

ISLAND PEOPLE

[BIBLIOGRAPHY &
FURTHER READING]

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ISLAND PEOPLE

The Caribbean and the World

By

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Bibliography & Further Reading

The direct source materials for *Island People*, and for quotations in the text not deriving from my own reporting and experience, are the works of history, fiction, film and music, along with primary documents from such archives as the West Indiana and Special Collections division at the University of the West Indies library in St. Augustine, Trinidad, enumerated in the “Notes” at the back of the book. But as essential to its chapters’ background, and to my explorations of individual islands and their pasts, is a much larger body of literature—the wealth of scholarly and popular monographs on Antillean history and culture that occupy students and teachers in the burgeoning academic field of Caribbean Studies. What follows is a distilled account, more suggestive than comprehensive, of that bibliography’s essential entries, focusing on those books and other sources informing the stories and ideas contained in my book—and that comprise something like a list of vital reading for those wishing to go further.

Emphasis is here given to works in English, and to foreign-language texts that have been published in translation. Exceptions include those Spanish- and French-language works not yet published into English but which form an essential part of any good library on the islands in question.

Introduction: The Caribbean in the World

Start at the beginning. That's where C.L.R. James did, in his great book—*The Black Jacobins* (New York: Vintage, 1963 [1938])—that deserves to be the first work you read by an essential writer of the 20th century, and the launch of any program of reading meant to help one understand the Caribbean's central roles in shaping world history since the Haitian Revolution. James's other book now dubbed a classic, *Beyond a Boundary* (London: Hutchinson, 1963), is also his most personal. An autobiographical account of James's love for the game of cricket, it is often described as not merely our best book about that sport but also "among the finest books ever written on sport"—a description less to do with its minute analyses of cricket than with James's brilliant use of the game as a lens through which to experience of growing up in thrall to cricket in colonial Trinidad, and dilate on heftier subjects like the nature of mass entertainment under capitalism and the British empire's games' impacts on the aesthetic and ethical imagination of the empire's subjects. James has had many worthy biographers and exegetes. Standout works include Kent Worcester's *C.L.R. James: A Political Biography* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1995); Paget Henry and Paul Buhle's edited collection of essays, *C.L.R. James's Caribbean* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992); and the anthropologist David Scott's influential monograph *Conscripts of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004)—a heady riff on James' *Black Jacobins*, and on the new Afterword James appended to the book in 1963, twenty-five years after its first publication, to frame the Haitian Revolution as a narrative frame less of romance than of tragedy, extra resonant in a new "postcolonial" age. Of the formative years that James spent in the United States, before he returned to newly independent Trinidad and revised that book, James himself furnished our finest record of both his intimate life and his evolving ideas in the remarkable letters he wrote to his American wife, Constance Webb, in the 1940s and '50s. That extraordinary correspondence is collected in *Special Delivery: The Letters of C.L.R. James to*

Constance Webb (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995). Webb's side of the story is recounted in her exemplary memoir, *Not Without Love* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth University Press, 2003). My own account of their correspondence and ties, in the larger light of history and of James's lasting status as "the outstanding West Indian of the century," appeared in *Transition* (no. 104, Spring 2011), as "C.L.R. James in America (Or: the ballad of Nello and Connie)".

The modern societies of the Caribbean were created and shaped by the Atlantic slave trade. During its more than three centuries of existence, the trade—the largest and longest-lasting forced migration in human history—took better than 12 million people from the coasts of West and Central Africa onto boats bound for the Americas; some 10 million survived the voyage. The scholarship on the trade, and its larger roles in shaping the Americas and our modern world, now fills a large library. Among its crucial entries are David Brion Davis's classic study of *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1966), and his later work of historical synthesis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford, 2006). On the same shelf sit Robin Blackburn's weighty volumes *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492-1800* (London: Verso, 1997), and *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery: 1776-1848* (London: Verso, 1988). Blackburn's later work *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation, and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2007) retraced the whole saga covered in his previous two books, through Marx-tinted glasses, before then focusing on slavery's end in those American territories—the United States, Cuba, Brazil—where it lasted longest. In the Caribbean, slavery's greatest driver was of course sugar. Sidney Mintz's great book on the stuff's outsized roles in history and in the Antilles is *Sweetness and Power*: (New York: Viking, 1985).

It was from an author in the Caribbean itself, years before Mintz or Blackburn got there, that we saw the first notable attempt to place Atlantic slavery near the center of the larger history of the rise of global capitalism: Eric Williams, who wrote *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1944), became the

Prime Minister of Trinidad & Tobago, but he was a PhD student at Oxford when he reportedly got the idea for the pathbreaking dissertation that became his landmark book from his old teacher at Trinidad's most prestigious school for boys. C.L.R. James scrawled a note on a napkin to suggest to his old pupil that he investigate how the profits from slavery furnished much of the capital used to fund, and feed, the industrial revolution. Showing that to be so, Williams also argued, more debatably, that it was only after Britain's profits from the West Indies began to decline that its parliament outlawed the slave trade in 1807. Later scholars have disagreed: Seymour Drescher, in his book *Econocide: British Slavery in the Age of Abolition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), and David Eltis, in *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford, 1987) have convincingly shown how profits from Caribbean slavery were in fact increasing during the years when English abolitionists succeeded in ending English involvement in the slave trade—a truth that makes the story of their movement and its triumph, as recounted by Adam Hochschild in *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005) only more remarkable. Either way, Williams' hunch about slavery's central role in making capitalism remain at the core of the subfield of history—"Atlantic history"—that his work helped found. It also informs the tremendous growth in what we've come to know, in what we know about the precise numbers and workings of the slave trade, in the span of years between when Philip D. Curtin published his important *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Wisconsin, 1967) and the release, in 1999, of the stunning compilation of data and detailed records stored and organized by the now much-expanded and updated *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, explore-able at <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.

Eric Williams served as his island's head of state from 1961 until his death twenty years later, but his duties didn't keep him from also writing a pioneering history of his broader region. Williams' *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969* (London: Deutsch, 1970) shared a title, if not all its conclusions, with another scholar-statesman, Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, who published

his own *De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro: El Caribe, frontera imperial* (Madrid: Ediciones Alfaguara, 1970) the same year. Another influential history of the region, and of its islands' modern politics in light of their colonial pasts, was Franklin W. Knight's *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford, 1977).

Today the standard reference work on the subject is UNESCO's six-volume *General History of the Caribbean* (New York: UNESCO/Macmillan, 1993-2011). Launched in 1980 and carried out mostly under the aegis of UNESCO's erstwhile Director-General Federico Mayor, it is now a completed project comprised of *Volume 1: Autochthonous Societies* (Jalil Sued-Badillo, ed., 2003); *Volume 2: New Societies: The Caribbean in the Long Sixteenth Century* (P.C. Emmer and German Carrera Damas, eds., 2003); *Volume 3: The Slave Societies of the Caribbean* (Franklin W. Knight, ed., 1997); *Volume 4: The Long Nineteenth Century: Nineteenth Century Transformations* (K.O. Laurence and Jorge Ibarra Cuesta, eds., 2011); *Volume 5: The Caribbean in the Twentieth Century* (Bridget Brereton and Teresita Martínez-Vergne, eds., 2011); and *Volume 6: Methodology and Historiography of the Caribbean* (B.W. Higman, ed., 1999). Among the more succinct single-volume histories of the region, recent useful efforts include Higman's *A Concise History of the Caribbean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Stephen Palmié and Francisco Scarano's edited omnibus *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), and Carrie Gibson's *Empire's Crossroads: a History of the Caribbean from Columbus to the Present Day* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2014).

Staple primary texts on the Caribbean, for historians and other students of its historical literature, are the diaries of visiting explorers from Columbus and Raleigh on. Anthony Trollope, like many exponents of "British travel writing" in his day, and in his now oft-quoted *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (London: Carroll & Graf, 1999[1859]) made his imperial vantage less a matter of overt politics than enabling premise. James Anthony Froude's *The English in the West Indies* (London: Longmans, 1888) made that standpoint clear; Froude's imperial argument held that the savage

Indies would be hopeless without a strong British hand. A famous rebuttal by a writer in Trinidad, John Jacob Thomas, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889), represented what might be called the birth of West Indian literary nationalism, *avant le lettre*. In the mid twentieth century, two distinguished heirs-cum-evolvers of the “British travel writing” tradition wrote enduring portraits of the region. These are Patrick Leigh Fermor’s *The Traveller’s Tree* (now in a new edition with my introduction, from New York Review Classics, 2010), and V.S. Naipaul, whose *The Middle Passage* (London: Deutsch, 1961) may have heaped scorn on Naipaul’s native Trinidad, but was in fact a book he was commissioned to write by Eric Williams. It took another twenty years before Jamaica Kincaid, who like Naipaul was an émigré from the West Indies who returned home after a long absence to offer a full and potent overturning of that tradition. The nominal subject of Kincaid’s classic *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1988) was her native island of Antigua, but it could have been about any of the Antilles.

Of course, these islands have since the early 19th century also produced their own imaginative literature, in the form of novels and poems and works of drama by their more talented minds. Most of that work, as it emerged especially on the larger islands of the Greater Antilles and aimed to describe the societies that produced it, was framed consciously to engage with the literary traditions of the empires of which the Antilles (with the exception of Haiti) were then a part; it wasn’t until the 1930s that a self-consciously “Caribbean literature” that called itself that took shape in novels like C.L.R. James’ *Minty Alley* and in short stories and essays published by the Trinidadian literary magazine, *The Beacon*, that James helped found in Port of Spain with his friends Ralph Deboissière, Albert Gomes, and Alfred Mendes. It would be silly here, even in representative-sample form, to enumerate the modern canon of Caribbean literature (and in any case many of the essential entries on that list appear later on in this document, in connection to their particular authors’ islands). More easy and apt to cite here, with regards both to my own reading for *Island People* and to the emergence of the academic field of “Caribbean studies” in recent years, is another corpus of Caribbean literature: the great body of criticism, essays,

and "theoretical" monographs devoted to cogitating on how or if expressive cultures of the varied Caribbean islands are fed, across the divides of language and history, are fed by some unitary spring bearing shared concerns, essence, or form.

In 1949, the Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier published an essay included as the introduction to his novel of the Haitian Revolution, *The Kingdom of This World* about what he called "the marvelous real" ("De lo real maravilloso Americano" was later republished in *Tientos y diferencias* (Montevideo: Arca, 1967). Carpentier's essay defined the quasi-genre of fiction—magical realism—that dominated Latin American literature for decades; it also helped launch a species of essay, increasingly visible in the Antilles, devoted to "thinking the Caribbean". Since Carpentier's day, other signal entries in this vein have included Roberto Fernández Retamar's "Caliban: Notes Toward a Discussion of Culture in Our America," whose Cuban author was the longtime leader of Castro-era Havana's Casa de las Americas (and whose best-known work is available in English in the volume *Caliban and Other Essays*, Edward Baker, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989)); the Guyanese novelist Wilson Harris's densely imaginative "History, Fable, and Myth in the Americas" (in Harris's *Selected Essays*, A.J.M. Bundy, ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), which grappled less with the legacies of Shakespeare in the Caribbean Basin than with the legacies of its parted Amerindians; and the itinerant Jamaican-Cuban humanist Sylvia Wynter's landmark arguments, in the pieces collected in *We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Talk About a Little Culture* (London: Peepal Tree Press, 2012), about how and why the Antilles' unique place in the history of the New World gave them unique ties to what she called the "re-enchantment of humanism". When Derek Walcott was awarded the Nobel prize, he gave a lecture that was subsequently published as *The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1993). Walcott's description of the Caribbean archipelago as "a synonym for pieces broken off from the original continent," has been much quoted since. So has his description of the islands' hard-won cultures as a "restoration of our shattered histories" whose strength is akin to a

broken vase, remade with a “love that reassembles the fragments...stronger than that love which took its symmetry for granted.”

Another iconic poet of islands, Aimé Césaire, has since World War II been another towering figure in discussions of “Caribbeanness” as culture. Key to Césaire’s conception of Caribbean life and the “miraculous weapons” of its daily life’s images, was his attraction to the ideas of French surrealists like André Breton, who in turn championed his work in *le metropole*. On the dynamics and political implications of these mutual attractions, and Césaire’s wife Suzanne Césaire’s incisive thoughts on same, see Krzysztof Fijalkowski and Michael Richardson’s edited volume *Refusal of the Shadow: Surrealism and the Caribbean* (London: Verso, 1996). Not focused solely on the Caribbean, but long essential to any sophisticated discussion of the roles of race and the slave trade’s afterlives in modern expressive culture, is Paul Gilroy’s classic of late-twentieth century race-thinking, *The Black Atlantic: Double Consciousness and Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). Of Aimé Césaire’s many “sons” from the French island of Martinique, it is the elegant Edouard Glissant who has had the largest influence, across the islands and their scholarly diasporas over recent decades, in shaping what he termed “Caribbean discourse”. Glissant’s *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997; Betsy Wing, trans.) and *Caribbean Discourse* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999; J. Michael Dash, ed.) are essential.

On the several talented writers from the English Antilles who began, in the 1950s and ‘60s in London, to publish notable books about the islands, see Kenneth Ramchand’s landmark study, *The West Indian Novel and its Background* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970). Edward Kamau Brathwaite, a decade later, published his influential ideas about the roles of oral culture in all Caribbean literature, in his *History of the Voice: The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry* (London: New Beacon Books, 1984). More densely theoretical in timbre and aims is Antonio Benítez-Rojo’s *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective* (London: Verso, 1996, James E. Maraniss, trans. [1992]).

Another oft-cited survey is J. Michael Dash's *The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998). In university seminars in Caribbean studies today, other staples include a number of books which, after the manner of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, aim to trace how the ways the region has been imagined and represented by the empires that once owned the islands and by the powers shaping them since, have been and remain crucial to Caribbean history. These include Mimi Sheller's *Consuming the Caribbean* (London: Routledge, 2003), Krista Thompson's *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), and Patricia Muhammad's *Imaging the Caribbean: Culture and Visual Translation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Silvio Torres-Saillant set himself a prodigious task in undertaking *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); that he succeeded, to the degree he did, in addressing his narrative to all the variegated texts and strands of thought that his title implied, is a service to all scholars in the field.

Jamaica (Chapters 1-3)

For decades now, Jamaica has been synonymous with a style of music that emerged here in the late 1960s and whose name—reggae—is now a general label for all of Jamaican culture. When *The Harder They Come* broke reggae worldwide in 1972, the Trinidad-based critic Gordon Rohler wrote a seminal essay on “the first West Indian movie which attempts to look at the West Indian reality,” called “Once in a Blue Sun” [1973] that’s included in his book *My Strangled City* (Port of Spain: Longman, 1992). More common among published analysts of Jamaica in the 1970s were foreign journalists, who came here to return to the U.S. or Europe with portraits of reggae’s home island. Among these are Stephen Davis and Peter Simons’ *Reggae Bloodlines: In Search of the Music and Culture of Jamaica* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), and the

famous rock critic Lester Bangs' famously skeptical account of a visit to Kingston at its roots-reggae heyday, "Innocents in Babylon" (first published in *Creem* in 1976, now included in, e.g., *Every Little Thing Gonna Be Alright: The Bob Marley Reader* (New York: Da Capo, 2004; Hank Bordowitz, ed.). As crucial are the 1977 documentary *Roots, Rock, Reggae*—worthwhile for its footage of Lee "Scratch" Perry at his mixing board alone—and the vibrant verité feature *Rockers* (1978), which was directed by a Greek named Theodoros Bafaloukos but starred the great reggae drummer Leroy "Horsemouth" Wallace.

More recent surveys of the larger saga of Jamaican music, in both written and audio form, include the 4-CD box set *The Story of Jamaican Music: Tougher than Tough* (Island/Mango 1993), which features extensive liner notes by veteran reggae scribe Steve Barrow, and Barrow's colleague David Katz's edited volume *Solid Foundation: An Oral History of Reggae* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003). Perhaps the most admired Jamaican authority on the evolution of Jamaica's music, Garth White, is an insider-witness and scholar whose much-cited writings on how ska begat rocksteady begat reggae, and beyond, include "The Evolution of Jamaican Music Pt. 1: 'Proto Ska' to Ska" (*Social and Economic Studies* 47:1 (1998)) and "Reggae: A Musical Weapon" (*Caribe* 4:4 (1980)), along with his reference work on *The Development of Jamaican Popular Music with Special Reference to the Music of Bob Marley: A Bibliography* (Kingston: African-Caribbean Institute, 1982). For a synoptic study of many of the works included in that last volume, and of the "sound system's" irreplaceable role in Jamaican politics and life from the 1950s to today, see Norman Stoltzoff's *Wake the Town and Tell the People: Dancehall Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

The life and times of Jamaican music's greatest hero, Robert Nesta Marley, is covered in a vast and vastly uneven bibliography whose standard entries include Timothy White's entertaining biography *Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley* (New York: Holt, 1983; updated in 2006), Adrian Boot and Chris Salewicz's shiny coffee-table book *Songs of Freedom* (New York: Viking Studio, 1995), and the similar-in-

format but different-in-vantage *Bob Marley: Reggae King of the World*, by the Jamaican authors Dermot Hussey and Malika Lee Whitney (New York: Dutton, 1984). Other standouts in the Marley library range from Jason Toynbee's *Bob Marley: Herald of a Postcolonial World?* (London: Polity, 2007), a useful scholarly study of the world from which Marley emerged and the one he helped make, to the music journalist Vivian Goldman's up-close account of Marley's late-1970s apex, *The Book of Exodus: The Making and Meaning of Bob Marley's Album of the Century* (Pittsburgh, PA: Three Rivers Press, 2006). Colin Grant wrote an effective "group biography" of Marley and his two closest collaborators and friends, *The Natural Mystics: Marley, Tosh, and Wailer* (New York: Norton, 2010), to accompany his authoritative biography of Marley's key forebear as a Jamaican who became a major international figure—*Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2008).

Marcus Garvey's ideas shaped the emergence of Rastafari, the Jamaica-born religion so crucial to the worldview of Marley and so many others: Rasta' was first described for non-believers in the pathbreaking if controversial early study *Report on the Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* by M.G. Smith, Rex Nettleford, and Roy Augier (Mona: University of the West Indies, 1960), before then becoming the subject of sympathetic studies like Leonard E. Barrett's *The Rastafarians* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994) and Barry Chevannes' *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994). For a penetrating account of how repatriated Rastas, traveling to their Zion in northeast Africa, have been viewed in the real-world nation of Ethiopia, see Erin Macleod's *Visions of Zion: Ethiopians and Rastafari in the Search for the Promised Land* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

The deeper history that most informs Rastafari, and perhaps Jamaican culture at large, is the memory of Atlantic Slavery, as symbolized by icons of the Middle Passage like the one described by the historian Marcus Rediker in *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007), that was also depicted in the famous 1787 engraving "Diagram of the slave ship 'Brookes'". That famous image of a slave

vessel's hold, overstuffed with human cargo, didn't merely grow crucial to the campaigning Englishmen who convinced their parliament to outlaw the British slave trade in 1807; the "Brookes" was later featured in the cover-art on Bob Marley's 1979 album *Survival*. On the particular history of slavery in Jamaica, sources range from the chapters on bondage and rebellion in Sir Philip Sherlock's basic *The Story of the Jamaican People* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1998) to the historian Vincent Brown's devastating study, in *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), of the everyday brutalities shaping Jamaica's longtime status as both the centerpiece of Britain's American empire and a key fulcrum of the triangle trade.

It is a little known fact that Orlando Patterson, the eminent Jamaican sociologist, published as his first book a novel about the Rasta outcasts of Kingston's rubbish-strewn "Dungle," called *The Children of Sisyphus* (Kingston: Bolivar, 1964). Better known are Patterson's seminal works of historical sociology, on the lives of the Dungle's inhabitants' forebears, including *The Sociology of Slavery: Jamaica 1655-1838* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967) and his magnum opus, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985). Kamau Brathwaite, the Barbados-born poet and scholar of similar rank, is similarly best known for his verse and for his theories of "nation language," but Brathwaite's important early study of pre-Emancipation Jamaica, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), remains a go-to source on the folk cultures of the island's enslaved. The worlds Brathwaite described were painted by creole Jamaica's prolific painter, Isaac Mendes Belisario; *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (New Haven: Yale, 2007) is a beautiful and weighty catalogue-book, edited by T. J. Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz and produced to accompany a landmark exhibition at the Yale Center for British Art, which also features essays by leading scholars including Kenneth Bilby, Robert Farris-Thompson, Vervene A. Shephard, and Stuart Hall.

On the island folklore which has shaped Jamaican pop since the 1950s, and on the vernacular “patwa” that island activists have succeeded in seeing recognized as a legitimate language, see Carolyn Cooper’s *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender, and the “Vulgar” Body of Jamaican Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995). Louise Bennett-Coverley, the foremost defender and celebrator of Jamaican folk dialect, published books including the classic *Jamaica Labrish* (Kingston: Sangster’s Book Company, Ltd., 1989). Her *Selected Poems* (Kingston: Sangster’s Book Company, Ltd., 1983) were edited by Mervyn Morris, the esteemed poet and educator who in 1964 also wrote an important essay defending Miss Lou’s work as literature: his “On Reading Miss Lou Seriously” (1964) was published in the first issue of *Jamaica Journal* (1967). Morris’s arguments were echoed and built upon by Garnette Cadogan in a November 2006 essay for the *Caribbean Review of Books* whose title—“Mother of Us All”—said it all.

On the grim challenges that Jamaica and its leaders faced as a result of winning their independence just as the Cold War was nearing its gravest depth in the Caribbean basin, see Michael Manley’s reflection on his time at Jamaica’s helm during the torrid 1970s, *Struggle on the Periphery* (Oxford: Third World Media, 1982). The documentary film *Life and Debt* (2001), which was directed by Stephanie Black, is a potent polemic on the deep harm visited on Jamaica, as on many other poor nations of what was then called the Third World, by the International Monetary Fund and the rulers of the world economy. Michael Manley’s great political rival, Edward Seaga, has never possessed the same prolix charisma as his lefty nemesis. But the crucial and varied role of the longtime head of the Jamaican Labor Party, as both a public servant and covert operator, in shaping independent Jamaica has never been in doubt. Those roles have recently been described by the historian Patrick E. Bryan in *Edward Seaga and the Challenges of Modern Jamaica* (Mona: University of West Indies Press, 2011) and by the man himself, in Seaga’s spottily fascinating if predictably self-serving two-volume memoir, *My Life and Leadership: Volume I: Clash of Ideologies, 1930-1980 and Volume II: Hard Road to Travel, 1980-2008* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 2010).

One of the larger legacies of Jamaica's political gang wars of the 1970s, and of the "garrison complex" cemented in those years, is the everyday violence and poverty that have defined Kingston's ghettos during the decades that their culture has spread beyond Jamaica's shores—as described, e.g., in Jeff Chang's definitive history of the birth of hip-hop from island sources, in *Can't Stop, Won't Stop* (New York: Picador, 2005); and as parsed by the anthropologist Deborah Thomas, with regards to that spread's impacts on Jamaican identity, in her heady monograph *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). The binds that tie Jamaica's political parties to the gangs which deliver their votes, and to the ways those same gangs deliver drugs to North America, were unveiled in potent outline by the brave and empathic American writer Laurie Gunst in *Born Fi' Dead: A Journey Through the Jamaican Posse Underworld* (New York: Holt, 1995).

Gunst's book includes an account of how the West Kingston garrison that Edward Seaga turned into his power-base, Tivoli Gardens, also became the power-base for the JLP-allied gangster "Jim Brown"—the notorious founder of the Shower Posse gang whose leader circa 2010, Christopher "Dudus" Coke, became the target of an extradition order from the United States whose ultimate results, on the ground in Jamaica, were grave. The massacre of civilians in the run-up to Dudus' arrest was recounted with exactitude by Mattathias Schwartz in his *New Yorker* article, "A Massacre in Jamaica" (December 12, 2011). Dudus' own life story is narrated from the level of Kingston's streets, by local writer K.C. Samuels in *Jamaica's FIRST President: Dudus, 1992-2010* (Kingston: PageTurner Publishing House, 2011). The Jamaican novelist Marlon James established himself as an essential writer on the links between Jamaica's history and its now with his powerful novel of slavery, *The Book of Night Women* (New York: Riverhead, 2009). But it was James' endeavor, in his next book, to make vivid the connections between the music and politics of Bob Marley's 1970s and the continent-spanning violence of Jamaica's diasporas today, that resulted in the tour-de-force *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (New York:

Riverhead, 2014) and made him the first Caribbean writer since Naipaul to win the Booker.

Cuba (Chapters 4-6)

Imperial Spain's initial conquest of the New World, including the story of historic mission to Mexico launched by Hernan Cortés from Cuba in 1519, is recounted in the classic of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1963 [1568]), and Bartolomé de la Casas, whose three-volume *Historia de las Indias*, which the famous Dominican friar and defender of the New World's Indians completed in 1528, has been continually in print in Spanish since (only a partial version is available in English). See also Carl Sauer's *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), a classic of historical geography, and J.H. Elliott's career-spanning work on the Empire's rise and fall in *Imperial Spain: 1469-1716* (London: Penguin, 1990) and *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale, 2006).

Hugh Thomas's outsized general history of the largest Antille is *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York: Harper, 1971; updated edition 1998); it provides voluminous detail. More readily digestible, and less right-wing, is Richard Gott's *Cuba: A New History* (New Haven: Yale, 2005). The first book to read on the great city that was long this island's *raison-d'être* is *The History of Havana* by Dick Cluster and Rafael Hernández (New York: Palgrave, 2006). But perhaps no single volume on Cuba and the myriad forces shaping its culture over the past 500 years is so commendable as Ned Sublette's *Cuba and Its Music* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2007).

Sublette's broad synthesis draws on a deep modern literature on Cuban music that begins with Alejo Carpentier's landmark *La música en Cuba* (1946), now published in English as *Music in Cuba* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002; trans. Timothy Brennan), but that also includes more recent touchstones by various the prodigious scholars of music at work on the island over recent decades, and

whose essential works, all available only in Spanish, include María Teresa Linares' *La música y el pueblo* (Havana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación, 1974), Helio Orovio's *Diccionario de la música cubana* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1992), and Leonardo Acosta's *Descarga cubana: El jazz en Cuba 1900-1950* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2002) and *Descarga número dos: El jazz en Cuba 1950-2000* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2002). For a freshly incisive academic take on Cuban music's signal moments and figures, ranging from Graciela to Bola de Nieve to Perez Prado's grunt, see Alexandra T. Vazquez's *Listening in Detail: Performances of Cuban Music* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

Sugar slavery arrived late to Cuba, but it boomed when it got here, as Franklin Knight details in *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: Wisconsin, 1970). For a firsthand account of what it was like, see Juan Francisco Manzano's *Autobiografía de un esclavo* (1839); the sole "slave narrative" to surface in the Spanish Americas is also available in a bilingual edition as *The Autobiography of a Slave* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996; trans. Ivan A. Schulman and Evelyn Picon Garfield). Cuba's most popular novel of the 19th century also became its most popular *zarzuela* musical: Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés*, now available in an English translation (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005 [1839]; trans. Helen Lane, ed. Sybille Fischer), illuminates the complexities of race, and attitudes around race-mixing in 19th century Havana. Two trenchant scholarly monographs on how those attitudes played out during Cuba's last decades under Spain are Vera Kutzinski's *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993) and Verena Martínez-Alier's *Marriage, Class, and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989). José Martí's impressive collected works have long been available in handsome many-volume sets from Cuba's Centro de Estudios Martinianos, and from elsewhere. The standard Martí-sampler in English, containing "Nuestra America" and other classic essays translated by Esther Allen, is *The José Martí Reader* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2002).

On Cuba's War for Independence, and the long run-up to its dramatic endgame in the 1890s, see Ada Ferrer's *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999) and, also, on how the island fell then into the hands of the United States at the war's end, Louis A. Perez's *Cuba Between Empires 1878-1902* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983). Among Louis A. Perez's many essential works on the United States' and Cuba's "ties of singular intimacy" are *Cuba and the United States* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), *On Becoming Cuban* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), and *Cuba in the American Imagination* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). On how Cuba's political classes embraced "Afro-Cuban" culture, in enthused but also contradictory ways in the early twentieth century, see Robin D. Moore's *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

The most important intellectual figure in that story, Fernando Ortíz, reined for more than half-century as Cuba's leading espouser of cubanidad, and his influential works include *Un catauro de cubanismos* (1923), *La Africana de la musica folklorica de Cuba* (1950), and *Contapunteo Cubano* (1940). Of these three only the last has been published in English, as *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995; trans. Harriet de Onis). Ortíz's masterpiece at least is available in translation; that's more than can be said for Lydia Cabrera, all of whose numerous important works—among them *Yemayá y Ochún* (Miami: Coleccion del Chikerekú en Exilio, 1980), *Reglas de Congo* (Miami: Peninsular Books, 1979) and the classic *El Monte* (Miami: Colección del Chicherekú en Exilio, 1986 [1954])—exist only in Spanish. Important recent scholarship on Afro-Cuban religious practice includes Ivor Miller's study of Abakua in Cuba alongside and in conjunction with the Ékpè societies of current-day Nigeria, in *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), and Aisha M. Beliso-De Jesús's ethnographic work on the modern evolutions of *Ifa* religious practice in

an age of youtube and jetliners, in *Electric Santería: Racial and Sexual Assemblages of Transnational Santería* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

On Cuba in the decadent mob-run 1950s of Batista and Lansky, see T.J. English's *Havana Nocturne: How the Mob Owned Cuba...And then Lost It to the Revolution* (New York: William Morrow, 2008), and the outstanding Cuban novel about that period, Guillermo Cabrera Infanta's avant-garde classic *Three Trapped Tigers* (Champaign, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 2015, Donald Gardner, trans.[1966]). One of the more storied Cuban families, among those who built lives and empires here before then parting after the revolution in 1959, are the Bacardis of rum fame. Tom Gjelten tells their history, in the eastern Cuban city of Santiago and beyond, in *Bacardi and the Long Fight for Cuba* (New York: Viking, 2008). For a honeyed vision of the magic world of 1950s Cuba often evoked by such exiles from Florida, see Fernando Trueba and Javier Mariscal's beautiful animated film, *Chico & Rita* (2010), a lush feature loosely based on the music and moments of the great Havana-born pianist Bebo Valdés.

On the Cuban Revolution, and the guerilla campaign launched by the twelve men Fidel Castro gathered in the Sierra Maestra in 1956: the best synoptic account is in Jon Lee Anderson's definitive biography of that campaign's most famous leader, *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: Grove, 1997). Carlos Franqui, a member of Fidel's inner circle early on who later fell out with him, wrote an illuminating *Diary of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Penguin, 1980; trans. Elaine Kerrigan). Of the vast literature on Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl, notable entries include Patrick Symmes' *The Boys from Dolores: Fidel Castro's Classmates from Revolution to Exile* (New York: Pantheon, 2007), on the world from which the Castros came in Oriente (and on where their classmates there are now); Tad Szulc's biography, drawn from extensive interviews with his subject, *Fidel: A Critical Portrait* (New York: Harper, 2000); and Fidel's own version of his story, as told to Ignacio Ramonet, in *Fidel Castro: My Life: A Spoken Autobiography* (New York: Scribner, 2009).

Less sanguine than Fidel about his revolution's virtues is Alma Guillermoprieto, whose memoir about falling into and then out of love with *los barbudos'* gestalt after she moved to Havana in 1970 there to serve their cause as a dance instructor, is *Dancing With Cuba: A Memoir of the Revolution* (New York: Pantheon, 2005). Another dissenting visitor's voice is Carlos Moore's; he wrote a book about his own grim experience of the Revolution's contradictions, when it came to race, in those years, in *Pichón: Race and Revolution in Castro's Cuba: A Memoir* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2008). The most famous Cuban memoir of persecution by the revolution is Reinaldo Arenas' *Before Night Falls* (New York: Viking: 1993; trans. Dolores M. Koch [1992]). The notorious book about the hardships of Havana's post-Soviet "special period," and the quotidian hustles that Cubans adopted to survive, is Pedro Juan Gutierrez's *Dirty Havana Trilogy* (New York: Ecco, 2001); also key is the prolific detective writer Leonardo Padura, author of the *Havana Quartet* (London: Bitter Lemon Press, 2005-2008). Perhaps the best source for vivid depictions of both the struggles and calms of daily life in late communist Cuba, though, is in movies. Cuba's state-sponsored film institute and production company, ICAIC—long a haven for critique and free artistic expression—has in recent years continually released impressive films about Cuba's realities, the best known of which may be the international hit *Fresa y Chocolate* (1994, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea and Juan Carlos Tabío, dirs.), but which also include refractive portraits of daily life like *Suite Habana* (2003, Fernando Pérez, dir.), and *Melaza* (2012, Carlos Lechuga, dir.), and the rather less naturalistic, but no less-inspired by Cuba's current predicaments, *Juan of the Dead* (Alejandro Brugués, 2011)—a Havana zombie flick in which the government claims that the living dead who menace the people are actually revolting dissidents.

On U.S.-Cuba relations at the level of statecraft and bilateral relations across the Cuban revolution's first 50 years, and about the misguided steps and root-causes that have guided U.S. policy toward Cuba for decades, see Lars Schoultz's exhaustive history *That Infernal Little Cuban Republic: The United States and the Cuban Revolution* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina, 2009). The book on how Barack Obama was

remarkably able, in 2014, to begin to shift U.S. policy toward Cuba, and on those shifts' ultimate results, is yet to be written.

Puerto Rico (Chapter 7)

On the indigenous people who called Puerto Rico “Borinquen” and who once dominated the Greater Antilles, see Irving Rouse’s *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven: Yale, 1993). For a reference work on those peoples’ language, and the many Taíno words that still lace Puerto Rican speech, see Edwin Miner Solá’s *Diccionario Taíno Ilustrado* (San Juan: Ediciones Servilibros, 2002). The best general history of the island is Fernando Pico’s new *History of Puerto Rico: A Panorama of Its People* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2015). Also important are Cesar J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe’s *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina, 2009), and Ayala’s earlier book *American Sugar Kingdom: The Plantation Economy of the Spanish Caribbean, 1889–1934* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina, 1999). The late Sidney Mintz may today be best recalled for *Sweetness and Power*, his masterpiece on sugar’s roles in world history, but he wrote his first monograph, many years before, in collaboration with a Puerto Rican cane-cutter named Don Taso, on sugar’s role in the culture and economy of Puerto Rico’s southern plain: Mintz’s first book, now a classic, is *Worker in the Cane: A Puerto Rican Life History* (New York: Norton, 1974 [1960]).

On the story of Puerto Rican nationalism and the emergence of its figurehead, Pedro Albizu Campos, during the sugar strikes of the 1930s, see Nelson A. Denis’s *War Against All Puerto Ricans: Revolution and Terror in America’s Colony* (New York: Nation Books, 2015), a passionate revisionist history of the repressions to which Albizu Campos’ and the Nationalist Party were subjected—and of the corruption and secrets of Luis Muñoz Marín, that helped those repressions occur. Albizu Campos’ own important writings include those collected in *La Conciencia Nacional*

Puertorriqueña (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1972); he's also featured alongside Munoz Marín, Julia de Burgos, and other island notables in the handy English-language volume *Boricuas: Influential Puerto Rican Writings—An Anthology* (New York: One World, 1995; Roberto Santiago, ed.). Another key account of the larger story of Puerto Rican relations with the U.S., and their implications for out-migration to the north, appears in Juan Gonzalez's *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York: Penguin, 2011 [2001]).

Perhaps the most influential work of contemporary Puerto Rican social science is José Luis González's *The Four-Storeyed Country* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2013 [1980]), which argued that Puerto Ricans should reject their old-fashioned conception of their culture, as essentially "Spanish" and racially white, in favor of instead embracing the mixed and African parts of their heritage. About the island of Vieques, and the cause there that has so animated Puerto Rican patriots and activists for justice, see Katherine McAffrey's *Military Power and Popular Protest: The U.S. Navy in Vieques, Puerto Rico* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2002), and Ana M. Fabían Maldonado's illustrated volume of oral-histories from the "isla nena's" residents, *Vieques en mi memoria: Testimonios de Vida* (San Juan: Ediciones Puerto, 2003). The vexed legacies left behind by the Navy in 2003, and Vieques' problematic attempts to build a tourism-based economy since, are described by the geographer Javier Arbona in his investigative article, "Vieques, Puerto Rico: From Devastation to Conservation and Back Again," *TDSR* 17:1 (2005).

The written history of Puerto Rican New York begins in a sense with the famous memoir of Bernardo Vega, a cigar-maker by trade and an organic intellectual par excellence who arrived to city in 1916 and whose memoir is published in English as *Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1984; César A. Iglesias, trans. and ed.). On the larger history of "Nuyoricans" in the city, from Vega's day to the 1990s, the standard work is Virginia E. Sánchez-Korrol's *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 1994). The late scholar Juan Flores was for years the unofficial dean of what some have called “Nuyorican studies”; among his much-cited books is the edited volume *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). On the historical development of the Manhattan neighborhood that long served as the center of Puerto Rican New York, Spanish Harlem, and the rapidly gentrifying future, of “El Barrio,” see Arlene Dávila’s *Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the Neoliberal City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

The story of “Latin music” in New York—commonly framed as a tale about Afro-Cuban rhythms being embraced by jazz musicians here in the ‘40s, before then feeding the local variant of “mambo” in ‘50s, and birthing salsa in the ‘60s—is a narrative in which Puerto Ricans were ever fundamental. Among the most effective brief tellings of this history is a documentary film that’s centered around the generations of music makers who have hailed from the South Bronx, called *From Mambo to Hip Hop* (2008, Henry Chalfant, dir.). Other touchstones include the work of the veteran music journalist and radio deejay Max Salazar, who drew on his old interviews with all the era’s major players to write *Mambo Kingdom: Latin Music in New York* (New York: Schirmer Trade Books, 2002), and the Cuban music scholar Raul A. Fernandez, whose nuanced study of the Cuban roots of it all is *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). Among Tito Puente’s several biographers, perhaps the best is Steven Loza, whose book is *Tito Puente and the Making of Latin Music* (Champagne, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); the most intimate with his subject is Puente’s close friend Joe Conzo, who worked with David A. Perez to write *Mambo Diablo: My Journey with Tito Puente* (Montclair, NJ: Backbeat Books, 2012).

On the larger story of “salsa,” the most comprehensive and lively account—both of the music’s emergence in New York as sound and as marketing tag, and of its huge and varied subsequent resonance across the Americas—has for decades now been César Miguel Rondón’s *El Libro de la Salsa*. Rondón, an opinionated and passionate

radio and TV producer from Venezuela, first published his book in 1980; it was finally released in English edition in 2008, updated with new material, as *The Book of Salsa: A Chronicle of Urban Music from the Caribbean to New York City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008; trans. Frances R. Aparicio with Jackie White). Before Juan Flores died in 2014, he completed a book for salsa-minded scholars, and those interested in Nuyorican baby boomers especially, called *Salsa Rising: New York Latin Music of the Sixties Generation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). The filmography of the music that that book's about now includes sundry dueling biopics and hagiographies of salsa's founding heroes, but it still perhaps begins and ends with the film that Fania Records commissioned Leon Gast to make in 1972, and then called *Our Latin Thing (Nuestra Cosa)*.

On reggaeton, the more recent Puerto-Rico-born musical style that's now pervasive across the wider Latino-sphere, see *Reggaeton* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), edited by Raquel Z. Rivera, Wayne Marshall, and Deborah Pacini Hernandez.

Hispaniola (Chapters 8-10)

Columbus's accounts of his journeys to the New World were first copied from the Admiral's logbooks by Bartolomé de las Casas to ready for publication in the 1530s; today they're all over the internet. They're also published in *The Four Voyages: Being His Own Log-Book, Letters and Dispatches with Connecting Narratives* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1992; trans. J.M. Cohen). On Hispaniola's pre-Columbian caciques and their densely populated territories, see the archaeologist Samuel M. Wilson's *Hispaniola: Caribbean Chiefdoms in the Age of Columbus* (Tuscaloosa AL: University of Alabama Press, 1990). On the larger story of Hispaniola's Spanish half since the downfall of Anacoana, "the last Taíno princess", the leading Dominican historian Frank Moya Pons has written the best one-volume history of the DR for the general reader: *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener,

1999). On the historical complexities of race in the DR, see, e.g., Franklin J. Franco, *Los Negros, Los Blancos, y la Nacion Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1969).

Juan Bosch was the DR's foremost liberal intellectual of the post-war era, and he is perhaps best recalled for his Eric Williams-style history of the Caribbean in toto, *De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro*. But Bosch was also a fierce foe of Trujillo who before the dictator was gone wrote the urgent *Trujillo: Causas de una tiranía sin ejemplo* (Lima: Populibros Peruanos, 1959). Among the best new scholarly work on Trujillo's rise to power and his regime's terror are Robin Derby's *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), and, in Spanish, Andrés L. Mateo's *Mito y cultura en la era de Trujillo* (Santo Domingo: Editora de Colores, 1993). Julia Alvarez's novel about the martyred Mirabel sisters, and their murder by Trujillo's henchmen, is *In the Time of the Butterflies* (New York: Algonquin, 1994). Mario Vargas Llosa's imagination of the dictator's own last days, and his aftermaths, is *The Feast of the Goat* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2001; trans. Edith Grossman).

The fullest historical account of the "Perejil massacre" in 1937—news of which was suppressed at the time, and whose details been shrouded in rumor since—appears in Bernardo Vega's two-volume documentary history, *Trujillo y Haiti 1937-1938* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1998). The first major novelist to turn the memory of these events into literature was Jacques Stephen Alexis, in *Compère Général Soleil* (1955), now published in English as *General Sun, My Brother* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1999; trans. Carrol F. Coates). The most recent such writer is Edwidge Danticat, who published *The Farming of Bones* in 1998 (New York: Soho Press). In *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (New York: Riverhead, 2007), Junot Díaz only touches on the massacre, but his novel's main theme was how Trujillo's abuses don't only continue to haunt Hispaniola, but have followed its emigrants north from the island as well. Another exemplary Dominican-American novel, less well-known but exploring similar themes, is Nelly Rosario's

Song of the Water Saints (New York: Pantheon, 2002).

On the persistently hateful attitudes toward Haiti that many in the DR's political classes still espouse, Trujillo's mentee and successor Joaquin Balaguer did us the favor of detailing this mindset in virulently xenophobic essays like *La realidad Dominicana* (Buenos Aires: Ferrari Hermanos, 1947 [1941])—and also, four decades later, in the no-less-racist *La isla al revés* (Santo Domingo: Librería Dominicana, 1984). The enduring English-language engagement with such attitudes' background and their implications, on both ends of this island, is Michele Wucker's *Why the Cocks Fight: Dominicans, Haitians, and the Struggle for Hispaniola* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000). Georges Michel, the prolific Haitian historian and great-grandson of Alexander Poujol, creator of the last authoritative Haitian-made map of the Haiti-DR border's before its arbitration by the Marines in 1921, has written a learned history of the two countries' bilateral animus called *Panorama des relations haitiano-dominicaines* (Jamaica, NY: Haitiana Publications, 1999). Better known is a two-volume work on the same subject by the outstanding Haitian intellectual of the twentieth century, Jean Price-Mars: he published his *La République de Haiti et la République dominicaine: Les aspects divers d'un probleme d'histoire, de géographie et d'ethnologie* in Port-au-Prince in 1953.

On modern Dominican music and on bachata in particular, the most thorough study by far is Deborah Pacini Hernández's *Bachata: A social history of a Dominican popular music* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995). An excellent video complement is the documentary film *Santo Domingo Blues: Los Tigueres de la Bachata* (2004, Alex Wolfe dir.). On merengue, see Paul Austerlitz's *Merengue!* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997)—and on the DR's other favorite pastime, see *The Tropic of Baseball: Baseball in the Dominican Republic* (Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 1999 [1st ed. 1991] by Rob Ruck, and *Dominican Baseball: New Pride, Old Prejudice* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014) by Alan Klein. On Dominican mass migration to the north, see Patricia Pessar's important study *A Visa for a Dream: Dominicans in the United States* (New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1995), as

well as *The Dominican Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998), by Silvio Torres-Saillant and Ramona Hernández—two leading Dominican American scholars whose book helped inaugurate the new academic discipline of Dominican studies.

On the story of Hispaniola's French end, from the colonial era of Saint Domingue through its slaves' revolution and right up to the present, the best synoptic history is Laurent Dubois' *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Metropolitan, 2012). Over two centuries after the slave Boukman launched a revolution whose great tragic hero became Toussaint L'Ouverture, the astonishment of that revolution's triumph remains Haiti's defining event. The classic account of the revolution's dramas remains C.L.R. James'. Alongside *The Black Jacobins*, though, now sits Laurent Dubois' *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Harvard, 2004), which draws on newer research. Alejo Carpentier's novel about the Revolution, *The Kingdom of this World* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2006; trans. Harriet de Onís [1949]), imagines the story of Boukman. Another novelist, Madison Smartt Bell, wrote the authoritative *Toussaint L'Ouverture: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon, 2007).

The worldly impacts and varied resonance of the Haitian Revolution, in Toussaint's own era and afterward, are explored in books including Michel-Rolph Trouillot's brilliant work of historical philosophy, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997); Susan Buck-Morss's *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009); and *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), a volume edited by the historian David Geggus, whose other important works on the revolutionary period include *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

On Haitian vodou in the larger context of Haitian culture, the classic Haitian book is Jean Price-Mars' *So Spoke the Uncle* (Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, 1983 [1928]; trans. Magdaline Shannon). Among the lasting accounts by visitors to Haiti

who wrote fascinated accounts of its spirit life are Zora Neale Hurston's *Tell My Horse* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008 [1938]), Maya Deren's *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (Kingston, NY: McPherson, 1984 [1953]), and Katherine Dunham's *Island Possessed* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1969). Harold Courlander's classic anthropologist's portrait of vodou is *The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985 [1960]). Alfred Metraux's *Voodoo in Haiti* (New York: Pantheon, 1989, trans. Hugo Charteris [1958]) is by now outmoded in some of its language, but it remains perhaps the most informed scholarly introduction to the lwas. More recent is the landmark illustrated volume *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1995), edited by Donald J. Cosentino and published to coincide with a major exhibition of the same name at the Fowler Museum at UCLA, with essays from authorities and practitioners including Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique, Suzanne Preston Blier, Laënnec Hurbon, Elizabeth McAlister, Karen McCarthy Brown, and Mama Lola. On Haitian music, see Gage Averill's *A Day for the Hunter, a Day for the Prey: Popular Music and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). Averill also wrote the booklet accompanying the revelatory 10-CD compilation of Alan Lomax's field recordings in Haiti in the 1930s, *Alan Lomax in Haiti: Recordings for the Library of Congress 1936-1937* (Harte Records, 2010).

On Haitian history in the 19th century, and the society forged by its rural peasants in contrast to the one built by and for Port-au-Prince's merchant-elite, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Haiti, State Against Nation: The Origins of Duvalierism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990). Other touchstones of Haitian social science include Jean Casimir's exegesis of the "counter-plantation system" in *La culture opprimée* (Delmas, Haiti: Lakay, 2001); Mimi Sheller's *Democracy After Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 2001); and the geographer George Anglade's *Atlas critique d'Haïti* (Montréal: Group d'Études et de Recherches Critiques d'Espace, UQAM, 1982). Charles Arthur and J. Michael Dash edited *Libet : A Haiti Anthology* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999), an expansive selection of writings from anthropologists and

writers and political figures, both Haitian and non-, and ranging from Frederick Douglass and Aimé Césaire to Jacques Roumain and René Depestre.

On Haiti in the twentieth century, and on the few decades before François “Papa Doc” Duvalier’s fateful rise in particular, the essential history is Matthew J. Smith’s *Red and Black in Haiti: Radicalism, Conflict, and Political Change, 1934-1957* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009). On Duvalier père’s seizure of power, and terrifying consolidation of it, see Bernard Diederich and Al Burt’s *Papa Doc: The Truth About Haiti Today* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969). Diederich is a veteran journalist and Hispaniola-watcher who has also written our fullest account of Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier’s years in charge: it’s called *L’Héritier* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 2011). The late Port-au-Prince writer Marie Vieux-Chauvet, known for her brave critique of Duvalierism in the 1960s, recently saw her novels about those years translated into English, as *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Trilogy* (New York: Modern Library, 2009 [1968], trans. Rose-Myriam Rejouis and Val Vinkour). The story of Jean Dominique, the remarkable radio journalist and dissident who founded and headed up Radio Haïti Inter until his murder in 2000, is told in Jonathan Demme’s fond documentary *The Agronomist* (2003).

On the younger Duvalier’s fall from power in 1986 and the political chaos of the years that followed his flight from the country, the essential reporting was by Mark Danner the *New Yorker*; he followed his three-article series “Beyond the Mountains,” with an ensuing series of articles on the rise and travails of Jean-Bertrand Aristide for *The New York Review of Books* (all now collected in Danner’s *Stripping Bare the Body: Politics Violence War* (New York: Nation Books, 2010). Amy Wilentz’s fine book of narrative reportage from that same era, featuring an up-close account of Aristide’s initial rise to prominence, is *The Rainy Season: Haiti Since Duvalier* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989); Wilentz returned to Haiti, and to many of the stories from that first book, in *Farewell Fred Voodoo* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

The fullest account of Aristide's story since the 1990s, and of his dramatic flight-cum-kidnapping from Haiti in 2004, is Alex Dupuy's *The Prophet and Power: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007). The failures of U.S. policy toward Haiti, and their frequently grave effects for Haitians, have been enumerated by Paul Farmer in *The Uses of Haiti* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2005 [1st ed. 1994]). Those failures' impacts on one family, in the context of post-9/11 paranoia in the U.S. and political chaos in Haiti, were made vivid in Edwidge Danticat's potent family memoir *Brother, I'm Dying* (New York: Knopf, 2007).

The best accounts of the 2010 earthquake, and of the many grave missteps and corruptions that bedeviled "aid" efforts in its wake, are contained in Jonathan Katz's *The Big Truck Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), and in the Haitian filmmaker Raoul Peck's scathing documentary *Fatal Assistance* (2014). The splendors of Jacmel carnival, and of its classic characters and their masks, are captured in the photographer Leah Gordon's book *Kanaval* (London: Soul Jazz Publishing, 2010).

Cayman, Barbados, Montserrat, Barbuda, Grenada, and Antigua (Chapter 11)

On the general history of Cayman, see *Founded Upon the Seas: A History of the Cayman Islands and Their People* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003) by Michael Craton, and, for a more archaeological but no less lively approach, *The Maritime Heritage of the Cayman Islands* by Roger C. Smith (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001). On pirates and their golden age in the Caribbean, the classic account is Daniel Defoe's: His *A General History of Pyrates* was published in 1724 (and is available now in reprint editions from Carroll & Graf, among others). More modern in style is Marcus Rediker's *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates of the Golden Age* (Boston:

Beacon, 2005). Peter Mathiessen's high-modernist evocation of life on an old Cayman turtle schooner is *Far Tortuga* (New York: Random House, 1975).

The exemplary new history of colonial Barbados, and of the building of the sugar trade in the British West Indies, is Matthew Parker's *The Sugar Barons* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012). For a glimpse at a more glorious chapter in Barbados history, when the West Indies dominated International Test cricket in the 1970s and 80s, see Stevan Riley's documentary film *Fire in Babylon* (2010). Sir Hilary McD Beckles, the dean of Bajan historians and of West Indian cricket scholars, is perhaps best known beyond his island for his authoritative two-volume study of *The Development of West Indies Cricket* (London: Pluto Press, 1999), but Beckles has also written *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single-Market* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). No description of growing up in colonial "Bimshire," in the middle decades of the twentieth century, excels the one offered by George Lamming in his beautiful novel *In The Castle of My Skin* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953). The same can be said, about describing the experience of growing up as the daughter of Bajan emigrants in West Indian Brooklyn, of Paule Marshall's *Brown Girl, Brownstones* (New York: Random House, 1959; the Feminist Press, 1981). A memorable heir to Marshall's heroines, returning to Barbados from Brooklyn for a new era, is be found in Naomi Jackson's *The Star Side of Bird Hill* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015).

Montserrat's longtime governor, Sir Howard Fergus, also wrote the standard history of the island: his *Montserrat: History of a Caribbean Colony* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 2004) is now in a second edition. The esteemed volcanologists at the Montserrat Volcano Observatory, in collaboration with visiting and local photographers, produced a beautiful and weighty book on the eruptions of 1995, called *Island of Fire* (Montserrat: Seismic Research Center, 2011). The University of Tennessee geographer Lydia Pulsipher, in collaboration with her archaeologist husband Conrad M. Goodwin, has for decades conducted research in southeast Montserrat, on the site of the old Galways plantation, now buried by the eruption,

and among the people that Galway's destruction forced to the island's north. Some of Pulsipher and Goodwin's key findings are narrated in their article "'Here where the old-time people be': Reconstructing the Slavery and Post-slavery Era in Montserrat, West Indies," in *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*, Jay Haveser, ed. (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1999)

All of Jamaica Kincaid's books on the place she grew up, both "fictional" and less so, are essential. These include the story-collection *At the Bottom of the River* (1983), and the novels *Annie John* (1985) and *The Autobiography of My Mother* (1996, and actually set not in Antigua but Dominica), along with the novella-length essay—*A Small Place*—she wrote after returning home to Antigua for the first time as a woman. For a more social scientific account of the same iniquities discussed by Kincaid, in reference to Cold War-era dependency theory, see Paget Henry's *Peripheral Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Antigua* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1985). The geographer David Watts' important survey of these and related themes, across the entire Caribbean and in a study reaching all the way back to Columbus, is *The West Indies: patterns of development, culture, and environmental change since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Antigua's leading expert on the island's early and pre-colonial days is Dr. Reginald Murphy, an archaeologist who has for years led preservation and restoration efforts on the island and whose work is collected on his website, archaeologyantigua.org. On Barbuda, and the old myth about Antigua's little-sister island once being used for "slave breeding" by its English owners, the definitive study—and debunking—of that rumor, is David Lowenthal's and Colin G. Clarke's "Slave-Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 292: *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (June 1977).

On Grenada both before and since its revolution in the 1970s, see Beverley A. Steele, *Grenada, A history of its people* (London: Macmillan, 2003). The dramatic story of Maurice Bishop's "Revo" and of the invasion by Ronald Reagan's marines that

quashed it, has generated many books of varying quality and kind. Among the notable are a volume of Maurice Bishop's own speeches and writings on the New Jewel movement and its foes, *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution and Its Overthrow, 1979-1983* (New York: Pathfinder, 1983); the journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy's account of the tragic saga that saw Bishop executed by his erstwhile comrades, in October 1983, in *Grenada: An Eyewitness Account of the U.S. Invasion and the Caribbean History that Provoked It* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985); and V.S. Naipaul's much-cited essay on visiting the island a few weeks after those events, in "Heavy Manners in Grenada," first published in the *Sunday Times Magazine* on February 12, 1984, and later collected in *The Writer and the World* (New York: Knopf, 2012).

For a thoughtful scholarly account of the vexed place the Grenada's Revolution occupies in island politics and life today, see Shalini Puri's *The Grenada Revolution in the Caribbean Present: Operation Urgent Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Also essential are the comprehensive documentary *Forward Ever: The Killing of a Revolution* (2013), directed by the Trinidadian filmmaker and scholar Dr. Bruce Paddington, and featuring interviews with all the still-living participants in Grenada's defining political dramas, and Damani Baker's more personal and artistic film on the same story, examined through the lens of his radical American mother's involvement in it, in *The House on Coco Road* (2016).

Martinique and Guadeloupe (Chapter 12)

On the larger history of French colonial enterprise in the New World see, e.g., W.J. Eccles' synoptic survey *France in America* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1990), and, in French, Gilles Havard's and Cécile Vidal's *Histoire de l'Amérique française* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003). The unavoidable primary source on daily life and culture in the French Antilles in the 17th century is Père Jean-Baptiste Labat,

whose eight-volume descriptive memoir of his time in Martinique and Guadeloupe and nearby in the late 1600s, was published in Paris beginning in 1722 as *Nouveau Voyage aux isles Françoises de l'Amérique*. Labat's writings described in attentive detail the customs and language of the Amerindians, early creole cuisine, and sugar production and slaves' dances on the Antilles' plantations; he was praised by Patrick Leigh Fermor, in the 1952, as "the best of the writers on the background of [the historical Caribbean], in any language." It's still true. Unfortunately no full translation of Labat's volumes is available in English, but there's an abridged English-language edition: *The Memoirs of Père Labat* (London: Routledge, 2014).

The story of Louis Delgrès and his failed revolt in Guadeloupe is recounted by, among others, Laurent Dubois in *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). The Guadeloupe novelist Daniel Maximin's *L'Isolé soleil* (1981), contains a memorable and refractive rendering of Delgrès' demise, and was published in English as *Lone Sun* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1989; trans. Clarisse Zimra). Victor Schoelcher, the leading French advocate for slavery's abolition in the Antilles in the 19th century, articulated his views on colonial policy in influential articles like *De esclavage des noirs et de la législation coloniale* (1833), and *Des colonies françaises: Abolition immédiate de l'esclavage* (1842).

Frantz Fanon's two essential books—*Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove, 2008 [1952]) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove, 2008 [1961])—are now available in improved English translations by Richard Philcox. Among Fanon's several biographers, the most worthy are Alice Cherki, whose *Frantz Fanon: A Portrait* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006 [2000]), draws on her time as a close psychiatric colleague of Fanon's in Algeria, and David Macey, whose prodigious *Frantz Fanon: A Life* (London: Verso, 2000) comprises our fullest account of its subjects' intellectual development in the context of his time, and of his ideas' lasting impacts on contemporary politics and thought, too.

All of Aimé Césaire's major works have been translated into English; they include his lines of verse in *The Collected Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984; Clayton Eshelman and Annette J. Smith, trans.), his *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001[1950]; Joan Pinkham, trans.), and the new bilingual edition of the *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2013 [1939]; James Arnold and Clayton Eshelman, trans.). The most-discussed commentary on Césaire's *Cahier* remains André Breton's adulatory but dated "A Great Black Poet" (which appeared as a preface to the first English publication of the poem in 1947). More modern in approach is the literary scholar Christopher L. Miller's capacious study *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

The larger critique to which Césaire has been subject from a younger generation of Antilles intellectuals is exemplified by Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Rafael Confiant's *Éloge de la Créolité* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993; bilingual edition 2005). The *Éloge's* authors discussed its background and aims at length with Lucien Taylor in an interview for *Transition*: "Créolité Bites," in *Transition* 7:2 (74), 1998.

Confiant's longer essay on similar themes is *Aimé Césaire: Une Traversée Paradoxe du siècle* (Paris: Stock, 1993).

Edouard Glissant is the most widely admired Martinican writer of the generation between Césaire and Chamoiseau; he has seen most of his important novels and oft-cited theoretical essays on Caribbean culture translated into English, including his *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997) and *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999).

Glissant's younger admirer Patrick Chamoiseau is the most widely admired writer from the French Antilles today; his major works have been published in English, in excellent translations by Rose-Myriam Réjouis and Val Vinokurov, and include the short novel *Solibo Magnificent* (New York: Vintage, 1999), the memoir *School Days*

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), and his masterpiece *Texaco* (New York: Vintage, 1998). Chamoiseau's Guadeloupean counterpart, Maryse Condé, is best known for historical novels taking place in 18th century West Africa and witch-hunt era Salem, Massachusetts, but she has also written exemplary books set in her homeland including the novels *Crossing the Mangrove* (New York: Anchor, 1995) and *Windward Heights* (New York: Soho, 2003), and her memoir *Tales from the Heart: True Stories from My Childhood* (New York: Soho, 2004; translated, like her other works in English, by Richard Philcox). Before Chamoiseau and Condé, there was Joseph Zobel: his track-breaking novel *La rue cases-nègres* (1950) was turned into a classic of the Caribbean cinema by the director Euzhan Palcy in 1983, and published in English as *Black Shack Alley* (Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1990; Keith Q. Warner, ed.).

Dominica (Chapter 13)

The standard history of Dominica remains Lennox Honychurch's *The Dominica Story* (London: Macmillan, 1975; updated 1984, 1995). Among this island treasure's other informative books on his home are *The Cabrits and Prince Rupert Bay* (Roseau: Dominica Institute, 1983), *Historic Roseau: The Capital of Dominica* (Roseau: Dominica Institute, 2001), and *Negre Mawon: The Fighting Maroons of Dominica* (Self-published, 2014). Honychurch's maternal grandmother Elma Napier, who with her husband built their longtime home at Point Baptiste in 1932, wrote a good memoir of her life and political activities here called *Black Sands, White Sands: A Bohemian Life in the Colonial Caribbean* (London: Papillote Press, 2012 [1962]). On the social structure and past of Dominica's agrarian economy, and its peasants' place in global capitalism, Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Peasants and Capital: Dominica in the World Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1988) is a classic of modern anthropology.

Among the First Nations of the broader Caribbean, the old Taino of the Greater Antilles are far better known and studied than the people of the smaller islands, further south, who Europeans called Carib and who called themselves Kalinago. But among the informative sources on Kalinago history and ancestral culture here are the anthology *Carib-speaking Indians: Culture, Society, and Language*, Ellen B. Basso, ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977) and Samuel M. Wilson's important edited volume *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999). The most helpful single article on the Kalinago's origins, and attendant debates over how and when the "Island Carib" peopled the Lesser Antilles, is perhaps D. Davis and R.C. Goodwin's "Island Carib Origins: Evidence and non-evidence", *American Antiquity*, 55:1 (1990). More literary in approach is Peter Hulme's *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Carib and their Visitors, 1877-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); it discusses the sundry writers and politicians and pilgrims who have visited Dominica's Carib Territory and written about its inhabitants.

The best source on Jean Rhys's childhood and family history in Dominica, beyond the oblique recollections contained in her novels, is her brilliant "unfinished autobiography," *Smile Please* (London: Deutsch, 1980). The short story in which Rhys wrote about her one return to Dominica as an adult, "Temps Perdi," was first published in *Tigers Are Better Looking* (London: Deutsch, 1968), and later collected in her *Tales of the Wide Caribbean* (London: Heinemann, 1985) and *The Collected Short Stories* (New York: Norton, 1987). Phyllis Shand Allfrey, her fellow Dominican writer, returned to Dominica to live in the 1950s and was active in its politics and ran *The Dominica Star* newspaper. A volume of Allfrey's poetry, *Love for an Island: The Collected Poems of Phyllis Shand Allfrey*, (London: Papillote, 2014; ed. Lizabeth Paravisini Gebert), and a reprint edition of her best-known novel, *The Orchid House* (London: Papillote Press, 2016 [1953]) have been brought out by Papillote Press.

Jean Rhys's most scrupulous and informative biographer remains Carole Angier, who authored *Jean Rhys: Life and Work* (London: Faber & Faber, 1991). Among the

more useful of the many scholarly studies of her larger oeuvre, in the context of literary modernism and of Caribbean history, are *Jean Rhys* by Elaine Savory (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and *Jean Rhys's Historical Imagination* by Veronica Gregg (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). Lennox Honychurch recounted his story of trying to go visit Rhys near her life's end, in rural Devon, in his essay "Territory of the Heart: Jean Rhys's Dominica," included in *Caribbean Dispatches: Beyond the Tourist Dream*, ed. Jane Bryce (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 2006).

Trinidad (Chapter 14)

It perhaps says much about Trinidad, and its self-image in the context of the wider Caribbean, that the defining leader of the island's "independence era" was also a major scholar of the region. But beyond Eric Williams' famous books *Capitalism and Slavery* and *From Columbus to Castro*, Trinidad's first PM also wrote the *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (Port of Spain: PNM Publishing, 1962). A more impartial and detailed general history, by the dean of Trinidadian historians, Bridget Brereton, is *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* (London: Heinemann, 1982). On the fascinating decades when Trinidad sought its freedom from Britain while being occupied by the U.S. Navy and in the context of the inchoate Cold War, see Jason Parker's *Brother's Keeper: The United States, Race, and Empire in the British Caribbean, 1937-1962* (New York: Oxford, 2008), and Harvey Neptune's *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina, 2007). V.S. Naipaul's *The Loss of El Dorado* (London: Deutsch, 1969), a history of the Orinoco's and Trinidad's early colonial era based on primary sources, is perhaps his least successful book. But the early novel he wrote about growing up here, *A House for Mr. Biswas* (London: Deutsch, 1961), remains by consensus his best—and is still the most widely read and admired book, full stop, on Trinidadian life.

About Trinidad's creole capital, one hears from the literate wags of its rum shops that are three essential Port of Spain books. They are all fiction: *Minty Alley*, C.L.R. James' account of life in a 1920s barrack yard here and penned in his schoolteacher days here, is widely cited as "the first West Indian novel." (First published in London in 1939, the current US edition of *Minty Alley* is from the University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, 1997). Naipaul's *Miguel Street* (London: Deutsch, 1959) is a linked suite of stories about witty loafers' and hustlers on a jangling block in Woodbrook, the Port of Spain burgh that's home to the Queens Park Cricket Oval and plentiful "panyards" as well. Earl Lovelace's *The Dragon Can't Dance* (London: Deutsch, 1979), is the beloved local author's great comic novel about the yearly event—carnival—around which Port of Spain's calendar is built, and all that can happen here in the yearlong runup to the fete.

The larger literature on the signature art-forms of Trinidad carnival—steelpan and *mas'*, calypso and soca—is considerable. Touchstones include John Cowley's *Carnival, Canboulay, and Calypso: Traditions in the Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Errol Hill's *The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate for a National Theatre* (London: New Beacon Press, 1997 [1972]), and Michael D. Anthony's *Parade of the Carnivals of Trinidad, 1839-1989* (Port of Spain: Circle Press, 1989). On the birth and rise of the "steelband movement," see Kim Johnson's crucial study *From Tin Pan to TASPO: Steelband in Trinidad, 1939-1951* (St. Augustine: University of the West Indies Press, 2011), and Stephen Stuempfle's *The Steelband Movement: The Forging Of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). Few studies of carnival's social meaning today don't cite or draw on Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009; trans. Hélène Iwolsky [1940]), or refer to Joseph Roach's *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Peter Minshall, the extraordinary dramatist and designer and champion of all Trinidad's *mas'* men, wrote a succinctly eloquent essay on his art's aesthetics and aims called "Carnival and Its Place in Caribbean Culture and Art," in *Caribbean Visions: Contemporary Painting and Sculpture*, Samella S. Lewis, ed.

(Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1995). Minshall's stupendous early bands in the 1970s, including his first masterpiece "Paradise Lost," are recorded with photographs in *We Kind ah People: The Trinidad Carnival Bands of Stephen Lee Heung* by George Tang and Ray Funk (Port of Spain: Blurb, 2014).

On the development of calypso from the 19th century through the music's post-war apogee in the 1950s, see Donald R. Hill's important primer *Calypso Callaloo: Early Carnival Music in Trinidad* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), and listen to *West Indian Rhythm*, a 10-CD box-set of classic calypsos from the 1930s heyday of the likes of Roaring Lion and Atilla the Hun in the 1930s, released by Bear Family Records in 2007, with a marvelous book featuring essays by calypso experts including Donald Hill, John Cowley, Lise Winer, and Hollis "Chalkdust" Liverpool—a noted authority on carnival history and commentator on calypso's present who is also a practitioner: Chalkdust has won Trinidad's Calypso Monarch competition eight times.

On calypso's embroilment in island politics since the 1950s, see Louis Regis' *The Political Calypso: True Opposition in Trinidad and Tobago* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), and Gordon Rohler's recent volume on its greatest star, *My Whole Life Is Calypso: Essays on Sparrow* (Tunapuna, Trinidad: Blue Edition, 2015). C.L.R. James got his own licks in, on the same subject, in his 1960 essay "The Mighty Sparrow" (collected in *The C.L.R. James Reader*, Anna Grimshaw, ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992). Also crucial, on the large roles of music in Trinidadian society, are the musicologist Jocelyne Guilbault's exemplary monographs *Governing Sound: The Cultural Politics of Trinidad's Carnival Musics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), and *Roy Cape: A Life on the Calypso and Soca Bandstand* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), co-authored with the standout bandleader and saxophonist of recent decades here, Roy Cape.

The challenges posed by Trinidad's plural makeup to good governance and social cohesion have long preoccupied its calypsonians and politicians and social scientists

alike. On this history, see Bridget Brereton's *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); the embrace by some independence-era leaders of the Jamaican anthropologist M.G. Smith's influential theory, from his *The Plural Societies in the West Indies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) that the dominance of one ethnic group over others in such countries was both inevitable and desirable for "stability's" sake; or the more current volume *Trinidad Ethnicity* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), edited by Kevin Yelvington and featuring essays by authorities like Patricia Mohammed and Keith Q. Warner on the unique modes of "identity formation" on an island whose political cultures long been shaped by the historical animus between "Africans" and "East Indians".

The larger history of South Asians in the Caribbean, and the occluded history of indenture that brought them here from India, is traced in Gaiutra Bahadur's exemplary investigation into the saga of her own ancestors in Trinidad's sister-nation of Guyana, in *Coolie Woman: The Odyssey of Indenture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). On the halting process by which Indians have become equal players in Trinidad's fractious politics, see the veteran political scientist Selwyn Ryan's early work *Race and Nationalism in Trinidad and Tobago* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). See also Ryan's more recent study *The Jhandi the Cross: the Clash of Cultures in Post-Creole Trinidad and Tobago* (St. Augustine: I.S.E.R., 1999), and Kirk Meighoo's *Politics in a Half-Made Society: Trinidad and Tobago, 1925-2002* (Princeton: Marcus Wiener, 2003). The modern populace of Trinidad's "other Indians"—the indigenous people who have mostly but not completely disappeared from the land—numbers but several hundred members now. But on their proud past and current life, in and around the town of Arima and among the members of the Santa Rosa Carib Community in particular, see Tracy Assing's documentary film *The Amerindians* (2010).

Michael X, otherwise known as Michael Abdul Malik, penned a tall-tale version of his own life and goals in *From Michael de Freitas to Michael X* (London: Deutsch, 1968);

a perhaps more reliable biography is Jon Williams' *Michael X: A Life in Black and White* (London: Century, 2008). V.S. Naipaul's long and cutting essay on the same figure, "Michael X and the Black Power Killings in Trinidad," was published in *The Return of Eva Perón and the Killings in Trinidad* (London: Deutsch, 1980). Much ink has been spilled speculating as to the motivations behind Naipaul's more vex-some prose about his home-island, and otherwise. None is more revealing than Patrick French's rapt account of the writer's very real and sometimes salty life, produced with Naipaul's full cooperation, in *The World Is What It Is: The Authorized Biography of V.S. Naipaul* (New York: Knopf, 2008).