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West Indian history has always been written from an interdisciplinary perspective. A cockpit of conflicting cultures and a productive arena very different from that of the European metropoles, the West Indies have obliged writers of history to give close attention to social complexities, class, race, and the extraordinary economic relationships that conjoined the diverse human components of the islands. Whether we look to eighteenth-century authors like Long and Edwards or to twentieth-century scholars like Ragatz, Debien, or Goveia, historians of the West Indies have consistently dealt with social and economic theory, anthropology, geography, geology, and agronomy. Except in the context of recent times, plain old political history has rarely been written for the Caribbean, and this article gives little attention to studies that are primarily political or constitutional in character. Its purpose is to explore the historiography of the islands and British Guiana for the period before 1900, identifying major historical problems, rendering judgment on various recent works, recommending areas for further study, and emphasizing, wherever possible, the methodology and disciplinary perspectives of the scholars whose work is considered.

For three decades, West Indian scholars have been profoundly influenced by the wide-ranging and provocative work of Eric Williams. His *Capitalism and Slavery* (London, 1944) examined the rise of King Sugar over infant Caribbean communities of small proprietors. It argued that racism derived from slavery, not the reverse; that the West Indies, as a pivot of trade and investment, produced a substantial portion of the wealth that launched England's Industrial Revolution; and that the elimination of the British slave trade, slavery, and the mercantile system occurred in response to the economic demands of a rising capitalist class. Since the publication of *Capitalism and Slavery,* historical writing on the British West Indies has, to a large extent, involved a conscious confirmation or refutation of Williams' several theses.

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Richard Sheridan's *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623–1775* (Baltimore, 1974) provides the latest and most authoritative support to one aspect of Williams' work. An economist by training, Sheridan contends that the wealth and trade generated by staple-producing slave labor plantations in British America ignited England's Industrial Revolution. Although European capital was needed to launch the plantation economies, the Caribbean sugar industry, Sheridan asserts, quickly became self-financing, yielding generous surpluses for investment in Britain. He speculates on how those surpluses were spent, but, like Williams, he offers little comparative data on the relative importance of West Indian capital in stimulating particular areas of British industry. Instead, Sheridan relies on the general argument that trade begets trade, that earnings produce investment, and that the West Indies, as a center of trade and a source of savings, provided the necessary impetus to the English Industrial Revolution.

Prior to the publication of his book, Sheridan presented his findings in several articles.[1] "The Wealth of Jamaica in the Eighteenth Century," examined the rapid economic growth of the island and determined that between 8 and 10 percent of the income of Britain in the final years of the eighteenth century was derived from the West Indies. This work was promptly rebutted by Thomas, whose cost-benefit analysis of similar West Indian data (much of it produced by Sheridan) led him to conclude that the West Indian colonies were not profitable and that Britain would have gained more by investing her wealth elsewhere. In a more recent cost-benefit study, Coelho has confirmed Thomas' conclusions.[2] Assessing the period 1768–1772—a time of international

1 Richard B. Sheridan, "The Wealth of Jamaica in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review,* XVIII (1965), 292–311; "The Wealth of Jamaica in the Eighteenth Century: A Rejoinder," *The Economic History Review,* XXI (1968), 46–61; "The Plantation Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, 1625–1775," *Caribbean Studies,* IX (1969), 5–25. Sheridan's biographical essay, "Simon Taylor, Sugar Tycoon of Jamaica, 1740–1813," *Agricultural History,* XLV (1971), 285–296, shows how a wealthy planter invested over a half million pounds in British consols, the factorage business, and shipping. Similarly, his study of the Olivers, a family that transferred its economic activities from Antigua to England, affords further ammunition for his contention that wealth rooted in the Indies blossomed in Britain. See, "Planters and Merchants: The Oliver Family of Antigua and London, 1716–1784," *Business History,* XIII (1971) 104–116.

2 Robert Paul Thomas, "The Sugar Colonies of the Old Empire: Profit or Loss for Great Britain?" *The Economic History Review,* XXI (1968), 30–45. Philip R. P. Coelho, "The

tranquility—and biasing his estimates in favor of the hypothesis that the colonies were profitable, Coelho has determined that as a result of monopoly trade and colonial defense the cost of the West Indies to Britain exceeded their benefit by at least £1.1 million a year (a drain equal to 10.3 percent of the average annual revenues collected by the exchequer). Why, then, were the colonies retained? Because, writes, Coelho, the beneficiaries of the system—the planters and merchants—were a small, easily identifiable group capable of effective political lobbying whereas consumers of sugar and taxpayers could not be organized to influence national policy.

Other scholars have attacked Williams' contention that profits from the slave trade provided a significant contribution to Britain's industrial development. Whereas Williams attempted to trace selectively the flow of capital from slave traders to British industry, Engerman has asked an aggregate question: to what extent did profits from the slave trade increase the general level of investment in Britain? Using figures provided in secondary sources, he determined that the slave trade contributed only about 1 percent to national income and that the sum of profits from the slave trade and from the West Indian plantations—if calculated on the most generous basis—would have been less than 5 percent of British income in an early year of the Industrial Revolution. Affirming Engerman's position, Anstey has determined that the average annual rate of profit in the British slave trade between 1761 and 1807 was 9.5 percent, a figure substantially below that implied by Williams. Nevertheless, the British rate of return was higher than that of other Europeans. Meyer informs us that a successful French slave trading firm earned an annual profit of 6 percent between 1776 and 1784; the Dutch Middleburg Company achieved an annual return of only 2.58 percent over sixty years, and the Danes determined that their slave trade was not profitable. If continental traders earned less than the British, one would suspect that the impact of their earnings on industrial development would have been correspondingly lower. Having examined this matter in the environs of Nantes, Le Havre, and Rouen, Boulle demonstrates that although there were important linkages be-

Profitability of Imperialism: The British Experience in the West Indies, 1768–1772, *Explorations in Economic History*, X (1973), 253–280.

tween the slave trade and local industrial growth, the limited internal markets of France impaired a wider dispersion of that impact. In Britain, Boulle acknowledges, the slave trade was integrated into a much broader economic framework. In keeping with this, Richardson suggests that facile English credit facilities, in contrast to those of France, permitted slave traders to enjoy a rapid turnover of capital and that this explains, in part at least, the higher profitability of the British slave trade. Exploiting insights from Boulle and Richardson, Engerman submits that the Williams thesis might be upside-down:

> It might plausibly be argued that what made, in general, for a growing economy were precisely those factors which made the slave trade itself profitable. Thus rather than looking at the slave trade as an exogenous, independent initiator of growth, an argument made suspicious by the failure of the Portuguese, French and Dutch, among others, to industrialize, it is the process of growth which can help explain the differences in the rates of profit among slave-trading nations (and the differential economic impact of the slave colonies).[3]

Roger Anstey's *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (London, 1975) carries the criticism of Williams' economic determinism to another level. Did the abolition of the British slave trade represent an acknowledgement among men of power that the West Indies were in decline and that stern measures

3 Stanley L. Engerman, "Comments on Richardson and Boulle and the 'Williams Thesis,'" *Revue Française d'histoire d'outre-mer,* LXII (1975), 333. See also Engerman's "The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment on the Williams Thesis," *The Business History Review,* XLVI (1972), 430–443. Figures offered here on the profitability of the English and Dutch slave trades are presented in Roger Anstey, "The Volume and Profitability of the British Slave Trade, 1761–1807," in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, 1975), 3–31. Jean Meyer, *L'Armement nantais dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1969), contends that, in general, slave trade profits failed to meet the expectations of French investors. This may account for the decision of the French government to subsidize the trade after 1784, as suggested in Perry Viles, "The Slaving Interest of the Atlantic Ports, 1763–1792," *French Historical Studies,* VII (1972), 529–543. The *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer,* LXII (1975), 1^er et 2^e trimestres, is entirely devoted to articles on the Atlantic slave trade. This is an exceedingly rich collection incorporating papers presented at the sixth International Conference for Economic History held in Copenhagen in 1974. It includes Pierre H. Boulle, "Marchandises de traite et développement industriel dans la France et l'Angleterre de XVIII^e siècle," 309–330; David Richardson, "Profitability in the Bristol-Liverpool Slave Trade," 301–308.

were required to compensate for the overproduction of sugar? Were the abolitionists merely impotent pietists whose altruism served to conceal the economic interests which dictated abolition of the slave trade? Anstey answers no on both counts. The West Indies were not perceived to be in decline; indeed, he contends, colonial economies prospered during the abolition campaign. Moreover, English abolitionists, although pious and altruistic, were well organized and politically sagacious men who appealed increasingly to a public already converted to antislavery by the gathering forces of intellectual change. Abolitionists did not achieve success by appeals to sentimentality. Rather, by astute political persuasion, they convinced a nation at war that in the case of the slave trade British national interest and British altruism coincided.

The formation of staple-producing slave labor plantations in the western tropics involved extraordinary enterprise and great human suffering. Two recent books, *No Peace Beyond the Line* and *Sugar and Slaves,* have thoroughly reworked the history of the British Caribbean in the seventeenth century.[4] Primarily social histories, both books are laden with trade figures, economic analyses, and captivating descriptions of agricultural procedures and estate operations. The authors' methods and emphases differ. They agree that the Caribbean colonies were social failures, but they disagree on points of considerable importance.

The Bridenbaughs use traditional methods of analysis, relying heavily on literary records and employing a rich selection of examples and anecdotes to buttress their arguments. Although they correctly acknowledge that a "glaring weakness of much social history is the disregard of strict chronology" (viii), the Bridenbaughs are less critical than Dunn in their use of sources and statistics. Dunn's orientation is social-scientific. In recounting the evolution of the planter class, he makes full use of available quantifiable data and exploits his material creatively, providing a systematic, lucid, and stimulating account of the social structure, outlook, and habits of "those other English colonists" in America.

In contrast to Dunn, the Bridenbaughs claim that the consolidation of large estates and the implementation of a rigorous agrar-

4 Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624–1690* (New York, 1972); Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, 1972).

ian slave system occurred prior to the rise of sugar as an important crop. In 1645, they argue, when sugar was just becoming commercially feasible, Barbadians were using 5,680 black slaves, principally in the cultivation of cotton and tobacco. Although Dunn focuses his attention upon sugar, the Bridenbaughs devote considerable space to the development of cotton culture, declaring the rapid establishment of that staple by inexperienced Barbadians "an agricultural accomplishment of the first magnitude," (57).[5] The term "monoculture," they contend, does not describe West Indian agriculture in the seventeenth century, for mixed cultivation—including ginger, tobacco, indigo, cotton, and provisions as well as sugar—was the rule on the estates.

The Bridenbaughs unequivocally accept Ligon's observation that European bondsmen were more severely treated than African slaves. At one point Dunn concedes the probability of Ligon's statement, but he devotes comparatively little attention to bondservants, writes extensively on the slaves, and gives a strong impression that he does not really endorse Ligon's proposition after all.[6]

Overall, Dunn breaks more new ground than the Bridenbaughs. His brilliant analysis of early census records—some of it previously published in article form—provides a clarity heretofore lacking in matters such as the extent of planter domination in various aspects of colonial society, the effects of absenteeism, and the role of religion and family life in the first century of English settlement.[7] Not least among Dunn's innovations is his study of dis-

5 The authors obtained the population figure from John Scott, a contemporary observer whom Dunn discredits as a "notorious trickster" whose "parade of precise sounding statistics are . . . sheer fabrications" (75). Dunn dates the effective implantation of sugar culture somewhat earlier (1643) than the Bridenbaughs, but the difference between them may be more semantic than real. Is a crop commercially significant when it is widely planted or when it is widely sold? The importance of cotton to the early settler is strongly affirmed by F. C. Innes in a well-documented narrative article having social and economic emphasis, "The Pre-Sugar Era of European Settlement in Barbados," *Journal of Caribbean History,* I (1970), 1–22.

6 For a comprehensive survey of indentured servitude in the Americas, see Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776* (Chapel Hill, 1947). Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), 43–44.

7 Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* XXVI (1969), 3–30. Patricia A. Molen, "Population and Social Patterns in Barbados in the Early 18th Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* XXVIII (1971), 287–300, is a similar study based on the 1715 census. Like Dunn,

ease, disease vectors, the character of medical care, and the rates of death endured by all elements of the population.[8] The islands, he concludes, were a demographic disaster area for whites and blacks alike in the seventeenth century.

Demographic analysis has occupied teams of French scholars attempting to identify the African origins of Caribbean slaves by assessing deeds of sale, plantation inventories, notices published on fugitive blacks, and registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials. Records are fragmentary, except for Saint-Domingue in the final third of the eighteenth century.[9] Some of the results of this research have been published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut française d'Afrique noire*, and Debien has given considerable notice to it in his periodic bibliographical surveys in the *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer.*

Another demographic work of profound importance is Craton's study of slave mortality on Jamaican estates.[10] Craton acknowledges the exceptionally high mortality of unseasoned slaves, but he contends that demographic conditions improved steadily in Jamaica throughout the slavery period: "Although the death-rate on plantations did not fall below 3.0 percent, the figures for natural decrease improved to about 2.0 percent in 1790, to under five per thousand in 1830, and within sight of a general natural increase on the achievement of 'full freedom' in 1838" (26). Craton estimates that by 1840 life expectancy for a black Jamaican was about forty years. What caused this sustained progress to-

she compares demographic data on Barbados with those of Bristol, Rhode Island, showing the comparative youthfulness of the Barbadian population, the lower rate of marriage, and the lower average number of children per family in the island colony. In briefer scope, Sheridan has published a similar treatise on the Antiguan planters: "The Rise of a Colonial Gentry: A Case Study of Antigua, 1730–75," *The Economic History Review,* XIII (1961), 342–357.

8 There has been much speculation but little systematic study of disease as a factor in West Indian history. The importance of the topic becomes evident upon reading W. A. Weisbrod, R. L. Andreano, R. E. Baldwin, and A. C. Kelly, *Disease and Economic Development: The Impact of Parastic Diseases in St. Lucia* (Madison, 1973). Sheridan has written "Mortality and the Medical Treatment of Slaves in the British West Indies," in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Race and Slavery in The Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, 1975), 285–310. He is currently working on a book tentatively titled *Doctors and Slaves: A Medico-Demographic History of the British West Indies, 1760–1834.*

9 Gabriel Debien and J. Houdaille, "Les Origins africaines des esclaves des Antilles française," *Caribbean Studies,* X (1970), 5–29.

10 Michael Craton, "Jamaican Slave Mortality: Fresh Light from Worthy Park, Longville and the Tharp Estates," *Journal of Caribbean History,* III (1971), 1–27.

wards a natural increase of the population? The gradual equalization of the sex ratio and the resulting stabilization of sexual relationships, he argues. Craton's analysis directly confronts the widely-held notion that West Indian planters deliberately used up their slaves in five to seven years, replacing them with new recruits from Africa.

Works on slavery reached floodtide in the 1960s. Marchand-Thébault's article—in keeping with the currently popular theses of Tannenbaum and Elkins—dealt too heavily with the laws of slavery and too little with actual practice.[11] Antoine Gisler's *L'Esclavage aux Antilles française* (Fribourg, 1965) corrected that approach, examined actions taken by the government of France to ameliorate slavery, and assessed the role of the clergy in slave communities. His book did not, however, introduce any new methodology, and it sacrificed depth to brevity. Debien's *Plantations et esclaves à Saint-Domingue* (Dakar, 1962) offered a narrower focus and a greater commitment to demographic analysis. Concerned with two plantations in the last half of the eighteenth century, it provided evidence on the ethnic composition of slaves, the distribution of sexes, and the rates of birth and death.

The groundbreaking modern work on English Western Indian slavery was J. Harry Bennett's *Bondsmen and Bishops: Slavery and Apprenticeship on the Codrington Plantations of Barbados, 1710–1838* (Berkeley, 1958). Concentrating on two estates owned by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Bennett showed how colonial pressures for conformity undermined the philanthropic purposes of the S.P.G. and rendered its estates little different from those of other absentees. Bennett's narrative history was followed in 1965 by Goveia's global study of colonial society in the British Leeward Islands at the end of the eighteenth century.[12] Her book examined the interactions of West Indians of every color at every level and concluded that a distinctive and coherent creole culture had developed by 1800. Race was the integrating concept of that culture. Race and slavery had become mutually reinforcing. Slavery had ceased to be a mainly

11 Marie Louise Marchand-Thébault, "L'esclavage en Guyane française sous l'Ancien Régime," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer,* XLVII (1960), 5–75.

12 Elsa Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1965). For another view, see D. W. Thoms, "Slavery in the Leeward Islands in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: A Reappraisal," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* IV (1969), 76–85.

economic instrument. It had become the "basis of organized society," so vital to the whites' sense of order that they could not dispense with it even if such a sacrifice was economically feasible. By way of emphasis, Goveia devoted extensive space to missionaries who, despite their successful conversion record in the Leewards, implored their black adherents to accept the racial and social subordination inherent in the slave society.

What Goveia described as a functional and rather elaborate social order, Patterson, studying Jamaica, characterized as a "monstrous distortion of human society" (9). Recoiling from Elkin's portrayal of the irresponsible, deferential, and infantile slave personality type, Patterson—a sociologist working in a social climate permeated by black protest—emphasized the slaves' resistance to the system, insisting that they did not internalize the "Quashee" stereotype but used it for their own purposes, playing dumb to deceive a master or bungling work to injure him. Although contemptuous of Jamaican society at large, Patterson produced a penetrating study of the social, religious, and economic institutions of the slaves.[13] In emphasizing their resistance to bondage, he overlooked elements of the system—physical and psychological—that gave rise to accommodation. How could a thoroughly evil social order involving tens of thousands of steadily resisting slaves have survived profitably for nearly 200 years? Patterson asks this question without answering it.

Although the profitability of Caribbean slavery has been a matter of considerable speculation, most scholars have contended with Ragatz and Williams that by the 1820s slave agriculture in the British West Indies was no longer profitable. Aufhauser challenges this view in a neoclassical economic analysis of Barbadian slavery. Using methods similar to those employed by Conrad and Meyer to assess the profitability of North American slavery, Aufhauser argues that just prior to emancipation the minimum rate of return per unit of slave capital in Barbados was 4 percent while the mean return may have been closer to 7 percent. Considering the relative infertility of Barbados and the high unit cost of production there, Aufhauser contends that the rate of return on slave

13 Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of a Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (London, 1967). For one aspect of slave culture, see Jerome S. Handler and Charlotte J. Frisbee, "Aspects of Slave Life in Barbados: Music and its Cultural Context," *Caribbean Studies,* XI (1972), 5–46.

labor was probably higher in most of the other British sugar colonies.[14]

Aufhauser has also dealt with the question of technological change under slavery, concluding in defiance of historical convention that British Caribbean slavery did not impede technological innovation. His work reinforces my own analysis of the Caribbean sugar industry before and after emancipation. Using different methodological approaches, he and I refute Ragatz's contention that West India planters were stubbornly attached to crude and anachronistic techniques.[15]

Cuba has figured largely in comparative studies on slavery. The Tannenbaum-Elkins thesis that the institutional framework of Iberian colonies occasioned a more humane form of slavery than that found in the dependencies of northern Europeans, although affirmed by Klein, has been effectively refuted by Franklin W. Knight. His *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, 1971) shows that Cuban slavery assumed as exploitative a character as that of non-Hispanic states when the island's sugar revolution gave rise to a highly competitive, capitalistic, export-based economy. Confirming the judgment of Mintz and Davis, Knight has warned against comparative studies that fail to examine subject states at equivalent stages of economic development.[16]

14 Lowell Joseph Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1753–1833* (New York, 1928); Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*; R. Keith Aufhauser, "Profitability of Slavery in the British Caribbean," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* V (1974), 45–67; Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South," *Journal of Political Economy,* LXVI (1958), 95–130.

15 Aufhauser, "Slavery and Technological Change," *The Journal of Economic History,* XXXIV (1974), 36–50; William A. Green, "The Planter Class and British West Indian Sugar Production, Before and After Emancipation," *The Economic History Review,* XXVI (1973), 448–463. In this vein, Sheridan's article, "Samuel Martin, Innovating Sugar Planter of Antigua, 1750–1776," *Agricultural History,* XXXIV (1960), 126–139, describes the efforts of one man to reform the management of slaves and stock, to experiment with new agricultural techniques and equipment, and to convey his expertise to fellow planters.

16 Herbert Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago, 1967); Sidney W. Mintz, "Slavery and Emergent Capitalisms," in Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese (eds.), *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), 27–37; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, 1966), 223–261. A less comprehensive, less provocative, and less vulnerable comparative study is Gwendolyn Medlo Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba* (Baltimore, 1971). Hall examines the modes of control—religious, physical, legal, and racial—exercised by the dominant classes.

Although the study of West Indian plantations as economic units has been hampered by the paucity of on-going records, several works of superlative quality have provided extraordinary insight into the rise, development, and perilous course of particular Caribbean estates. In 1950, Pares produced an exemplary business history based on the records of the Pinney family which founded a Nevis plantation in the seventeenth century, exploited it with varying (though generally good) success until the early nineteenth century, and then transferred their earnings to the sugar factorage business in Bristol.[17]

Perhaps the best study of a single West Indian estate is Michael Craton's and James Walvin's *A Jamaican Plantation: the History of Worthy Park, 1670–1970* (Toronto, 1970). Worthy Park, one of the richest properties in Jamaica, has the distinction of having been sold only twice in 300 years. Although estate records are scanty before the late eighteenth century, Craton and Walvin have brilliantly compiled the early history of the plantation from deeds, wills, registers, land patents, journals of the Jamaican Assembly, and other primary sources. After a generation of rugged pioneering, Worthy Park produced a sugar fortune that enabled Charles Price Jr.—land speculator and grandson of the founder—to accumulate 26,000 acres, 1,800 slaves, and equivalent prominence in the public life of the colony. The Prices did not become absentees until 1787, and in the nineteenth century their resident management was resumed. Apart from Charles Price Jr.'s financial overextension, the proprietors of Worthy Park exhibited few of the stereotypical characteristics attributed to West Indian planters. In addition to being meticulous rather than slothful agriculturists, they expressed a profound sense of patriotism to the island and were in no haste to flee it once their fortune permitted.

The disastrous effects of absenteeism on colonial society and plantation property is a theme that pervades West Indian history, and the damning conclusions of Pitman and Ragatz on the subject

17 The fragmentary Helyar family records on Bybrook Estate, Jamaica, have provided two scholars with material for assessing the troubled history of that family of pioneers during the period from 1660 to 1713. J. Harry Bennett, "Carl Helyar, Merchant and Planter of Seventeenth-Century Jamaica," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* XXI (1964), 53–76; *idem,* "William Dampier, Buccaneer and Planter," *History Today,* XIV (1974), 469–477; *idem,* "William Whaley, Planter of Seventeenth Century Jamaica," *Agricultural History,* XL (1966), 113–123. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 213–223. Richard Pares, *A West-Indian Fortune* (London, 1950).

have been buttressed by most subsequent works. To date, no one has attempted a thorough comparative economic analysis of resident and agency managed properties, but Hall has challenged the standard view of absenteeism as being based largely on unsupportable generalizations. His provocative analysis—suggesting that the planters' flight from the tropics to English watering places may be greatly exaggerated, that colonial attornies may, in many cases, have been better equipped than owners to handle the diverse requirements of plantation property, and that absenteeism may have provided greater social and economic latitude for free colored people—invites further study.[18]

The history of slave emancipation has received uneven attention. French scholarship has been more concerned with dramatic developments in Saint-Domingue between 1790 and 1810 than with the final process of emancipation. Corwin has brought new clarity to emancipation in Cuba, but his work does not deal with postemancipation developments. The British West Indies have received much more attention, but four decades have passed since W. L. Burn published his superlative *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies* (London, 1937). Mathieson's *British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823–1838* (London, 1926), the first book in a three volume study of the British Caribbean before 1865, appeared ten years earlier. The work of Coupland and Klingberg on the antislavery movement are of the same vintage. Davis's second volume on the problem of slavery ends with 1823, the year the British "Saints" accelerated their campaign against Caribbean slavery.[19] We do not have a comprehensive up-to-date study of British emancipation that encompasses both the humanitarian movement and the evolution of government policy, but excellent work on various aspects of the subject has appeared. Three articles on British abolitionism by Davis discredit the notion that the Anti-Slavery Society applied unrelenting and steadily increasing

18 Frank Wesley Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700–1763* (New Haven, 1917), 42–60; Ragatz, *Fall of the Planter Class*, 42–56; *idem*, "Absentee Landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750–1833," *Agricultural History*, V (1931), 7–26. Douglas Hall, "Absentee-Proprietorship in the British West Indies to About 1850," *Jamaican Historical Review*, IV (1964), 15–35.

19 Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817–1886* (Austin, 1967). Reginald Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement* (London, 1933). Frank J. Klingberg, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (New Haven, 1924). D. B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, 1975).

pressure on the British government, finally forcing it to jettison slavery in 1833. D. J. Murray's superb book, *The West Indies and the Development of Colonial Government, 1801–1834* (Oxford, 1965), provides a detailed analysis of official relations between the British government and the Caribbean colonies, emphasizing the steady growth of the imperial bureaucracy in response to West Indian problems. Relying heavily on Colonial Office records and the private papers of government officials, Murray observes that, despite traditional metropolitan concepts of colonial government which held that direction and control in the dependencies were vested in the imperial executive, intiative in colonial government by 1800 had passed to the Caribbean colonists who conducted local affairs to satisfy their own requirements and vigilantly defended their right to do so. The antislavery campaign, with its ascending need for imperial intervention to protect the well-being of slaves, occasioned the transfer of government initiative to London and produced such innovations as Crown colony government.[20]

The economics of emancipation—specifically, the extent to which British slaveowners were compensated for their loss of bonded labor—is a topic treated in the most recent work of Fogel and Engerman.[21] Surveying the process of gradual emancipation in the northern states of the United States and in the British West Indies, they determine that British slaveowners received 49 percent of the estimated value of their slaves in compensation disbursements paid by British taxpayers and about 47 percent of the original value of the slave population paid through services rendered by ex-slaves during the transitional apprenticeship period. The latter figure is calculated on the basis of the proposed six-year apprenticeship even though the apprenticeship lasted only four years.[22] If the 47 percent figure were adjusted to account for vari-

20 *Idem,* "James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1821–1823," *Journal of Negro History,* XLV (1960), 241–258; *idem,* "James Cropper and the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1823–1833," *ibid.,* XLVI (1961), 154–173; *idem,* "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Anti-Slavery Thought," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XLIX (1962), 209–230. Also see, Claude Levy, "Barbados: the Last Years of Slavery, 1823–1833," *Journal of Negro History,* XLIV (1959), 308–345; Mary Reckord, "The Colonial Office and the Abolition of Slavery," *Historical Journal,* XIV (1971), 723–734.

21 Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, "Philanthropy at Bargain Prices: Notes on the Economics of Gradual Emancipation," *The Journal of Legal Studies,* III (1974), 377–401.

22 The planters' strong resistance to the abbreviation of apprenticeship is treated in Wm. A. Green, "The Apprenticeship in British Guiana, 1834–1838," *Caribbean Studies,* IX

able factors in the Caribbean situation—adjustments upon which the authors only speculate—that figure, they suggest, would rise, not fall. Fogel and Engerman exhibit little familiarity with West Indian conditions, and I strongly suspect that their 47 percent figure is inflated. Furthermore, in dealing only with compensation for human property, these cliometricians sidestep an argument frequently made by the proprietary interest. The planters insisted that emancipation endangered the value of all property, moveable and real, by depriving them of reliable labor in a productive system that could not be conducted profitably without it.

Williams claimed that British slaves hastened their own emancipation by acts of rebellion. He made less of that point than he might have, for the Jamaican slave revolt of 1831 precipitated decisive imperial action on the slavery question. The history of rebellion and *marronage* attracted considerable attention in the 1960s, especially among French scholars. Drawing largely on administrative sources, Debbasch produced an important sociological study of slave desertions in the French islands, particularly Martinique. Also, his "Opinion et droit" examines the reaction of planters to a particular form of slave crime which, although commonly mentioned in the literature of slavery, has not been systematically studied. An article by Debien distinguishes between various forms of *marronage*—temporary absenteeism as opposed to permament flight—in an effort to direct the research of others. Together with Fouchard, he studied the frequency of absenteeism in Saint-Domingue in the months before the rebellion of 1791, observing that there was no exceptional outbreak of *marronage* in that period and suggesting that, in general, the frequency of *marronage* probably bears no relationship to the scale upon which slaves plotted rebellion.[23]

(1969), 44–66; Woodville K. Marshall, "The Termination of Apprenticeship in Barbados and the Windward Islands: An Essay in Colonial Administration and Politics," *Journal of Caribbean History,* II (1971), 1–45.

23 Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery,* 197–208; Yvan Debbasch, "Le marronage. Essai sur le desertion de l'esclaves antillais," *L'Année Sociologique,* XI (1961–1962); 1–122; *idem,* "Opinion et droit. Le crime d'empoisonnement aux îles pendant la period esclavagiste," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer,* L (1963), 137–188; Debien, "Le marronage aux Antilles françaises au XVIII[e] siècle," *Caribbean Studies,* VI (1966), 3–45; Jean Fouchard and Gabriel Debien, "Aspects de l'esclavage aux Antilles françaises: le petit marronage à Saint Domingue autour du Cap (1790–1791)," *Les Cahiers des Ameriques Latines,* II (1969), 31–67.

Patterson approaches the subject differently. Writing in the role of black historian-sociologist, he expresses concern about the "ideological implications" of his work and acknowledges his "intellectual responsibilities to [his] primary audience" (294, n.16). Patterson's "Slavery and Slave Revolts" is billed as a study lying "halfway between purely historical and purely sociological analysis of data"—historical understanding being principally concerned with the uniqueness of events, sociological understanding being directed toward the classification of events into "kinds." Using Jamaica as a case study, he identifies seven key conditions which he believes occasioned a tendency toward slave uprisings, concluding with the following hypothesis: "Large-scale, monopolistic slave systems with a high rate of absenteeism will, geographical conditions permitting, exhibit a high tendency toward slave revolts" (325). Patterson admits that his hypothesis can only be verified by studies of rebellion in other slave societies. His account of the Maroon wars, although it provides a greater sense of the continuity of those struggles, is couched in terms of twentieth-century guerrilla conflict and imposes an inappropriate ideological straitjacket upon groups of fugitives who lived and functioned in an African cultural context and struggled to maintain their separate identity.[24]

Was West Indian emancipation a success? How did social, economic, and political patterns change in the aftermath of emancipation? A number of scholars have probed these questions in terms of a single colony or island group. Philip Curtin's *Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955) described and deplored the separation of black and white cultures in the postemancipation period and laid the blame for that separation squarely on the white oligarchy. With closer attention to economic factors and no predisposed malice toward the plantocracy, Douglas Hall provided a valuable corrective to Curtin in his *Free Jamaica, 1838–1865: An Economic History* (New Haven, 1959). Observing that the welfare of all Jamaicans was inextricably tied to the sugar industry, Hall analyzed the multi-faceted problems of the plantation economy, offering due credit to the adaptability and initiative of the planters and affording an equally

24 Patterson, "Slavery and Slave Revolts: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the First Maroon War, Jamaica, 1655–1740," *Social and Economic Studies,* XIX (1970), 289–325. See also, George Cumper's criticism of Patterson's article in the same journal, 326–327.

sympathetic treatment to the new black peasantry. Hall is an economic historian of the old school: restrained and impartial, he combines profound understanding of West Indian conditions with a competence for close analysis. The strengths of his Jamaican book have been displayed more recently in a similar, though briefer, analysis of the Leewards.[25]

In an attempt to measure the character of economic change in British Guiana after emancipation, Moohr has written a quantitative study based largely on a comparison of national income accounts for 1832 and 1852.[26] In common with historians using more traditional methods of analysis, Moohr concludes that the critical factor in the postemancipation economy was the availability of land. Although emancipation occasioned a decline in the export sector and a comparable increase in the colony's domestic product, the planter oligarchy was able to restrict the freedmen's access to land, and Guiana remained fundamentally a sugar economy.

Alan Adamson deplores the self-serving behavior of the Guiana oligarchs, the sufferings of the freedmen, and the colony's commitment to sugar monoculture. His *Sugar Without Slaves: the Political Economy of British Guiana, 1838–1904* (New Haven, 1972)—a tight, non-quantitative analysis of the effects of emancipation—emphasizes the exploitative aspects of the sugar system. In view of the peculiar ecological conditions of British Guiana, Adamson fails to examine in realistic commercial terms what alternatives the colony might have had to a singular dependence on sugar, and his study, although valuable, suffers from the absence of comparative data from other sugar colonies. My own book, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830–1865* (Oxford, 1976) provides the first comprehensive treatment of the postemancipation British Caribbean

25 Anton V. Long, *Jamaica and the New Order* (Mona, 1956), although rather crudely produced in few copies, is a very worthy study of political relations in the emancipation period. Douglas Hall, *Five of the Leewards, 1834–1870: The Major Problems of the Post Emancipation Period in Antigua, Barbuda, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitts* (Barbados, 1971). For the Windward Islands in this period, see Woodville K. Marshall, "Social and Economic Problems in the Windward Islands, 1834–65," in Fuat M. Andic and Thomas G. Mathews (eds.), *The Caribbean in Transition: Papers on Social, Political, and Economic Development* (Rio Piedras, 1965).

26 Michael Moohr, "The Economic Impact of Slave Emancipation in British Guiana, 1832–1852," *The Economic History Review,* XXV (1972), 588–607.

in forty years. The book examines the evolution of political relations between the mother country and the colonies and attempts to describe and assess the differing impact which emancipation had upon the social and economic life of various island colonies and British Guiana. The decades after emancipation continue to offer a fertile field for interdisciplinary study. The relative social benefit of peasant and plantation forms of agriculture as dominant productive systems should be measured. Also, scholars having quantitative skills are beckoned to undertake pre- and post-emancipation comparisons of the well-being of the proprietary classes in such colonies as Barbados, Trinidad, and British Guiana.

When labor shortages arose in the wake of emancipation, West Indian planters and government officers appealed for immigrant labor. The resulting flow of Portuguese, African, Indian, and Chinese workers has been treated unevenly by historians. The best brief account of African immigration to the British Caribbean is an article by Roberts, the sociologist. Judith Weller, *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad* (Rio Piedras, 1968) and Dwarka Nath, *The History of Indians in British Guiana* (London, 1950) provide straightforward, although conceptually narrow, coverage of immigration from southern Asia. There is no satisfactory up-to-date study of Chinese immigration to the Caribbean. An article by Roberts and Johnson conceptualized West Indian immigration as an historical problem, but their work on British Guiana was quickly superseded by Adamson's *Sugar Without Slaves,* a book that examines immigration to that colony with great care.[27] Perhaps the best—certainly the most sensitive and multi-

27 G. W. Roberts, "Immigration of Africans into the British Caribbean," *Population Studies,* VII (1954), 234–262. J. U. J. Asiegbu, *Slavery and the Politics of Liberation 1787–1861: A Study of Liberated African Emigration and British Anti-Slavery Policy* (New York, 1969) is poorly informed on the Caribbean side of the issue. Mary Elizabeth Thomas, *Jamaica and Voluntary Laborers from Africa 1840–1865* (Gainesville, 1974) has little conceptual breadth. Edgar L. Erickson, "Introduction of East Indian Coolies into the British West Indies," *Journal of Modern History,* VI (1934), 127–146, is still useful on Indian immigration. George W. Roberts and M. A. Johnson, "Factors Involved in Immigration and Movements in the Working Force of British Guiana in the 19th Century," *Social and Economic Studies,* XXIII (1974), 69–83. Scholars seeking statistics on the flow of immigration to the West Indies should see G. W. Roberts and J. Byrne, "Summary Statistics on Indenture and Associated Migration Affecting the West Indies, 1834–1918," *Population Studies,* XX (1966), 125–134. Two articles by K. O. Laurence are valuable for the study of immigration to British Guiana: "The Establishment of the Portuguese Community in British Guiana," *Jamaican Historical Review,* V (1965), 50–74; "The Evolution of Long Term Labour Contracts in Trinidad and British Guiana, 1834–1863," *ibid.,* 9–27.

dimensional—assessment of immigration appears in Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years After Slavery* (London, 1968). Without neglecting political interaction between the Colonial Office and the colonial government and with all due emphasis on the mechanics of immigration, Wood treats the subject from a race relations point of view. What prompted the immigrants to leave their homelands, and how well did they adjust to conditions in Trinidad? To what extent did they interact with creoles? How did their presence affect relationships between the freedmen and the proprietary class? Wood does not ignore the severities of indenture—although his judgments are less harsh than those of Adamson—and he readily acknowledges the benefits which accrued to enterprising indentured workers. Aware that there was little melting in the Trinidadian pot, Wood concludes that there was ample room for everyone in the island: "Both then and later a *modus vivendi* has always been possible" (16). Wood gives new perspective to a subject that has generally been written about primarily in terms of exploitation.

The literature on race—a central theme in sociological and anthropological study of the West Indies—is vast. In the main, recent work has sought to explain national or regional differences in the character of race relations, an approach which exploits historical literature without employing historical methods of research. An exception to this is Martinez-Alier's *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba,* a study that examines the evolution of color prejudice over time, identifying conditions and stimuli which retarded or accelerated racial tolerance. Egalitarian sentiment grew in Cuba in response to the rise of nationalist identity and the weakening of the slave economy. The result was a steady "whitening" of the population. The author's conclusion that race relations are class relations may be too simplistic in light of Hoetink's work, but studies of this kind are necessary if social theorists are to obtain meaningful historical perspective.[28]

28 Verena Martinez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (New York, 1974). Harmanus Hoetink, *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations: A Contribution to the Sociology of Segmented Societies* (New York, 1967). In this highly provocative study (first published in Dutch, 1962), Hoetink argues that the crucial factor in determining the character of race relations at their most intimate and decisive level is physical preference—preference for those who correspond most closely to one's own somatic ideal. For interesting commentaries on Hoetink's work, see Mintz, "Groups, Group Boundaries and the Perception of 'Race,'"

Excellent work on freedmen, particularly free people of color, has appeared in recent years. The Hurwitzes have shown that the extension of civil rights to individual freedmen by private legislation was performed reluctantly and without much generosity in the eighteenth century. Working from parish registers and censuses dating from 1687 to 1826, Hayot, a demographer, has identified groups of colored artisans, soldiers, merchants, and seamen in Fort-Royal and has provided data on their degree of color, marriage patterns (including marriage between masters and slaves), and relations with the white population. The Cohen and Greene collection, *Neither Slave Nor Free,* incorporates summary chapters on Surinam and Curaçao, the French Antilles, Saint-Domingue, Jamaica, Barbados, and Cuba. Although many of these studies are tentative and exploratory, some of them being written by scholars for whom the free colored population is a secondary focus of interest, they provide inspiration and direction for further sociohistorical research.[29] Handler, coauthor with Sio of the chapter on Barbados, has recently published *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados* (Baltimore, 1974), the most detailed and comprehensive work on freedmen to date. Focusing on the period from 1800 to 1834 and cognizant of the special rigidity of racial distinctions in Barbados, Handler clarifies the procedures for manumission, analyzes the movement for civil liberties, and examines the occupations, wealth, religion, and education of the freedmen as well as their attitudes toward slave holding and the hierarchical order of society. Combining the analytical skills of a social scientist with a gift for narrative history, Handler, an anthropologist, has provided a model for comparative studies of the free population.

In a paper delivered in 1966 to a conference of scholars study-

Comparative Studies in Society and History, XIII (1971), 437–450; Peter Dodge, "Comparative Racial Systems in the Greater Caribbean," *Social and Economic Studies,* XVI (1967), 249–261.

29 Samuel J. and Edith F. Hurwitz, "Token of Freedom: Private Bill Legislation for Free Negroes in Eighteenth Century Jamaica," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* XXIV (1967), 423–431; Emile Hayot, "Les gens de couleur libres du Fort-Royal (1679–1823)," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer,* LVI (1969), 1–163; David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene (eds.), *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore, 1972). In order of their appearance in the above text, chapters were written by Hoetink, Léo Elisabeth, Gwendolyn Medlo Hall, Douglas Hall, Jerome S. Handler, Arnold A. Sio, and Franklin W. Knight.

ing Caribbean integration, Mintz speculated on aspects of West Indian history that had advanced or retarded national integration. Conscious of neocolonial and other impediments to national solidarity in the West Indies, he urged his audience to concentrate upon the distinctive cultural heritage of Caribbean societies—those elusive qualities one might define as "creole"—as a means of achieving a more profound sense of national and regional identity. Again, the past was being called upon to shape the future. Five years later, Edward Brathwaite published *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford, 1971), declaring that during the years covered by his study Jamaica was developing a "distinctive character or culture which, in so far as it was neither purely British nor West African, may be called 'creole' . . ." (xiii). He challenged the orientation of Pitman, Ragatz, and scores of later historians who treated Jamaica merely as an organic element of a large mercantile and colonial network—a dependency possessing institutions that were debased or distorted reflections of those in the metropole. Brathwaite argues: "Jamaica was a viable, creative entity. . . : rather than being a loose 'collection of autonomous plantations' it had developed, from the beginning of its history, an Establishment of governmental and social institutions capable not only of organizing and controlling life within its territory, but comparable, in many ways . . . to similar institutions in the mainland of British North America" (307). If Patterson's *Sociology of Slavery* was history for building resentment, Brathwaite's work was history for building a nation.[30]

Wilson, another scholar seeking new concepts of national identity in the West Indies, has decried the work of social scientists who view Caribbean society as a "pathetic or exotic immitation of their own society, not as a society evolving in its own terms" (217). An anthropologist, Wilson criticizes studies that have focused upon institutions like the family or upon those aspects of

30 Mintz, "Caribbean Nationhood in Anthropological Perspective," in Sybil Lewis and Thomas G. Mathews (eds.), *Caribbean Integration: Papers in Social, Political, and Economic Integration* (Rio Piedras, 1967), 141–154. In the French colonies, the development of a "creole" identity has also been aided by recent publications. Jacques Petitjean-Roget, *Le Gaoule, La Revolte de la Martinique en 1717* (Fort-de-France, 1966) is a detailed study indicating the desire of creole planters to exercise autonomy from metropolitan officialdom. Hayot has produced a thorough study of the rise of a colonial aristocracy in his *Officiers du Conseil Souverain de la Martinique et leur successeurs les Conseillers de la Cour d'appel (1675–1830)* (Fort-de-France, 1965).

Caribbean culture—like voodoo—that appear exotic or aberrant from a metropolitan point of view. Such studies, he claims, miss the fundamental essence of Caribbean life—specifically, the bipolar structure of society. Two value sytems exist side by side, he argues: one, being class oriented, is essentially metropolitan; the other, being based upon individual worth rather than place, is indigenous and has evolved since slave times. Wilson examines the indigenous system, and with the help of historical literature (which he exploits with too little caution and too much purpose) he attempts to generalize from his field studies on Providencia to the entire English speaking Caribbean. The book offers a provocative theoretical framework for the study of Caribbean society and concludes, as Mintz has urged, that "Caribbean societies must cease to look to faraway alien cultures as their social and cultural references and recognize instead the validity of their own standards." (230).[31]

We have reached a watershed in West Indian historiography. Although old problems continue to evoke historical controversy,

31 Peter J. Wilson, *Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Negro Societies of the Caribbean* (New Haven, 1973). The West Indian family has been a subject of serious academic inquiry since Melville Herskovits determined that matrifocality in Caribbean households was an African cultural survival. E. Franklin Frazier disagreed with Herskovits, insisting that slavery eradicated African family forms and that the household structure of negroes in the New World constituted an adaptation to harsh new conditions. Although the work of these scholars was heavily historical, some of the most important studies of the black family to follow—Fernando M. Henriques, *Family and Colour in Jamaica* (London, 1953); Edith Clark, *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (London, 1957)—were motivated by the need to define family structure for purposes of social welfare and government planning. This genre of work referred to historical problems without undertaking research of a historical nature. In *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (London, 1956), Raymond T. Smith introduced the functionalist approach to the study of West Indian families—an approach taken most recently in Hyman Rodman's *Lower Class Families: The Culture of Poverty in Negro Trinidad* (London, 1971). Giving little attention to historical factors, the functionalists relate the family to a large social system, explaining matrifocality in terms of contemporary socioeconomic conditions. Sidney Greenfield revived the historical dimension in his controversial *English Rustics in Black Skins* (New Haven, 1966), a good book in many respects. Greenfield argued that by virtue of the exceptional social and cultural history of Barbados the preferred family type among negroes in that island coincided with that of the dominant white culture. Moreover, he maintained, the particular form which the negro family has tended to take in Barbados is of English origin. He based his argument for English origins on George Homans' *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941). Such use of historical literature constitutes intellectual gymnastics that leave the historian breathless and dismayed. A recent study of family organization on three Jamaican plantations between 1817 and 1832 offers interesting data but few conclusions. See Barry W. Higman, "Household Structure and Fertility on Jamaican Slave Plantations: A Nineteenth-Century Example," *Population Studies,* XXVII (1973), 527–550.

scholars have become increasingly interested in uncovering the roots of a distinctive West Indian identity. Has orthodox Euro-American historical methodology, with its particular sense of structure, outlived its usefulness in the investigation of West Indian history? Has it, as Brathwaite contends, exposed only the formal shells of social formations, obscuring the ambiguities and paradoxes—the "glimpsed life within the interstices of the culture"—that provide a creative dynamic to Caribbean history?[32] In an age of national independence and Caribbean self awareness, the old imperial focus with its metropolitan values and expectations is ebbing before the new tide of creole history. It is still too early to tell to what extent the creolization of Caribbean history will alter or enhance our understanding of the West Indies before the twentieth century.

32 See the review by Edward Brathwaite of Jerome Handler's *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados* (Baltimore, 1974) in the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* LX (1975), 350–354.