

ISLAND PEOPLE

[BIBLIOGRAPHY &
FURTHER READING]

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND FURTHER READING

The direct source materials for this book, 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.” But as essential to these 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 *Island People*—and comprising 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 on the Haitian Revolution—*The Black Jacobins* (New York: Vintage, 1963 [1938])—that deserves to be the first work you read by an essential writer of the twentieth century, and the launch of any program of reading meant to help one understand the Caribbean’s central roles in shap-

ing world history. James's other book that's 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, *Beyond a Boundary* is often described as "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 examine growing up in thrall to its bats and wickets in colonial Trinidad, and dilate on heftier subjects like the nature of mass entertainment under capitalism and the relation between games and empire. 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, 1996); Paget Henry and Paul Buhle's edited collection of essays, *C. L. R. James's Caribbean* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992); and David Scott's influential book-length essay *Conscripts of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004)—a heady riff on James's *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 tale whose resonance for our "postcolonial" age derives from its being a story less of romance than of tragedy. Of the formative years that James spent in the United States in the 1940s and '50s, James himself furnished our finest record of his intimate life and his evolving ideas in the fascinating letters he wrote to his American wife, Constance Webb. That remarkable correspondence is collected in *Special Delivery: The Letters of C. L. R. James to Constance Webb* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1995). Webb's side of the story is recounted in her absorbing memoir, *Not Without Love* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 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* (104[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 the trade's more than three centuries of existence, the largest and longest-lasting forced migration in human history took more 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 world history, 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, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), and his

later work of historical synthesis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 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, 2011) 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 seminal book on the stuff's outsized role in Atlantic history is *Sweetness and Power* (New York: Viking, 1985).

It was from an author born in the Caribbean, 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's *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1944) began as a PhD dissertation at Oxford, where Williams reportedly got the idea for his landmark study from his old teacher at Trinidad's Queen's Royal College 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. In *Capitalism and Slavery*, Williams—who became the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago—showed that to be so. He also argued 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* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), and David Eltis, in *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) have convincingly shown how profits from Caribbean slavery were in fact increasing during the years when English abolitionists succeeded in ending England's involvement in trafficking slaves—a truth that makes the story of their movement's 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's hunch about slavery's central role in the making of capitalism remains 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 about the precise numbers and workings of the slave trade, in the years since Philip D. Curtin published his important *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) and especially after 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* (which is explorable 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's *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 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* (New York: Oxford University Press 1978).

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, the *General History* 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 ed., 1999); *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, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. 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 the islands' literature, are the diaries of visiting explorers from Columbus and Raleigh on. Anthony Trollope, like many exponents of "British travel writing" in the nineteenth century, made his imperial vantage less a matter of overt politics than enabling premise in his oft-quoted *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (London: Carroll & Graf, 1999 [1859]). James Anthony Froude was less subtle in *The English in the West Indies* (London: Longmans, 1888): he argued that the savage Indies would be hopeless without a strong British hand. A writer in Trinidad, John Jacob Thomas, wrote a famous rebuttal to Froude in *Froudacity: West Indian Fables* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889). In the mid-twentieth century, two distinguished heirs-cum-evolvers of the "British travel writing" tradition wrote enduring portraits of the region. The first of these was Patrick Leigh Fermor's *The Traveller's Tree* (now in a new edition with my introduction, from New York Review Classics, 2010). The second was V. S. Naipaul's *The Middle Passage* (London: Deutsch, 1962), a work which 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 after a long absence but had radically different things to say about the experience, published *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988). The nominal subject of Kincaid's lasting look at the modern Caribbean from the vantage of its natives was her home island of Antigua, but *A Small Place* could have been about any of the Antilles.

Of course, these islands have since the early nineteenth century also produced their own imaginative literature, in the form of novels and poems and works of drama by their more imaginative minds. Most of that work, as it emerged especially on the larger islands of the Greater Antilles and aimed to describe their societies, was framed consciously to engage with the literary traditions of the empires of which the Antilles were then a part (with the exception of Haiti); 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's *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 de Boissière, 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 essay, in connection to their authors' specific islands). More easy and apt to cite, with regards both to my own reading for *Island People* and to the emergence of the scholarly field of "Caribbean studies" is another corpus of Caribbean literature: the large body of criticism, essays, and "theoretical" monographs devoted to cogitating on how or if the varied Caribbean islands are fed, across the divides of language and history, by some unitary spring that suffuses their expressive cultures with shared concerns, essence, or form.

In 1949, the Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier published an essay included as the introduction to his great novel of the Haitian Revolution, *The Kingdom of This World*, about what he called "the marvelous real"; his "De lo real maravilloso Americano" was later republished in *Tientos y diferencias* (Montevideo, Uruguay: 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* [Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1989; Edward Baker, trans.]); the Guyanese novelist Wilson Harris's heady polemic "History, Fable, and Myth in the Americas" (in Harris's *Selected Essays* [London: Routledge, 1999; A. J. M. Bundy, ed.], which grappled less with the legacies of Shakespeare than with the legacies of the Caribbean's departed Amerindians); and the itinerant Jamaican-Cuban humanist Sylvia Wynter's seminal arguments, in *We Must Learn to Sit Down Together and Talk About a Little Culture* (London: Peepal Tree Press, 2012), about how and why the history of the New World gave the Caribbean islands a special role to play in 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 and Giroux, 1993). Walcott's description of his 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 the Antilles, Aimé Césaire, has since World War II been one more totemic figure in discussions of “Caribbean-ness” 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 Paris and beyond. On the dynamics and political implications of these mutual attractions, and Césaire’s wife Suzanne Césaire’s incisive thoughts on the same, see Michael Richardson and Krzysztof Fijalkowski’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 race and the slave trade’s afterlives in modern culture, is Paul Gilroy’s influential *The Black Atlantic: Double Consciousness and Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). Of Aimé Césaire’s many “sons” from the French island of Martinique, the elegant Edouard Glissant has had the largest influence in shaping what he termed “Caribbean discourse.” Glissant’s *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1997; Betsy Wing, trans.) and *Caribbean Discourse* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1989; 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’s pathbreaking study of the oral culture’s roles in Caribbean letters is *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, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1998). In university seminars in Caribbean studies today, other staples include a number of books which emulate Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, in tracing how the region was imagined and represented by the empires that once owned its islands, and how these imaginings continue to shape them. 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, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 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 as many of the variegated texts and strands of thought as 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—today functions as a general label for all of Jamaican culture. When *The Harder They Come* made reggae world-famous in 1972, the Trinidad-based critic Gordon Rohlehr wrote an influential essay on “the first West Indian movie which attempts to look at the West Indian reality.” It's called “Once in a Blue Sun” (1973) and is included in Rohlehr's book *My Strangled City* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Longman, 1992). More common among published analysts of Jamaica in the 1970s were foreign journalists, who came here to return to the United States or Europe with portraits of reggae's home island. Among these are Stephen Davis and Peter Simons's *Reggae Bloodlines: In Search of the Music and Culture of Jamaica* (New York: Doubleday, 1977) and the famous rock critic Lester Bangs's 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 revered reggae drummer Leroy “Horsemouth” Wallace.

More recent surveys of the larger saga of Jamaican music, in both written and audio form, include the four-CD box set *The Story of Jamaican Music: Tougher than Tough* (Island/Mango 1993), which features extensive liner notes by veteran reggae writer 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 is Garth White, 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, Jamaica: 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 roles in Jamaican society 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 Malika Lee Whitney and Dermot Hussey (New York: Dutton, 1984). Other standouts in the Marley library range from Jason Toynebee'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 Vivien 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* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006). My essay on a few of these is "The Bob Marley Story" (*The New York Review of Books*, April 9, 2009). 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 crucial to the worldview of Marley and so many others: Rasta was first described for nonbelievers in the pioneering

if controversial early study *Report on the Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* by M. G. Smith, Rex Nettleford, and Roy Augier (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 1960), before then becoming the subject of sympathetic studies like Leonard E. Barrett's *The Rastafarians* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997) and Barry Chevannes's *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse, NY: 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). Kei Miller's stellar novel *Augustown* (New York: Pantheon, 2017) reimagines the tale of another key forebear of Rastafari—namely Alexander Bedward, the island's foremost revivalist preacher of the early twentieth century—to highlight the foundational roles of religion and storytelling in Jamaican life from Bedward's day to now.

The deeper history that most informs Rastafari, and perhaps Jamaican culture at large, is the memory of Atlantic slavery symbolized by icons of the Middle Passage—among them 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 diagram of a slave vessel's hold full of human cargo wasn't merely 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, Jamaica: 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, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), of the everyday brutalities that shaped Jamaica's longtime status as both the centerpiece of Britain's American empire and a key fulcrum of the triangle trade.

By now, the name of Orlando Patterson, the eminent Jamaican sociologist, is well known both to his fellow academics and to readers of his columns in *The New York Times*. Few from either camp know that Patterson's first book was a novel about the Rasta outcasts of Kingston's rubbish-strewn “Dungle,” called *The Children of Sisyphus* (London: NewAuthors Limited, 1964). Patterson made his name with 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, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985). Kamau Brathwaite, the Barbados-born poet and scholar of similar distinction, 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, UK: Oxford University Press, 1971), remains a go-to source on the folk cultures of the island's enslaved. The worlds Brathwaite described were captured on canvas by the standout artist of colonial Jamaica, Isaac Mendes Belisario; *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (New Haven, CT: Yale, 2007) is a beautiful and weighty catalogue-book that was produced to accompany a recent landmark exhibition of the Portuguese Jew's paintings at the Yale Center for British Art. It was edited by T. J. Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, and also features essays by leading scholars including Kenneth Bilby, Robert Farris Thompson, Verene A. Shepherd, and Stuart Hall.

On the island folklore which has shaped Jamaican pop since the 1950s, and on the vernacular "patwa" that activists have succeeded in making a recognized 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, popularly known as "Miss Lou," is the foremost defender and celebrator of Jamaican folk dialect and the author of *Jamaica Labrish* (Kingston, Jamaica: Sangster's Book Company, Ltd., 1966). 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, see Michael Manley's reflection on his time at Jamaica's helm during the torrid 1970s, *Struggle on the Periphery* (Oxford, UK: 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 bosses of the world economy. Michael Manley's great political rival, Edward Seaga, has never possessed the same prolix charisma as his lefty nemesis. But Seaga's crucial and varied role, as the longtime head of the Jamaican Labor Party, and in shaping Jamaica's modern history as both a public servant and covert operator, 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, Jamaica: 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" that was cemented in those years, is the everyday violence and poverty that have defined Kingston's ghettos since. It's during these same decades, though, that those same neighborhoods' 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 Jamaica 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 that deliver their votes, and to the ways those same gangs deliver drugs to North America, were unveiled in potent outline by the 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 the West Kingston garrison that Edward Seaga turned into his power base, Tivoli Gardens, and how it became the power base for the JLP-allied gangster "Jim Brown"—the notorious founder of the Shower Posse syndicate. In 2010, the Shower Posse's longtime don, Christopher "Dudus" Coke, became the target of an extradition order from the United States whose ultimate results, on the ground in Kingston, were grave. The massacre of civilians in the run-up to Dudus's arrest was recounted with exactitude by Mattathias Schwartz in his *New Yorker* article, "A Massacre in Jamaica" (December 12, 2011). Dudus's own life story is narrated from the level of Kings-

ton's streets, by local writer K. C. Samuels in *Jamaica's FIRST President: Dudas, 1992–2010* (Kingston, Jamaica: 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's endeavor, in his next book, to make vivid the connections between the "politricks" of Bob Marley's 1970s and the continent-spanning violence of Jamaica's diasporas now that resulted in *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (New York: Riverhead, 2014). That tour de force made James the first Caribbean writer since Naipaul to win the Man Booker Prize.

Cuba (Chapters 4–6)

Imperial Spain's initial conquest of the New World, including the story of the historic mission to Mexico launched by Hernán Cortés from Cuba in 1519, was recounted by Bernal Díaz del Castillo in his *True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1963 [1568]). Bartolomé de la Casas, the famous Dominican friar and defender of the New World's Indians, completed his three-volume *Historia de las Indias* in 1528, and it's been continually in print in Spanish ever since (only a partial version is available in English). See also Carl Sauer's *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), a classic of historical geography, and J. H. Elliott's career-spanning work on the Spanish 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, CT: 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, CT: 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 five hundred years is so recommendable 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; ed. Timothy Brennan, trans. Alan West-Durán), and whose more recent touchstones by Cuba's prodigious community of music scholars, most of whose work is available only in Spanish, include María Teresa Linares's *La música y el pueblo* (Havana: Editorial Pueblo y Educación, 1974), Helio Orovino'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 detailed in *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 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, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1996; trans. Ivan A. Schulman and Evelyn Picon Garfield). Cuba's most popular novel of the nineteenth century also became its most popular *zarzuela* musical: Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés*, which is 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 nineteenth-century Havana. Two trenchant scholarly books 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, VA: 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 Marianos, and from elsewhere. The standard Martí-sampler in English, containing "Nuestra America" and other classic essays translated by Esther Allen, is *José Martí: Selected Writings* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2002).

On Cuba's War for Independence, and the long run-up to its dra-

matic 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. Pérez's *Cuba Between Empires, 1878–1902* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983). Among Louis A. Pérez's many essential works on the United States' and Cuba's "ties of singular intimacy" are *Cuba and the United States* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 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: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920–1940* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

The most important intellectual figure in that story, Fernando Ortíz, reigned for more than a half century as Cuba's leading espouser of *cubanidad*, and his influential works include *Un catauro de cubanismos* (1923), *La Africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* (1950), and *Contrapunteo 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 Onís). 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: Colección del Chicherekú 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 the Ékpè societies of current-day Nigeria, in *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), and Aisha M. Beliso-De Jesús's ethnographic work on the modern evolutions of Ifá 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 Infante's avant-garde classic *Three Trapped Tigers* (Champaign, IL: Dalkey

Archive Press, 2015, Donald Gardner and Suzanne Jill Levine, trans. [1966]). The Bacardi family of rum fame is one of the storied Cuban clans who built prosperous lives and businesses here, after arriving from Catalonia in the late nineteenth century, before then departing after the revolution in 1959. 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: Viking, 1980; trans. Georgette Felix et al.). Of the vast literature on Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl, notable entries include Patrick Symmes's *The Boys from Dolores: Fidel Castro's Classmates from Revolution to Exile* (New York: Pantheon, 2007), which explores the world from which the Castros came in Oriente (and where their classmates there are now); Tad Szulc's biography, drawn from extensive interviews with his subject, *Fidel: A Critical Portrait* (New York: Avon, 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, 2008).

Less sanguine than Fidel about the 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 to serve their cause as a dance instructor, is *Dancing with Cuba: A Memoir of the Revolution* (New York: Pantheon, 2004). Another dissenting visitor's voice is Carlos Moore's; he wrote a book about his own grim experience of the revolution's contradictions with regards to race 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's *Before Night Falls* (New York: Viking, 1993; trans. Dolores M. Koch). 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 Gutiérrez's *Dirty Havana Trilogy* (New York: Ecco, 2002); also key is the prolific detective writer Leonardo Padura, author of the Havana Quartet series (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, has been a haven for bold artistic expression since Havana's leading auteur of the 1960s, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, directed his classics *La muerte de un burócrata* (1966) and *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (1968), and has released many impressive films critical of Cuba's realities in recent years. The best-known of these may be the international hit *Fresa y Chocolate* (1994, Gutiérrez Alea and Juan Carlos Tabío, dirs.), but also of note are refractive portraits of daily life such as *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 fifty 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, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 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 fate and results under Obama's successors in power, 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, CT: 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, PR: Ediciones Servilibros, 2002). The best general history of the island is Fernando Picó's *History of Puerto Rico: A Panorama of Its People* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener,

2015). Also important are César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe's *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) and Ayala's earlier book *American Sugar Kingdom: The Plantation Economy of the Spanish Caribbean, 1889–1934* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). The late Sidney Mintz may be best recalled for *Sweetness and Power*, his masterwork on sugar's roles in world history, but he began his career, many years before and in collaboration with a Puerto Rican cane cutter named Don Taso, describing 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]).

The story of modern Puerto Rican nationalism in many ways began with the emergence of that cause's figurehead, Pedro Albizu Campos, during the island's sugar strikes of the 1930s. On that story and what followed, 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's and the Nationalist Party were subjected—and of the corruption and secrets of Luis Muñoz Marín, that helped those repressions occur. Albizu Campos's own important writings include those collected in *La conciencia nacional Puertorriqueña* (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1972); he's also featured alongside Muñoz Marín and other island notables such as Julia de Burgos 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 United States, 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 cease understanding their culture as essentially "Spanish" and racially white, in favor of embracing the mixed and African parts of their heritage. The island of Vieques, and the cause of expelling the U.S. Navy and its bombs' residue from Vieques's shores has long animated Puerto Rican patriots and activists for justice. On the "isla nena's" story, 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 its residents, *Vieques en mi memoria: Testimonios de vida* (San Juan, PR: Ediciones Puerto, 2003). The vexed legacies left behind by the Navy in 2003, and Vieques's 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," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 17:1 (2005).

The written history of Puerto Rican New York begins with the famous memoir of Bernardo Vega, a cigar maker by trade and an organic intellectual par excellence who arrived in the 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, CA: University of California Press, 1983). The late scholar Juan Flores was for years the unofficial dean of what some have called "Nuyorican studies"; among Flores's 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 and the rapidly gentrifying future of "El Barrio," see Arlene Dávila's *Barrio Dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the Neoliberal City* (Berkeley, CA: 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 local jazz musicians here in the '40s, before then feeding the city variant of "mambo" in the '50s, and birthing salsa in the '60s—is a story 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 key sources 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 that of the Cuban music scholar Raul A. Fer-

andez, whose nuanced study of the Cuban roots of it all is *From Afro-Cuban Rhythms to Latin Jazz* (Berkeley, CA: 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* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); the most intimate with his subject is Puente's close friend Joe Conzo, who worked with David A. Pérez 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 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 is an opinionated and passionate radio and TV producer from Venezuela who first published his book in 1980; it was finally released in an 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, NC: 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 salsa includes sundry dueling biopics and hagiographies of salsa's founding heroes. But it perhaps still begins and ends with a film that the owners of Fania Records commissioned Leon Gast to shoot during a show at Manhattan's Cheetah Club in 1971, which was released the next year as *Our Latin Thing (Nuestra Cosa)*.

On reggaeton, the more recent Puerto Rico-born musical style that's now pervasive across Latin America and has become a staple of pop radio everywhere, 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 and readied for publication by Bartolomé de las Casas 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, 1969; 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 demise of the Taíno and their last princess Anacaona, the Dominican Republic's leading modern historian, Frank Moya Pons, has written the best one-volume history of his country 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 mulatos, y la nación Dominicana* (Santo Domingo, DR: Editora Nacional, 1969).

Juan Bosch was the DR's foremost liberal intellectual of the postwar 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, Peru: Populibros Peruanos, 1959). Among the best new scholarly work on Trujillo's rise to power and his regime's terror are Lauren Derby's *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), and, in Spanish, Andrés L. Mateo's *Mito y cultura en la era de Trujillo* (Santo Domingo, DR: 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* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin, 1994). Mario Vargas Llosa's imagination of the dictator's own last days, and his reign's aftermath, is *The Feast of the Goat* (New York: Farrar, Straus and 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 have remained shadowy since—appears in Bernardo Vega's two-volume documentary history, *Trujillo y Haití, 1937–1938* (Santo Domingo, DR: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1988, 1995). 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 Joaquín Balaguer did us the favor of detailing this mind-set in virulently xenophobic essays like *La realidad Dominicana* (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Ferrari Hermanos, 1947 [1941]) and his racist screed *La isla al revés* (Santo Domingo, DR: 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 the man who created the last authoritative Haitian-made map of the Haiti-DR border before its arbitration by the U.S. Marines, Alexander Pujol, has written a learned history of the two countries' bilateral animus called *Panorama des relations haitiano-dominicaines* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: 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 d'Haiti et la République dominicaine: Les aspects divers d'un problème 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 Hernandez'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 [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' revolt and right up to the present, the best general history in English is Laurent Dubois's *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Metropolitan, 2012). More than two centuries after Saint-Domingue's slaves launched an uprising whose great tragic hero became Toussaint L'Ouverture, the astonishment of their revolution's triumph remains Haiti's defining event. The classic account of the revolution's dramas remains C. L. R. James's. Alongside *The Black Jacobins*, though, now sits Laurent Dubois's *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), which draws on newer research. Alejo Carpentier's novel about the revolution, *The Kingdom of This World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006; trans. Harriet de Onís [1949]), imagines the story of the vodou priest who first sparked it, 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, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009); and the historian David Geggus's edited volume *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001). Geggus's other important works on the revolutionary period include *Haitian Revolutionary Studies* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002).

On Haitian vodou in the larger context of Haitian culture, the classic Haitian book is Jean Price-Mars's *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, NY: Doubleday, 1969). Harold Courlander's classic anthropologist's portrait of vodou is *The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian People* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986 [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 Iwas. 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 ten-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 nineteenth century, and the society forged by the country's 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'Haiti* (Montréal: Groupe d'Études et de Recherches Critiques d'Espace, UQAM, 1982). Charles Arthur and J. Michael Dash edited *Libeté: 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 decades before François "Papa Doc" Duvalier's fateful rise in the 1950s, the essential history is Matthew J. Smith's *Red and Black in Haiti: Radicalism, Conflict,*

and *Political Change, 1934–1957* (Chapel Hill, NC: 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, Haiti: Henri Deschamps, 2011). The late Port-au-Prince writer Marie Vieux-Chauvet was known for her brave critique of Duvalierism in the 1960s; her fine novels about those years have now been translated into English as *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Trilogy* (New York: Modern Library, 2009 [1968], trans. Rose-Myriam Réjouis and Val Vinokur). The story of Jean Dominique, the remarkable radio journalist and dissident who founded and then ran Radio Haiti 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 that followed his flight from the country, the essential reporting was by Mark Danner of *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 enduring 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 [1994]). Those failures' impacts on one family, in the context of post-9/11 paranoia in the United States 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 account of the 2010 earthquake's aftermath, and of the many grave missteps and corruption that bedeviled "aid" efforts in the

ensuing years, is 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, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2003) by Michael Craton, and, for a more archaeological approach, *The Maritime Heritage of the Cayman Islands* by Roger C. Smith (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001). On pirates and their golden age in the Caribbean, the classic account is Daniel Defoe's: *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, 2004). Peter Matthiessen's high-modernist evocation of life on an old Cayman turtle schooner is *Far Tortuga* (New York: Random House, 1975).

The best book to read on colonial Barbados and the building of the sugar trade in the British West Indies in general 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, UK: 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 describ-

ing 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 to 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 go-to 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 vivid 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 on the site of the old Galways plantation in Montserrat's southeast, and among people in the area forced by the eruption 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 novel *Annie John* (1985), along with the novella-length essay—*A Small Place* (1988)—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's 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, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Antigua's leading expert on the island's early and precolonial 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 owners, the definitive study—and debunking—of that rumor is David Lowenthal 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 (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 Caribbean, 2003). The dramatic story of Maurice Bishop’s “Revo’” and of Ronald Reagan’s invasion 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 his 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 Colour Magazine* on February 12, 1984, and subsequently published in *Harper’s Magazine* in March 1984 and later collected in *The Writer and the World* (New York: Knopf, 2002).

For a thoughtful scholarly account of the vexed place 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 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’s synoptic survey *France in America* (Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1990), and, in French, Gilles Havard 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 seventeenth 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 1952, as "the best of the writers on the background of [the islands], 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, 2013).

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* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1981) contains a memorable rendering of Delgrès's 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 nineteenth century, articulated his views on colonial policy in influential articles like *De l'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 Fanon's intellectual development in the context of his time, and of his ideas' lasting impacts on modern politics and thought, too.

All of Aimé Césaire's major works have been translated into English; they include his verse in *The Collected Poetry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984; Clayton Eshelman and Annette J. Smith, trans.), his *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000[1955]; Joan Pinkham, trans.), and the new bilingual edition of

The Original 1939 Notebook of a Return to the Native Land (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2013; A. 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, NC: Duke University Press, 2008) and Gary Wilder's *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Durham, NC: 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 Raphaël Confiant in their *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* No. 74 (1997). Confiant's longer essay on similar themes is *Aimé Césaire: Une traversée paradoxale 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 influential essays on Caribbean culture translated into English, including his *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997; Betsy Wing trans.) and *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1999; Michael J. Dash trans.).

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, NE: 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 eighteenth-century West Africa and Salem, Massachusetts, but she has also written worthy 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 touchstone of the Caribbean cinema by the director Euzhan Palcy in 1983 and published in English as *Black Shack Alley* (Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1980; 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 Honychurch'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 Marwon: The Fighting Maroons of Dominica* (self-published, 2014). Honychurch's maternal grandmother, Elma Napier, built her family's long-time home at Pointe Baptiste with her husband in 1932 and wrote a good memoir of her life and political activities here called *Black Sands, White Sands: A Bohemian Life in the Colonial Caribbean* (London: Papilote Press, 2012 [1962]). On the social structure and past of Dominica's agrarian culture in a global context, Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Peasants and Capital: Dominica in the World Economy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1988) is a staple 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 call 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, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1977) and Samuel M. Wilson's important edited volume *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean* (Gainesville, FL: 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 Dave 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, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000); Hulme 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 Dom-

inica, 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), has been brought out by Papillote Press. So has a reprint edition of her best-known novel, *The Orchid House* (London: Papillote Press, 2016 [1953]).

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, 2004) 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* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 2006, ed. Jane Bryce).

Trinidad (Chapter 14)

It perhaps says much about Trinidad, and its self-image in the context of the wider Caribbean, that the island’s defining leader of its “independence era” was also a major scholar of the region. But beyond Eric Williams’s 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, Trinidad: PNM Publishing, 1962). A more impartial and detailed general history, by the dean of Trinidadian historians, is Bridget Brereton’s *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783–1962* (London: Heinemann, 1981). On the fascinating decades when Trini-

dad 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 University Press, 2008), and Harvey Neptune's *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill, NC: 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 of any kind, full stop, on Trinidadian life.

About Trinidad's creole capital, one hears from the literate wags of its rum shops that there are three essential Port of Spain books. They are all fiction: *Minty Alley*, C. L. R. James's account of life in a 1920s barrack yard and penned in his schoolteacher days here, is widely cited as “the first West Indian novel.” (First published in London in 1939, the current U.S. 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 many “panyards” as well. Earl Lovelace's *The Dragon Can't Dance* (London: Deutsch, 1979) is the beloved local author's wonderful 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 run-up 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, UK: 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, Trinidad: 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* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2011), and Stephen Stuenkel's *The Steelband Movement: The Forging of a National Art in Trinidad and Tobago* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995). Few studies of Carnival's social

meaning today don't cite or draw on Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009; trans. Hélène Iswolsky [1968]), 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 Ab People: The Trinidad Carnival Bands of Stephen Lee Heung*, by George Tang and Ray Funk (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Blurb, 2014).

On the development of calypso from the nineteenth century through the music's postwar apogee in the 1950s, see Donald R. Hill's important primer *Calypso Calaloo: Early Carnival Music in Trinidad* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), and listen to *West Indian Rhythm*, a ten-CD box-set of classic calypsos from the 1930s heyday of the likes of Roaring Lion and Attila the Hun in the 1930s, released by Bear Family Records in 2007, with a beautiful 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's *The Political Calypso: True Opposition in Trinidad and Tobago* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), and Gordon Rohlehr'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, UK: Blackwell, 1992). Also crucial, on the large roles of music in Trinidadian society, are the musicologist Jocelyne Guilbault's loving 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), which Guilbault coauthored with the standout bandleader and saxophonist of recent decades here, Roy Cape.

The challenges posed by Trinidad's plural makeup to good gover-

nance and social cohesion have long preoccupied the island's calypsonians and politicians and social scientists alike. On this history, see Bridget Brereton's *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870–1900* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and the Jamaican anthropologist M. G. Smith's influential though outmoded *The Plural Societies in the West Indies* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1965)—a book once embraced by independence-era leaders who parroted Smith's argument that the dominance of one ethnic group over others in such plural countries was both inevitable and desirable for "stability's" sake. More contemporary in its approach to Trinidad's multiculturalism is *Trinidad Ethnicity* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), a volume edited by Kevin Yelvington and featuring essays, by authorities such as Patricia Mohammed and Keith Q. Warner, on the unique modes of "identity formation" in a place whose political culture has long been shaped by animus between "Africans" and "East Indians" but where daily life is profoundly mixed.

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, 2014). 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 and the Cross: The Clash of Cultures in Post-Creole Trinidad and Tobago* (St. Augustine, Trinidad: ISER, 1999), and Kirk Meighoo's *Politics in a Half-Made Society: Trinidad and Tobago, 1925–2001* (Princeton, NJ: Markus 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's *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 vexing prose about his home island, and elsewhere. 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).

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