disc with small 'feet' (*pa*). The circle (*ñipôk*) as seen from above is really an elevated hump into which is inserted a thin stick. Onto the stick is woven an arch of bamboo and cotton. Macaw feathers are inserted into the bamboo to produce a radiating arc of red and blue feathers. This arc represents the sky (*kaikwa*). The Kayapó believe they once lived above the sky and lowered themselves to the earth by means of a woven cotton rope that was dropped through an armadillo hole. The stick represents the cotton string that once brought the Kayapó from the upper world to the earth.

It is said that the wax used for the *mê-kutôm* is the same as that brought by the ancient Kayapó from the sky. It is a direct and highly valued link with the very origins of Kayapó culture. It is the one material continuity the Kayapó of today have with their most ancient ancestors.

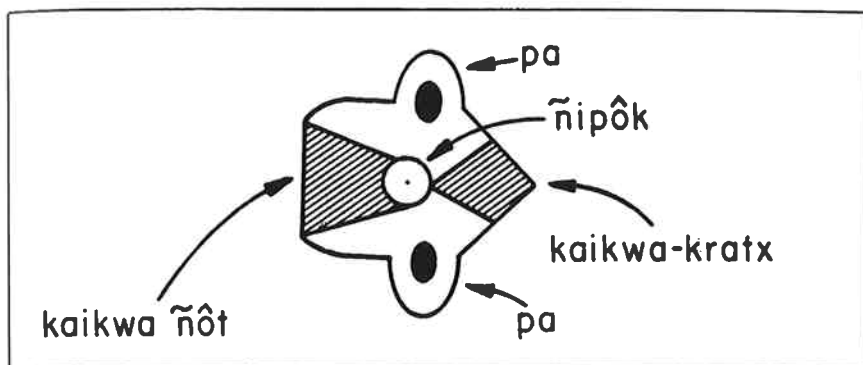


FIGURE 2.
An Overview of the *mē-kutom*, showing major symbolic components.

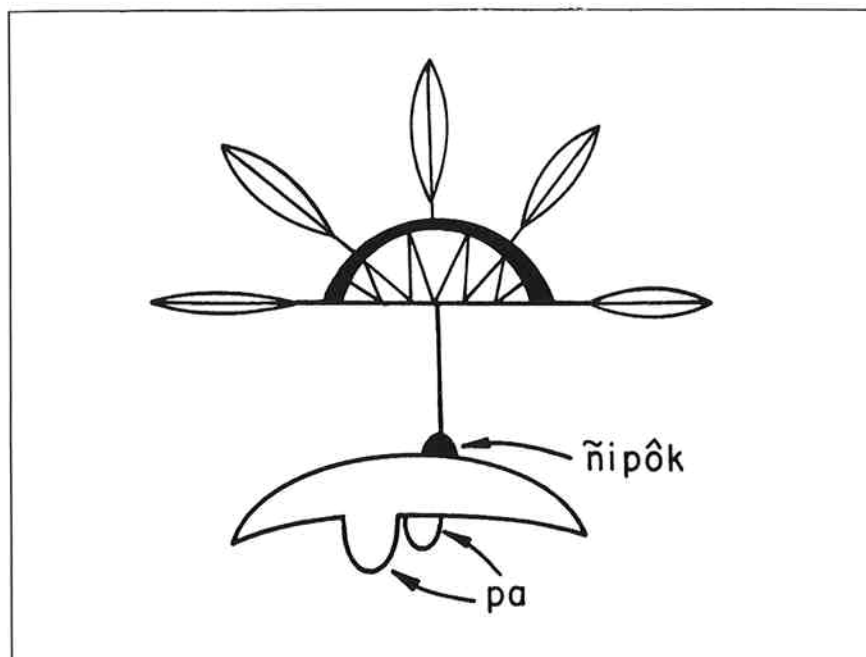


FIGURE 3.
A lateral view of the *mē-kutom*, showing the symbolic relationships between earth (*pyka*) and sky (*kaikwa*).

In conclusion, bees are important to the Kayapó as a source of honey and wax. The Indians have semi-domesticated several species of bees and 'keep' some colonies in or near the village. Bees are associated with crop growth and maturity and are encouraged to nest in Kayapó fields. Beeswax is used in a variety of artifacts and is symbolically related to the producer of lightning, thunder, and rain. The *mē-kutôm* is a wax hat that is made to represent the Kayapó world view. Beeswax is the only substance believed to have been brought from the sky in the ancient days and passed through lines of inheritance to recreate the visible model of time, space, and the world.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LOVANGO OR LOANGO ISLANDS

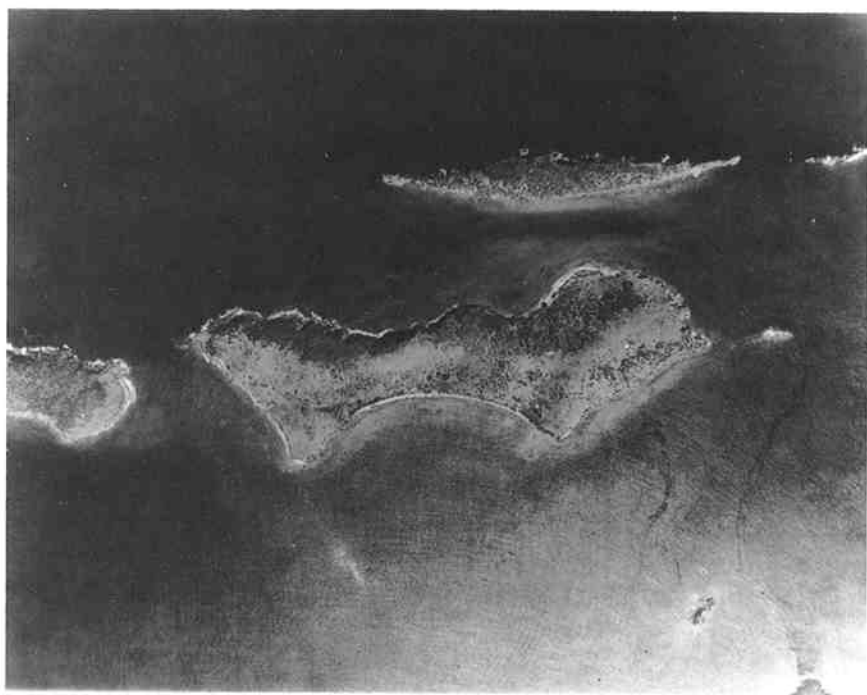
By Kenneth C. Dick

Lovango (Loango) is shown on maritime charts as a Cay. I prefer to call it an island since a Cay (Key) is a reef or low island which Lovango is not. It is 1800 yards long; 300 yards wide, comprising 117.83 acres. The highest point is at its West end: 255 feet, the east end rising to 247 feet. The Lovango Cays consist of three islands, Lovango, Congo and Mingo, Lovango being the largest of the group, all three administratively attached to Cruz Bay quarter, St. John, Virgin Islands of the United States. Lovango lies one mile northwest of Hognest Point, St. John, separated from Mingo by a shoal passage 300 yards wide (see W.J. McGuire, *Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the United States*, Spec. bulletin 3103. U.S. Government Printing Office 1928) latitude 18° 21' 55.446". longitude 64° 48' 04.66". On Thomas Jeffery's map of 1797, Lovango appears as a large island with no designation for either Congo or Mingo islands. On an old undated map in the Museum at Fort Christian, St. Thomas, Lovango appears as 'Lavangerne', 'the islands of Lavanga'. On the Hornbeck map of 1835 it appears as Lovango, on French maps as Awango.

Mingo Cay (a decision of the U.S. Geographic Board) comprises 48.35 acres. In the *Derrotero* it is also referred to as 'Senior', 'Sinjo', 'Singo', 'Zingo'; on Spanish charts as Lovango Medio. The *Derrotero* (sailing instructions) was closely guarded by each ship's Captain lest it fall into enemy hands of competing colonizing nations. Congo island is owned by the V.I. government. Mingo Island is owned by the Creque family estate of St. Thomas.

While McGuire states that the smaller islands and cays in the Caribbean were named by buccaneers, this does not always hold true. Many of the small islands were named for, or after, sea captains, plantage owners, or, for want of better designation, after the appearance of the island shape itself, as in the case of Sail Rock, French Cap, Dutch Cap, Sombrero and Culebra.

In Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, the Virgin Islands are described as being wholly uninhabited in 1596. De Rochefort in his *History of the Antilles* wrote that the Virgin Islands were all uninhabited in 1653. About 16 years after a transient visit by Sir Francis Drake in 1580, the Earl of Cumberland, commanding an expedition on his way to Puerto Rico in 1596, found the Virgin Islands uninhabited. St. Thomas was still uninhabited in 1671. When the Danes first arrived on St. Thomas in 1672 the island was still uninhabited, while Tortola had already been inhabited since 1648 by Dutch Buccaneers. Yet, Westergaard writes: The Danes were charged, during the establishment of the West India Company in 1671, with the responsibility of converting the Indians, not a dif-



Aërial Photograph of Lovango and Congo Cays VIR-53 (1945-1946) taken from 10,000 feet.

Courtesy U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency.

ficult task, as only two or three are to be found in the entire period of the Company's existence. One Indian, 'John Indian', a large fraction of his tribe, finally was punished by the loss of a leg for his various attempts at running away."

I have been unable to find any written history, including early exploration history regarding Lovango (variously Awango, Awanga, Avango, Levango, Lewanger, Loango, Lopango, Louango, Lavango, Lowango, Luguango, Owango, Ouwango. The early Spanish explorers referred to these islands as *Lovango Grande*, *Chico* and *Medio* or 'Middle Lovango' (now Mingo) as shown on Carey & Lea's Atlas; the West India Atlas or Purdy, Dessiou and Jeffrey as well as on C. Mortimer's chart 1739.

The list of African slave names of the 18th century provided us is replete with designations whose Provenience is evident. Among the Gullah, are "basket names" used only within the family and among acquaintances'. Among the extensive collection of Negro slave names frequently used in the U.S. is the name 'Loango', Turner, Lorenzo D. *West African Survivals in the Vocabulary of Gullah*, N.Y. 1938.

Congo Cay ('Lanceolate' or 'Shuttle Island') or Cayo Congo ó Lovango Chico is referred to by Oldendorp in his *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder*, (1777), as Kukelusse Cay or Cucculus, Coculus (Coculus an olivaceous fish with light blue streaks and black spots). Oxholm and other early 18th century maps shows it as 'Cam Island' and much farther to the south than on present charts. The eastern extremity of Congo is called on the Scorpion Survey 'Indian Inscription Point', a reference to the petroglyphs carved in the rock. Jeffery's map of 1797 shows Cam Island as being rather large. Cam from the Dutch 'kam' or ridge. It might be deduced therefore that Lovango, Congo and Mingo were either at one time a single island or what appeared to be a single island, since the islands, today, are very close together.

In the *Derrotero de las Antillas* (a book of marine charts and sailing directions) these three islands are referred to under early Spanish names as mentioned above.

Local historians seem to draw a blank when Lovango Cay is mentioned, yet this island must certainly have been inhabited by early European settlers if only for the reason that Lovango was frequently referred to as the place where 'Curaçao' people live (Dutch people from Curacao?) George Hjersing Høst's *History of St. Thomas* records that in 1666 St. Thomas was inhabited by Hollanders. Evidence of Indian intrusion is substantiated by the discovery of petaloid celts and other aboriginal pre-Columbian artifacts found on Lovango and now reposing in the Museum at The Battery, St. John, V.I. The fact that there are still to be seen the remains of many daub and wattle huts might indicate early negro slave or Indian habitation. The Oxholm map of 1780 (not published until 1800) shows no clearing or habitation on Lovango.

The earliest reference to Loango Cay, in the U.S. Library of Congress, Geography & Map Division, is Plate 77 titled 'Carte des Isles des Vierges' in Vol. 1 of Bellin's *Le Petit Atlas Maritime*, 1746, wherein the Cay is identified as 'I Awango'.

The Lovango Islands like the rest of the Virgin Islands are of volcanic formation, some islands being formed more recently than others, rising out of the sea from a great shelf known as the 'Virgin Bank' and extending from Puerto Rico to Anegada.

Derivation of the names of the Lovango Islands is probably of African origin. The Moravian missionary, Oldendorp, who visited the Danish West Indies in 1767 reports the names of some twenty-two tribal groups of Africa from which slaves had been drawn, among them the Loango. P. Murdock *Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History* (1959)., identifies the area around Luanda region of the central Bantu and they include the Loango. (The probability of the dominant African antecedent of Virgin Islands Creole being one of the African languages, is one of the five culture areas, the Akan, Fon, Yoruba, Ibo and Congolese are being used. Twi, has left, by far, the most surviving words,

more than all other prestige languages put together. 'Importation of slaves continued over the greater part of three centuries in the Virgin Islands, the initial bulk coming from the Gold Coast, the more numerous being Akan slaves from West Africa. The linguistic patterns of the Twi-speaking Akan Ashanti of what is now Ghana, has most deeply affected the culture of the Virgin Islands'. Lezmore Evans Emanuel, *Surviving Africanisms in Virgin Islands Creole* (1927).

L'abbé Proyart in his *Histoire de Loango, Makongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique* (1776), seems to put the clincher on the name, tribe and location — Loango. 'Loango, a region of the west coast of Africa, extending north from the mouth of the Congo. In the 17th and 18th centuries it formed a kingdom of that name (also known as Brama) but after 1855 the country was divided between French Equatorial Africa, the Portuguese district of Cabinda and the Belgian Congo. The inhabitants belong to the Bantu group of Vili, a subgroup of the Kongo, formerly known as the Fiote. Loango town is an insignificant coastal place having been superseded by the port of Pointe-Noire. During the early slaving days, Loango was a major "factory" port for picking up slaves. [According to Westergaard, the Loango slaves taken to be sold on St. Thomas were among the least liked of all the blacks, they were indolent, rebellious etc. . .] The early history of Loango is unknown. During the 15th and 16th centuries Portuguese merchants visited the kingdom which appears to have belonged to the kingdom of Congo, located south of the Congo river. It achieved independence toward the end of the 16th century. The kingdom was bounded to the north by the Kongo kingdom. It was divided into four provinces. During the 17th and 18th centuries the country was an important source of slaves for the new world. Loango was visited by Portuguese and Dutch ships and later principally by French and English. Roman Catholic attempts at missionary work were unsuccessful. By the middle of the 19th century the kingdom had been reduced in influence. In 1833 the king of Loango signed a treaty placing his country under the protection of France; it became part of the Middle Congo (Moyen-Congo) territory and, since 1958, of the Republic of Congo'.

In a letter to the Directors of the West India Company in Copenhagen dated March 1787, the Company's St. Thomas officials suggest that slaves be secured from the region between Caplahoe and Cape Three Points and between Ziode Wolta (River Volta?) and Hardra, as these were better than the Loango or Angola slaves (Westergaard, 1917).

From the Uribundu is the word 'Owanga' meaning 'a charm'; the same applies to the Kongo word 'Mowanga', both tongues for this word being shortened into the Creole word 'Wanga'. One can readily see how simple it was to transpose 'Owanga' or 'Mowanga' into 'Owango', 'Lowango' or 'Lovango'. However there is an ancient African tribe and language called 'Loanga'. Bantu

influences of slaves is recorded by Oldendorp. Emanuel further states that 'wang' is attributed to Tshiluba influences as well as its use by the Kimbundu, Kongo, Mede Temme, and Uribundu speakers. The principal tongues from which came the Danish, French, Spanish and Virgin Islands Creole were: Bambara, Fulani, Gun, Hausa, Loango, Uribundu and Kongo.

Oldendorp writes that the name Loango appears in the following African tongues: Booffe, Quari, Tattu, Ena, Tanu, Fambaan, Fambueri, Nane, Hvoa, Tuni, Matummo-eil and Matuumotattu. He goes on to say that 'A Loango Negro called the highest rulers of his nation the Areffan Congo. Two kings, *Maluango* and *Macongo* are their vassals, between whom a war arose, because the latter refused to give the former a yearly tribute of a maiden.'

'Loangowini was a spirit worshipped by the Saramacca Bush negroes the name of which is derived from the early kingdom of Loango on the north coast of the mouth of the Congo River, from which many Negroes were exported to the New World'. M.T. Herskovits. *The Myth of the Negro Past*, (1941).

The concept of the *Zombi* or spirit, of the magic charm embodied in the term '*ouangan*' (*wanga*), important elements in Haitian and West African life and the importance of the *P'tit Albert*, the book of medieval European magic is so feared in Haiti that its importation is prohibited by the law of the Country.

There are other tribes in Africa with names similar to the tribe or nation of Loango:

Lango - people who live in Northern Uganda, about 276,000.

Langu - people who live in Zaire; about 1000.

Lubango - a town in the Huila district of southwestern Angola - about 32,000. In European languages there is *Loange*, a Frisian or Germanic word. *Loenga* in old French. *Lovange* is French 'to praise'.

In old Danish, according to a dictionary definition, its word *Lewang* (later *Levang*) is an early Danish maritime antiquity expression meaning 'Deck Scub'. Just how this became the word 'eel' is wholly unclear.

The name 'Congo' is of course, obvious, the name deriving from the Kingdom of Kongo near the mouth of the Congo River.

The name 'Mingo' is more problematical though possibly the name of an old West African tribe or Chieftain. Moravian Parson Fleming, one of the largest cotton and cane planters of the early West Indian period, in his will, gave freedom to one of his faithful slaves, Mingo. In Spanish the word describes an elaborately dressed person. Mingo Cay is sometimes shown as Santos Mingo on early charts (Saint Mingo?). The Creole Negro 'Mingo', a convert to Moravian religion, also served as a musical entertainer in social festivities, later becoming a faithful and resourceful assistant to the Moravian missionaries on St. Thomas. When the last Moravian minister, sent from Amsterdam, left St. Thomas in 1812, the St. Thomas church became affiliated with the Reformed Church in

America in 1827. After a fire had destroyed the Dutch Church, in 1806, the congregation worshipped together in the Lutheran Church. During the 19th century the Church included some of the most influential and wealthy individuals of the island. Toward the end of the century the Church was forced to sell much of its property to survive, the Recorder of Deeds office, St. Thomas, lists the Dutch Reformed Church as having been owners of Lovango Cay in 1823. Local Reverend White believes the church records were destroyed in a flood during 1823. Further inquiries to the Rector of New Brunswick Theological Seminary, to which the Dutch Reformed Church records were transferred, shed no further light on the subject.

John L. Anderson, author of the book *Night of the Silent Drums*, in personal correspondence, disagrees with the idea that the Loango Island names are of African origin. He wrote to me as follows:

In the records of the Recorder of Deeds Office, St. Thomas, the following is a list of deed transferences and ownership of Lovango (Loango). It should be noted that changes of ownership, deeds and titles do not run sequentially in the Deed Registers, nor are name spellings consistent. There are a number of instances in the Registers which read: 'Comments should be made, but not made'; too, reference to parcel numbers are either vague or cryptic. The earliest recording is Werlin (1797) continuing on for 168 years to the last entry in 1965. The earliest entries are simply listed as former owners and the date:

Werlin - 1797.

Bevehoudt - 1797.

Dutch Reform Church - 1823

H. Fitzimmons-1839

H.P. Knevels and P. Vlierden - 1846

Deed from P.V. Vlierden to Wilhelmine de Niefeldt - Jan 3, 1867.

Wilhelmine de Niefeldt to Theodore Gudet Heyliger - Jan 17, 1921.

Parcel #21, other former owners:

'No matter how African the names of the islands in that chain may sound, the names have nothing to do with any African tribe or word. *Lewanger* is an old Danish word with an unclear meaning. Carstens, the 18th century St. Thomas planter, in his report to the king gives the only explanation of it I have ever seen. It is the plural of *lewang*, and Carstens says of *lewanger* that they (my own deciphering of the manuscript and fairly loose translation thereof) "are half an ell long, and as big around as your arm, and plump right up to the rump, as if chopped off. Their skin is dark-gray, and wrinkled and warty all over, like a toad's. They stay always in the bays around the shore under big rocks. The French like to eat them when they are skinned, Commander Horn's brother who once ate one at a Frenchman's house, died of horror when they told what he had eaten." I suppose (but your guess is as good as mine) that he is talking about the conger eel. Anyhow, Lovango is a slight corruption of *Lewanger*. Congo is out-and-out Conger, pronounced the Virgin Islands way. Mingo is Santo Domingo (you'll find it so named on an old map.'

James Hassell - 1804
A. Helm - 1805
G. White - 1816
James Haley - 1817
 his heirs - 1819
Henry Harlack (probably Varlack) - 1866
A. Anduze - 1855
F. Calinte - 1855
Henry Clen (probably Klein) - 1889

'The Island Lovango alias Loango'

1804 - Transfer date Nov. 22, 1805 from James Hassell, Junr, to James Hanley
Dec. 12, 1804 from the Auction Director.

1812 - Abraham Helm to John Anduze April 7, 1812 for 1000 Spanish dollars
or 1562 Pieces of Eight.

1813 - 'The Western part of the island—Luguango, Levango' bought by
Abraham Helm from G. Hazell and Joseph D. Sewer Aug. 16, 1813 and sold to
John Anduze.

1885 - On November 5, 1885 the following document was read in St. John
Court:

#1

Christian Ludvig Schellerup

Sheriff Auction, Judge etc., on the island of St. John in America. *Do Testify*: that on
March 18, 1885, 1 P.M. Auction was held over the island Loango, in Cruzbay Quarter,
belonging to the estate of Henry Varlack, said auction requested by the St. Thomas*
dealings court after previous publication in the St. Thomas *Tidende*, with posters in
Cruz Bay and Coralbay, St. John . . .

Sold to the highest bidder Plantation owner, A. Anduze of St. Thomas for the purchase
sum of \$600 and the court cost of \$79.74 and inasmuch as Mr. Anduze has agreed to the
purchase sum, and the auction conditions have been fulfilled, do I hereby in my capacity
as Auction Judge deed and transfer to the beforementioned A. Anduze the said Island
Loango as his lawful property with the same right and obligation as it had been held by
the previous owner . . .

#2

Whereas Mr. Francois Calistro has paid over to me the amount of \$679 and 74/100
dollars being the amount for which the island Loango was . . . to me at auction on March
18, 1885, I Antoine Anduze do hereby transfer and convey into the estate of Mr. Fran-
cois Calistro, the island Loango with buildings and appurtenances . . .

[This document was translated from Danish by Gudny M. Pedersen, translator].

*The Dealings Court investigated the circumstances of all deceased persons, and saw that Wills were properly ex-
ecuted, administered to the affairs of all who died intestate, and took charge of all assets in cases of bankruptcy in
behalf of creditors.

TRANSLATION

Deed dated November 20, 1866 from James Guirets Auction attorney for Martha Haley from Isaac De Toy married with Anna R. Vlaun and Charles E. Vanterpool as attorney for Elizabeth George born Vlaun to Henry Varlack on the island Loango the sum \$600. Paid cash.

1907 - Auction Deed to Louis Delinois, Aug. 8, 1907, for taxes.

1909 - Deed from L. Delinois of 'one half' to Henry Smith, Oct. 14, 1909.

1910 - Deed from H. Smith to Elsie Povline Andersen on Eastern half of Blackrock - May 12, 1910.

1921 - Deed transfer from M.E. Grepuk as attorney to Theodore Godet Heyliger, July 23, 1921.

1922 - Deed transfer from George Bentley Heyliger to Charles Wesselhoft, Julius E. Sprauve and Victor Jurgen on Gluckborg* estate, July 31, 1922.

1929 - Deed for the 'other half' from L. Delinois to H. Smith, Oct. 23, 1929.

Adjudication, estate of Charles Valdemar Wesselhoft (probate) to decents undivided 20 acres to Cardinal Ignatius Wesselhoft, Edna Wilhelmina Wesselhoft, Henriquette Wesselhoft, Jewel Evangeline Wesselhoft, Geraldine Wesselhoft, James Francis Wesselhoft, Claudia Ewadne Wesselhoft, Moten Wesselhoft and Lucien Anthony Wesselhoft, share and share alike.

1925 - Judgment for plaintiff in case of A.H. Lockhart vs Henry Smith in the amount of \$268.66, May 7, 1925.

1926 - Warranty Deed from Elsa P. Andersen on one half of Eastern half of Loango, October 6, 1926.

1938 - Adjudication in the estate of Henry Smith, deceased, as title for widow Alice Smith to the North Western part of Loango Island, Jan. 17, 1938:

Parcel #1 of Loango from Alice Smith to Richard and Virginia

Joyce, his wife.

Parcel #2 from Alice Smith to Robert S. Minsker and Adele

Blasco.

Parcel #3 from Alice Smith to Edwin S. Hofmann.

Parcel #4 from Alice Smith to Alan B. And Inga Christiansen.

Parcel #5 one acre to Louise Hoenvold, now called "The Isle"

Gluckborg (Gluck's City) see asterisk* above re: Glucksborg.

Parcel #6 from Alice Smith to Reid C. Perkins.

Parcel #7 from Alice Smith and Reid Perkins sold to Jorgen and Miriam Bald.

* Author's note: Glucksborg was a city in Schleswig-Holstein, two former duchies of Denmark. Glucksborg was also a large estate near Hamburg. The Danes wanting to rival Hamburg set up a new city called Glucksborg, a name that perhaps translates freely into 'Happy Town', 'Happy Castle' or 'Happy Hill' or even 'Lucky Town'. Glucksberg Estate in Cruz Bay quarter was historically connected with Grunnold, the Dutch Reformed Minister killed during the St. John insurrection in 1733. The African slave trading company, Gluckstadt was absorbed into the West India Company. See adjudication under year 1938.

- 1946 - Adjudication in the estate of Louis Andersen as title for Elsa and Linea Andersen's share in Loango, sept. 18, 1946.
- 1946 - Auction to quiet title, estate Glucksborg, plaintiff in case of A.H. Lockhart, Sept. 18, 1946.
- 1960 - Parcel #1 Warranty Deed, Sept. 12, 1960 from Alice Smith to Richard W. Joyce and Virginia Joyce, his wife.
- 1961 - Parcel #2 Warranty Deed from Alice Smith to Robert S. Minsker and Adele Blasco, Feb. 10, 1961.
- 1961 - Parcel #3 Warranty Deed from Alice Smith to Edwin J. Hofman, July 24, 1961.
- 1962 - Parcel #6 Warranty Deed from Alice Smith to Reid C. Perkins in fee simple, Sept. 16, 1962.
- 1963 - Parcel #7 Warranty Deed from Alice Smith to Jorgen Bald and Miriam Bald as tenants by the entirety, Jan. 12, 1963.
- 1965 - Lien, attachment from Danball of the Mun. Court to Cardinal Wesselhoft for taxes of \$38.56, Dec. 30, 1965.

Title Continued:

- 1. Southern part is quieted to Julius Sprauve.
- 2. Parcel #9 quieted to heirs at law and next of kin of the estate of Victor Christian Jergen deceased.
- 3. Parcel #10 quieted in the heirs at law and next of kin of the estate of Charles Wesselhoft deceased.
- 4. Parcel #1 to M.V. Mantley from Julius Sprauve.
- 5. Parcel #2 to John R. Botham from Julius Sprauve.
- 6. Parcel #3 to Alvin C. Schlenker from Julius Sprauve.
- 7. Parcel #4 to Wolfgang and Marney Doman from Julius Sprauve. 1961 - Parcel #4 .53 acres Warranty Deed 10/17/61 from Alice Smith
- 8. Parcel #5 to Cogan Hart from Julius Sprauve.
- 9. Parcel #1-A to Bruce Wood and Elizabeth Geen from Julius Sprauve.

Historian, authoress, Mrs. Florence Lewisohn, in an article appearing in the *St. John Drum* of Nov. 21, 1975 writes: 'Eight persons live on Lovango instead of the some 150 who were there during the first 20 years or so of this century. Now there are a half dozen houses where there used to be homes scattered all over the island.'

In the same local paper of July 12, 1974, Janet Boyte wrote: 'Approximately a half century ago, Lovango boasted 150 residents. In 1920 the only residents of Lovango were the De Windts, Linea Andersen Wells, her husband Ernest Wells, and Earl Smith. The original settlers were Alice and Henry Smith and the Andersens. Today the inhabitants consist of Henry Smith, Rudolph and Elsa De Windt, Peter, Dorothy and Raffy Muilenberg and Earl Smith . . .' so reported Ms. Boyte. In 1925 McGuire reported 20 residents. In 1908 there were 18 residents.

On November 6, 1979 I interviewed on Loango, Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph De Windt. They live in a small house set back about fifteen feet from the beach at the southeast end of the island, without electricity having but a few of the amenities of ordinary life. The approach to their short dock is hampered in approach from the southeast by a large protruding rock which natives refer to as 'Murder Rock' (derivation of name unknown). The De Windts, Rudolph and his wife Elsa are the only persons living on Loango with the exception of one other family, Mr. Herman Smith, his wife Susie and their young daughter Nefertiti. Rudy De Windt, born on St. Thomas is now 66 years old, his wife, the former Elsa Andersen now 72 years of age is the only person known to have been born on Henley Cay. Henley Cay, 300 yards in diameter, largest of the Durlow's Cays in the northeast entrance to Pillsbury Sound, between Loango and Hognest Point, was rented for a time by Elsa Andersen's father, when bought in 1955 by Rockefeller interests it consisted of 11 acres, a caretaker's house, a 10,000 gallon cistern and a 60 foot dock; also included were Ram Goat Cay and Rita Cay. The island was purchased from Kenneth Parker of the Parker Pen Company who in turn had bought it from Roger Humphrey who had acquired it from Caneel Bay Plantation. Both De Windts have failing eyesight to the extent that they are unable to read. Their only daily contact with the world is through three battery operated portable radios which Rudy keeps tuned into. Formerly he did commercial fishing and took out sport fishing charters for Mr. Laurence Rockefeller, catering to Caneel Bay Plantation's V.I.P.'s, politicians, hotel guests of means; after which employment Rudy had worked 6½ years for the National Park Service on St. John. When his eyesight failed he voluntarily retired from the Park Service. Presently he spends much of his time gazing out to sea and napping. His wife, Elsa, still alert for her years, refers to Rudy as a 'joker' but in an endearing way. They have one daughter, Kathleen, living in New York; six grandchildren and ten great grandchildren.

One of the drawbacks in interviewing elderly people who have little or no interest in past history, is that they have a short attention span, a difficult time recollecting and a tendency to drift away from the question. For example, when I asked Mrs. De Windt when the school, which her father had built in Loango so that his own children and the children of the workers could receive some

education, had closed down for the last time—she could not recall the year except through vague association that it had closed when she had reached the fifth grade. Assuming she was then 11 or 12 years old this would mean the school had closed in the early 1920's. The school was opened in 1915, a one room affair in the Andersen home. Later a small schoolhouse was built in the hillside east of the family home. Actually the school closed down in 1922 when a public school was built in Cruz Bay. The foundation and cistern of the Loango school are still to be seen at the eastern end of the island. The teacher in the original one classroom school of about 16 pupils was Sylvania Sewer who commuted each day from St. John. This information coincides with data I obtained in an interview with Earl Smith on November 6, 1979. Earl, son of Henry and Alice Smith was born in 1915 and attended school on Loango. His father, Henry, now deceased, born on Thatch Cay, bought with Louis Dane Andersen, the Island of Loango. Henry Smith had the West end and Louis Andersen the East End. Henry, who had married his first cousin, Alice bought the island from Charles De Linois, a Haitian. De Linois' home on St. Thomas was the building later sold to the Danes for the Danish Consul. De Linois was the son of a Haitian creole family that had migrated to St. Thomas around 1850. At one time his properties included Beverhoudtsberg, Klein Caneel Bay, Big Cruz Bay, Chocolate Hole, Sussanaberg, Trunk Bay and Herman's Bay.

Earl Smith's mother, Alice, born on Thatch Cay, died in 1964 on Loango as a result of a fire when her kerosene refrigerator burst into flames while Earl was refilling it. The charred house is now occupied by Earl's cousin Herman Smith, his wife and daughter, the only other residents on the island other than Rudy and Elsa De Windt. Earl became heir to the western half of Loango and now resides on St. John. Elsa De Windt's sister, Linea Andersen, became Mrs. Josephine Bell.

On July 16, 1980 I interviewed Mr. Desir Monsanto of Mahogany Estates, St. Thomas, whose family owned Thatch Cay (240 acres). Thatch was formerly known as Hope Cay or Esperanza Cay.

Mr. Monsanto told me that years ago on what the locals referred to as Sugar Loaf Mountain, on Thatch, traces of gold were found, mine shafts were dug, platforms erected, but the small findings were not commercially practical for full scale mining.

Silver was discovered in small amounts on Mingo Cay, along with zinc and copper showings.

In the very early days Loango was a 'perfect pastureland', according to Rudy, for goats, sheep, beef cattle, chickens, ducks and geese, raised not only for their own consumption but also for provisioning in a small way, St. Thomas, St. John and Puerto Rico. At one time, the De Windts tried raising domesticated turkeys for food but this became a hassle trying to keep the birds fenced, rounding them up with a whip or even trying to catch them for slaughtering. 'The birds would

peck, claw, flap their big wings, making such a fuss that they gave up raising turkeys.' In the late 20's there were still about 50 head of cattle on Loango along with a half dozen horses. Some vegetables and fruit was grown and they made a lot of cassava bread. Not far from the house is a lime grove. Elsa still makes guavaberry preserves from her favorite recipe.

Some of the dividing walls on the island are still intact. Fishing, in the early days, was a major source of income, bringing in a thousand dollars for two or three days work by one good fisherman like Rudy. Lobster was plentiful, as were sea turtles and crab. In later years the island, as now, reverted to cactus, thorn-bush and various species of spiney ground cover. The De Windts did manage to grow some fruit trees like cherry, mango and lime. When the De Windts first took over Loango there were no wild fruit bearing trees, plants or vines. The only wild edible growth was wild cucumber. 'We ate bushel upon bushel of delicious wild cucumber', said Elsa, who calculated the cucumber seeds had been air borne or dropped by birds. Her father, Louis Andersen is referred to by author Mrs. Florence Lewisohn as having been a Gendarme in Denmark. But according to Elsa, her father was the son of a Dane who had made the family fortune in the florist business in Denmark, and after military service located in St. Thomas, Henley Cay, Loango Cay becoming a fisherman in these waters. Upon his demise he left his estate to Elsa and her sister Linea. Beside owning the larger portion of Loango, they also own Coki Point. Today the De Windts subsist on staples brought from St. John or St. Thomas except for fish which they sun dry and cure with salt, and meat from the goats they raise.

Since both De Windts have lost their sight they have become captives on their own land. Should a medical emergency arise there is no way for them to take themselves to a hospital or even summon help.

Though Rudy is rather philosophically content with his way of life, nevertheless he bristles when he talks about the lack of social services for him and his wife. Perhaps it is because he owns property. True, the land has monetary value but one can't eat land nor pay for medical needs, nor afford to pay \$76 for a tankful of propane gas delivered to the island when one's income from a small pension is a mere \$56 per month. When I asked Elsa why they did not sell off, part of their land to derive an income, she, like most West Indians hark back to the advice of their parents and grandparents, never to sell the land but to hold onto it as long as humanly possible so that all descendants might have a start in life. The De Windt half of the island comprises 46½ acres of which Elsa wishes to set aside 4½ acres for her daughter and grandchildren. The rest of the acreage they refuse to split up but might possibly consider selling as a single parcel for around \$15,000 per acre.

Today, Rudy, having lived 45 years in Loango, now spends most of his time sitting under the shade of a mampoo tree looking out over his small outboard motor tied permanently to his dock because he is no longer able to run the boat.

He told me that he is fascinated with the idea of trying to raise a banana shoot from a banana seed, certain that at one time banana plants had to have started from seed. Rudy now bemoans the fact that 'local Fish and Wildlife Service is so dominated by Frenchie fishermen that laws pertaining to preservation of certain size lobsters, and sea turtles of all sizes, are laughed at'. Rudy maintains that 'the local fishermen are out very early in the morning and late evening when no one is watching, spearing sea turtles, setting underwater nets to entrap them and taking lobster from finger size on up, besides stealing bird eggs . . . anything goes.' Intruders have been making off with his goats and he has to keep vigilant by listening for odd sounds.

As for the fauna of Loango, today there are rats, mice, a few mongoose, wild birds and white, non-poisonous snakes. The Red-footed land tortoise *Geochelone* or *Testudo carbonaria*, a South American species introduced into most all the West Indian islands either by aborigines or by visitors taking the tortoises for pets. The burning of brush and dry grass also helped to decimate this species.

As for the buildings on the island there are, the present dwellings of the De Windts—their cottage by the sea and the old home up on the hill built by Elsa's father and where he and his wife, the former St. Thomian Roselyn Smith lie buried in a tiny graveyard. The old, main house is in a state of disrepair which the De Windts use only as a refuge from flood water and hurricane winds: two small weekend cottages at the western end built by Reid Perkins, now living in France, and another small dwelling owned though unoccupied by Elsa's sister, making a total of five so-called modern dwellings on the entire island. There are, however, four foundation remains of early colonial dwellings but whether built by the Dutch, French, Danes or English has not yet been determined. These foundation remains are mainly at the west end and north central parts of the island. There is also a burial ground with grave markers at the west end. I was unable to site these landmarks because of impenetrable brush.

There are no fresh water ponds or streams on the island, although there is a spring on the northside which still gushes good, cool, fresh water. Louis Andersen had had a well dug some 30 feet deep and though fairly close to the sea its water was not brackish. Hillside water run-off and dislodged boulders have caused the well to come into disuse. Mr. Andersen also had several large cisterns built.

Rudy told me there is still evidence of Indian fish kraals, if that is the correct terminology, to be seen on the northside of the island. These kraals served the aborigines as a depository for keeping fish and sea tortoises alive and fresh. Mr. Richard Joyce, onetime resident on Loango and now living on St. John verifies this, saying there is a large underwater enclosure along the shore lagoon on the northside at the western end where Indians kept fish alive, hemmed in by a fence of woven brush. Several other former residents of Loango told me that

Henry Smith and Louis Andersen had divided the island in half with a boundary stone wall, but Rudy De Windt says this is not so, that the wall had been built by slaves prior to the coming of Smith and Andersen.

As for aboriginal artifacts, Rudy did find a small broken petaloid celt and a slightly larger celt on Loango which celts are now on display in the Museum at The Battery, St. John, V.I.

At one time there probably were good beaches on both north and south sides but through storm and tidal action the beaches are largely strewn with rock, coral and debris. The waters around the island are crystal clear although the bay bottoms are strewn with litter from visiting boaters.

Through the many discussions I have had with more than 150 old-time residents having some connection with Loango Island, I have the impression that the island is not only rich in aboriginal deposits but also early colonial historic building remains, all of which should be investigated at length. But it will require a number of stalwart bushwhackers to cut pathways through the thornbush before any detailed field survey can be attempted.

REVIEWS

'Ceramic Periods of St. Thomas and St. John Islands, Virgin Islands', by Ripley P. Bullen. The William L. Bryant Foundation: *American Studies*, Report Number Four, 1962 [reprinted 1974]. 74 p. \$1.50.

Eighteen years ago, ten years following the 1952 publication of Irving Rouse's 'Porto Rican Prehistory: Excavations in the West and North' (*Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. 3), Ripley B. Bullen, a curator of Social Sciences at the Florida State Museum, working in the Virgin Islands, thought that the ceramic typology for the isles of St. Thomas and St. John could not be rigidly limited to Rouse's system of 'style'. On the contrary, he and his colleagues selected to use a system developed by James A. Ford and James B. Griffin, published in 1937 and 1938 in the *Newsletter of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 5-9; 10-22. The reasoning was that it was better to use a system that would 'permit the statistical handling of sherds.'

With the exception of two of Rouse's 'styles', (the Cuevas style of Puerto Rico and the Cedros style of Trinidad), which he accepts, Bullen offers a typology (which he calls a 'series'), composed of three factors: (1) geography and paste, (3) 'the last (refers to an important decoration feature, and (2) the middle, if present, modifies the last.' For example, types are known as 'Botany Large Horned,' or 'Botany Small Horned,' and these interdependent variables governed the way the ceramics were classified. Six main types having approximately thirty-seven subdivisions are offered.

In attempting to understand the prehistory of the Caribbean, the importance of a reliable method for determining pottery types can hardly be overemphasized. Ceramic analysis and typological studies take first place in excavations for a reliable determination of site chronologies, inter-site relationships and cultural contact in the area. Bullen's article offers a comprehensive view of the range of pottery types found, and most of the site reports are presented with tabular information of ceramic type distributions and frequencies of occurrence. As a general survey, Bullen provides a setting in which the ceramics of some fourteen sites can be assessed.

Unfortunately, there is a central very important weakness in the way this typology is offered; the artificial manipulations of ceramic variables is its inherent theoretical fault, for the variables either overlap one another and/or are infuriatingly vague. Confusion exists between nomenclature and what is actually meant. For example, what do 'large horned' or 'small horned' actually mean? When is 'large' large, and 'small' not large? Flaring bowls and concave rim bowls are

classified separately, but both are, in fact, flared. A Casuela bowl is a closed form, but is it not the same as a closed bowl? How with a small rim fragment is the typologist to tell the difference between one of these incomplete shapes and another? Only with a complete profile can the statistics of these forms be valid. There are also verbal confusions as to what are actually meant by paint and slip, polish and burnish, hand modeled and coiling. None of these factors are adequately explained, nor are they presented as being mutually exclusive. In the description of paste, Bordeaux is described as the 'best of Botany'. The author, himself raises the question, that due to overlaps between Botany and Bordeaux, 'It is probable, therefore, that the quantities of Bordeaux sherds indicated in the tables . . . are a little lower than would otherwise be the case.' Different parameters are selected to describe each paste, *i.e.*, sometimes a Mohs scale reading is offered and/or temper type is used, and then, occasionally, temper is just described. Furthermore, wall thickness descriptions lack consistency. There is no doubt that Mr. Bullen has set out to describe the boundaries of the ceramics, but these boundaries are not very clear. In actual fact, Bullen creates the same dilemma that he sets out to avoid.

To call this typology a standard for the islands is unfortunate; it must be reworked before it is accepted. There are many idiosyncratic errors in the detail of the ceramic descriptions that deserve restatement. In a demand for greater clarity, we should be provided with standardized, measurable descriptions and line drawings. If the main aim of this article is to provide a set of objective data for the recognition of types, then the criteria for types have to be reworked.

It is a question of the parameters and their documentation that must be recorded in a manner that suits comparative inter-site analysis. Across the board, from Old and New World scholarship, typologies are being scrutinized, reinterpreted and in some cases, re-evaluated. One common enemy appears to be syntax; we have to take the time to tell ourselves what each of our parameters actually *means*; we have to be more scientific. If some of the concepts of this typology could be reconsidered without wiping out the typology completely, the concepts that are central to this regional study would be effective. If experienced personnel evaluate this system, and tackle the inconsistencies, the result would offer a broadened control over

future excavations. If some of these ideas can be rightened, and some of the ambiguities that now layer this typology be removed, we will not be as plagued as we now seem to be in our regional ceramic studies of the Virgin Islands.

They Came Before Columbus. The African Presence in Ancient America, by Ivan van Sertima. New York: Random House, First Printing 1976. [xiii] - xviii, (2) [1]-288 (6) p. \$15.00.

In recent years many popular works have been published regarding the presence and influence of Old World cultural contacts with New World precolumbian cultures. Unfortunately the majority of authors of these works have derived much of their information from unreliable sources, uncritical research, and mere speculation on their part.

They Came Before Columbus fits into this category. Mr. van Sertima's book is neither a scholarly work nor a historical novel but appears to be an amalgamation of the two. This book confuses fact with fiction and muddles the main issue: were there cultural contacts between Africa and the New World during the precolumbian period? In order to build his 'pyramid' of evidence, as the book jacket states, for an African presence in precolumbian America Mr. van Sertima barrages the reader with contrived historical accounts of his own creation mixed with fact and generous footnotes.

It is quite evident that Mr. van Sertima is a diffusionist who believes that civilization was transported to precolumbian America from Africa. This is an extreme reversal of a notion held by some authors who would like us to believe that Europeans brought civilization to the world. Once again the reader is subjected to the notion that the great precolumbian cultures that flourished in the Americas were, so to speak, suddenly injected with civilization from across the Atlantic. Unfortunately the American Indian's creative genius has been overlooked by Mr. van Sertima.

Of particular interest is Mr. van Sertima's belief that two human burials unearthed at Hull Bay, St. Thomas, by members of the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society are proof of an African presence in the Virgin Islands during the prehistoric period. Having been a participant in the 1974 Hull Bay excavations it is quite obvious to me that Mr. van Sertima was rather uninformed.

To begin with Mr. van Sertima was under the impression that the Smithsonian Institution was responsible for the Hull Bay excavations; however, the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society initiated the Hull Bay excavations. Following the discovery of the two human burials the Office of the Territorial Archaeologist was founded and the Hull Bay excavations

Even though the quality of the research makes this article worth reading, and it brings together a wide range of data, it is disappointing that not enough attention is paid to the central process of typology.

—MARTHA SHARP JOUKOWSKY

continued under the direction of the Office of the Territorial Archaeologist. The two human burials were later sent to the Smithsonian Institution where they were examined by physical anthropologists.

Mr. van Sertima asserts that a 'blanket of secrecy had descended' when he visited Hull Bay. However, to the best of my knowledge, Mr. van Sertima never contacted the Office of the Territorial Archaeologist nor the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society. Had Mr. van Sertima contacted the O.T.A. or V.I.A.S. instead of relying on hearsay he would have been able to examine several reports filed by the O.T.A. on the Hull Bay excavations as well as a report prepared by two Smithsonian Institution physical anthropologists, and printed in *The Journal of the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society* (Analysis of the Hull Bay Skeletons, St. Thomas, by D.H. Ubelaker and J.L. Angel, no. 3, 1976, pp. 7-9.).

Mr. van Sertima stated that a ceramic vessel associated with one of the burials was of 'pre-Columbian Indian design'; however, analysis of the ceramic vessel in question revealed that the vessel was of historic origin, not of prehistoric origin as had originally been assumed. An article dealing with locally made historic earthenware subsequently appeared in *The Journal of the Virgin Islands Archaeological Society* (Afro-Cruzan Pottery: A New Style of Colonial Earthenware from St. Croix, by R.T. Gartley, no. 8, 1979, pp. 47-61.).

Mr. van Sertima's account of the Hull Bay burials, while only a minor one in *They Came Before Columbus* serves as an example of the author's unscholarly and slipshod research methods. Had Mr. van Sertima done his homework I doubt that he would have come to the conclusion that these two intrusive historic burials represent an African presence in prehistoric America.

They Came Before Columbus should not be taken as a serious work based on fact and careful research, to determine if there were cultural contacts between Africa and the New World during the precolumbian period, but rather as a poorly researched and fictitious attempt to do so.

—BRUCE E. TILDEN

Under the Rainbow. Nature and Supernature among the Panaré Indians, by Jean-Paul Dumont. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, ©1976. (14) [1]-178 p. \$13.95.

'Who was stranger to whom?'
— p. 29.

It is difficult for scholars to confront this book. Anyone who thinks of himself basically as a social anthropologist, it may be argued, would find *Under the Rainbow* hard to deal with. Jean-Paul Dumont has taken structural anthropology so far into the intangible and the evocative as to bring it closer to the humanism of artistic or literary criticism than to the mechanics of the social sciences. Also, the commonplace of the anthropologist as a 'translator' for the reader of a people's 'culture language' has developed in this case into an entirely personal experience, in which Dumont (as a prominent and persistent 'I') synthesizes the Panaré world single-handedly in a manner so testimonial that it may well dispense with informants: he has *become* the Panaré.

Given the above, intellectual honesty is best served with a conscious effort to understand the research interests, methods, and goals ('paradigm', if need be) of the author. Only then can one judge the work according to its own standards (this last will cause the most hesitation). Afterwards, it is fair to add what its value may be to those who do not share such research interests, methods, and/or goals. It will be seen how wide the gap can be that separates the school of thought unilaterally advocated by Dumont and that of social anthropology: any bridge (of understanding) attempted across it will be attenuated by distance nearly to the breaking point. One approach at least (Dumont's) will never serve the needs of the other. The reverse might also prove true.

Jean-Paul Dumont studied at the Sorbonne and the École Pratique des Hautes Études in France. Later, he completed a course of studies leading to a Ph.D. degree at the University of Pittsburgh. He spent nearly a full year (December 1967 to November 1968) among the specific Panaré group (Turiá Viejo) which is the subject of his ethnographic essay. Additionally, eight months were spent among other Panaré groups between 1967 and 1970 (p. 5). Dumont seems to have mastered Panaré quite well, and to have devised a phonemic transcription for it (pp. 5-6). *Under the Rainbow* itself is largely an adaptation of the academic thesis for his doctorate, which was awarded in 1972.

The book is well-written (singularly lacking in barbarisms and other faults of diction that plague the social sciences) and handsomely composed, despite the peculiar (and alarming!) editorial practice of leaving the margins unjustified and setting the type of all pages as if they were to face the reader to the left (thus

the page facing the reader to the right is numbered rather illegibly to the left and by the spine). The absence of plates is unfortunate, as much detail could be illustrated deftly through them, and they would have contributed through their publication to the ethnographic record which is avowedly being supplied (p. 1).

No data is available on the various anthropologists who may have influenced Dumont, since he does not explicitly recognize his debt to anyone, but by culling from the text and reviewing the bibliography at the end, it becomes clear that Dumont uses Lévi-Strauss and Godelier rather heavily, and finds much inspiration in Nutini. Though precise information is lacking, one may conjecture a predilection for (and perhaps also study with) the first two, and Dumont could well have been Nutini's student at Pittsburgh. It may be also that Dumont attempts very much to be 'his own man', and, certainly, the constant references to his previous publications and insistence on new theoretical (and other) insights might support this (added to the fact that protestations of indebtedness, as remarked above, are missing).

On the dust jacket, at least, Dumont's book is characterized as particularly representative of 'French structuralism'. 'Structuralism' is mentioned often in *Under the Rainbow*, but, as will be seen shortly, it may be (at least partially) improper to consider it 'French'. Certainly, Nutini (a Chilean-American) has contributed somewhat to Dumont's thinking, and Dumont himself (despite his French parents, cf. the dedication) is at least formally an American. The book itself seems written directly in English, and at least one previous article by Dumont written in French ('Compte-rendu de mission chez les Indiens Panaré', *L'Homme*, vol. 11, 1971, no. 1, pp. 83-88) is in a prose style very broadly reminiscent of American academia (one wonders whether it was either written or 'thought' first in English). At any rate, 'structuralism' it is, but far indeed from Radcliffe-Brown's!

What seems a key theoretical stance is given first within the conclusions (p. 162). It is a quotation taken from an article by Nutini, and in it is explained what is meant by a dichotomy between 'paradigm' and 'model'. The first is *derived* from data whereas the second is *imposed* upon data. This, then becomes roughly the often remarked extreme 'linear' positions of 'induction' and 'deduction'—one goes from one to the other *in degrees* during analysis. However, it seems clear that to Dumont it is the 'model' (both analytically and formally) that matters. The field experience, then, is to be used in deducing Panaré thought.

The most disappointing aspect of the book is that it portrays one of its goals as an ethnography of the Panaré (p. 1). It is not until the end (p. 161) that we learn that Panaré *society* was not meant even to be dealt with. *Culture* (or the 'structure' of Panaré thought) is all that is to be detailed. Thirty-seven pages (29-65) are devoted to an 'ethnographic presentation', but despite some elaborate lists of material culture and cultigens, later (p. 122) we learn more about the kinship of the stars (!) than we ever do about that of the Panaré. Indeed, this rather important subject of kinship merits only a paragraph elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 87), where we learn that each local group (such as Turiba Viejo) is an extended bilateral family (?) that is economically autonomous and residentially determined. Kinship terminology is of the Iroquois type for cousins, and alternates according to a Kariëra system. Bilateral cross-cousin marriage is preferred, with sororal polygyny being frequent. Residence is indifferently viri- or uxori-local.

The above, extracted from a brief report, is not wholly reliable. The elaboration and detail that give one confidence in the reliability of such schemes are not available. It seems that kinship and social organization as a whole were peripheral to Dumont's interests. Occasional references to a 'chef politique' (*op. cit.*, p. 85) or to a 'headman' (p. 29) are left dangling. Obviously, this is the leader of the 'famille étendue bilatérale', the ruler of the *churuata* (household), but what he can or can not do and how or why he comes to be (and many more intriguing questions) just never come up. Clearly, Dumont feels that, were he to let us know how the Panaré 'think', we could figure out all this detail from that insight, or else such detail would in the event be useless (since it would be present at the whim of the 'culture'—Panaré thought—and would be restrained or changed by that 'culture', the reverse not being possible).

'Time and Astrosexuality' seem to be much more important, but face some difficulties such as the sexlessness (in Panaré minds) of most stars. The whole chapter (pp. 91-129), as well as the initial section (p. 15) on Panaré conceptualization of the world, seem *artifacts of method* imposed upon Panaré culture. A 'model', *i.e.*, that does not reflect reality but may only deflect it.

It does not seem credible that, armed *a priori* with notions about the sex of the heavenly bodies and the tryadic confrontation of Nature, Culture, and Supernature (one of Dumont's novel schemes, elaborated upon Lévi-Strauss, *cf.* p. 164), and, further, uninterested in how the Panaré have expressed *socially* their thoughts (but, rather, forcing the Panaré language to yield the 'truths' that were decided upon beforehand), one can 'elicit' anything legitimately.

Astrosexuality is there whether the Panaré think of stars as sexed or not. Equally, it seems certain that something else (how about Sphaeromusicology?) may be demonstrated to exist among the Panaré by means of similar selective and/or arbitrary 'elicitations'. Put in trite terms, Dumont does not succeed in being either *emic* (asking his people what they think), or *etic* (observing how his people think). Informants (whether a whole settlement as is the case here, or not) seem irrelevant except as an abstraction, or subjects to whom one attaches norms and beliefs arbitrarily.

To think of 'Panaré thought' (read here Dumont's *artifact of method*) as determining settlement patterns and other serious business such as dealing with survival seems rather absurd (p. 15). One may argue that the 'axis' where the Panaré settle is also the best place to be located in order to exploit the various environments accessible therefrom (forest, savannah, etc.).

As with kinship and social organization, when we come to religion and economics we find little of value in Dumont's presentation. It is *Dumont's* thought as to how *the Panaré* think (*which* Panaré?) that matters, and of Panaré religion we learn almost nothing. Similarly, *e.g.*, the Panaré have been trading with Venezuelans for quite a long time (*cf.* pp. 23, 35, 40), and imported objects such as metal tools are very much a part of the Panaré tool kit. We learn elsewhere (J.-P. Dumont, 'L'alliance substituée', *L'Homme*, vol. 14, 1974, no. 1, pp. 43-56) of a system of name-exchange governing contacts between the Panaré and the Venezuelans (probably, modified, also between the Panaré and other aborigines), but this is not elaborated upon in this 'ethnography'. How Panaré 'culture' deals with 'nature' (socio-economic adaptations) and 'supernature' (religion) remains a mystery.

In summary, it may be stated that, after reading Dumont's book, one does not know how the Panaré 'think'. Neither does one have an ethnography of the Panaré. One has, rather, a single man's appreciation of what Panaré thought means to him. It may be argued that, were one to go from the empirical (or observed behavior) to the general rules ('models') that Dumont seeks, equal subjective gratification (appreciations of Panaré thought) would have been possible. One can not, however, derive empirical data from a subjective evaluation of Panaré thought (however well diagrammed). Social processes largely remain unknown after 166 pages of insights, inspirations, and revelations.

Dumont's unhappy loss of valuable data (p. 5) may have hampered a full ethnography, but his return for two months in 1970 (*loc. cit.*) should have allowed him to recoup a lot of information about a people who (caught in the middle of a diamond rush) is near cultural extinction if not outright genocide.

—ALFREDO E. FIGUEREDO

WEST INDIAN LANGUAGES: A REVIEW AND COMMENTARY

By Julian Granberry

In Douglas Taylor's *Languages of the West Indies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) we have the first, and to date only, attempt at broad coverage in a single volume of the early and extant languages of the West Indies.

The volume is appropriately divided into two sections: *Amerindian Languages* and *Creole Languages*, reflecting the two, largely discontinuous linguistic traditions of the region. Chapter 1 deals with two of the extinct Cariban languages of the area, Nepuyo and Yao, and with two extinct Arawakan languages, Shebayo and Taino, as well as with Arawak and Island Carib, the two surviving Amerindian languages. For all, wordlists are provided; in the case of Nepuyo, Shebayo, and Yao full lists of the extant data are provided, while only partial coverage is given to the lexicon of Taino. The lexicon of Island Carib is treated at length in Chapter 4. Chapters 2 and 3 present careful and rather complete statements on the phonology and grammar of Island Carib, and Chapter 5 concerns itself with the Carib (Karina) contribution to the language. The last chapter of this section on American Indian languages provides texts in Arawak, Central American Island Carib, and Karina, with wordlists for Arawak, Guajiro (Venezuela), Central American Island Carib, Karina (Guiana), and Warao (Orinoco Delta, Venezuela).

Part II, *Creole Languages*, begins, with Chapter 7, with a short discussion of Caribbean Creoles in general. Chapter 8 continues with a partial treatment of the linguistic structures of Saramacca from a comparative point of view (with Portuguese Guinea Creole, Sranan, and Papiamentu), while Chapter 9 provides a comparative grammatical survey of the Caribbean Creoles, concentrating heavily on those which are often erroneously referred to as 'French-based'. Chapter 10 is a succinct sketch of Dominican Creole, which is in the 'French-based' genre, and covers its phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures briefly but adequately. Chapter 11 provides some insight to the political and social structures in which Creole speakers must operate today, while the final chapter of the book, Chapter 12, gives text in Sranan and Dominican Creole as well as wordlists for Saramacca, Sranan, Negro Dutch (Virgin Islands), Papiamentu, Sãotomense (African Coast), Lesser Antillean, Haitian, Cayenne Creole, and, for comparative purposes Mauritius Creole (Indian Ocean). The bibliography which completes the volume is not exhaustive, but it is highly representative and up to date.

Douglas Taylor was, beyond question in the opinion of this writer, the finest linguist and ethnographer the West Indies has seen, not only since the days of

Las Casas, but including the men of that era as well. Coming to Dominica in 1938, Taylor quickly turned his attention to his newly acquired native land, developing a life-long interest in the lifeways and languages of its people and, by extension, of all the peoples of the southern part of the Caribbean basin. Whether it was his empirical training in the biological and physical sciences which contributed to the thoroughness of this work or simply his native insight and view of the world, his output of finely-honed data-based papers and monographs on West Indian languages, ethnography, and archaeology, the latter in coöperation with Irving Rouse, was prodigious from the start and remained so until his untimely death in 1980. He was a scholar of the first water, self-trained but extremely well-trained in the techniques and theory of modern linguistics, always aware of his own limitations as well as strong points. He was, above all, as those fortunate enough to have known him will enthusiastically attest, a gentleman of forthright opinion.

The caliber of the man and the precision of his work show clearly in *Languages of the West Indies*. Though written for the non-specialist, it shows the attention to completeness of detail and the ability to write well that characterized all of the author's earlier work. His descriptive statements are full, straightforward, and logical, and they will serve both as analytical statements of sharply focused, prismatic quality as well as data-sources for future workers in West Indian linguistics. The volume is an undeniable, major contribution to West Indian studies and will always hold a special place in that field.

It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that the book must receive some adverse criticism. Had the volume been titled *Sketches of Island Carib and Dominican Creole (With Notes on Other West Indian Languages)*, its true topic, it would have been received with nothing but well-deserved accolades. Its unfortunate titling, however, makes it impossible to leave the review with the bare statements given earlier, for, in truth, the volume does not effectively treat the *languages* of the West Indies. It lacks both balance and synthesis. From the title one would expect, either as a general or academic reader, a broad and in-depth survey of the languages of the West Indies, placed in at least a minimal archaeological and ethnohistoric context. One would expect approximately equal descriptive coverage of all languages spoken, with some attention given to the considerable problems of language-culture definition and interplay both within the West Indies proper and in the broader Gulf-Caribbean continuum—problems which have plagued research in the West Indies right up to the present.

These things simply do not happen in this volume. Though the section on Creole languages, for example, is by far the better of the two, even here there is significant imbalance. Dominican Creole, which Taylor knew best, is ably handled, and Saramacca is given good sketch treatment, but Jamaican, Papiamentu, and Haitian are given very short shrift, and one can not help but

gain the erroneous impression, especially if one is not a professional in Creole linguistics, that non-French-based Creoles are simply derivatives of that adequately and interestingly described (Chapter 9) generalized Caribbean Creole, ultimately Afro-Portuguese-based. While it seems increasingly true that all Creoles in the Caribbean ultimately go back to a kind of Proto-Afro-Portuguese pidgin and then *lingua franca*, Taylor's treatment implies, I think, a much greater degree of uniformity from Creole to Creole than actually exists at the present day. The considerable differentiating role played by English *vs.* French *vs.* Spanish *vs.* Dutch as languages of colonial domination is simply not discussed at any meaningful length. The reader does not acquire what, in the opinion of this writer, he should; namely, the vivid feeling of an ongoing, highly mutable, malleable social milieu, leading only ultimately to the Creoles of today.

The section on Amerindian languages is even more open to adverse criticism for the same reasons. It would have been especially here that Taylor could have made a very important contribution to West Indian ethno- and historical linguistics. Knowing the man and his good empirical sense, I suspect he felt the available data on extinct Indian languages were too scanty to admit of even speculative synthesis, and therefore they were not presented at all. Taylor never liked speculation for speculation's sake.

The gap, however, is most unfortunate, for ultimate solution to what is perhaps the most vexing of problems in West Indian anthropology — what are the interrelationships and, particularly, origins of the Lithic and Archaic traditions in the islands — hinges to a great degree on the language affiliations of just those extinct West Indian languages which Taylor by-passes: Ciboney (Cuba), Macorixé (Cuba), Maisi (Cuba), Guaccaierima (Haiti), Ciguayo (Santo Domingo), and Guaiquerí (Isla de Margarita).

Taylor states (p. 14, paragraph 2) that we have little more than the bare names of these tribal groups. This is, however, crucially not the case, for toponyms from pre-colonial times are still in everyday use in all the regions inhabited at the time of the Conquest by the non- (and presumably pre-) Arawak peoples. This is particularly the case in far western Cuba and sections of southern Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Most of them have, in fact, been well documented and described by either Zayas y Alfonso or Emiliano Tejera in their respective works on Taino lexicography. These known lists are considerably more substantive than the Nepuyo, Shebayo, or Yao lists given in full by Taylor. One wonders why the other lists were ignored.

Taylor aptly points out that both the early and extant Amerindian languages of the West Indies are members of only three language families: Arawak, Carib, and Warao (p. 13), but he makes no further mention of the Warao, other than to refer to Henry Osborn's fine work on that language (p. 15, paragraph 1), provide a short Warao wordlist (pp. 146-148), and mention that it has been suggested that the extinct Guaiquerí of Margarita may have spoken a Waroid language (p.

14, paragraph 2). The Waroid problem, however, is of extreme importance in handling the problems of cultural origins in the West Indies, for, as Johannes Wilbert has documented in the *Prólogo* to Basilio María Barral's *Diccionario Guaraio-Español* (Caracas, 1957), not only do Guaiquerí toponyms seem distinctly Waroid, but so do toponyms in regions formerly occupied by the Ciboney, Macorixé, Maisi, Guaiccaierima, and Ciguayo.

Additional data, linguistic, archaeological, and ethnographic, point to a Waroid connection for at least some, if not all, of the non- and pre-Arawak peoples of the Greater Antilles. The Warao of the Orinoco Delta themselves have a tradition of origin far, far to the west of their present locale. What little work has been done on comparing Warao with other Amerindian languages seems to indicate a distant relationship with languages of the Macro-Chibchan phylum, which is centered not on the eastern coast of South America but in Central America and the northern littoral of Colombia, reinforcing the Warao ethnographic tradition and itself reinforced by the Waroid nature of Guaiquerí toponyms. The increasingly probable fact that the extinct Timucua language of north and central Florida was Waroid, that the toponyms of Ciboney regions are Waroid, and that there has long been noticed a similarity between the archaeologically defined artifacts of the cultures of the St. Johns tradition in north Florida and the Guayabo Blanco culture (probably ancestral Ciboney, at least non-Taino) in Cuba, lends further credence to a hypothesis of very early, very widespread Waroid influence in the West Indies and neighboring regions.

As José Cruxent and Irving Rouse have pointed out in their article of November 1969, 'Early Man in the West Indies' (*Scientific American*), Lithic and Archaic Age finds in the West Indies were then limited to the Greater Antilles, and, adding post-1969 data, one may still state that the earliest and greatest concentration of such archaeological finds comes from that region. The nature and technologies used to produce the tool kits of those culture do not seem to fit temporally with either a definite South American or Floridian origin. Their closest correlates, though in a Ceramic complex, are still on the Honduran and Nicaraguan coasts of Central America.

The late James Ford, in his monumental work *A Comparison of Formative Cultures in the Americas* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969) has convincingly postulated at least one literal population movement from the same Central American coast to the St. Johns River-St. Simons Island area of the Georgia-Florida border about 2000 B.C. If his interpretation is accurate, it would seem to render earlier migrations just that much more probable, in view of the fact that the Mid-Caribbean islands from San Andrés and Providencia in an arc to the south Jamaican coast were considerably further above sea level at that earlier time than in either 2000 B.C. or now.

Without postulating any specific interconnections between individual Lithic and Archaic Age traditions within the West Indies, such as Guayabo Blanco

and Mordán, archaeological data indicates a Central American origin for the traits involved. All linguistic data clearly points to Waroid. Since linguistic as well as ethnographic data, in turn, indicate an original north Colombian or Central American origin for Waroid linguistic traits, both linguistics and archaeology are, in effect, suggesting that the earliest inhabitants of the West Indies may have come not from mainland South America and not from Florida, but, rather, from Central America, the most likely choice being speakers of a Pre- or Proto-Waroid language. I will not, at this point, debate the sagacity of making linguistic-archaeologic links, other than to point out that, *à-la*-Sapir-Whorf, it seems a general rule that language does mirror other kinds of behavior, and speakers of similar languages tend to have similar material cultures. Languages and kinesic behavior (that is, motion and its by-product, artifacts) do not exist in separate vacuums.

The emerging testable hypothesis is, then, that in migrations beginning around 5000 - 3000 B.C. groups of Waroid-speaking Indians left their Honduran or Nicaraguan homeland and moved: (1) out into the Caribbean, reaching Cuba and Santo Domingo, and, ultimately, by way of the Gulf Stream, Florida, and (2) to the southeast along the Central American coast to Colombia and Venezuela, as far as their present location in the Orinoco Delta and the Atlantic coast. To judge from the lack of agreement in trait complexes of such sites as Mordán in the Dominican Republic and Guayabo Blanco in Cuba, it seems likely that more than one migration took place, probably over a prolonged period of time.

It may, as a corollary, be suggested that long familiarity with this route may have been what made possible the very sudden appearance of Machalilla-like pottery on the Georgia-Florida coast at about 2000 B.C.

This general hypothesis calls for considerable work in the field and analysis, both in archaeology and linguistics, before it can either be accepted or refuted. If verified, it will take additional work before a truly meaningful synthesis can be attempted. For this reason every bit of new data, analytical work on that data, and tentative synthesis is of great value. It is this chance, primarily, which Taylor seems not to have wanted to seize. Certainly this problem—of origins—is one which every reader, lay or professional, would expect to find at least discussed, though certainly not solved, in any volume called *Languages of the West Indies*. Taylor, with his very real gift for writing clearly, could have presented this material in a concise, non-technical manner.

It is, lastly, to be regretted that, in spite of the paucity of recorded Taino words, Taylor did not examine them more exhaustively in that section of the book (pp. 17-22). From even the meager listings in early Spanish sources, all of which are not included in these pages, there are some statements, hesitant though they would have to be, which could have been made on probable dialect divergencies, for example.

It remains the case, however, in spite of my criticisms, that the reader will find this volume of considerable interest, well-written and well-presented. It will remain a volume of durable worth. If imbalance and lack of adequate synthesis are its faults, its overall contribution to West Indian studies will nevertheless remain considerable, and the volume is, indeed, a positive must for anyone in this field.