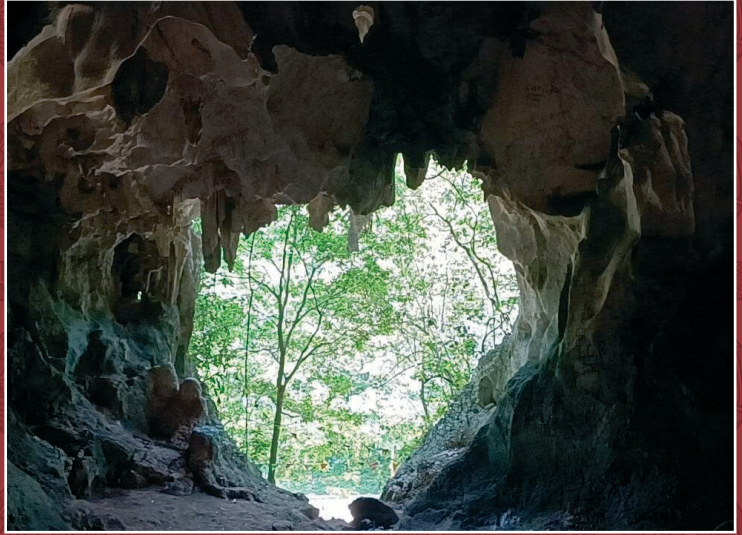


THE EARLY
AMERICAS:
HISTORY AND
CULTURE



LOCAL VOICES, GLOBAL DEBATES

*The Uses of Archaeological Heritage
in the Caribbean*

Edited by

JOSEPH SONY JEAN &

EDUARDO HERRERA MALATESTA

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Eduardo Herrera Malatesta



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This volume is a collective effort of authors from different local backgrounds in the Caribbean. These include Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Kalinago Territory, Saint Kitts, Aruba, Bonaire, Barbados, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Grenada, and Trinidad and Tobago. Our gratitude goes to the chapter authors for their invaluable contribution and patience during the different stages of the book project: Arlene Alvarez, Lisette Roura Alvarez, Jerry Michel, Kevin Farmer, Tibisay Sankatsing Nava, Harold Kelly, Raymundo Dijkhoff, Stacey Mac Donald, Laurent Urselet, Katarina Jacobson, Matthieu Ecrabet, Pierre Sainte-Luce, Lornadale Charles, Cameron Gill, Victoria Borg O'Flaherty^(RIP), Ashleigh John Morris, Kara M. Roopsingh, Zara Ali, Irvince Auguste, Eldris Con Aguilar, Andrea Richards, Debra-Kay Palmer. Many thanks to Wilhelm Londoño Díaz for writing the epilogue.

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Finally, while this book brought together several local Caribbean authors, some colleagues have expressed their interest in contributing to this volume but could not send the paper in time, or to be connected with the “Local Voices” framework and future publications. We are happy and grateful for this positive reception. We look forward to the future to keep integrating colleagues into the efforts of studying, co-protecting, and praising the archaeological heritage and histories of the Caribbean.

Joseph Sony Jean and Eduardo Herrera Malatesta

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Local Voices, the Uses of Archaeological Heritage in the Caribbean

Joseph Sony Jean, Eduardo Herrera Malatesta and Katarina Jacobson

This book aims to fill a gap in both archaeological scholarship and popular knowledge by providing a platform for local Caribbean voices to speak about the archaeological heritage of their region. To achieve this, each chapter of the book focuses on identifying and developing strategies academics, heritage practitioners, and non-scholars from the insular Caribbean can adopt to stimulate a necessary dialogue on how archaeological heritage is used and produced on various academic, political, and social levels. We have asked contributors to focus on, but not limit themselves to, answering questions such as: how are contemporary communities of the Caribbean engaging with the material past? What is the role of local Caribbean individuals and communities in creating and perpetuating archaeological heritage? How has archaeological knowledge been integrated into education plans in different countries? Each chapter shows particular ways in which each Caribbean country uses and engages with both Indigenous and colonial materials and the immaterial past, namely on the basis of the specific historical context that has informed popular and academic understanding of this past. Furthermore, the chapters that comprise this volume focus on the critical examination of memory, identity, education, tourism, community engagement, the process of “patrimonialization”, historical discourses, and the political strategies behind heritage practices.

After setting up the book project, a key point in its development came in the form of a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, which allowed us to organize a workshop in Guadeloupe in partnership with the Departmental Council of Guadeloupe and the NWO-Spinoza project CaribTRAILS (Caribbean Transdisciplinary Research Archaeology of Indigenous Legacies, KITLV, Netherlands). Sadly, the on-site workshop was cancelled due to the COVID-19 crisis; therefore, we decided to hold it as a virtual seminar. The workshop “Local Voices: The Uses of Archaeological Heritage in the Caribbean” raised questions that are critical to this book’s main aim and its contributors, generating new discussions and collaborations throughout the seminar. The workshop created a deep recognition of the importance of having Caribbean archaeology and heritage studies led by local voices, rather than by the traditional academic centres in the US and

Europe. Furthermore, the name of the workshop has since become a beacon of connectivity for local and foreign researchers and community members cooperating toward the decolonization of historical and archaeological ideas and models that have influenced both the general public and academics for centuries. With this we do not aim at negating the positive influence several foreign research projects have had on the archaeology and heritage of the Caribbean, nor do we aim at discouraging future collaborations. However, we believe it is important to empower local voices to pursue projects and collaborations that are led by local researchers, to create bridges between countries and regions that up to now have been mostly connected by the influence of foreign projects. What we have started with this book has become a much greater endeavor, continued with the workshop and future collaborations.

1 Background

Archaeological research has followed a long trajectory in the Caribbean (e.g., Keegan & Hofman, 2017; Wilson, 2007). More than a century ago (e.g., De Booy, 1915; Fewkes, 1891; Schomburgk, 1854), early archaeological studies focused on “discovering” and identifying objects. Later, during the early twentieth century, anthropologists from the USA came to the Caribbean and started the trend of “scientific archaeology” (e.g., Krieger, 1929, 1931; Rouse 1939, 1941). These researchers kept their focus on material culture, yet also emphasized the scientific method beyond the simple strategy of “discovery” and collecting Indigenous artifacts. It is widely acknowledged that, after this scientific turn, there arose a community of international and Caribbean researchers that have focused their practice, theories, methods, and techniques on gaining a deeper understanding of Caribbean histories¹ by addressing a wide variety of research topics on Caribbean precolonial and so-called “historical” archaeologies. In terms of heritage studies as connected with archaeology, local institutions, researchers, organizations, and research groups have worked toward broadening the notion of archaeology as regional heritage studies through discussions in the form of seminars, public debates, and publications.

1 The available literature on Caribbean archaeology is so vast that referencing just a few works here does not do justice to all the colleagues who have been working in the region for decades. Yet, we can direct the reader to some of the most well-known volumes to offer an idea of the diversity in research and proposals. See, for example; Boomert (2000); Bérard (2004); Benoit and Losier (2014); Deagan (1995); Delpuech and Hofman (2004); Havisser and Mac Donald (2006); Wilson (2007); Reid (2012; 2018); Curet and Hauser (2011); Keegan, Hofman, and Rodriguez Ramos (2013); and Keegan and Hofman (2017).

For example, in terms of institutions, a 1998 workshop in Martinique, organized by UNESCO with the participation of experts from the Caribbean, reflected on which Caribbean cultural heritage should be considered under the World Heritage Convention (Hooff, 2000). In addition, the 2003 UNESCO seminar in Santo Domingo, organized in collaboration with experts on Caribbean archaeology and the World Heritage List from the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA, <https://blogs.uoregon.edu/iaca/>), explored and facilitated the archaeological potential for identifying and protecting this vulnerable and fast disappearing heritage of the Caribbean region and nominating it to the World Heritage List (Sanz, 2005). Moreover, during the regional expert meeting in Martinique in 2004 (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/410/>), also organized by UNESCO, five categories of sites—rock art, Indigenous archaeological sites of the Caribbean, Contact Period sites, cultural landscapes, and African heritage in the Caribbean—were proposed as candidates for the UNESCO World Heritage List; the meeting produced an edited volume by contributors from countries in the region (Sanz, 2005, 2008). Further discussions on more regional scales look at the possibilities for built heritage to be more exhaustively considered as world heritage (e.g., Found, 2004; Green, 2013; Inniss & Jolliffe, 2012; Scher, 2012).

In the last two decades, archaeological heritage has attracted much attention from researchers looking at the various ways heritage is embedded within Caribbean cultures. For example, in Siegel and Righter's (2011) edited volume, which emphasizes the stakes of heritage protection in the Caribbean, each chapter focuses on a specific island and took the discussions on heritage management to a different, national scale. The challenges of heritage also loom large in works that discuss cases of heritage management (Hofman & Havisier, 2015); the concerns protecting heritage stimulate further research highlighting the natural and cultural processes that conspire to erase it (e.g., Dunnivant et al., 2019; Escurra & Rivera-Collazo, 2018; Hofman and Havisier, 2015; Hofman et al. 2021; Richards, 2022; Rojas, 2002; Siegel et al., 2013; Stancioff, 2018). Looking closely at tourism, scholars have addressed the impact and relations between Caribbean heritage and tourism (e.g., Bruno et al., 2020; Duval, 2004; Jordan & Duval, 2009; Jordan & Jolliffe, 2013; Scantleberu, 2011; Scher, 2010). Through the various, rich Indigenous and colonial archaeological heritages and traces of enslaved African and post-emancipation legacies, authors have interrogated the dynamics of heritage and memory by addressing how places and other phenomena of the past are envisioned in contemporary society, namely by individuals or institutions working with heritage (e.g., Havisier & Mac Donald, 2006; Michel, 2021; Pešoutová, 2019; Phulgence, 2015; Sankatsing Nava et al., 2023; Sesma, 2019; Ulloa, 2010).

However, heritage knowledge is virtually absent from the Caribbean educational system. Johnson (2002) has called for the decolonization of the history curriculum in the Anglophone Caribbean, for instance by shifting the curriculum's emphasis from British to Caribbean accounts in constructing historical narratives. In a similar vein, Boisselle has proposed a "postcolonial science education" that "includes indigenous science that is contextual, community-focused, and place-based in its recognition of how local populations come to know about the world" (Boisselle, 2016, p. 1). Other studies have explored the current educational practices (e.g., Con Aguilar et al., 2017; Con Aguilar, 2020), underscoring a fundamental need to make Indigenous history and heritage visible and known (see also Ulloa Hung & Valcárcel Rojas, 2016). Engaging archaeological research with communities and their expectations offers key strategies for producing scientific knowledge that is useful to current populations and seeks to achieve social justice (e.g., Fricke and Hoerman, 2022; Herrera Malatesta and Jean, 2023). According to Apaydin (2018, p. 1), "critical community engagement raises difficult questions for the researchers: how do we engage and what kind of methodology is more ethical and effective?" It is therefore, crucial to involve local communities and partner organizations in the research process and jointly explore opportunities to effectively incorporate the research results into the contemporary cultural heritage (e.g Antczak et al., 2013; Boehm, 2015; Flewellen et al., 2021; Gonzalez-Tenant, 2014; Havisier, 2015; Hofman & Hoogland, 2015; Lenik, 2013; Sankatsing Nava & Hofman, 2018).

2 Looking for Ways to Engage with the Material Past

The Local Voices workshop brought to light new considerations for the long-term future of archaeological heritage in the Caribbean and the critical challenges we all face in approaching it in a more inclusive and decentralized manner. The approaches, expectations, and policies that Caribbean communities adopt toward their heritage may differ due to the political configurations of the respective countries (e.g., Siegel et al., 2013). Yet there are several shared issues related to heritage preservation: the looting of archaeological sites, land management, natural hazards, disasters, lack of funding for protection and restoration, and the local communities' lack of participation in decision-making.

Potential solutions to this were discussed at the Local Voices workshop, and others still have been suggested by local researchers. Implementing national laws may contribute to tackling these specific heritage issues (Byer, 2021). However, the voices of local Caribbean academics and non-academics are crucial in

addressing this local and transnational challenge, especially amid the ongoing discussion about the restitution and repatriation of archaeological objects to the communities and countries of origin.

To encourage the emergence of new models of heritage valuation, protection, and sustainability, after starting the work on this book and organizing the first Local Voices workshop, we began collaborating with other researchers and institutions that wish to continue expanding these aims by organizing their workshops and publications within the umbrella of the “Local Voices” initiative. In September 2021, Hofman and several colleagues organized a workshop that explored cross-cutting issues in heritage management, such as education, sustainability, long-term community engagement, and climate change, as well as the need for open dialogue about Caribbean heritage.

We believe it is important to consider, communities often want to be engaged with their heritage and the involvement of individuals who live near archaeological sites can contribute to a ‘common enjoyment’ of heritage (Jean et al., 2020). The archaeological heritage of the Caribbean is a product of the cultural dynamics expressed by the different forms of heritage that have shaped Caribbean history. Acknowledging these forms of heritage through a community-based approach (Álvarez, 2021) is crucial to developing long-term strategies to represent the diversity of Caribbean culture.

Finally, based on previous research in the region, the two Local Voices workshops as well as the contributions to this book, we have observed that some of the most significant factors in preserving Caribbean archaeological heritage relate to natural hazards, disasters, looting, colonial histories, and the flexible and dynamic idea of what archaeological heritage is. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and other types of natural hazards pose great challenges for citizens of the region due to the various socioeconomic, environmental, and cultural impacts of these disasters. Seasonal hurricanes, sea-level rises, and marine erosion affect coastal archaeological sites. A growing number of researchers have been addressing these issues in the context of archaeological heritage in the Caribbean region (e.g., Cherry, 2012; Copper & Peros, 2010; Dunnnavan et al., 2018; Escurra & Rivera-Collazo, 2018; Fitzpatrick, 2012; Rojas, 2002; Scobie, 2019; Siegel et al., 2013; Stancioff, 2018). However, there is an urgent need to develop effective methodologies and approaches for addressing these issues with the support of local communities and actors engaged in disaster prevention (Boger, 2019). Local and international researchers, regional and national governments, and local communities must therefore work together to develop multi-criteria analyses based on the participatory efforts of organizations and citizens in identifying and safeguarding the endangered sites.

3 Archaeological Knowledge and Relationships with Local Agents

Best practices in archaeology call for the scrutiny of research questions, methodologies, and results of new research perspectives, yet under the umbrella strategy of emphasizing community participation in archaeological and heritage research (e.g., Auguiste & Hofman, 2022; Londoño Díaz, 2021; Reilly & Norris, 2019; Rodríguez Rodríguez, 2021; Sankatsing Nava & Hofman, 2018). The implications of this way of doing research directly conflict with the predominant approach that focuses only on archaeologists as the center of the research process, and the archaeologist's opinion as the final, most valid interpretation of the past (e.g., Flewellen et al., 2021). It supports a recent call for the implementation of traditional knowledge in response to crisis and resilience related to heritage in the Caribbean (Fricke and Hoerman, 2022; Herrera Malatesta and Jean, 2023; Hofman et al., 2021).

In this book, as well as during the Local Voices workshops, participants agreed that the decolonization of archaeology follows “innovative resistance paths” (Pajard, 2019) as the best way to integrate local voices in the archaeological research process and dissemination. During the workshop, discussions revealed that the decolonization of archaeological practices is considered a crucial path forward, in line with the pioneering work of Puerto Rican archaeologists Jaime Pagán-Jiménez and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos on *arqueologías de liberación* (“archaeologies of liberation”) as a means to subvert traditional archaeological practices based on intellectual and political colonialism (Pagán-Jiménez, 2004; Pagán-Jiménez & Rodríguez Ramos, 2008).

Moreover, the dissemination of archaeological results and their practices must change so that the lay public, both rural and urban, is considered a key agent with whom knowledge should be discussed and agreed upon. The public can learn about heritage through various dissemination channels, including social media. It is also critical to engage directly with those who are excluded from mainstream online channels. Diffusion of knowledge also includes repatriating archaeological items to the country or community where the archaeological research was conducted, which represents a crucial step in decolonization. For instance, the restitution and repatriation of objects taken during colonial times (Françoza & Strecker, 2017) or removed during archaeological research and the sustainable means to preserve these artifacts reveal a fundamental aspect of heritage justice. The recently edited volume *Real, Recent or Replica* (Ostapkowicz and Hanna, 2022), through different chapters, echoes critical discussions around issues of looting of heritage, providing insights for scholars and professionals of heritage to counter illegal trade of artifacts in the Caribbean. Yet, the path ahead is a challenging and complex one: including the

voices of rural, Indigenous, and urban communities in the archaeological process must be done through methodologies that consider all opinions and all voices and produce images of the past that are not biased by colonialist stereotypes, racial and gender discrimination, or distorted ideas of cultural hierarchy. The chapters in this book aim to contribute to efforts toward changing this.

4 Overview of This Volume

The Caribbean represents a meaningful point of departure for deeply engaging in discussions on how archaeological heritage is envisioned and understood, considering current trends in archaeological debates regarding memory, restitution and repatriation, education, and environmental contingencies. By looking more closely at the historical foundations of archaeological practices (Curet, 2011; Pagán-Jiménez, 2004) and the institutional structures in place for dealing with heritage in the Caribbean, there are significant issues to be addressed, specifically the practices and discourses of archaeological heritage (sites and objects) from a local perspective (e.g., Gonzalez-Tennant, 2014; Murphy, 2014).

Caribbean heritage is a vast field of research (e.g., Ostapkowicz and Hanna, 2022; Reid, 2015; van Stipriaan et al., 2023). The authors of this book discuss the multiple dimensions of this archaeological heritage, from its social meaning to individuals and local communities, to institutional heritage politics and policies. Each paper provides original narratives that set the groundwork for future research on heritage discourses and practices in the Caribbean. This book has a central topic—Caribbean archaeological heritage through local voices—and its contributors offer their own unique case studies and perspectives, endowing this book with a rich and diverse archaeological heritage landscape. All the chapters feature excellent cases for comparative studies, collectively providing a complete overview of the ongoing discussion about archaeological heritage in the Caribbean.

The chapters navigate different topics such as Indigenous voices, memory, museums, preservation of heritage, patrimonialization, and education. Most of the chapters are the result of collaborative output and are written to be accessible to a broad audience of scholars and students as well as curious readers interested in general debates about heritage, archaeology, museum studies, and historical reevaluations of the Caribbean. This first volume of *Local Voices*²

2 As mentioned above, our collaborative work, under the umbrella term “Local Voices,” has expanded considerably since the first meetings organized by the editors of this volume. At

offers a template for meaningfully engaging with dialogues about heritage, allowing academics, citizens, and individuals from the region to foreground their thoughts in the global debates. The editors have called upon authors representing the full geopolitical diversity of the region (independent islands and countries, autonomous islands, and islands with special status under the French, British, and Dutch). For us, it was important to consider the plurality that characterizes the region to appreciate the relationship between the islands; and their Indigenous, colonialist, and African origins with respect to their history, past, valorization, and protection of diverse heritages. While the contributors are scholars from the region, we understand local perspectives on archaeological heritage as the fundamental steps of Caribbean or international scholars who take heed of the current socio-political, historical, environmental, and economic contexts of the region in producing narratives about the past and the present. In this book, each chapter explores critical paths for further heritage debates. The chapters offer ways to make sense of Caribbean's socio-historical realities when discussing heritage. Along with the authors' contribution, we acknowledge other local and international voices and projects that embrace critical pathways on heritage in the Caribbean.

In chapter 2, Eldris Con Aguilar and former Kalinago chief Irvince Nani-chi Auguiste open the discussion with a vibrant dialogue. Through powerful personal stories about his life experiences, cultural heritage, identity, and research into community history, Irvince provides crucial insights into his drive to become an activist and a Kalinago leader. Interested in learning about and actively participating in the historical and archaeological research being conducted in the territory, Irvince vividly recounts his stories of the reclamation of Indigenous voices both in the Caribbean and worldwide. He reimagines the legacy of Indigenous people as the continuity of the nation, its people, and future leaders like himself.

However, there is a perpetual bias in teaching Indigenous history in the Caribbean. Taking the case of the Dominican Republic as an example, research has demonstrated the distortions stemming from each country's colonial history and politics, perpetuating social exclusion, and influencing national identities (e.g., Gracia-Pena, 2015; Ricout, 2016; Ulloa Hung, 2010). For instance, in chapter 3, Eduardo Herrera Malatesta, Eldris Con Aguilar, and Arlene Álvarez weigh in on the dialogue between archaeologists and primary-school teachers in the province of Montecristi, in the Dominican Republic. Their paper focuses on how the primary-school curriculum in the Dominican Republic

the moment, and because of our Wenner-Gren funded workshop, we are already aiming for a second volume, to be edited by other colleagues.

repeats and perpetuates biased colonial representations of Indigenous people and how this has shaped the general public's conception of these populations in both the past and present. They conclude that dialogue between teachers and archaeologists paves the way for a more appropriate strategy of scientific dissemination and public outreach. Their paper highlights the importance of including the schoolteachers and students in the decision processes for the structure of education about the Indigenous past.

In chapter 4, Lornadale Charles addresses how the Indigenous past is presented in the Grenadian education system, specifically regarding the biased colonial narratives that have shaped this presentation. She conveys how the history that people learn at school has its roots in the colonial past, thus limiting the population's knowledge of the island's history, cultural landscape, and identity from the Indigenous perspective. Charles emphasizes the importance of using current scientific knowledge about Grenada's Indigenous heritage, as well as archaeological knowledge, as material evidence in developing a new curriculum that considers this neglected historical chapter. She argues that a fundamental shift—that of decolonizing Grenada's education system—is crucial to raising awareness of Indigenous history in Grenada, thereby overcoming the myth of the nonexistence of Indigenous culture.

In chapter 5, Cameron Gill and Victoria Borg O'Flaherty state that on Saint Kitts, colonial archaeological heritage is reflected in the legacy of the sugar plantation, deeply entrenched in the physical and cultural landscape. By examining the perspectives of various entities and individuals, ranging from corporate stakeholders (specifically from the heritage tourism sector) to grassroots community activists, the authors explore issues of representation and the interpretation of a heritage that is intertwined with the still painful and controversial legacies of enslavement and colonization in Saint Kitts. Despite varying perspectives on diagnosing the complex legacy of historical sites, the authors find common ground: the recognition that the narrative created around these sites heavily influences how the public relates to them.

In chapter 6, we turn to Jamaica. Andrea Richards and Debra-Kay Palmer investigate how Jamaicans value and interact with heritage. To deepen this understanding, they review a key question: what does this valuation look like, and how does it manifest when exploring how Jamaicans interact with heritage? The authors zoom in on the institutions authorized to protect and share this heritage with Jamaicans, and how archaeological heritage is managed, protected, and has suffered the impact of illegal excavations and looting. They claim that there should also be a push for a more representative and inclusive archaeological heritage beyond the Indigenous, European, and African narrative. More interesting ways of stimulating awareness should

also be sought, encouraging Jamaicans to explore the different ways of valuing heritage.

As Jean (2021, p. 43) has stated in the *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter*, the only archives that document the colony of Saint-Domingue are inadequate for uncovering the hidden narratives of how places of resistance were created and used in the counter-colonial landscape context. In a similar vein, in chapter 7, we turn to Haiti—a former French colony that produced the most substantial quantities of sugar and was the most profitable colony in the 18th century. Some work on the archaeology of the colonial period has been carried out in the last few years; however, there is much more yet to be done. In asking what has become of vestiges of the colonial past, in their chapter, Joseph Sony Jean and Jerry Michel tackle the phenomena of memories, remembering, and the uses of the colonial plantations of Haiti. They argue that the uses of remains takes on diverse and variable forms in time as well as in space, and they try to center the different actors, places, local knowledge, and support that come into play in the process of transmission and claims of heritage and memories. They conclude that the social practices of the farmers, religious practitioners, landowners, and citizens who live on heritage sites are crucial to studying archaeology and heritage, particularly when it comes to understanding the memorial narratives that emerge from their interactions with colonial sites.

While many Caribbean islands aspired to self-determination from the 1960s, amid the decolonization movement that arose under the influence of the fathers of *négritude*, Guadeloupe and Martinique kept their status as departments of the French Republic. The understanding of processes related to the patrimonialization of archaeological remains is addressed through Indigenous heritage (Bérard, 2014), or through the built material that people from Guadeloupe and Martinique perceive as linked to colonialism. In chapter 8, based on a composite reality of more than three hundred years of oppression, Laurent Urselet, Katarina Jacobson, Mathieu Ecrabet, and Pierre Sainte-Luce show that the French political system practices a form of cultural heritage management that generates frustration and misunderstanding in Guadeloupe and Martinique. This administrative management, driven by a decision-making center in Paris, hampers the social construction of cultural heritage and annihilates the desire for recognition and empowerment. Through several examples—dealing with vestiges of colonization with enduring symbolic power, and the management of a museum that leaves the legacy of the Indigenous civilization implicit, the authors highlight the emergence of “patrimonial” discourses and memory policies are at the heart of the process of the social construction of identity.

Diverse types of museums housing traces of the Caribbean past have been adapted to represent grassroots initiatives, rather than the typical colonialist representations (Ariese, 2018). Cuba has the most significant number of museums in the Caribbean, including ecomuseums. For example, in chapter 9, based on the case study of Ecomuseo Las Terrazas in Cuba, Lisette Roura Alvarez shows how implementing a successful policy of patrimonializing old coffee plantations and actions has promoted sustainable local development, merging community, natural environment, and history. As a result of the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum's success, community participation in the process of patrimonialization and the implementation of ecomuseums related to industrial archaeological heritage sites has been reaffirmed. Lisette argues that the experience has allowed community members to live in and enjoy a dynamic, high-quality environment while also being aware of its value, highlighting the museum as an example of human motivation and good practice and the establishment of a successful heritage-building process.

A variety of approaches to theory and method are implicit in the discussion of identity in the Caribbean. In contemporary debates on Caribbean identity, the focus on museums contributes to understanding the impact of the material past in public spaces (Álvarez, 2021; Cummis et al., 2004, 2013). In chapter 10, Kevin Farmer examines the development of national identity in Barbados through the interrogation of material culture deposited in the Barbados Museum and Historical Society collection, the nation's *de jure* national museum. Along with considering the museum's genesis, Farmer analyses the contemporary museological and archaeological practices involved in interpreting the collection. His paper explores how such material culture informs and frames national identity while also pointing a new way forward, given the impending threats to such heritage by changing land use. Farmer argues that there is a need for Caribbean museums to embrace the oral tradition of storytelling and "ole talk" and to make the most of masquerade festivals and their potential for engaging peripheral communities. To become centers of discourse, they must be able to voice the concerns, fears, and aspirations of the different groups they represent without bias or favor.

In chapter 11, Tibisay Sankatsing Nava, Harold Kelly, Stacey Mac Donald, and Raymundo Dijkhoff use the case studies of Aruba and Sint Eustatius (Statia) to explore the challenges and benefits that strategies of shared responsibility can bring to natural and archaeological heritage in the Dutch Caribbean. The analysis is based on collaborations between research, government, and the private sector in Aruba, and two case studies on the dynamic between heritage and nature conservation actors: an iguana conservation program in Sint Eustatius and a marine archaeology case study in Aruba. In order to build

equitable and sustainable collaborative relationships in the Dutch Caribbean, they conclude that future research should explore the emergence of funding options for heritage management and best practices in heritage collaboration while considering the potential of co-creation.

We conclude with chapter 12, where Ashleigh John Morris, Kara M. Roopsingh, and Zara Ali use a case study from the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago where neither legislation, national guidelines, nor government organizations are responsible for monitoring archaeological investigations and protecting their finds. For over a century, this archaeological heritage, generally under-regulated and threatened, has been under the care of a few individuals and elites, as well as NGOs, for whom the inclusion of the community is not without its challenges. In this chapter, the authors address heritage legislation in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago through the lens of archival research. Through formal and informal interviews with individuals as well as with representatives of NGOs involved in archaeological heritage management, this chapter explores the stewardship of archaeological resources in Trinidad and Tobago within the broader notion of archaeological heritage management in the Anglophone Caribbean. They call attention to serious challenges to the longevity of archaeological heritage, which must be overcome through a collaborative effort between individuals, communities, and the government, guided by local and international law.

Wilhelm Londoño Díaz concludes the volume with a commentary on the chapters regarding local perspectives in heritage discussions in the epilogue. Wilhelm views the Caribbean as a decolonial space for archaeological and heritage practices by closing on Trouillot's idea of it as an open frontier.

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A Simple Way of Life: Voices of the Kalinago Territory

Eldris Con Aguilar and Irvince Nanichi Auguiste

1 Introduction

In this conversation, former Chief Irvince Auguiste walks us through his life experiences,¹ from his time as a young boy growing up in the Kalinago Territory to becoming a leader of his community, an activist, and a cultural representative of the Kalinago people.²

The Kalinago are direct descendants of the people most commonly known as Island Caribs, who lived in this region before the arrival of the Europeans.³ Because of its political status as a collectively owned land, as established by the Carib Reserve Act of 1978 (Mullaney, 2009), the territory is a unique case compared to those of other Indigenous Peoples in the Caribbean region.⁴ And “since the Kalinago Territory is the only such constituted legal space in the archipelago, it is often—erroneously—cited as being the last place of indigenous presence in the Caribbean” (Strecker, 2016, p. 171). Nonetheless, the Kalinago, along with their Indigenous brothers and sisters from Saint Vincent and Trinidad and Tobago, are one of the few remaining self-identified Indigenous Peoples in the Caribbean.

The island of Dominica is known around the world for the richness of its natural and cultural heritage. In fact, on driving about an hour from the capital city, deep in the mountains, one will find what was previously called the “Carib

1 This interview has followed CaribTRAILS protocols for interviews and the code of conduct/ethics of Leiden University.

2 The Kalinago are known as “Caribs” in colonial documents. It was only recently, in 2015, that the name was changed to “Kalinago,” which is more representative of the community and its indigenous origins. For more details, see Strecker 2016.

3 “Island Caribs” is an anthropological term used to differentiate the indigenous peoples who settled in the Lesser Antilles from the Caribs of the mainland. Allaire (2013) addresses the ethnohistory of the Caribs and explains in detail who the Island Caribs were.

4 Stancioff (2016) goes into greater detail about the relationship between land use, cultural values, and economic development in the Kalinago Territory. For more on the legal configuration of the Kalinago territory, see Mullaney 2009 and Strecker 2016.

reserve" (1903), known since 2015 as the Kalinago Territory. It is a surprisingly green area, surrounded by mountains, along the coastline in the northeast of Dominica.

The Kalinago Territory has diverse economic activities, among them farming, fishing, and tourism. More recently, tourism has become more significant to the community and there is a clear interest in strengthening cultural tourism, which could have a positive effect on the locals; the opening of the Kalinago Barana Autê in 2006 has had a positive impact on tourist activity in the territory.⁵ Kalinago leaders like Irvince have long been working to find ways to empower the Kalinago community with the resources and knowledge to work toward strengthening the economic potential of the territory.

In this quest, he has found opportunities for collaboration with scholars from all over the world. He makes special reference to how being involved and integrated in these research projects has made a difference for him, from being uninterested to learning and actively participating in the historical and archaeological research being conducted in the territory.⁶ These activities also strengthen his conviction that the local Indigenous people once formed part of a larger Indigenous community in the Caribbean and the world.

This interview delves into different aspects of Irvince's life, from his personal experiences to becoming an activist and a Kalinago leader. The questions have been transcribed by the author, maintaining fidelity to the conversations held with Irvince Auguste in April 2019.

2 Part 1: Life Experiences

What Does Being Kalinago Mean to You?

It means to be unique in a certain way, because there is an identity for most people in the world, and identity is a big issue for some people, in the sense that everybody wants to know where they came from, what their history was like, and so on. And for me, it is really wonderful to know that my history is one that is still surviving after so many hundreds of years, and it is really awesome

5 A more in-depth analysis of tourist initiatives in the Kalinago Territory and the KBA can be found in Hudepohl 2008, an article that delves extensively into the author's study on this subject.

6 For a more detailed view of recent examples of participatory research in the Kalinago Territory, see Sankatsing Nava and Hofman 2018 and Auguste and Hofman 2022 for a conversation on heritage and archaeology.

to know that I am part of an Indigenous world and something that has a very strong history, a background of being among the very first people who encountered the Europeans when they came to this part of the world, and to be able to live there still after so many years.

How Early in Your Life Did You Learn You Were Kalinago? Could You Please Elaborate a Bit More on How this Realization Influenced Your Life?

I knew that I was [...] well, let me make a difference in that Kalinago [identity] came later. But ... so let me make reference to [how] I knew that I was a Carib Indian, an Indigenous person, from way back: [at] five years old, I knew that it was something very special for us as a people, because my mom always spoke to us, the family, about the Carib people and the connections that we have had with the persons who came into our communities, like the priest, like the teachers and the school. The uniqueness that we have as a people—but there was always that form of discrimination from our own local Dominicans. However, there seems to have been a better connection with persons who came from outside the island, and even particularly the French, because we are located between the French islands of Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe, and Martinique, and then there were all the stories of the folklore—you know, the way that we lived, the simplicity of our life, just the whole [of the] cultural expressions [that] my mom [instilled] from an early stage. It is something very interesting: there is a number of questions for me as well—if we were such an important people, how come we got ourselves sort of sidelined so much? I was interested from an early age in inquiring [about] and being part of discovering the missing [pieces].

When You Were in That Process of Inquiring and Discovering, Did You Have the Opportunity to Explore Your World as a Kalinago Person in the Community?

Well, within the community itself, while I was growing up, people were pretty much [...] well, they were not really outgoing, discussing traditions and culture and so forth; they were just living their lives simply, very simply—simple houses, you know, socializing in the sense of cricket, dominos, and so forth. The people, they knew that they were Carib—I don't know if they knew they were also Indigenous at the time, but they knew they were Caribs, and [that] they were [...] the first to encounter the Europeans when they came here. And you have this strong [sense] that this island is our island, and other people came [and] took [it] from us, so you heard a lot of that, but in really recognizing and getting the kind of answers that I was looking for, what probably

triggered [me to look] for more was when I went to the city of Roseau, because Dominica is a very small island and Roseau [is] the main capital.

I happened to have gone to school there at the age of 11, and just interacting with other persons, non-Caribs, it created this kind of awareness: some of it was more interest in wanting to know, but some of it was [also] a feeling of anger, in the sense that I felt more discrimination from the non-Caribs that I went to school with: they would know the stereotype of being Carib—words like “savage,” “your people were cannibals,” “the Arawak were so peaceful” ... you know, that kind of vibe, that kind of talk coming from my other peers. It was then, when I when to secondary school, that I began studying, looking at history more, I am talking about going to school in 1973.

By 1975, we had our first member of parliament who was a Kalinago person—for the very first time—and then you would think that person would change things, and people would see us coming [up from the rear] or coming from the neglected part of the island and [getting ahead], but even then, there was that sort of discriminating feeling, and people would still see us as second-class citizens. It is during that period of study that I questioned myself even more, because other people could not give me the answers as to what happened to the rest of the Kalinago people then {unclear}. I am talking about a period in our lifetime when going to the island of Marie-Galante, or more Martinique, Guadeloupe—it was really like thinking of going somewhere like Dubai: you had to get a visa, so the communications then were not as they are now, and as a result of that we didn't know of the existence of the descendants of the Carib people in Belize, Honduras, Trinidad, and Saint Vincent; we didn't know about them, we felt like it was just us alone, [and] how come it is just us alone? That kind of thing, you know, began tickling me. I wanted to know; the first consciousness that hit me in that moment was that when I grew a little older, and I [...] was probably 14 to 15 years at the time, it was also created by this thing, that we had [our] first parliament representative for the first time—and I felt that when I grew a little older, I wanna be chief, I wanna be able to go out and make connections and to find out whether there are other people like us existing. So, to answer your question, I would say that the consciousness developed in me [as far] back as the age of 12.

[So, it was the] Influence of Going to School in Roseau, in a City Where People Weren't Really Aware of Who You, the Kalinago People, Were At the Time

Certainly, it did create that impact, because it is like when you feel [like] that in [that] area, it's funny and it feels strange: the only reason there is for you is

to find out why—what is the reason. At the same time, though, I was a very outstanding young Kalinago, even in those days, and I am saying that to say that I had the support of my mom; my dad was always there to make sure [I had] what I wanted, but my mom was the political one in the house, and she was what I can describe as a very bold Kalinago lady, meaning she never bowed her head in any situation. That had a very positive impact on me. In her early days, she traveled to Guadeloupe for some time. She had connections with the doctor and the priest. There was my mom, as an aid to the priest and the doctor who served the community there. My father was also a Kalinago; as a matter of fact, my father has a beautiful picture in the Caribbean Ties exhibition.⁷

What Are Your Thoughts about Being a Kalinago and Your Interactions Today with Other Dominicans?

There is still more support needed in our cultural activities, maintenance, and development. So, to be more direct, at the opening of Carnival activities, our people should be at the front, leading the spirits. If there is a political rally, we will also find our participation. Yet it was only three years ago [that] we were able to get [from] our cultural officer, who is Prosper Paris, something we were requesting for a long time. We [were] asking for the recognition of the Indigenous people of Dominica, the Kalinago people, by establishing a national day; we had been asking for this already way back in 1981, back in the time [when] I was chief, in recognition of us as Indigenous people. I feel this request has been taken up fully.

But I must mention, since the change in the Kalinago name, we have found that Dominican persons have had a positive reaction. I find that [it] has changed [things] a bit; it has diluted a bit the negative connotations that were carried by the Carib name. Before, they would just be like, “Those are just Caribs,” but now you hear that people call you: “Hey Kalinago, how you doing?”

What Influenced Your Decision to Dedicate Your Life to Raising Awareness of the Kalinago Indigenous Culture, and When Did this Happen?

Well, as I said, the awareness [started building] up when I went to secondary school. Then I later traveled to Grenada, where I studied agriculture with a fellowship from the government of Dominica. And being part of a different society—it was the revolutionary government then. Things were done

⁷ The Caribbean Ties exhibition was one of the results of the collaboration between the ERC-Synergy project Nexus 1492 and local communities in the Caribbean. For more on this, see Sankatsing Nava and Hofman 2018.

differently; as an individual, I felt that was recognized so highly on another island. Then I realized it was something I wanted—that every other Kalinago could be able to feel this too. I believe that getting involved in leadership was what would be able to effect that kind of change and re-establish pride in our development, too, as a people. Coming from that background, by 1983, I joined the local tribal council; by 1984, I had become the chief. I carried [out] all that I wanted to do; I was able to maintain links with the University of Saskatchewan in Canada. Before long, we had the first conference of English-speaking Caribbean of Indigenous [descent], in 1997. I became the coordinator of that organization shortly after. I was part of the CARICOM cultural committees. I was attending international conferences. [...] It has been non-stop work. I was also in the UN in 2017 and 2018.

I hold the record for being the youngest chief ever (1984–1994). I was 21 years old. Back then, I had already [spent] eight months on the local tribal council, and in those days, there were not so many young people, probably, [who were] politically conscious of that position. Maybe that is why I was the best candidate, as it proved later on.

3 Part 2: Research, History, and Ethnography

How Would You Describe the Kalinago Culture Today? If Someone Wants to Know About the Kalinago People and Their Culture, How Would You Describe It?

Our culture today faces a lot of challenges; I would say [the same for] a number of Indigenous communities. But in Dominica, we are exposed to a number of influences that impact our culture somewhat negatively. What we still have [remaining are our] crafts, and this is a big part of us; people are able to continue the traditions of basket-weaving in different forms and with different, improved designs now. The office of the council is a cultural one; it is more administrative than cultural now. The way of life of the Kalinago peoples, for some of [us, has] changed a little too much, in the sense that people don't have the culture of self-sustainability as much as when I was growing up—so, you know, my parents always had sugarcane, food, and domestic animals. In other words, there was a higher [degree] of independent food supply than [what] we have today, and that is something that has changed in our culture. But I would just say that there needs to be an awakening so that people can be more interested in our culture. It needs an awakening; I just had [this] discussion. People need to be more conscious of who they are. And I think—since we are talking in these times, when the world is in crisis with the corona[virus]—that even

more people [acknowledge] the advantages of self-sufficiency; people are recognizing that now, with the lockdowns, they cannot just go out and get chicken and sugar. That was not a problem at a time when we were more self-sufficient, so food security is important.

In the [field of] music, we [are struggling] again because of the internet. A lot of young people listen to music that does not really relate to their culture. But again, it goes back *to cultural teaching and awakening*. Because I still think the internet is a good medium for exploring other, similar cultures, and for helping in the development of what we have.

To be more concise, as it is now, the Kalinago Barana Autê is the biggest cultural center we have in the territory, and one where people are going to get a good [picture of how the] Kalinago people used to be and how we are doing now. We need to do a lot more for our own cultural preservation, our heritage. It is something that is very [likely] that we can do. The most important thing, when we speak about cultural revitalization and maintenance, is always: are the young people interested? And the answer is yes: we find a lot of interest among some of our young people, and there is hope that we can improve more [compared to] now.

The culture of the Kalinago people has always [entailed] a simple way of life: fishing in the rivers and growing [our] own food. *The Kalinago culture is that of a simple way of life.*

Do You Still Have Some Kalinago Youth That Represent You in the Music Scene?

Yes, we do. Actually, we have three cultural groups: Karina Cultural Group; Karifuna Cultural Group; and Barana Autê has its own cultural group. Recently, we have seen an emphasis—in our cultural dance groups—on songs using more Kalinago words. Prosper and I attended the Garifuna Conference, and we learned about the revival of our language; we are interested in partnering and sharing this kind of information. Younger people are doing [traditional] dances; they also want to learn about the bow and arrow and traditional fishing.

Kalinago music uses the drums and the bamboo. Most of our songs and dances relate to our day-to-day life. Some of them relate to fishing, weather (rain dances or peace dances), and marriage.

Is Kalinago Culture Part of the Larger Dominican Culture and Identity? What are Your Thoughts on this?

There is some recognition given to the Kalinago culture, but it mainly consists of participation in national functions. It is necessary to have more support for having a national day for the Kalinago people. As of now, we have a Kalinago

week in September, but it is only celebrated in the community (Kalinago Territory). We find that more people would come to our cultural activities if these were to take place in February or March, when Carnival is held on the island. At present, the government is in agreement that we should have a day: a holiday in honor of the Kalinago people. It is now up to us to decide on the date as a community. I think we have made some progress in this; I think it will make a statement to the world. I think it would be something very positive for our recognition as an Indigenous community, and would have a positive impact on other Indigenous communities and governments.

Could you Perhaps Tell Me About the Initiatives That You and Your Community Carry [out] to Promote the Learning of Kalinago Words and Expressions?

First of all, I would say that *the Kalinago language is alive again*. I can say that [more] now than I could have said it 20 years [ago]. Because the awareness that exists for the Kalinago language as it is now—I never dreamed that day [would come]. The cultural officer, Prosper Paris, has the challenge of developing the culture in general, and language is one of the aspects he has been looking at. Today, as we speak, every day there is a Kalinago [initiative] at our national radio station: every morning there is a new Kalinago word, spelling, and meaning. We have more songs in the Kalinago language; the groups are coming up with more songs.

I am very proud to say that it was initiated 24 years ago, this tradition, when I thought it was important to revive the Kalinago language by naming our people with Kalinago words that have meaning. Now today, every September, we have name initiations and ceremonies; a person can go on the first day of the week [and] give themselves a Kalinago name. More [people are] remembering the Kalinago names of other individuals.

Once the crisis has ceased and life can go back to normal again, we also would like to incorporate the learning games that we have seen in other nations. These games can help in learning words; we will also look at possibly running workshops at schools, singing Kalinago songs, and we will continue the initiative of the radio program. We are hopeful, now that teacher Cozier Frederick knows of the struggles we have gone through, because now he is a minister in the government and it will give us a better opportunity to further develop these initiatives.⁸

⁸ Members of the Kalinago community have always welcomed educational projects to raise awareness of Kalinago culture, and the researcher Con Aguilar worked on this topic in Dominica between 2015 and 2016. For more details, see Con Aguilar et al. (2017).

Along this Train of Thought, How Do You Believe Archaeology and Ethnography Have Contributed to Understanding the Lost Pieces of Kalinago History?

As [we have seen] recently, I think it has really contributed significantly in the sense that once the community gets more involved with the work the archaeologists are doing, we are able to establish [how] the reasons for the movements of the people of the region [have influenced] the way of life from then to now, and to better understand that we have a civilization that was working and was alive [back then].

Archaeologists must have been here as far back as the '70s, but there was little understanding or connection with them. There were anthropologists here, also: I remember I was about ten years old, and we had anthropologists, I just didn't understand what they were doing; some of them [were] from the US. Probably when I was a little older, I think in my 20s, another one, called Anthony Land, published the book *The Carib Reserve*. In the early days, they were coming, but we never had an understanding of what they were doing. People answered as best they could. I think we really started understanding more about archaeology when Prof. Hofman came into the picture; we go back a long way too in our friendship, [to] when she actually established connections with us, along with Andre Delpuch, who was the first person I ever had connections with. By the time that Corinne came, she took more Kalinago people on board to Guadeloupe, and they did some excavations. That was really [when] the young Kalinago people began developing [an interest in] archaeology. For myself, she invited me to be part of that process; I think, for me personally, I developed a better understanding of the archaeological work just recently.

Simply involvement—the professors who were here before had a different approach, more academic-oriented than [one] involving the local community. Involving the people is more useful to both sides, as there is mutual appreciation of what is happening. [Involving the people in,] for example, the exhibition would be useful to both sides—more appreciation of what is happening.

Do You Think That Being Able to Have Access to the Material Culture of the Kalinago People Has Expanded What You Knew Before and How You Now Position Yourself Concerning Your History?

We grew up learning that the Caribs, now the Kalinagos, were warlike, fighting the Arawak.⁹ When research comes and shows that a thousand years ago,

9 There is, in fact, a well-known myth that the Kalinago (Caribs, or Island Caribs to differentiate them from those on the mainland) were warlike and cannibalistic, according to colonial accounts. A more detailed account of the myths about the Caribs can be found in Reid 2009.

this region was occupied by Kalinago people, and this is how they buried their loved ones, this is how they ate, look at their simple tools ... it really gives you a better appreciation of your past and hence helps us to [develop] strongly, [both] politically and culturally.

There Has Been Archaeological and Ethnographical Research on the Island in the Past Years. Some of it Has Focused on Local Voices, Such as Interviewing Elder Members of the Community; What is the Role of Storytelling in Preserving Kalinago Culture and Heritage? Not to Mention That Such Initiatives Would Not Have Been Possible without Community Participation: What Do You Think is the Role of Kalinago Leaders Like Yourself in this?

It helps to say that the stories that [...] the Kalinago people had speak to a certain way of life. It also shows there were certain [forms] of entertainment. It brings [people closer] to the folklore.

I am talking of that era of passing on knowledge. They [i.e., the elders] did [possess] quite a bit of knowledge. I remember that in the '80s, we did a project that consisted in going out and interviewing elders. A lot of that information is lost. It was not only the interviews with and the stories of the elders; they were also able to tell us about herbal medicines and the delivery of babies in the times when we did not have ambulances. I don't have it now, but it is documented.

Do You Still Have Storytellers in Your Community Today?

Prosper Paris is probably one of the biggest storytellers we have now, because, as I have said, the elders have passed on. I am glad that persons like Prosper or myself have developed an interest in learning about these stories, and he does a good job. Prosper and Miranda Langlais are probably our last remaining storytellers.

We have persons in our community who are prepared to answer the questions of our young people. I think one of the things we have to do is harmonize the stories. The storytellers will need to go to a workshop. We need to look at how storytelling can positively impact their lives in their communities.

4 Part 3: Cultural Identity and Heritage

How Do You Think Kalinago Culture is Experienced in the Rest of the Country?

I think that when we look at the way that certain people live in different communities, it is a *Kalinago way*, in the sense that some people go to the river and fish, and the kind of fishes they pick and the way that they would fish—it is

Kalinago-style fishing. Some of the foods that are eaten in the communities, like manioc/cassava—that is Kalinago. Recently, we have seen the cultural dances that our groups do. We find schools having cultural inter-competitions among themselves, or even when they do national competitions. We have seen them wanting to incorporate Kalinago customs. So, there is that kind of impact and interest there.

Number two, other communities have begun to appreciate the fact, more and more, that there is a Kalinago presence on the island, and this is [thanks] to the historians who, in doing their lectures, have pointed out that Berekua in Grand Bay was a Kalinago settlement, [as was] Mahout and Layou.

So, people are beginning to understand more and more that the Kalinago were not only in the Kalinago Territory on their side. They [are beginning] to have a strong consciousness of our people.

Lennox Honychurch is the one doing the most historical accounts and teaching on the island (Honychurch 2000). If you look at the map of Dominica, you will see places with Kalinago names; but indeed, with the teaching of Kalinago history in secondary schools, the occupation and presence of Kalinago people in Dominica, teachers are [presenting] more research to the students, and they are reaching out to us in the community.¹⁰

Here it goes back to harmonizing our information and sitting and discussing among ourselves the best persons to work with in different areas of the curriculum, and working together from there with the schools on the topic of Kalinago history at both levels, primary and secondary education.

5 Part 4: Future, Economic Growth, and Challenges

In the Light of the Current Situation, Climate Change, Global Health Crisis, and Economic Recession, What Do You Think are the Challenges for the Kalinago Community, and How Could These Affect Younger Generations?

As it is now, I would probably want to begin by thinking of the current situation we are [in]. I think it is creating a strong consciousness among a lot of Kalinago people, in the sense that we [are beginning] to realize—I can even speak for

10 For more on the educational context of the Kalinago community and their contributions to Dominica, see Con Aguilar 2019, who explains how Kalinago culture is currently represented in Caribbean social studies curricula. She also highlights the increasing relevance of Kalinago community members' participation as resource persons, contributing to enhancing knowledge of their culture and traditions in school settings.

myself on this—that spending more time on the land and increasing self-sufficiency is something that is very important. So, I think I see that kind of movement among more young Kalinago people now too. That sense of independence at the level of providing for oneself as much as possible, I see that beginning to show up again—that is good. I get the sense that there are younger Kalinago people, men and women, speaking about economic development, what can be done. I hear [about] agro-processing; I hear interest in developing our own traditional dishes so that they can attract [people] to want to come to the Kalinago Territory and find something special; I hear more people wanting to look at tourism in the sense of hospitality, how can they better manage the service industry. These are areas that are coming up out of economic interest. There is always the need to improve housing; [since] the hurricane, we understand it even better. I must give credit to the government, as they have been demonstrating a reasonable amount of interest in assisting the Kalinago people in their housing problems and solving them. I still feel there is room to discuss the design of these new houses with the Kalinago people; I just think if the houses would have been more traditional houses, it would have made a big difference.

How Do You Envision the Future of Kalinago Culture in Your Country and in the Larger Regional Context of the Caribbean? What Can Be Done Still to Preserve Your Cultural Traditions, Oral Stories, and Heritage for Future Generations?

The way I see our culture in the future, we are doing cultural education/tourism. It is a new [approach to] tourism that we are [trying, inviting local] teachers and students to come to our communities to learn how we do things: how we exist, how our plants are grown, [what] our gardens [are like], basket-weaving—how we live, in that sense. It is economical, too, because at some point, some visitors are going to eat, they are going to have someone show them around; for some, it gives them a lot more [opportunity] to understand that the Kalinago are people with a lot of potential, who are professionals too, and people who are not just Indigenous, but who also have a positive outlook and participate [in society], and the contributions that our people have made to Dominica and the Caribbean.

Naturally, [while] this work is done, we are sharing new connections with Saint Vincent; we are opening new connections again with Belize; we are looking into Panama. We are looking at making connections with small Indigenous groups in Cuba. We are talking to people in Suriname already. We [again] want to see [those] who gave us a good connection with Suriname. All this is evolving into a strong cultural recognition where everybody is [cooperating

in] exchange, and I think we are doing the same thing. So as [regards] not just Kalinago culture on the island but also [...] exchange with other Indigenous cultures in the Caribbean, I think we are on a very good footing and [going in] a positive direction.

What Do You Think is the Legacy of the Kalinago People of Today, for the Kalinago People of Tomorrow?

The legacy that we have is the continuous survival of the nation, of people, of leaders like me. Always having a strong sense of identity. Identity, in the sense of Kalinago people as an Indigenous people, is a legacy that has been there since the people [have existed]. At the same time, a lot of pride in who they were and who they are now and that they can pass [this identity] on. So, I think [the legacy also entails] existence in the sense that people have lived their lives around certain beliefs and certain practices. Probably, I can talk about one of the things we have learned from the past and [that] will continue: having a lot of activities [revolving] around the moon, some of us practice farming [...], the cutting of the hair, the cleaning of the ground, when to cut wood, all based on the phase of the moon. So, something of this kind is still very much with us: it guided, is guiding, and will continue to guide a lot of our practices and the things that we do.

Politically, I am still glad to see a lot of young Kalinago people expressing concern for and taking on leadership within the Kalinago society as a nation, as a tribe, as people who [have been here for] thousands of years [...] and who can continue to exist in the future, participating in the modern technology and lifestyle of the world.

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Revising Biased Representations of Past Indigenous People in School Settings in the Dominican Republic

Eduardo Herrera Malatesta, Eldris Con Aguilar and Arlene Álvarez

1 Introduction

This chapter explores how the primary-school curriculum of the Dominican Republic repeats and perpetuates biased colonial representations of past Indigenous people, and how this has shaped the general public's conception of these populations in both the past and present. In this vein, we will also explore the broader disconnection between scientific research and the popular ideas the general public has received through primary education, which are strongly rooted in early colonial history. We will focus on the supposed territorial and ethnic configuration of the hierarchical Indigenous groups of the island of Haytí, called Hispaniola by Columbus, the site of the present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti (Herrera Malatesta, 2018; Tejera, 1976). The currently accepted idea is that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European chroniclers reported that this island was formerly controlled by five *cacicazgos* (a form of hierarchical social and political system called *chiefdom* in English). These early descriptions were solidified more than a century later with a map created in 1731 by the French Jesuit missionary Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix (1682–1761; Charlevoix, 1977). Based on the early chronicles, Charlevoix “filled the gaps” by drawing borders on the island map and depicted five territories with clear frontiers (Figure 3.1).

Centuries later, Charlevoix's map was used by twentieth-century historians and archaeologists to develop their ideas about the cultural, political, and historical composition of the island's pre-Columbian groups (e.g., Rouse, 1948; Veloz Maggiolo, 1972; Wilson 2007). However, owing to the combination of recent archaeological research and a new and decolonized reading of the early chronicles and cartographies, there has been a growing critique of the use of this map and the early chronicles as objective observations of the past Indigenous reality (e.g., Curet, 2016; Herrera Malatesta 2018; Rodríguez Ramos & Pagán-Jiménez, 2016; Ulloa Hung, 2016). The early chronicles and Charlevoix's map were depictions of the early interactions and conflicts between the



FIGURE 3.1 The original five-cacicazgo map created by Jesuit missionary Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix in 1731 (courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University)

Spanish invaders and the island’s Indigenous population and were strongly biased toward the European understanding and representation of the world. Currently, a simplified version of this map is being widely used in history books and school textbooks to teach about pre-Columbian history and the territorial and political configuration of the island’s past (Figure 3.2).

The premise of this paper is that contemporary archaeologists, as well as general researchers, in the Dominican Republic and the Caribbean, have the responsibility to critically revisit the traditional historical interpretations and representations made by the early Spanish invaders of past Indigenous people. We want to emphasize the relevance and value of creating direct dialogues between professional archaeologists and local communities, particularly when it comes to the accepted biases of colonial history. In the case of the Indigenous people before Columbus, their ethnicity, and their geographical configurations, this has contributed to perpetuating a simplistic view of Indigenous histories and their influence on today’s society.

This paper presents a group of interviews with primary-school teachers from the Montecristi province carried out during the summer of 2018, in the context of the NEXUS 1492 research project. The interviews were designed to understand what knowledge the teachers currently have regarding the five-cacicazgo



FIGURE 3.2 A contemporary simplification of Charlevoix's map. This representation is usually the one found in schoolbooks and throughout the internet CACICAZGOS DE LA HISPANIOLA BY WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, 2007, IS LICENSED UNDER CC0 1.0

map, how they teach its ideas, how open are they to new interpretations of this map and the general notion of the five *cacicazgos*.

One challenge we faced during fieldwork in Montecristi and other provinces in the Dominican Republic was that of discussing with the general public the new interpretations and models our work produced, particularly in relation to the five-*cacicazgo* map. This is because this description of past Indigenous people is deeply embedded in the popular knowledge of the island's past. This motivated us to combine our expertise in archaeology, education, and heritage management to develop a potential solution through a bottom-up approach. We think that any new archaeological model presenting an alternative to classic and popular ideas of past Indigenous people needs to be established through a dialogue with the communities that consider such past their history. Yet, in developing a dialogue and a solution to our initial challenge, we encountered yet another challenge, namely, how should we present new information and ideas from archaeological and historical research to teachers, when the available school materials are precisely those books where biased, colonial descriptions are found? How do we find a common ground for communicating to the general public the new archaeological and historical finds and interpretations concerning the five *cacicazgos*, as well as in classroom settings (and the education curriculum in the long term) without affecting, much less attacking, the ideas, emotional connections, and personal pride that most people have toward the accepted description of the past political, ethnic, and territorial organization?

To develop this bottom-up approach, we needed to begin debating, reflecting on, and creating strategies for working with contemporary communities toward understanding and accepting how colonial historical representations have produced biased representations of past and current Indigenous people, and how this has permeated popular knowledge. For this, we need active communication between researchers and teachers to understand how to present new information in a way that is respectful of people's beliefs, but at the same time informs them about the historical distortions produced since the early colonization. To this end, we created a questionnaire to gather initial feedback from primary-school teachers, which has allowed us to apply a bottom-up perspective to this matter.

2 The Five-*Cacicazgo* Map and the Taíno

In this section, our aim is to highlight the historical and intellectual creation of these "ethnic groups" and their territories, as reflected in the early chronicles, the works of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians, and twentieth-century archaeologists.

On December 6, 1492, Columbus arrived on an island that the Indigenous groups called Haytí. The first group they established contact with was the people led by the cacique Guacanagarí (Arranz, 2006: 188; Las Casas, 1821 [1552]: 26, 1875 [1552–1561]: 481; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851 [1535]: 65). Based on both the chronicles and later research, it is believed that this chiefdom was a Taíno cultural and linguistic group (Granberry & Vescelius, 2004). In 1493, with the remaining materials from the Santa María shipwreck, the Spanish built a fort on the territory of cacique Guacanagarí and called it "La Navidad." In this fort, Columbus left thirty-nine men, and then continued sailing along the northern coast of Haytí/La Española (Arranz, 2006, p. 195). On January 1, 1493, Columbus received the news that the sailors he sent before had contacted another "king," who wore a gold crown on his head, some twenty leagues from his position at La Navidad (Arranz, 2006, p. 206). The approximate location of this reference is the area where Columbus would later build the town of La Isabela. From these first explorations of the island and contacts with its Indigenous population, both Columbus and the early chroniclers began to rename the lands and catalogue their inhabitants, animals, and plants from the European perspective of the fifteenth century.

The colonial creation of ethnicities and territories began from this early moment in the colonization of the Caribbean and the Americas. These early "descriptions" were used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to

emphasize the differences between human groups in the Caribbean and the Americas, particularly in the context of their various independence histories and the creation of the “official past” for Spanish, Indigenous, and African descendants alike. As Pagán-Jiménez (2004, p. 203) has argued, “the social inequality that prevails today in most Latin American countries began to take place and be legitimized with the construction of an official past.” A key aspect of this official past in the former island of Haytí was established with the homogenization of its diverse Indigenous populations both before and during the arrival of Columbus. The creation of these Indigenous geographical and cultural categories was based on chronicles that frequently contradicted each other, based on subjective descriptions of a completely alien cultural reality and from the perspective of people who thought themselves superior to those they were describing.

In terms of ethnicity, based on the early chronicles and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents, since the twentieth century, researchers have assumed the existence of three ethnic groups—the Taíno, Macorís, and Ciguayo—in the north-central region of Haytí. However, the ‘real’ existence of these cultural groups as ethnic and linguistic units, as well as their cultural, social, and political configurations and structures, has been widely debated by Caribbean archaeologists (e.g., Curet, 2014; Keegan, 1997, 2007; Keegan and Hofman, 2017; Moscoso, 2008; Oliver, 2008, 2009; Rodríguez Ramos, 2010; Ulloa Hung, 2014; Wilson, 2007).

The first reference to the term “Taíno” is from Columbus’s second voyage, where upon reaching the beaches of an island south of Haytí (present-day Lesser Antilles), he was greeted by people shouting “*Taíno, taíno,*” whose meaning has been identified as “good” or “noble” (Curet, 2014, p. 470; Keegan & Hofman, 2017, p. 13; Oliver, 2009, p. 6). Columbus found out that these people were members of a community from the island of Haytí and were supposedly taken as slaves by the Carib of the southern islands. Based on this event, in the nineteenth century, the term “Taíno” began to be used in relation to a particular ethnic group of the northern Caribbean and its language. This first term used to identify an ethnic group mainly inhabiting the Greater Antilles has been attributed to Rafinesque in 1836 (Keegan and Hofman, 2017, p. 12; Oliver, 2009, p. 6), the term was also used a few years later, in 1867, by Martinus (Curet, 2014, p. 471). In 1871, Brinton used the term “Taíno” to describe the linguistic classification of the Arawak language as spoken in the Greater Antilles (Keegan & Hofman, 2017; Oliver, 2009). The popularization of the term “Taíno” was a consequence of the historical reconstructions that took place throughout the nineteenth century, which continued the generalizations and homogenizations of early chroniclers of the ethnic and linguistic diversity of

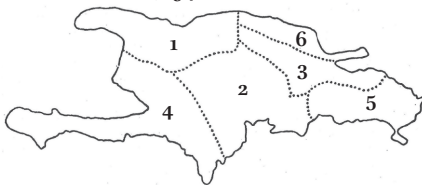
the Indigenous Caribbean, particularly of the island of Haytí. For example, in his report on his experiences living among the Indigenous groups of northern Haytí, Fray Ramón Pané mentions that he was first sent by Columbus to live in the province of Macorís. After a time there, he was sent to the cacique Guarionex because he and his people spoke a language that was understood throughout the island (Arrom, 2001, p. 43). However, Pané never specifies that “Macorís” refers to an ethnic category, that Guarionex was a cacique of the Taíno ethnic group, or that this “common tongue” was called “Taíno.” The idea that Guarionex was a Taíno cacique came from nineteenth-century historians’ reconstructions of the early Indigenous people.

These ideas were strengthened by the development of archaeological research in the countries of Haiti and the Dominican Republic during the early and mid-twentieth century. Mainly, Rouse’s attempts to relate archaeological evidence, mainly ceramic styles, with ethnic groups—based primarily on the above-mentioned early chronicles—consolidated the idea that Taíno referred to a pre-Columbian ethnic group. Based on the spatial distribution of the ceramic remains and the comparison of archaeological sites in different parts of the Greater Antilles, Rouse (1986, 1992) linked the development of Ostionoid ceramics and its subseries (Ostionan, Meillacan, and Chican) with the Taíno “ethnic” group and the development of hierarchical systems in the Greater Antilles. In fact, Rouse (1992, pp. 33–34) defined three cultural areas for the Taíno groups and their ceramics: 1) the Western Taínos, including part of Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahamas, linked to the Meillacoid series (Rouse’s Meillacan Ostionoid); 2) the Classic Taínos, located on the islands of Haytí and Puerto Rico, linked to the Chicoid series (Rouse’s Chican Ostionoid); and 3) the Eastern Taínos, scattered across the Virgin Islands, associated with the Ostionoid series (Rouse’s Elenan Ostionoid). For Rouse, the Taíno “ethnic” group was archaeologically represented by these ceramic series and was the result of the migrations and interactions of Arawak-speaking groups who travelled from the Guianas and the Venezuelan coast around 2300 BC (Rouse, 1986, 1992). Rouse’s model strengthened the idea of the island’s five Taíno *cacicazgos*. Furthermore, Rouse based his model visually on the map Charlevoix created in the eighteenth century (Figure 3.3).

Later, Veloz Maggiolo (1972, p. 235) also used and modified the map of the five chiefdoms, transforming Rouse’s Ciguayo territory into a sub-territory of the Maguá chiefdom, and assigning it to an ethnic/linguistic category called “Ciguayo-Macorís.” Veloz Maggiolo based this notion on archaeological data recovered from different sites in the northern Dominican Republic (Veloz Maggiolo et al., 1981) that, in his opinion, supported Vega’s proposal (1990 [1980]) that the distribution of Meillacoid ceramics correlates with the spatial distribution

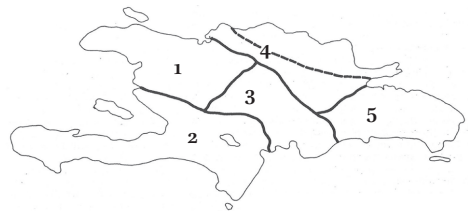


Modelo de Rouse, 1948



“Las provincias aborígenes de La Española.
1, Marien (cacicazgo de Goacanagaric);
2, Maguana (cacicazgo de Caonabo); 3, Magua (cacicazgo de Guarionex); 4, Xaragua (cacicazgo de Behechio); 5, Higüey (cacicazgo de Cayacoa); 6, Ciguayo (cacicazgo de Mayobanex). (Basado en Charlevoix, 1730-31.)” (Rouse 1948: 529, traducción del autor)

“División política de la isla de Santo Domingo en cacicazgos según Charlevoix, García, y Rouse. (1) Cacicazgo de Marien; (2) Jaragua; (3) Maguana; (4) Maguá, (al norte de la división, según Rouse, se encontraría la zona ciguayo-macorís); (5) Higüey.” (Veloz Maggiolo 1972: 235)



Modelo de Veloz Maggiolo, 1972

FIGURE 3.3 Comparison of the original five-cacicazgo map with its most common variations from the archaeological literature

of the Macorís “ethnic group.” However, Veloz Maggiolo (1972, 1984, 1993) has repeatedly highlighted the difficulty of reconstructing cultural relations between the Taíno, Macorís, and Ciguayo groups. Undoubtedly, the first drawback to reconstructing cultural relations between these “groups” is quite possibly that they were not the internally homogeneous ethnic units they were once thought, but they all should be perceived as dynamic cultural specters (Curet, 2014; Oliver, 2009) of ethnic communities in different historical processes. With the intention of going beyond Rouse’s model of Taíno cultural homogeneity and the linear scheme of its origins, Rodríguez Ramos (2007, 2010) proposed that although the existence of a Taíno indigenous group/language can still be considered, its homogeneity is highly questionable and should rather refer to a broad-spectrum category, for this he coined the term *Tainoness*.

The idea of the five Indigenous chiefdoms has obscured the sociopolitical dynamics of the island’s different Indigenous groups for centuries. Charlevoix’s

map is imprecise not only because it was based on secondary references from centuries before his time, but because it was created from a worldview that disregarded the Indigenous people as inferior, cultureless, and savage from the start of the European arrival.

3 The Interview Methodology

3.1 *Concepts*

To find the best ways of working with alternative interpretations of history in a school setting (Grossman, 1990; Shulman, 1986; Van Driel et al., 1998), we asked teachers about their knowledge of the five-*cacicazgo* model that is taught from the fourth grade of the primary-school education curriculum. We looked at the literature for an overview of the historical significance that has been assigned to the concept of the *cacicazgos* in historical records and school textbooks (Seixas et al., 2012). On the other hand, we also explored the use of primary sources under the lens of a heritage-education approach in which interaction with the remains of past cultures is encouraged as part of the study program for classes in history and social studies. For this reason, we have looked at the archaeological evidence and findings and how they might shed light on the traditional understanding of the *cacicazgos* as learned from the European records.

Con Aguilar (2020) noted that the teaching of Indigenous heritage is not formally a separate subject in the curriculum but is integrated into the subject of social studies throughout Caribbean primary-school curricula. The topic of the five-*cacicazgo* map is part of the content on the Dominican Republic's Indigenous past that is taught in primary-school social studies curricula. This content is based on colonial knowledge of the *cacicazgos* as derived from European records. The social studies curriculum of the Dominican Republic presents a Caribbean history that seems only to have properly begun with the arrival of the Spanish (Reid, 2012). Only general social and cultural details about the Taíno are taught, and even less about other groups from before the arrival of Europeans. While the lack of written records by the Taínos (Keegan & Hofman, 2017) has limited the amount of available information, it is true that formal education adopts the general perspective that it was the Europeans who brought civilization and order to the island, the Caribbean, and the Americas.

The emphasis on the Taíno that began in the nineteenth century has continued into the contemporary era. In the Dominican Republic, for example, there is an interest in studying Taíno heritage (e.g., Con Aguilar et al., 2017; Pešoutová, 2015; Ricourt, 2016). Another key example is the literary movement of *indigenistas dominicanos* that has contributed to strengthening national

narratives celebrating Taíno culture (e.g., Candelier, 1977; Ulloa Hung, 2016). Some of these ideas also translate to the way people perceive Indigenous heritage today. The Taíno culture has gained a foothold not only in Dominican literature but also in the stories the general public tells in their daily life. While we value and support the interest of local communities to connect to their historical heritage. It is important to explicitly recognize that the predominance of the term “Taíno,” its cultural associations, political structure, and territories correspond to centuries of biased colonial descriptions and the homogenized interpretations of nineteenth-century historians based on secondary sources and their implicit ideas about culture, people, and history.

We believe there is evidence to support the existence of hierarchical communities on the island before the arrival of the Europeans. Nevertheless, recent archaeological research has contributed to presenting a more complex cultural, political, and territorial landscape for these Indigenous groups than previously accepted (e.g., Herrera Malatesta, 2018; Hofman et al. 2018; Ulloa Hung, 2014). On this basis, and following Seixas et al. (2012), we seek to explore how teachers and students respond to critical questions about how the curriculum depicts accounts of the past and what resources it uses. We believe that the teaching of the Indigenous past should include discussions of potential new alternatives for explaining the spatial and cultural distribution of the ethnic groups present on the island of Haytí before and during the arrival of Columbus.

3.2 *Methods*

During our summer fieldwork campaign of 2018, and with the support and permission of the Ministry of Education and the local educational district, we carried out a series of group interviews with basic-school teachers from the Montecristi province. This province has six educational districts: Montecristi (code 1301), Guayubín (code 1302), Villa Vazquez (code 1303), Dajabón (code 1304), Loma de Cabrera (code 1305), and Restauración (code 1306), that include both public and private schools. To obtain a representative sample of this province and considering the temporal and organizational challenge of interviewing all the teachers from every district, we decided to focus on the educational district of Guayubín, the largest, and aim to interview as many teachers from public basic schools as possible. As the focus of this research was on studying how historical narratives have influenced the way teachers perceive and teach the Indigenous past, we selected a survey research design and conducted interviews as instruments for collecting data for our study. Self-administered questionnaires (Nardi, 2006) were distributed to the schoolteachers by the main author with the collaboration of Lic. Joselín Viallet, department head of social

sciences of the Ministerio de Educación, during five group meetings to which all teachers from the Guayubín educational district were invited. From approximately 114 teachers at 46 schools, a total of 93 teachers from 42 basic schools attended the meetings. With this, we were able to interview around 80% of the teachers of this educational district and therefore obtain a representative sample. During these meetings (Figure 3.4, 3.5), the teachers were provided with a questionnaire with both open and multiple-choice questions. All the questions aimed to assess the teachers' knowledge about the above-described model of the five *cacicazgos* and how they integrate it in their classes, as well as their knowledge of and teaching strategies for the Indigenous past in general. The overarching goal of this approach was to search for the most appropriate strategies to communicate to the general public that the notions of Indigenous people as represented in school texts are based on biased representations, deeply rooted in colonial heritage and the first Spanish invaders' negative views of the Indigenous people. Yet since the five-*cacicazgo* model is so embedded in the popular imaginary, we believe that a true bottom-up approach must start with creating a dialogue among the general public, in this case, the teachers and



FIGURE 3.4 School teachers from Montecristi province in conversation at the distribution of the questionnaire

PHOTO EDUARDO HERRERA MALATESTA, USED WITH PERMISSION FROM THE TEACHERS



FIGURE 3.5 School teachers from Montecristi province during the questionnaire
 PHOTO EDUARDO HERRERA MALATESTA, USED WITH PERMISSION FROM
 THE TEACHERS

archaeologists. However, in setting the stage for this dialogue, we needed to understand people's current beliefs so as not to impose new knowledge on them, but rather start debunking gaps and stereotypes in the ways we have learned from the Indigenous past and its histories. This was, and still is, a necessary step in building a bottom-up approach to assuage the general public's reluctance to change what they know and have already accepted as historical truth.

Along these lines, we applied a mixed-method design following a convergent design (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016): the collected data was subject to separate qualitative and quantitative analyses. Qualitative data analysis was used to inform and/or explain the quantitative analysis. As a result, we opted for a survey design combining both deductive and inductive logic—that is, both open- and closed-ended questions, as our research needed both types of data. First, quantitative data (deductive logic) allowed us to verify our theoretical assumptions concerning the current state of teachers' knowledge about the subject matter. Secondly, qualitative data (inductive logic) was used to draw information from the surveys that could be used to build upon the theory (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This way, we analyzed the surveys through a qualitative content analysis

approach using Excel. This consisted of screening and reviewing the text of the respondents to identify themes across the collected responses. The resulting themes formed the basis for a codebook of themes inferred from the analysis of the data. The analysis of the quantitative data consisted of a descriptive research analysis of frequencies and averages based on the triangulation of both databases, with the aim of understanding trends in the current situation as relevant to our study (Taylor, 2005). The questionnaire and interviews for this study were designed on the basis of Pedagogical Content Knowledge Theory (Shulman, 1986; van Driel, 1998; van Driel & Berry, 2012). For the teachers participating in this study, we aimed to learn about their knowledge of the five-*cacizcago* map and the various Indigenous groups. To this end, our data-collection instruments focused on collecting details on various dimensions of a teacher's knowledge base: general pedagogical knowledge, knowledge of the content, and knowledge of teaching strategies.

4 Results and Discussion

We interviewed and administered surveys to a total of 93 basic-school teachers from the Guayubín School District (1302) in Montecristi province. To each teacher, the same questionnaire was provided, consisting of eight questions. The questions aimed at understanding the teachers' knowledge regarding a) Indigenous people before Columbus, including their geographical distributions and political configurations; b) the frequency and the strategies they use to teach Indigenous history in the curriculum; c) the students' interest in the Indigenous past; d) the teacher's views of new and alternative knowledge compared to what they already know and teach; and e) their view of how researchers should present new information to make it accessible to them and their students. The following results highlight the main tendencies we have observed in the teachers' answers based on our qualitative and quantitative data.

With the first question, we intended to assess the teacher's existing knowledge regarding the political model of the five *cacicazgos*. The specific question was: "Briefly explain what you understand about the five-chieftdom model of the Indigenous Peoples of the past." A total of 96% of the teachers provided an answer; these were divided into 7 categories (Table 3.1). Note that the number of responses does not equal the total number of participants, as some questions may be grouped under more than one theme. Therefore, the analysis is based on the number of responses, which in this case was 113, coming from 90 out of 93 participants. Regarding the categories, "TO" includes answers in which participants make general reference to the *cacicazgos* as an Indigenous means

TABLE 3.1 Categories and replies for question #1

Category	Number of answers	Percentage of answers
<i>Form of territorial organization (TO)</i> “Era una forma de organización que ellos utilizaban para dividir la isla, ya que no había una división socio-política.”	29	26%
<i>First form of territorial organization (FTO)</i> “Primera división territorial de los primeros pobladores, osea de la isla.”	14	12%
<i>Form of power and/or leadership (PL)</i> “Los cacizagos pertenecían a los líderes que este caso era el cacique, quien a la vez era la máxima autoridad (una autoridad política).”	41	36%
<i>Form of social and political organization (SPO)</i> “Estos son grupos indígenas del pasado con el propósito de una jerarquía política y social distintas.”	10	9%
<i>Form of territorial organization of the Taínos (TA)</i> “La sociedad taína se dividían en cinco cacicazgo controlados. Ellos tenía control absoluto de todo.”	6	5%
<i>Cultural unit (CU)</i> “Eran un grupo de cultura que vivían en chosa, que tenían su religión.”	2	2%
<i>Other (O)</i> “Los indígenas fueron una pieza clave para el desarrollo de la agricultura pues cultivaban maíz y yuca.”	11	10%
Total	113	100

of organizing territory. “FTO” includes answers in which the participants specifically refer to the *cacicazgos* as the very first form of territorial organization on the island before the arrival of the Europeans. “PL” includes answers that refer directly to the cacique’s authority in organizing and managing the *cacicazgos* and leading the rest of the Indigenous people. “SPO” includes answers that refer to the *cacicazgos* as a way of organizing people into social and political structures while determining what role an individual will have in their group. “TA” includes answers in which the participants refer to the *cacicazgos* as a

means of territorial organization used exclusively by the Taíno. “CU” includes answers that refer to the *cacicazgos* as units where people exchange cultural traditions or/and have specific cultural expressions that make them different from other groups. Finally, “O” includes answers that cannot be categorized under the themes already defined; these answers were mostly off-topic.

These categories, in turn, can be combined into larger themes. For example, the TO, FTO, and TA categories (43% of answers) directly and often relate to the idea of territory, whereas the PL, SPO, and CU (47% of answers) are mostly oriented toward the notion of political organization. These answers are in line with the books of the fourth-grade social science course. For example, in one of the official social science books for grade 4 (Méndez Rosado & Aquino Guerrero, 2017), the five-*cacicazgo* map is introduced under the topic “Social and political organization.” Yet this book does not explain what a *cacicazgo* actually is. Other teaching resources (e.g., Gómez, 2003) more clearly present the fact that the *cacicazgo* refers to a social organization led by a cacique (the chief or king) and that these caciques had control over a territory. While the *cacicazgo* implies the idea of territory, it is in itself a term that refers to political organization. Nonetheless, we can state that most of the interviewed teachers had a good idea of what this term encompassed.

Most of the teachers (90/93) answered the second question, “Did you know that there were other Indigenous groups besides the Taíno?” Here, 69 (74%) indicated they were aware of the existence of other groups besides the Taíno, while 21 (23%) indicated they did not know. Of the 69 teachers who indicated that they knew other groups existed, 52 provided examples. Yet, of those 52, only 28 mentioned the actual names of one or more Indigenous groups that inhabited the island before or during the arrival of the Europeans. All basic-school books that mention the Indigenous people refer to some or all of these groups: the Taíno, Ciguayo, Arawak, Carib, Macorís, Siboney, and Ígneris. The groups that were mentioned most frequently in the answers were Arawak, Ígneris, Siboney, or some combination thereof; then, to a lesser degree, Ciguayo and Carib. It is noteworthy that none mentioned the “Macorís,” considering that this is the name of the supposedly Indigenous group that inhabited the region where the teachers live and work. Some of the teachers provided odd answers indicating terms such as “Indigenous,” “African,” “Spanish,” or “Sub-taíno” The knowledge the teachers have and pass on to students comes from the basic-school books as well as the popular knowledge people exhibit in their daily lives. Both sources show the continued invisibilization of Indigenous groups homogenizing these communities under the generic umbrella term of “Taíno.” From schoolbook content to the teacher and student, the simplified version of how the first Spanish invaders observed and classified the

people and lands they encountered is still being taught. For example, one fifth-grade social science book (Marco & Pineda Martínez, 2016, p. 147) states that “By the end of 1530, there were very few [Indigenous] people left on the island, and by the end of the sixteenth century, the Indigenous population had disappeared” (translated from the original Spanish; without bold letters in the original). This is the information the Spanish invaders reported in their documents, yet recent historical and archaeological studies have highlighted that the Indigenous groups were not extinct but had rather assimilated into the growing Creole population (Kulstad, 2020; Moya Pons, 1986; Ulloa Hung, 2016).

The third question, “How often do you include the idea of the political hierarchy of Indigenous groups in your classes to explain social dynamics?” was intended to better understand how frequently teachers presented their classes with information on the hierarchy of past Indigenous people in order to explain their ways of life. Their answers are summarized in Table 3.2. Most teachers indicated that they frequently or quite frequently talk about this political hierarchy (of *cacicazgos* and their territories) in their classes.

The fourth question was a multiple-choice one: “Do you believe that your students are interested in the following topics? Please indicate the options of your preference.” The predetermined options were “maps,” “Taíno,” “cultural territories,” “cultures of the past,” “caciques,” and “other.” With this question, we aimed to evaluate the students’ interest in these topics with a mind to using similar strategies to present and teach new models. The 93 interviewed teachers choose as follows: “maps,” 87; “Taíno,” 71; “cultural territories,” 78; “cultures of the past,” 83; “caciques,” 69; and “other, explain,” 23. Within this last category, the teachers elaborated to indicate: “national ephemera,” “cultural activities,” “museums,” and “school trips.” It was interesting, although not surprising, that they think students are most interested in maps. Besides the school-books being full of maps, visual information is a simple yet powerful form of

TABLE 3.2 Range of responses to question #2

Scale	Codes	Proportion
1	Quite frequently	27%
2	Frequently	32%
3	Sometimes	23%
4	Not frequently	6%
5	Rarely	12%
	Total	100%

communication that easily attracts attention. Students are also interested in past cultures, as well as cultural territories, and, of course, the Taínos. Again, when speaking about the Indigenous people, the five-*cacicazgo* map is a major point of reference for both students and teachers.

The fifth question, “Indicate what educational resources are available for teaching your students about the influence of *cacicazgos* on the lives of the Indigenous Peoples the Spanish conquered?” also seeks to better understand the strategies teachers use in their classes and what works for the students. Here, we provided five categories and gave the teachers blank space to justify their answers. The categories with their quantitative values were: “photos,” 78; “educational tools,” 69; “internet,” 77; “archaeological artifacts,” 41; and “other, explain,” 36. Within the last category, the teachers included maps, crafts, museums, poems, and movies. Here, we observed that resources related to visual and technological information and school resources (e.g., books, school trips, etc.) were the most common.

The sixth question was: “What would you think if you were told that, in the past, there may have been another territorial configuration? For example, that there were no borders dividing Indigenous groups.” This question sought to investigate the teachers’ reactions to new knowledge, as well as the roots of their previous knowledge. We wanted to understand how they reflect on the *cacicazgos* and the Indigenous people. As in question #1, this was an open question, and the teachers’ answers were grouped into eight broad categories (Table 3.3). For this question, 83 out of the 93 interviewed teachers answered. “MTO” denotes answers referring to the *cacicazgos* and how Indigenous peoples were organized across the territory. “NMR” includes answers referring to the need for more scientific knowledge on the topic to confirm and validate the suggestion introduced in this question. “CU” includes answers that refer to the *cacicazgos* as a unit where the Indigenous people share the same cultural traditions. Usually, the answers in this category were off topic. “SC” includes answers in which the teacher makes clear reference to their interest in learning more about the topic, and requests that the specialists show and discuss their new findings. “LM” includes answers in which participants refer to their intention to investigate the validity of the new statements on their own. “AB” includes answers in which the absence of territorial borders is mentioned in relation to the *cacicazgos* as a means of territorial organization. “PB” includes answers in which the presence of territorial borders is related to the way *cacicazgos* functioned in organizing the territory. Finally, “O” includes answers that do not fit the above themes.

From the teachers’ answers, it became evident that some either insisted that a new model was not possible or were skeptical toward it, while others were open

TABLE 3.3 Categories and quantitative values of question #3

Categories	Code	Total answers	%
<i>Main form of territorial organization (MTO)</i> “Según la historia que he leído sólo habían 5 territorios que aparecen especificados en el mapa y la extensión o porción de territorio que utilizaba cada cacique en su determinado cacicazgo.”	MTO	21	25
<i>Needs more research (NMR)</i> “Se debe investigar más a fondo sobre las informaciones que tenemos ya que puedan aparacer otras informaciones que desconocemos.”	NMR	16	19
<i>Cultural unit (CU)</i> “Cada grupo tenía sus intereses llegaba y se agrupaban de acuerdo a sus costumbres.”	CU	3	4
<i>Share new research findings with the school community (SC)</i> “Creo que no sería sorprendente porque cada día se encuentran hallazgos que sorprenden a los historiadores y arqueólogos.”	SC	3	4
<i>Investigate to validate the veracity of new findings myself (LM)</i> “Me dispodría a investigar más a fondo porque es posible que las informaciones proporcionadas hasta la actualidad no sean verídicas.”	LM	2	2
<i>Absence of territorial borders (AB)</i> “Si no existieran fronteras la relación fuera mejor es decir un intercambio cultural.”	AB	12	14
<i>Presence of territorial borders (PB)</i> “Me sorprendería porque hasta ahora se me ha inculcado que los taínos sus caciques y los historiadores me lo han recalado.”	PB	9	11
<i>Other (O)</i> “[...] que era un pueblo que vivía en paz, que eran una raza pura.”	O	18	21
Total responses		84	100

to the possibility of the history being rewritten so long as there is evidence to support it. Most of these opponents and skeptics submitted answers falling under the MTO and PB categories, which represented 25% of answers. The supporters and those who would welcome new evidence-based models gave answers mostly falling under the NMR, SC, LM, and AB categories, which represented 28% of answers. The rest of the answers, equal to 45%, were either off-topic or did not express a clear position in favor or against any of the two options.

The seventh question, “If you were presented with alternative information on the configuration of the Indigenous chiefdoms, other than that of the five *cacicazgos*, do you believe that the presentation of a new map would be enough to teach the new model?” aimed to assess the teachers’ needs in accepting and integrating new interpretations into their lives and classrooms. All the teachers answered this question. A total of 27 teachers indicated that a new map would be enough, while 66 expressed that it would not be sufficient. Some of the teachers who provided a negative answer included comments indicating that they would need more information than just a map and that it should come in the form of lectures and updated school materials. They found it highly important that the new information be presented to them clearly and directly.

The final question was, “If you had the opportunity to teach your students about a new model for the *cacicazgo* territories, what kind of activities would you select from the list?” The list (Table 3.4) contained various options as well as a space to indicate others. With this question, we aimed at obtaining a better understanding of teachers’ needs regarding how they can present new knowledge to their students.

TABLE 3.4 Categories and quantitative values for teachers’ answers to question #4

Activity	Number of answers
Maps	87
Visits to important places	81
Museum visits	84
Replicas of archaeological materials	54
Stories	54
Community participation (e.g., videos of interviews with key people)	74
Literature (e.g., updated books)	52
Others	31

From these answers, it was clear that having visual resources like maps is a key element in teaching. School trips to museums or key archaeological and historical sites are important as well. Furthermore, the involvement of community members in dialogues and in circulating information is a valuable asset. During fieldwork in the region, we have noticed that local people tend to consider foreign researchers, or researchers from the large cities, as authorities on these matters; yet they are more open to new information when it comes from known community members, local historians, and local museums, or when the external researcher is accompanied by these key community members. Besides the options provided in the list, the teachers indicated that resources such as movies, interactive videos, role-playing games, presentations, and the internet are also valuable teaching tools.

5 Conclusion

With this paper, we aimed to present the first stage in a long-term effort to create a dialogue with primary-school teachers to discuss how the Dominican Republic's social studies curriculum repeats and perpetuates biased colonial representations of past Indigenous people, and particularly how this has shaped their ideas of Indigenous people of both the past and present. To this end, we created a space to speak with and interview teachers from Montecristi province, first of all to provide them with a better understanding of the diverse and complex heritage of past Indigenous populations. Secondly, we designed interviews to find out how to present new information in a way that is not only respectful of people's beliefs but also informs them about the historical distortions produced by colonization.

The eight questions provided a general picture of three main topics: 1) teachers' knowledge about the Indigenous past (questions #1 to #3); 2) their teaching strategies (questions #4 and #5); and 3) their openness to new knowledge and the strategies to implement it (questions #6 to #8). Regarding the teachers' knowledge, we learned that they have a good comprehension of what the term *cacicazgo* refers to. This was not a surprising find, since the idea of political hierarchy is one of the main points of national pride with regard to past Indigenous groups. Primary-school books highlight the importance of the Taíno being a hierarchical group and a complex society. However, the overemphasis on hierarchy contains an implicit evolutionary perspective by which the more complex the group, the better and more advanced the people. This is a bias rooted in the early Spanish colonial perspective, in which the Europeans

were at the top of the evolutionary ladder while Indigenous groups were at the bottom since they did not possess Europe's technological advances and political complexity. Similarly, the Taíno were superior to other Indigenous groups, while others like the Ígneri and Siboney were at the bottom. In the Dominican Republic, as in many other countries in the Caribbean and Latin America, this evolutionist belief has reinforced the notion of the white, European-descendant populations as being at the top of society, while the descendants of the African enslaved and Indigenous people are at the bottom. In terms of the Indigenous past, this evolutionist view of people also contributed to the groups' homogenization by the Spanish, who referred to all the island's Indigenous people as Taíno, disregarding and invisibilizing both internal diversities as well as other groups.

With regard to the teachers' openness to new knowledge (questions #6 to #8), we were able to observe that only a little more than half of the teachers showed a clear indication of being either in favor of or against the introduction of potential new models. This is perhaps an indicator that this is not an essential aspect for half of the teachers, and they will accept any outcome. The other half was divided between those in favor of and those against the possibility of new models of explaining the past than they have learned. Yet, among both the "for" and "against" groups, it was clear that any potential new model would have to be presented with careful attention to how it is communicated. Biased colonial representations are profoundly embedded in people's realities and their ideas of the past, and therefore it is essential to pair new archaeological and historical models with effective communication strategies. According to their answers, we could observe that presenting new visual materials, such as a new map of the distribution of the Indigenous groups, would have to go together with didactic materials such as books, lectures, and museum exhibits. Any new information would have to be discussed with the teachers, while also following the official channels: that is, it would come with the approval of the local, regional, and national education organizations.

The interviews have raised awareness of more appropriate scientific dissemination and public outreach strategies. We have been able to better understand the important role teachers play, especially by incorporating them into communication and decision processes while maintaining the official channels of the national education system. Thus, while all the new information replicates traditional forms of communication, such as teacher training, books and maps, talks, and school activities, it will be advantageous to generate new platforms with technological innovations such as online interactive courses, games, and virtual lectures, as well as school trips to key

archaeological sites to meet actual archaeologists in the field. Finally, museums still play a key role in producing and presenting exhibits that focus specifically on the Indigenous past and explain why the new models should be taken into consideration. This first attempt was a great experience, allowing us to start a conversation with teachers and obtain the materials necessary to foster communication between national educational organizations and archaeologists working in the field.

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Challenging the Prevailing Discourse about Indigenous Heritage Education in Grenada

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1 Introduction

The prevailing narrative on Grenada's history continues to ignore its pre-Columbian past. This chapter argues that pre-Columbian history constitutes an essential part of Grenada's culture, informed also by the landscape, which shapes the people's identity. As one re-writes Grenada's history, there are continuities of this past in many cultural features of "the contemporary" Grenadian society, particularly in the material culture left behind by the Indigenous Peoples. The materiality of food is one such example: native fruits and vegetables continue to shape the contemporary Grenada diet (see Government of Grenada, 2000).

The population has become increasingly culturally aware and historically conscious of the Indigenous past due to the work of historians and archaeologists who have been drawing links between the past and present cultures of Grenada. It must be noted that, for the present population to appreciate the past, they must discover—or sometimes even re-discover—and interpret the products of culture to understand their heritage appropriately in the present context. As cited by (Graham and Howard, 2008, p. 2), Lowenthal observes (1998, p. xv), "in domesticating the past we enlist [heritage] for present causes ... [It] clarifies the past so as to infuse them with present purposes." In so doing, one creates ways of making the Indigenous past—material artifacts, landscapes, food, myths, memories—part of one's cultural identity and political and economic possessions of the present.

Thus, both the tangible and intangible aspects of one's culture constitute the heritage of the Grenadian people. Even though these tangible and intangible objects demonstrate that Indigenous culture has greatly influenced Grenada's cultural identity, the extent to which this heritage is acknowledged raises questions about the culture and the education system. Culture is a total way of life that a people acquire from previous generations. These ways of life include ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving (Geertz, 1973, pp. 4–5)—but preserving and advancing any culture will depend on the society's education system.

Many social scientists argue that colonialism has distorted the culture of the Indigenous Peoples; perhaps it was deliberate, or a lack of understanding of colonialism itself—i.e., the impact of the colonizing power on Indigenous populations. Thus, the researchers adopt an interpretative approach because there are multiple realities: the reality of the colonial powers differed from those of the subjugated, and the voices of the subjugated are invariably ignored. Until now, the reality of the colonizers has always shaped the historical narrative of Grenada; therefore, it is necessary to (re)interpret these historical narratives. As Hodder (1991, p. 15) puts it, “The past then allows the possibility for a sense of other that is increasingly being eroded in an expanding, homogenized Western ethic.”

An interpretative approach is justifiable because it pays close attention to the education system—the one institution that can best advance cultural knowledge among the population; as a result, the role of teachers is an important consideration. Information gathered from teachers can highlight their lived experiences with the teaching of history in the educational system. The system of education has influenced the way in which history has been taught, ignoring Indigenous history and subjects closely connected with the discipline of archaeology. Lewis, Benoit, and Lewis argue that Grenada’s education system continues to be shaped by its colonial history and the religious authority of its origins. They further argue that the institution of education continues to be weak, and this weakness has prevented the development of national policy in favor of addressing the impact of colonial education on the population (Lewis, Benoit, & Lewis, 2021).

The result is that the power structure of contemporary Grenadian society has led to a culture that renders the Indigenous population insignificant. Over time, the education system has influenced governments and policy makers, reaffirming cultural norms and rewriting history in a manner that reflects how past power structures interpreted that history. The recognition of this phenomenon can allow one to bring the past into the future, and to appreciate the past that makes up one’s present cultural identity.

2 Indigenous Peoples of the Circum-Caribbean, Grenada

Amerindian (American Indian) has been the name traditionally used for the Indigenous peoples of the Americas: the Archaic (popularly, but incorrectly referred to as “Ciboney”); Island Arawak or Taíno; Kalinago or Island Carib; and Kalina or Galibis (See Granberry & Vescelius, 2004; Keegan & Carlson, 2010; Reid, 2009). Some scholars regard the term “Amerindian” as anachronistic and

insist that it should be replaced with a more general term like “Indigenous”. Though a growing body of archaeological, linguistic, historical, and ethnographic evidence has shed light on the so-called “prehistory” of the region, the post-1492 era remains obscure in Grenada because of the continuous failure of the education system.

Human habitation of the Caribbean islands dates to at least 3000 BCE, when lithic blade producers, known collectively as the Casimiroid, left Central America for Cuba (Wilson, 1997, 2007). By 2000 BCE, lithic ground-stone foragers from Trinidad and Venezuela (known as the Ortoroid) are believed to have moved into the Lesser Antilles; the earliest occupation of Grenada could date to this period (Hanna, 2017). Pollen core samples from *Lake Antoine*, in Saint Patrick, Grenada, are currently the best evidence for human disturbance at such an early period (Sigel, 2018). In fact, very little evidence exists for either the Casimiroid or Ortoroid groups occupying the islands south of Guadeloupe. According to Cody (1997), “stone celts and axes” collected by amateur archaeologist Leon Wilder “could possibly reflect an Archaic occupation of the island. Unfortunately, the artefacts lack provenience.” Moreover, later groups made similar tools. Projects in the Leeward Islands have recovered evidence that these early hunter-fisher-gatherers possessed knowledge of plant management; produced low-fired, utilitarian pottery; and exercised seasonal mobility focused on animal cycles (Hofman, Bright and Hoogland, 2006). Later Archaic Age groups, however, may have been semi- or fully sedentary horticulturalists (Kelly, 1992).

Analyses of ceramics or pottery found in Grenada suggest that at least four distinct periods or cultures existed. The large quantities found at 84 identified pre-Columbian sites also suggest that their population densities may have been higher than for some of Grenada’s northern neighbors at times (Hanna, 2017). Though there is still much debate on the identity of the groups represented, the archaeological nomenclature defines the various peoples and cultures as Cedrosan Saladoid (ca. 500 BCE–650 CE); Troumassan Troumassoid (ca. 650–1100 CE); Suazan Troumassoid (ca. 1100–1450 CE); and Cayoid (ca. 1400–1600 CE) series and subseries (Hofman, Bright, Boomert, et al., 2007; Hofman, Bright, Hoogland et al., 2008; Keegan and Hofman, 2017).

According to Irving Rouse, the Cedrosan Saladoid ceramics are the island’s variation on mainland Ronquinan Saladoid ceramics; they were made by groups that were pushed out by the expanding Barrancoid peoples, and arrived in the Caribbean around the fifth century BC (Bullen, 1964). The Saladoid peoples are popularly identified as pre-Arawaks, though their language and ethnicity are not known. They produced high-quality, distinctive pottery, practiced slash-and-burn cultivation of cassava, corn, sweet potato, and vegetables, and supplemented their diet with crabs, lambie, sea eggs, sea turtles,

and fin fishes. They possessed no knowledge of metallurgy, instead fashioning their tools from bone, wood, stone, and shell (Bérard, 2013). Many of the petroglyphs that can still be found stenciled on rocks across Grenada possibly date to this time, though later groups often added to them (Hanna, 2016). Evidence of Cedrosan Saladoid ceramics has been unearthed at four sites: Pearls, Black Point at Point Salines, Simon, and Beausejour (Hanna, 2016).

A second phase is evident in the changing of the ceramics after 650 CE and manifests itself in the Troumassan Troumassoid subseries identified at more than sixteen sites in Grenada and Carriacou (Hanna, 2017). Caliviny (see Calivigny Island), once identified as a series, is now identified as a complex within the Troumassan Troumassoid. The Caliviny culture may have depended more heavily on the sea and practiced a “mixed economy,” more so than the earlier Saladoid. Troumassoid peoples are popularly identified as Island Arawak, though their language and ethnicity are not known (Fitzpatrick, 2013). The Suazan Troumassoid period (Savanne Suazey, Saint Patrick, Grenada), identified at more than forty sites in Grenada and Carriacou, was once thought to represent the people commonly identified as Kalinago, but is no longer associated with them (Hanna, 2017). The Kalinago have since been tied to Cayo (Cayo, Saint Vincent) ceramics, associated with Cariban speakers from the Guianas (Boomert, 1986), which have been unearthed at several sites in Grenada, including La Poterie and Sauteurs (Hofman et al., 2019). The Galibis, who arrived in Grenada from the Guianas in the seventeenth century, may have left little or no material evidence to supplement the historical data; it can be asserted that they lived with the Kalinago and fought alongside them against the European invaders (Hanna, 2022).

Despite current debates over migration routes, Henri Petitjean Roget (1981) has suggested that “Grenada and its dependencies, Île de Ronde and Île de Caille, and above all Carriacou, constituted in a way the archaeological memory of the Lesser Antilles.” In their travels from South America through the Caribbean, the various Indigenous peoples must have used Grenada as their entry, transit point, and trading center; however, the southern stepping-stone theory is still a point of debate (see Callaghan, 2001; Fitzpatrick, 2013, 2016; Keegan & Hofman, 2017). A selection of artifacts recovered from various archaeological sites across the islands of Grenada and Carriacou can be seen at the Carriacou Museum and Grenada National Museum. Yet Amerindian heritage sites are threatened due to their coastal locations—often the primary areas for touristic and other developments, as in the case of the Pearls Amerindian site, the Maurice Bishop International Airport, and the famous Grand Anse Beach—and the effects of the coastal erosion, as in Sauteurs, Saint Patrick. It is quite possible that the existence of these groups, practices, and the material culture

are embedded in contemporary Grenadian cultural identity, but the education system lags behind in circulating this knowledge.

3 History Education in Contemporary Grenada

At present, Grenada's history as taught in schools takes little account of pre-Columbian history, as discussed above. There continues to be a knowledge deficit about the enslaved Africans who were moulded in the objects of labour continues to evade the education system (Brizan, 1998, p. 19). Ignoring the totality of history can be problematic for identity formation, since all aspects of a country's history are essential in shaping the identity of the past, present, and future generations (whether that history is pleasant or unpleasant). The totality of history is also imperative for the social, cultural, and economic preservation of a country's society; for this reason, the matter of education must be the focus. Education is a necessary condition for shaping identity, and identity will necessarily reflect the education system. Thus, understanding the totality of history—which includes the pre-Columbian past—is not only important for archaeologists and historians, but also for the general population. Therefore, the meaning and understanding of history must be clearly articulated to students and/or educators, while also entailing the active participation of the community in the process of this understanding.

Grenada has never articulated the meaning of its history in a way that might shape its future. In fact, the nation's cultural heritage is sometimes misunderstood, as the colonial powers neglected the totality of Grenada's history as insignificant to their interests. Instead, the nature of colonialism appears to have created a greater focus on transmitting ideologies of race, class, and status to the current society, which created a fragmented society (see Benoit, 2021) rather than the collective consciousness that is necessary for holding a society together (see Lukes, 1982, pp. 34–46). Thus, to what extent can the history of Grenada (including its pre-Columbian past) shape the collective consciousness of Grenadian society, and what is the role of education in this process? The process becomes confusing when one considers the preceding argument, where there is a symbiotic relationship between identity and education.

4 Destruction of the Natural Landscape and the Erosion of Pre-Columbian History

During this process of writing this chapter, several sites were being cleared for the construction of massive hotels on the island. Even during a pandemic, it

appears that tourism is a “growing” industry in Grenada, creating jobs for the unemployed while contributing to the island’s sustainable development. At the same time, one might be concerned about the environmental issues that these developmental projects are bringing to the fore while exposing archaeological assets to danger (see Hanna, 2017; Hofman et al., 2019). For example, with the Blue Growth project, many of these developmental projects are taking place in the coastal areas (see Patil & Diez, 2016, p. 17), and it appears that the relevant authorities did not conduct proper long-term Environmental Assessments (EIAs) with the Breakwater Project particularly since these projects have started, some residents have had to be evacuated from their homes, and using beaches for fishing and recreational purposes is no longer possible because of rapid coastal erosion due to high tides and the rise in sea levels (personal observation, see also Campbell, 2016; NowGrenad.com). The Breakwater project, for example, was supposed to protect the natural environment and create employment for the area’s residents. However, it has since become a hazard: residents have had to flee their homes because no Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was conducted to anticipate the project’s effects on the natural landscape. It must be noted that EIAs are an example of best practices and fall under the Convention on Biological Diversity, to which Grenada is party. Furthermore, Grenada has legislation stating that EIAs are required for projects under the Physical and Planning and Development Control Act 2016; the participatory approach, which requires consultations with the affected communities, is also under said legislation. Additionally, the area of the Breakwater project is a known archaeological site (Hanna, 2016; Holdren, 1998), and archaeological remains (skeletons) have washed into the sea and some of the residents’ yards (personal observations). This situation raises further questions not only about the role of heritage in national identity and education, but also the impact developmental policies can have on the cultural history of the people.

In previous research where I examined the role of heritage identity in Grenada’s development (Charles, 2017), it appears that some internal social dynamics have resulted in a crisis of identity that may be related to the role of history in fostering sustainable development. There is a neglect or lack of interest in Grenada’s heritage, and even the failure of the education system to adequately address the issue of heritage and pre-Columbian historical education is a matter of concern, not only from a cultural perspective but also from an educational and environmental point of view (Charles, 2017).

Furthermore, it can be demonstrated that tourism as a cultural phenomenon contributes to a people’s identity, and identity is shaped by one’s heritage. Culture and identity play an essential role in the development of a nation’s identity. This makes history, heritage, and identity a part of sustainable

development, and threats to the environment are in no way in the public interest. From 2008 to 2017, tourism was Grenada's prime economic activity, accounting for an average of 7% of GDP in this period; further growth was projected for 2018 and 2019 (Central Statistics Office: Grenada). In December 2017, the island also won "Destination of the Year" at *Caribbean Journal's* Caribbean Travel Awards (Caribbean Journal Staff, 2017), and has been promoted as one of the best Eastern Caribbean tourist destinations (Avakian & Kiersz, 2017). The island, formerly dubbed the "Isle of Spice," was rebranded by the tourism authority on February 14, 2014; the name "Pure Grenada, Spice of the Caribbean" was launched as the new brand under which Grenada should now be known (Loop News, 2017). Pure Grenada is an "ecotourism branding" that focuses on the natural and cultural environment of the island.

While the rebranding was controversial, the authorities believed that it was the best way to market the island as a tourist destination. However, questions can be raised about Pure Grenada's marketing strategy, which does not consider the preservation of the island's material and cultural resources untouched, unspoiled, or authentic. One cannot argue that the island's resources are not managed according to the best practices, while our natural and cultural resources are continuously overlooked or destroyed in the process of other developments. The model of development that neglect the island's heritage and environment for large scale projects such as hotel construction that offer only low-end jobs is not sustainable particularly when the people's heritage is destroyed. It should be recognized that archaeological and historical sites are a necessary assets for the tourism industry. For any form of tourist infrastructural development, there must be an impact assessments to mitigate practices that can destroy the island's heritage including its pre-Columbian past.

Like most countries, Grenada's natural and cultural resources are finite, and as a developing nation it is susceptible to exploitation. If the nation appears to lack the active protections to achieve long-term and sustainable development, particularly as a SIDS faced with many environmental vulnerabilities and fragilities—hurricanes, sea and coastal erosion, small size, etc.—what are the implications of such policies for the long-term sustainable development of the tourist industry?

Despite these natural environmental issues, FDI in the tourist industry is increasing the environmental vulnerability of archaeological assets that could be valuable for said tourist industry and threatens the country's long-term sustainable development. By sustainable development, we also mean that which does not marginalize a large percentage of Grenadian people who are unable to benefit from FDI in the tourism industry, particularly if this sector is a focus of growth and development. This model of development appears to

ignore the country's resources that can indeed provide long-term sustainable growth; a significant part of this is its failure to utilize the country's history and cultural heritage in a more systematic manner to achieve meaningful sustainable development. What would be the impact of more focus on the country's history and cultural heritage?

The development of human resource capacity in the interest of history and cultural heritage can provide a sustainable resource that directly benefits the tourist industry. As Hall has noted, a country with unsophisticated human resources will produce weakness in all other aspects of a society's development (Hall et al., 2002). For this reason, developing exclusive properties that ignore Grenada's archaeological heritage would only entrench the historic dynamics of colonialism and further deny the population the education necessary to shape a solid cultural identity. As cited by Jones (2007), according to the European Landscape Convention (2000), people are the core of development and policy. Thus, one would expect the various authorities to engage public participation, since the landscape is part of one's cultural heritage and identity.

As the director of UNISCAPE has posited and cited by the Center for Landscape Democracy (CLaD), "land can be owned but not the landscape" (SALAZAR, 2015). The natural environment and archaeological sites in Grenada are not simply a "physical thing"; they are the culture of past generations, a sustainable resource that could be a sustainable tourist product. In small developing islands like Grenada, archaeological sites and the natural landscape are the same; they are integrated into and important to local communities. Thus, for any development to occur, there must be an approach that integrates public participation. It is also the most practical thing to do because if most of the archaeological sites are destroyed due to FDI, one might argue that the very nature of sustainability is threatened.

For example, Point Salines, located in the south of the island, is a unique natural and cultural landscape (National Parks and Wildlife Unit, Grenada Forestry Department). The area was first settled by humans over 3,500 years ago. In the 1960s, archaeologists began studying the area: Bullen in the 1960s (Bullen, 1964), then Petitjean Roget in the 1980s (Petitjean Roget, 1981). During the construction of the Maurice Bishop International Airport (MBIA) from 1980 to '83, the salt ponds were surveyed, and the archaeological evidence demonstrated that When Sea levels lowered in the glaciation era this caused sea levels to drop and when it rained the water amalgamated and formed land. When the water moved through this space it melted the salt rock (halite) and accumulated on the top of the earth during the dry periods. For this reason, the salt mixed with other minerals from the earth's surface and vaporization occurred forming a salt pan or salina" (Hanna, 2017). In the past, salt from Point

Salines was a key exportation for Grenada (Martin, 2013). Most of the archaeological evidence was destroyed due to the airport's construction, but there are still some archaeological remains in the area and a salt pond that still produces salt (Hanna, 2017).

In November 2017, during the presentation of Grenada's national budget, former Prime Minister Dr. the Rt. Hon. Keith Mitchell announced that there were plans to construct a parallel taxiway, loading bridges, and passenger terminal among other facilities at the MBIA. Knowing that this was an archaeological site, the Heritage Research Group Caribbean (HRGC)—a Grenada-based heritage consultancy that specializes in the archaeological, historical, and legal aspects of cultural resource management, and of which the author is a member—tried to contact the relevant authorities to inquire about the repercussions of such an expansion in the area. After much investigation, there was no evidence of any EIA and/or mitigation measure concerning the effects the expansion of the airport might have on the area's archaeological remains. What is evident, however, is that this expansion will destroy any archaeological material that survived the previous construction, including the two salt ponds that remained. Now, instead of using the salt as a local commodity, Grenada imports salt from other countries. The authorities have not recognized this fact, and it is arguably unlikely that this part of Grenada's history will be sustained, either for locals or for tourists.

By examining the problem of Indigenous history and education in contemporary Grenada, the historical narrative can be revised. The archaeological history of Grenada demonstrates that Indigenous history and heritage can serve to enrich Grenadian national identity, but this past appears to have been misused even in contemporary Grenadian society. It will be contended here that Grenada's Indigenous history and its heritage are necessary and should be acknowledged and recognized, as well as incorporated into its education in a more significant way. The material objects of the Indigenous past are still active agents in modern Grenada, and as such, much more attention should be given to this aspect of the island's material culture.

The emergence of a new Grenada, I will argue came out of a colonial past: if the previous occupant had been able to withstand the turmoil and the pressure of their colonizers, there would have been no reason to seek labor outside of the Caribbean. It appears that this reality is not part of the consciousness of the country's modern inhabitants—that the ideas of the colonizer-capitalist approach and the rise of individualism took over this consciousness; that the past is somehow forgotten, and the future starts with the here and now.

However, there must be a beginning for there to be an end, and there must be an absence for something to be present. Indigenous heritage must become important to the current population of Grenada because it is the starting point of the new society that emerged. This should be identified as part of the country's national history and identity. National identity permits the development of one's individual identity, allowing for the sharing of a culture and a collective consciousness of solidarity. This is a modern consciousness that is needed to contribute to the social, political, and economic growth of the county—or would it be safe to say, since the precursors of what constitutes national heritage and national identity did not develop in Grenada, is the reason for Indigenous heritage not being at the forefront regarding its ideas on Indigenous history, heritage, and education? One might then argue, if these elements of history repeat themselves, that all other forms of history and heritage should be ignored, since the new society that emerged was based on race and class, while ignoring the history and heritage of Grenada's past civilization. There are some questions we can all ask ourselves: how does society decide which aspects of the past are to be considered heritage, and which heritage is important or unimportant? Who in Grenada decides what history and heritage should be protected? If it is the social elite that decides, how do these elites make decisions about what should or should not be preserved and protected?

5 Conclusion

While there is some form of legal framework for teaching the history and preservation of Grenada's heritage, one might question its effectiveness. For example, in 2017, the Grenada National Museum Act was passed, in which section 22 (Part IV), no. 12 requires developers (and locals) to report potential archaeological sites when artifacts or and human remains are discovered; it further prohibits any unauthorized excavations or removal of any artifacts or material culture, which is punishable by a fine if found doing so. There is also the Physical Planning Authority (PPDCA Act of 2016), which aids in protecting Grenada's natural and cultural assets. To this end, the Natural and Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee was set up by the Physical Planning Committee to assess how developments might impact natural landscapes and cultural assets. Education is necessary so that Indigenous heritage can become important to the contemporary population of Grenada. Indigenous culture is part of Grenada's cultural identity today, and the people have an inherent right to be included and recognized as part of the county's national identity.

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Words and Walls: Oral Revelations on Built and Archaeological Heritage

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1 Introduction

"I shouldn't have to walk onto a plantation in twenty-first century Barbados and not see myself and my ancestors represented—only see the glory of what that plantation space was." (Innis, 2020). This sentiment, echoed by many West Indians, was expressed by Tara Inniss, a historian at the University of the West Indies (UWI), during a recent panel discussion broadcast live via YouTube. The discussion, hosted by the UWI Museum, critically examined the meaning of colonial-era monuments and monumental landscapes in contemporary Caribbean society.

The occasion for this discussion was a momentous storm of global events sweeping through several countries. This storm created a wave of iconoclasm vandalizing and toppling statues erected to honor slave owners, traders, colonizers, and Confederate generals who fought to defend the institution of slavery. Many more such monuments to champions of African enslavement find themselves threatened by the worldwide protests that erupted after the murder of George Floyd by officers of the Minneapolis Police Department (Diaz et al., June 2020). The slaying of yet another unarmed (and non-hostile) Black man by law enforcement personnel aggravated centuries-old, unhealed wounds of racial injustice. The incident also galvanized the discussion—already taking place—on whose heritage is represented and how that heritage is represented.

The editors of the present volume had been planning this publication long before current events thrust the Black Lives Matter movement once more into the spotlight. However, these events make such a publication even more timely—as archaeologists, once part of the colonial enterprise, now grapple with how the Caribbean's archaeological heritage can be interpreted in a manner that represents and honors the heritage of all the people who created the sites and landscapes of our region. While the focus of this volume, unlike the wider discussion now taking place in the media, is not on statues and monuments, it fits well within this discussion. Discussing the uses of

Caribbean archaeological heritage complements the discussion of monuments to pro-slavery individuals, as many of the region's colonial-era historic sites were conceptualized as monumental displays from the beginning.

In some cases, they were fortified edifices meant to reassure the plantocracy and convince potential aggressors of their resolve to defend vulnerable island outposts against assault by sea as well as insurrection by the enslaved and Indigenous populations within. In other instances, they were plantations that served not only as production sites but also as monumental displays of a planter's wealth or aspirational attempts to convince onlookers of said wealth (Hicks, 2007, p. 37, 39; Meniketti, 2015, p. 218). As one leading architectural publication has noted, those who possess wealth are the ones who are able to imprint their ambitions, goals, and ideals on the built landscape (O'Neill, 2020).

What of those, however, whose forced labor and skills were used to transform the built landscape? How are they represented? Do their descendants, who comprise the region's demographic majority, see themselves and their heritage represented at these sites, and if they do, is it a representation they are willing to accept? These are the questions this chapter seeks to address. The issues of representation and interpretation of a heritage that is intertwined with the still painful and controversial legacies of enslavement and colonization will be explored by examining the perspectives of various entities and individuals. These entities and individuals range from corporate stakeholders in the tourism industry, specifically from the heritage tourism sector to grassroots community activists.

While the insular Caribbean and regions beyond shall of course feature in this discussion, the chapter's focus will be on the representation of the archaeological and built heritage of Saint Kitts. Saint Kitts and neighboring Nevis, both located in the northeastern Caribbean archipelago, were governed by Britain as a single political entity before gaining formal independence in 1983. Saint Christopher or Saint Kitts, the larger of the two, became England's first West Indian colony in 1624, and in the following year also became the site of France's first foray into colonizing the insular Caribbean. The two European entities made uneasy bedfellows, and disputes, often escalating into armed conflict, were common. One of the few moments of Anglo-French settler unity occurred when they joined forces to decimate the Kalinago population, the island's first settlers. By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Saint Kitts came completely under English control. Strategically important as the most important sugar producer in the Leeward Islands, over the course of the next two centuries, Saint Kitts would be a frequent target of French attacks. It was occupied by the French on several occasions, but never again spent any significant period within the Francophone sphere.

As the earliest West Indian colony, the seeds of the English and French Caribbean plantation systems were planted on Kittitian soil, with the roots spreading to subsequent settlements in the Leeward and Windward Islands. Leeward Islands such as Saint Kitts bore the prototypes for the West Indian plantation (Higman, 1991, pp. 117–148).

In regions of the Americas where the plantation was a ubiquitous feature of the landscape, it should perhaps come as no surprise that as economies shifted from dependence on labor-intensive cash crops, plantations either shut down or were repurposed. In the latter case, the majority of the Caribbean plantations that survived the changes of the post-slavery industrial and service economy were reinvented as “plantation inns.” These hotels and restaurants promise to transport their guests back to a romanticized era of grand architecture set in an idyllic tropical landscape. A few—such as Mount Gay and Foursquare Estates in Barbados, Appleton Estate in Jamaica, and Plantation Diamond in Guyana’s Demerara region—have become the sites of world-renowned rum distilleries. Several of these distillers offer plantation tours, in which visitors are regaled with tales of the centuries-old history of the plantation as well as the handcrafted care and expertise that goes into creating its unique brand of sugarcane-derived spirit.

These tours often feed into tourists’ preconceived notions of the islands as a paradise— notions reinforced by the tourism promotional material that potential visitors consume in the supply countries (White, 2013, pp. 175–188).¹ However, these notions often conflict with the darker side of the host country’s history and its inherited socioeconomic legacy. The history of most popular Caribbean Island destinations is inseparable from the legacy of plantation slavery (Monzote, 2013, pp. 17–24). This legacy is central to a larger story in which the Caribbean islands, their Indigenous peoples, and the Africans brought to their shores were exploited to create enormous wealth for Northern Hemispheric nations. At the same time, the islands were restricted to producing primary products, which ironically fueled the Northern Hemisphere’s Industrial Revolution. The Caribbean’s present-day overreliance on the tourism sector and its high consumption of imported consumer goods from the Global North is the perpetuation of a structure of exploitation and economic dependence. This structure was erected by the former colonial powers of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands, and their later peer rival the United States.

How, then, does a small Caribbean nation attract visitors from these very countries of the Global North, and yet also fulfil the necessity of ensuring that

1 Just for clarification, the term “supply country” refers to the tourist or visitor’s country of origin, while “host country” refers to the tourist destination.

both its people and visitors are exposed to an authentic representation of its history, without alienating the locals? We consider it a “necessity” because such a representation is important for two main reasons. The primary reason is to create not only a consciousness of one’s history and culture among the region’s people but also an awareness of one’s place in the world. Such an awareness counters the narrative of a people whose ancestors were merely enslaved. Rather, an authentic representation also highlights the role Afro-Caribbean people played both as empire builders and freedom fighters. In the former role, they created, albeit unwillingly, the great wealth enjoyed by many in the North. In the latter role, through continued resistance, they were concurrently the major instigators of emancipation.

The role of Caribbean islands such as Saint Kitts and Nevis and their peoples as empire builders of the Atlantic World brings us to our second, but nonetheless important motive for authentic historical representation. Visitors are rarely exposed to this perspective in the education systems or media of their home countries. Such ignorance serves to propagate inaccurate and racialized stereotypes as the causes of and reasons for the continued disparity in economic development between the North and the Caribbean. While the authors argue for the necessity of presenting visitors with this perspective, we also acknowledge that confronting visitors with a perspective that challenges their existing bias may create discomfort and even hostility (Biser, 2017).

In the former Confederate States of the US South, several antebellum plantations are now historic sites inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places. Despite the obvious and inescapable connection of these plantations to slavery, nearly all their register entries are uniformly and glaringly silent on the enslaved persons who toiled on them and in many cases built their mansions. When the Blacks who labored on these properties are mentioned, references to slavery and discussion of the types of work they did are usually either scrupulously avoided or glossed over to present a paternalistic view of the planter (Reeves, 2020). The recently created Black Craftspeople Digital Archive website (blackcraftspeople.org) seeks to address this skewered representation of history. Here in the Caribbean, a similar phenomenon can be observed at many of the former plantations now functioning as plantation inns or where some other form of planned visitor experience is offered.

Before venturing further, it is important to define two key terms central to this chapter: history and heritage. E. H. Carr terms history as “a particular conception of what constitutes human rationality: every historian, whether he knows it or not, has such a conception” (Carr, 2008). In other words, history is how we conceive past events and the rationale we apply to interpreting these events. Heritage, on the other hand, is the legacy of these past events as

it manifests in both tangible and intangible forms. The former includes artifacts, buildings and historic sites, etc. The latter includes, among other things, folklore and oral traditions. As the title of this chapter suggests, the following discussions shall explore interpretations of sites in Saint Kitts that represent a historic legacy of enslavement and colonialism.

2 Confronting the Slavery-Era Heritage of Saint Kitts from an Elite Perspective

So how is this heritage being confronted on Saint Kitts, where the legacy of the sugar plantation is more entrenched in the physical and cultural landscape than on any other Eastern Caribbean Island apart from Barbados? Recorded interviews conducted with the individuals responsible for managing two of the island's most iconic plantation-based tourist attractions have divulged notably divergent approaches toward interpreting the legacy of slavery to their visitors. These two individuals are Clayton Perkins and Maurice Widdowson, who respectively manage Fairview Inn and Romney Manor/Wingfield Estate. We recorded interviews with them on June 23rd and July 1st, 2020, respectively.

2.1 1 A. *Fairview Inn*

Mr. Perkins is the Chief Executive Officer of Delisle Walwyn & Co. Ltd., the oldest privately owned limited liability company on Saint Kitts and Nevis, with origins that can be traced back to the nineteenth century.² Delisle Walwyn is a company that is itself steeped in history, with its recently renovated corporate headquarters located on Liverpool Row, a street that was once the commercial center of the capital city, Basseterre. Liverpool Row's name betrays the close trading ties that once existed between Basseterre and the British city of Liverpool, one of the premier English slave trading ports (Saint Kitts & Nevis National Archives, n.d.).

In 2008 Kishu Chandiramani, patriarch of the Chandiramani family, a prominent Indo-Kittitian business family popularly known by their company name "Rams," purchased a famous but then derelict former plantation known as the Fairview Inn. The Rams family are majority shareholders in Delisle Walwyn, and the latter leased the property from the family with the intention of developing Fairview Inn into the flagship attraction for Delisle Walwyn's tour company, Kantours (Perkins, 2020). The now renovated Fairview Inn Great

² <https://www.delislewalwyn.com/who-we-are/>.

House and the redesigned plantation lands on which it sits are now marketed as Fairview Great House and Botanical Gardens. The reimagining of plantation landscapes such as Fairview and the now-defunct Ottley's Plantation Inn³ should be seen from a historical perspective as another evolution of the effort to modify Caribbean landscapes to portray particular ideals.

The expansion of sugar cultivation in the West Indies from the early eighteenth century led to the modest manors of the planters being replaced by grander structures. Plantation landscapes were also being modified, reflecting greater focus on a more strictly organized agricultural regime (Hicks, 2007, p. 41). The changes being wrought on the residences of planters and on plantation landscapes were likely spurred by two impulses. One would have been the desire to display newfound or increased prosperity and power: power not only over the sugar landscape, but also over the growing enslaved African workforce upon which they were increasingly dependent. This greater reliance on a steadily increasing African population brings us to the second impulse. Planters became ever more fearful of their enslaved workforce, as seen in legislation passed by planter-dominated assemblies (Saint Kitts & Nevis National Archives, 1711, 1722). However, due to the planters' own insatiable demand for more enslaved labor, the Black population continued to grow. The reorganization of the plantation landscape to portray power over the enslaved was a reflection of their fear of the Blacks who began outnumbering them.

Figure 5.1, depicting a St. Kitts plantation in the late nineteenth century, aptly illustrates the preoccupation of many contemporary artists with portraying a well-ordered landscape in which the enslaved Black persons, prominently featured in the foreground, performed their designated functions, just like the livestock and structures such as windmills. The most prominent background features in this image are the fosandyrtified military sites Brimstone Hill (on the left) and Fort Charles, also known as Fig Tree Fort (on the extreme right). Both fortifications are depicted with imperial flags flying above their battlements. The visual depictions of these fortifications in the background serve to convey a sense of control over a landscape whose productivity and viability depended on enslaved African labor. Such control represented an ideal both for the planter class and the metropole whose prosperity depended on the products of Caribbean plantations.

Literature and other documentary sources were and still are powerful tools in the idealization of plantation landscapes. From the eighteenth century, several poetic works and essays were produced extolling proper techniques of

3 The latter is a plantation inn that ceased operations in 2017.



FIGURE 5.1 Sandy Point Estate and Windmill, St. Kitts (St. Christopher), British West Indies, ca.1795. www.slaveryimages.org - Image Ref. NW0005

plantation management. Some of these works focused on advising planters and overseers on the layout of plantations, and paid attention to organizing both the physical landscape and the enslaved human landscape (Hicks, 2007, p. 44).⁴ Maps were another genre of published documents used by planters to illustrate their terrestrial possessions in the Caribbean. While some maps were the result of surveys conducted to provide documentation for absentee planters, others were flights of fancy illustrating an idealized layout for a plantation that was yet to be developed (Hicks, 2007, pp. 44–46).

The invention of photography in the late nineteenth century, several decades after the legal termination of slavery in the British Empire, added a potent visual tool to the arsenal of documentation meant to portray an idealized plantation landscape. Postcards depicting neatly dressed estate workers against a sanitized backdrop of plantation grounds and buildings were marketed to affluent visitors to the British West Indies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Figure 5.2). The images were meant to mask the reality of the arduous work regimen and squalid living conditions that had barely improved for the majority of the Black population since emancipation (Gilmore, 1995).

The Facebook pages of both Fairview Inn and Romney Manor prominently feature photos of painstakingly restored estate buildings and immaculately landscaped grounds.⁵ As with the black-and-white postcards of a century

4 One example is the volume published by Clement Caines in 1801, while residing on Saint Kitts.

5 <https://www.facebook.com/fairviewskn/>; <https://www.facebook.com/maurice.widdowson/posts/10223545414529046>.



FIGURE 5.2 Planting cane, Island of St. Kitts, B.W.I. – digital file from original | Library of Congress (loc.gov)

ago or more, these social media images use contemporary technology to present a carefully stage-managed image of sites that, despite their architectural, botanical, and terrestrial beauty, are endowed with a dark history. When it comes to addressing and interpreting that dark history, Perkins, who is originally from Montserrat, expressed the opinion that the specific history of the site is the major factor that should influence the approach taken. Perkins argues, “Different plantation owners treated slaves differently [...] there was commonality in certain respects but there wasn’t uniformity” (Perkins, 2020).

Perkins acknowledged that at the time of our interview, the visitor experience at Fairview hardly addressed the enslaved Africans who dominated the estate’s population for most of its existence. He indicated that a new exhibit had just been completed, located in the cellar of the Great House. The exhibit—which has not yet been publicized due to the shutdown of the tourism industry caused by the COVID-19 pandemic—focuses on:

“[T]he elements of what happened in Africa that a lot of people don’t know. A lot of people don’t realize that there were many Africans who were prisoners of war. Some were highly educated, there were children of chiefs of tribes and so on [...] and so we tend to tell that story because a lot of people don’t understand that story very well. We tell the story a little bit of where they came from in Africa and how they got to the coastline

and so on. And then we focused also, a little bit more than usual, on the life of the slave, what they ate, where they lived. So, we haven't focused so much on the labor side of the slave story and the work they did on the plantation, we more focused on how they got there and how they lived."

"So obviously we touched on the slavery element but we didn't want to take the typical kind of approach [...] We wanted to look at the elements that are not touched on so much. But I think coming back directly to the question [of interpreting the legacy of slavery], each plantation has its own story and I think you have to kinda look at it in that context." (Perkins, 2020)

As can be seen in this excerpt from the recorded interview with Clayton Perkins, the new exhibit places emphasis on interpreting the following features in the lives of Africans in Africa and the Caribbean: the varying circumstances under which Africans became captives who were then transported to the Americas as enslaved persons; the diverse socioeconomic backgrounds of the African captives; and the societies from which most of the captives originated. The foodways, housing, and other aspects of the material culture of the enslaved in the Caribbean appear to be the main focus of the exhibit.⁶

It is noteworthy that the management of Fairview has chosen to focus much of the exhibit's interpretation of the enslaved experience on their lives before they became enslaved. This approach has the potential to afford the visitor and members of the public the opportunity to learn more about African societies, which up to the present day are still subject to persistent and highly racialized myths and misunderstandings, including crude stereotypes. Many of the West African societies encountered by European slave traders, emissaries, and other travelers from Europe in the fifteenth century onwards were as complex as the ones they had left back home. These African societies were distinguished by highly developed systems of trade and commerce; artisanship in many fields, from textiles to metallurgy; and a high degree of social stratification, with various classes including artisans, warriors, merchants, priests, and nobility (Thornton, 1998, pp. 43–97).

The intended orientation of the new exhibit at Fairview is laudable for the initiative it takes toward presenting a multidimensional perspective of Africans in the Americas as more than just slaves. However, even here there seem to be missed opportunities. For example, while most of the enslaved labor force on a plantation were field hands, a significant percentage were

⁶ Unfortunately, the authors were unable to visit the exhibit in person due to the coronavirus shutdown.

skilled persons or artisans. Some arrived in Saint Kitts and Nevis and other colonies already possessing a skill or trade, while others would have been taught a trade by white artisans employed on the plantation. One important group of artisans would have been the stonemasons, responsible for the construction and maintenance of estate buildings and other structures. As the architecture of the Great House and other standing structures is one of the main selling points of historic attractions such as Fairview, more attention should be paid to interpreting the role played by enslaved African stonemasons in creating these structures. Even if one wants to take a different route than the “labor side of the slave story” (Perkins, 2020), omitting this aspect of enslaved labor also creates an enormous gap in the interpretation of the built and archaeological heritage of both the plantation and the island.

Earlier we touched on the resistance of some visitors to any interpretation that addresses a site’s (obvious) connections to slavery. When asked how his company approaches this in interpreting the history of Fairview, Perkins responded:

As a tour site we have to be sensitive about not labeling and making persons from countries that enslaved Africans feel that they are guilty. We are in the business of selling a memorable experience. It is a part of the history; we can’t run from it so you have to tell the story. It is more a matter of the delivery rather than running from the history (Perkins, 2020).

During the period of enslavement, Europeans and their North American settler cousins consumed the tropical products of enslaved labor, cultivated on Caribbean landscapes represented in an idealized form in various texts and visual media, from landscape art to maps. In modern times, Europeans and North Americans travel to the Caribbean to consume the destination itself, a destination similarly represented, in idealized fashion, as paradise. However, the consumption of paradise can be accompanied by postcolonial guilt (Korber, 2017). As Perkins’s comments demonstrate, tourism entities are very aware of this postcolonial guilt. These entities often seek to assuage this guilt through various strategies. One such strategy is to completely ignore the legacy of slavery, as seen earlier in the example of many plantations listed on the US National Register of Historic Places. This strategy is not only limited to the US South; several such glaring examples are found dotted throughout the Caribbean.

Another common strategy is to downplay the harsh realities of the pre- and even post-emancipation plantation regime, while at the same time promoting a sense of identity between white visitors and the plantation owners (Korber, 2017). On its website, St. Nicholas Abbey, one of the most renowned plantations

and boutique rum distilleries in Barbados and the wider Caribbean, has a fairly extensive chronology of the history of rum production and the plantation itself, covering the early settlement of the island to the present day. Interestingly, the discussion headed “Slaves & Free Laborers,” while acknowledging the harsh treatment of the enslaved, emphasizes measures introduced to improve conditions for the enslaved, such as early nineteenth-century legislation against killing an enslaved person.⁷ Such a narrative is misleading, because many planters only honored these measures in the breach, and often did so with impunity. The “Slaves & Free Laborers” narrative goes on to credit white Barbadians for “maintaining the sugar industry as part of their heritage.”⁸ Such an interpretation of the history of St. Nicholas Abbey and the sugar and rum industry of the Caribbean serves a dual purpose, assuaging postcolonial guilt while fostering a sense of kinship between white visitors being exposed to the heritage of sugarcane and the white planters responsible for “maintaining” that heritage (Korber, 2017).

The approach taken by Fairview’s new exhibit also avoids the harsh realities of the enslaved experience on the plantation. Unlike many others, however, the exhibit appears to make an attempt at personifying the enslaved and presenting them as individuals, with cultural identities completely separate from the slave identities Europeans attempted to impose on them in their new plantation environment.

2.2 *1B. Romney Manor/Wingfield Estate*

In contrast to Perkins, who is originally from the tiny Eastern Caribbean Island town of Plymouth in Montserrat, Maurice Archibald Widdowson hails from the northwestern English city of Lancaster. Widdowson credits the decade he spent in Zambia before arriving in Saint Kitts as having exerted an important early influence on his attitudes toward the history and heritage of Saint Kitts and the Caribbean. His time in Central Africa left an impression on him, making him more interested in Afro-Caribbean heritage. The English-born businessman is of the opinion that had he arrived in the Caribbean straight from the UK, he would have approached the history and heritage of the two adjoining plantations he now owns “less sensitively, less intellectually and less prepared” (Widdowson, 2020).

Widdowson leased Romney Manor in 1975, motivated by the abandoned plantation’s location midway along the island’s main road, between the cruise ship port at Basseterre and Brimstone Hill Fortress, the latter then the island’s

⁷ <https://www.stnicholasabbey.com/Rum/Rum-Heritage/>.

⁸ *Ibid.*

primary tourist attraction. In his own words, Romney Manor was ideally positioned “between the starting point and the magnet” (Widdowson, 2020). Widdowson initially had to lease the property because the late Sir Jeffrey Boon, the previous owner, had willed it to his grandchildren rather than to his children. The former plantation owner’s decision regarding his estate at Romney Manor forced Widdowson to have to track down Boon’s descendants, who were dispersed at various locations across the globe. Only after having reached each beneficiary and receiving approval from each of them was Widdowson able to purchase Romney Manor outright, a process that took close to three years (Widdowson, 2020). Romney Manor has gained international repute for the batik wear produced at its small batik factory and boutique, which operates under the brand name Caribelle Batik. Over the past four and half decades of ownership, Widdowson has sought to make Romney Manor and its batik works not only a commercially viable tourism entity, but one that members of the surrounding Old Road community, many of whom would be descended from the estate’s previous generations of enslaved persons, perceive as part of their community.

The neighboring Wingfield Estate, also derelict at the time, was purchased from the previous owner circa 1975/1976 to prevent an interested developer from purchasing and fulfilling their reported intention to destroy the ruins of historic structures on the site merely to acquire masonry material.⁹ Widdowson expressed the opinion that the story of enslaved Africans on Caribbean plantations is often not told very well. To address this, one new feature planned for Wingfield Estate is “Wingfield Reflections.” A walkway will be created along the Wingfield River, which courses through the estate, and seating will be placed along the walkway. The names of enslaved persons present at Wingfield Estate at the time of emancipation will be carved, in alphabetical order, on the stones along the walkway. The proposed “reflective zone” will be an area for visitors, Kittitians, and members of the Kittitian diaspora to ponder the lives and experiences of enslaved persons at Wingfield Estate. For Kittitians and members of the diaspora, seeing their surnames “will bring a reality to them that perhaps isn’t apparent in many other places” (Widdowson, 2020). With respect to the prevailing common knowledge of enslaved persons on sites such as Wingfield Estate, Widdowson expressed this opinion:

9 Damage and destruction of historic sites on Saint Kitts and Nevis, from plantations to fortifications, by developers seeking to acquire cut stones, or “headstones” as they are locally known, usually to be used in the construction of luxury properties, is an unfortunately common occurrence, to which public officials and heritage entities frequently turn a blind eye when it is politically convenient to do so.

I think there's a lot of ignorance both in the society at large (globally) and even locally among school kids [...] They only think of slaves in terms of working in the fields. They don't see the fact that they actually run every element of the estate and they just think that they were whipped out to death on a daily basis in the scorching sun and cut cane. They didn't understand that slaves actually did all the masonry, all the carpentry, the distiller, the distilling process. All those elements, the guy that run the lime kiln [...] the ironsmith and I want to bring those facts to people. (Widdowson, 2020)

Widdowson also expressed the desire to use the interpretation of the enslaved experience at Wingfield Estate to “tell the remarkable story of Betto Douglas. A story of cruelty, injustice and of determination that made life easier perhaps for other enslaved people” (Widdowson, 2020).¹⁰ Betto Douglas was an enslaved African woman on Romney Estate who, in the early nineteenth century, lobbied for manumission for her sons and herself, as well as seeking legal action against Richard Cardin, the manager of the plantation, for cruel and unjust punishment. She had been held in the stocks at Wingfield Estate for six months (UCL Department of History, 2020). Widdowson plans to recreate the stocks Douglas had been placed in. However, he is concerned that some visitors may seek to trivialize Douglas's experience by sitting in the stocks to have their photographs taken. He is particularly concerned about the potential for this type of disrespectful behavior from North American visitors who, in his experience, have a tendency to “trivialize anything.” Therefore, “period-appropriate” cast-iron fencing will be placed around the stocks, allowing visitors to view but not physically interact with the exhibit (Widdowson, 2020).

Widdowson argues, “You cannot in my opinion tell a story (of Wingfield) without including the slaves that work there.” For Widdowson, telling that story also includes incorporating their relationship with the landscape around the plantation. He is seeking government sponsorship to have an enslaved burial site located a quarter mile from Wingfield fenced off, and greater recognition given to the site. Widdowson would like to see the site “sanctified in some way and recognized.” At present, members of the public walk across the site without being aware of its significance (Widdowson, 2020).

Fairview Inn and Romney Manor/Wingfield Estate represent two interesting approaches to confronting the legacy of slavery at former plantation sites now

10 Coincidentally, the authors of this chapter intend to present a proposal to the Government of Saint Kitts and Nevis that Betto Douglas and Markus of the Woods (the latter a Maroon leader) be nominated as National Heroes.

repurposed as visitor attractions. The approach at the former is to minimize unpleasant dialogues on slavery that may invoke postcolonial guilt in European and North American visitors (who comprise the vast majority of visitors to Saint Kitts and Nevis and most other Caribbean destinations) and diminish the potential for a “memorable experience.” At the same time, the necessity of telling the history of enslaved Africans at the site in a non-patronizing manner is being recognized. Fairview is apparently seeking to resolve the two conflicting realities by focusing its new historic exhibit on the pre-enslavement societies and cultures of Africans, as well as on some of the lesser-known complexities of the African slave trade.

The present owner of Romney Manor and Wingfield Estate has approached the legacy of his plantation by seeking to carve a dual path. One path is to create a strong sense of connection with the local community—which is predominantly of African descent—that goes beyond creating employment. One example of an initiative that will seek to deepen this connection, while at the same time creating additional revenue for Widdowson’s business and employment for the community, is the proposed future rum distillery at Wingfield Estate. The intention is to brand the locally produced rum under the “Old Road Rum Company” (Widdowson, 2020). This runs counter to common practice in the region, where most rum distilleries located on historic plantations trademark the estate’s name as the rum’s brand name.

The other track of this dual path is to make parts of the plantation and surrounding landscapes memorials to the enslaved persons whose labor and skills transformed the landscape, and whose deaths made them an enduring, yet under-recognized part of it. If Widdowson’s proposed initiatives come to fruition, inquiry into the community’s response to them could be revealing as to how a community comes to terms with creating opportunities—for both employment and retrospection—out of the legacies of sugar, struggle, and enslavement.

3 Confronting the Slavery- and Post-Slavery-Era Heritage of Saint Kitts from a Grassroots Perspective

The two previous individuals interviewed are prominent members of the St. Kitts–Nevis Hotel and Tourism Association (HTA) and manage two of the country’s most high-profile visitor attractions. Similarly, the other two interviewees share a commonality in being socially active members of the Rastafarian community. Rastafarians are noted for their Afrocentric philosophy, which includes agitating for full recognition of and reparations for the social and

economic legacies of slavery. Therefore, selecting members of the Rastafari faith as interviewees is appropriate considering the subject matter. The Rastafarians selected were Samande Reid and Ras Kalonji and were interviewed on June 23rd, 2020.

3.1 *Samande Reid and Buckley's Revolt*

Samande is an agriculture-based cottage-industry entrepreneur who produces and sells tamarind balls, a popular local delicacy made from the fruit of the ubiquitous tamarind tree. He is also well known in Saint Kitts for his prominent role in promoting the annual commemoration of the 1935 worker's strike, known as "Buckley's Revolt" due to the violent culmination of the island-wide strike at Buckley's Estate. Buckley's Estate is located at the western end of Basseterre. Buckley's Revolt was the earliest of a series of labor revolts throughout the Caribbean in the mid- to late 1930s. Samande's involvement in commemorating the revolt was spurred by his own readings on the event after completing his formal schooling as a young man. He was concerned by the fact that the school's curriculum did not teach enough about the event.

The experience of having to learn about a seminal event in national and regional history outside of the formal school system influenced Samande's attitudes toward using sites associated with slavery as tourism attractions. Samande argues, "These sites shouldn't be just used as tourist attractions but they should also be used to educate our young ones [...] so they wouldn't be fumbling when asked a question" (Reid, 2020). Clearly Samande is of the opinion that only just persons who are directly employed in the tourism industry, but all members of the community, including the youth, should be able to interpret the history of sites associated with slavery for visitors. It is noteworthy that Samande shares a similar perspective as Maurice Widdowson, namely that there needs to be greater knowledge of local heroes such as Betto Douglas and the mid-nineteenth-century Maroon leader "Markus of the Woods" (also commonly known as "Markus, King of the Woods"), who are associated with particular sites (Reid, 2020). Using plantation sites as stages to present the stories of individuals such as Betto Douglas and Markus would undoubtedly broaden the dialogue from enslavement to include resistance as well. The theme of resistance, while of course inseparable from enslavement, is not as heavily saddled with the victimhood baggage that many Caribbean people negatively associate with slavery.

Having worked in education, both authors have had the experience of encountering resistance from students with regard to learning about the history of enslavement, an attitude that, in many cases, is influenced by parents or other older family members. Utilizing plantation sites as means to raise

awareness of the heroic actions of previous generations who fought exploitation in both the pre- and post-emancipation eras could impact the way in which present and future generations relate to these sites.

The commemoration of the 1935 Buckley's Revolt also highlights another factor in the interpretation of these historic sites: which era of a site's history holds the greatest relevance to local and national communities, and should be emphasized in any heritage awareness or public education exercise? For the several centuries that it had been in operation, Buckley's Estate would have held significance to its owners and, as the producer of an important commodity, to merchants in both Saint Kitts and England with whom it conducted business. However, after the fateful events of January 20 to 29, 1935, Buckley's Estate was elevated to a unique status that, in the collective memory of Kittitians, makes it distinct from the many other estates that dominate Saint Kitts's landscape. Buckley's is most remembered not as a site of production or even, unlike other plantations, a former site of enslavement; it is remembered for events that served as a catalyst for the growth of trade unionism, working-class political activism, and greater rights for workers in Saint Kitts and Nevis and the rest of the British Empire.

The prioritization of the latter period of a site's existence in the collective psyche is not unique to Buckley's Estate. A single event—as in the case of Buckley's Estate—or a phase during which a site undergoes a major change in its use can significantly alter or influence how that site is remembered. Recent ethnographic fieldwork has revealed how a major change of function has influenced the memory of the oldest coastal fortification on Saint Kitts. Located on the southern end of the anchorage at the port town of Sandy Point, Charles Fort was constructed circa the early 1680s. Evidence indicates that the fortress is one of the oldest existing original structures in the region, outside of the Hispanic Caribbean (Gill, 2020, pp. 61–62, 150–161).

Yet community memory of the site is heavily influenced by the relatively brief period, from the 1890s to the 1980s, when the fortress was repurposed as a leper asylum bearing the name "Hansen Home." Charles Fort's role as a leprosarium has shaped Sandy Pointer's perceptions of themselves, their community, and the historic rivalry between the port towns of Basseterre and Sandy Point. Many Sandy Pointers claim that their town was chosen as the location for the leprosarium to demote Sandy Point from its status as the island's capital. The claim is historically impossible for two reasons. First, Sandy Point was never a capital city. Secondly, Basseterre has held the status of capital city since 1727, when the English moved their administrative seat from Old Road after having completely taken over the former French sections of Saint Kitts (Gill, 2020, pp. 230–233). Paradoxically, despite the conspiracy theories surrounding

the decision to locate the leper home at Sandy Point, many community members take pride in the humane treatment inmates generally received from the townspeople. Stories abound of social interaction between the town and residents of the asylum. The Hansen Home phase of Charles Fort's history as a site in active use looms larger in community folklore than the much longer previous fortress phase.

The example of Charles Fort serves merely to highlight how specific events or periods can shape the memory and interpretation of a site. Forging positive relationships between communities and the sites they share a history with requires an awareness of which aspects of that site's history a community finds relevant. This is not to say that other aspects of a site's history should be overlooked or downplayed, as doing so would only create a false or incomplete narrative. However, as sites will ultimately depend upon their associated communities—both present and future generations—for their continued survival, it is necessary to be aware of the stories of a site's history that can forge connections with the community: connections that evoke pride rather than apathy or unease. By exploring and promoting such connections, archaeologists can generate greater interest from the community in investigating and protecting sites. The relevant heritage management entities can then capitalize on the heightened awareness and empathy within the community, and engage the latter as proactive partners in the long-term protection and interpretation of sites.

3.2 *Ras Kalonji*

John Jeffers, who carries the name Ras Kalonji since his adoption of the Rastafari faith, acquired his trade as a printer while residing in New York City, a North American metropolis that is a mecca for immigrants from Saint Kitts and Nevis and other Caribbean countries. Kalonji specializes in the printing of Black Consciousness and Afrocentric images and texts on posters, buttons, and garments. A cottage-industry entrepreneur like Samande, he operates out of a store in the Pelican Mall, where he also sells herbal supplements. The mall is located on Bay Road in Basseterre, in very close proximity to the Port Zante cruise ship port. At the time of our interview, Kalonji was wearing one of his creations, a tee shirt with the now infamous image of a Minneapolis police officer kneeling on the neck of George Floyd, who died within a few minutes due to physical trauma caused by the inappropriate manner of restraint.

Ras Kalonji credits his conversion to Rastafari with influencing his gravitation to a Black Consciousness ideology and shaping his attitudes toward built and archaeological heritage. Kalonji strongly feels that there are many sites and monuments on Saint Kitts that should be renamed because their present

names represent “the colonial or slave heritage passed on to us.” He argues that this heritage “portrays our oppressor’s history.” Kalonji expressed a preference for renaming rather than removing monuments, and stated that interpretive information on the previous name should be kept “not on the site but in a museum” (Kalonji, 2020).

One example given by Kalonji is Basseterre’s historic playing field Warner Park, named after Saint Kitts’s first English governor, Thomas Warner, who, along with his French counterpart Pierre d’Esnambuc, led a bloody campaign against the Kalinago that decimated their population on the island. The entrepreneur and social activist feels that “renaming and redefining (these sites) would help me better relate to them” (Kalonji, 2020). As with Widdowson, Kalonji sees the role a name can play in shaping the public’s relationship with a site. Widdowson seeks to break with convention and name his rum not after the estate, but the surrounding community; Kalonji seeks to remove names associated with past oppressors. Kalonji’s perspective is also shared by many, as evidenced in the current heated debate in the United States and some European countries over the renaming of monuments and buildings named after individuals who were either connected with the African slave trade or openly supported slavery. Earlier, we discussed how sites where enslavement occurred can become focal points for community and national pride by promoting their connections to persons who resisted enslavement or exploitation. Conversely, a site such as Warner Park in Saint Kitts, an Ivy League university building, or an army base in the United States may have no direct connection with slavery or genocide. However, bearing the name of individuals who either participated in or openly condoned such atrocities creates a connection with the individuals and events that many find troublesome at the very least.

4 Conclusion

The individuals interviewed shared widely varying perspectives on addressing the complex legacy of our historic sites. However, a common thread weaving through these perspectives is the recognition that the narrative created around these sites heavily influences how the public relates to them. Strategies taken to address the legacies of slavery and exploitation range from highlighting commonly overlooked aspects of African societies and memorializing acts of resistance at specific sites to naming strategies meant to create positive associations. The different approaches taken and being called for all make one thing clear: whether a bridge or a wall is created between a site and the community will depend on how that site’s story is told.

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Valuing Jamaica's Archaeological Heritage

Andrea Richards and Debra Kay Palmer

1 Introduction

The Amerindian archaeological site of White Marl in Jamaica is often described in heritage circles as “the most valuable Taíno site on the island, and an important hub in the social networks of pre-colonial Jamaica” (Mickleburgh et al., 2018). It is located next to a bustling thoroughfare traversed daily by thousands of Jamaicans and linking Spanish Town (the second historical capital of Jamaica, known then as Saint Jago de la Vega) to Kingston, the present capital of Jamaica. In 2017, in response to a proposed road redevelopment, an archaeological impact assessment and subsequent excavations were undertaken, which revealed additional human burials—a rarity. It has been noted that human remains have been documented at White Marl since 1860 when Richard Hill reported finding “portions of human skeletons” (Mickleburgh et al., 2018) along with pottery and shells. Sixteen additional human skeletons were also revealed during excavations in the 1950s to 1960s (Allsworth-Jones, 2008; Howard, 1956; Mickleburgh et al., 2018). The burials have also been described as representing a significant source of information on Jamaican pre-colonial life and death rituals, as little is known of burials other than from caves or disturbed contexts (Mickleburgh et al., 2018).

The scientific importance of White Marl is clearly known to archaeologists, but what do local communities or those who drive by every day—in other words, the average Jamaican—think? Is there an awareness of the site or its relevance, and do they perceive the archaeological heritage of the Taíno as having any relevance to them beyond being on the national coat of arms—or even care what happens to the site?

Let us compare White Marl to Port Royal in Kingston, Jamaica, which practically every Jamaican child has visited on a school trip and adults remember fondly from their youth: everyone remembers the Royal Artillery House at Fort Charles, more popularly known by Jamaicans as the “Giddy House.” Port Royal is also a popular recreational spot for Jamaicans; hence the question, do Jamaicans value the site because of its historical significance, their nostalgic memories, or perhaps a bit of both?



FIGURE 6.1 Excavations at the White Marl Taíno Site (2018)

There is also Devon House, the historic mansion of Jamaica's first millionaire of African descent. Again, we must consider whether individuals value the site because of its historic significance, or as their favorite recreation and ice cream spot in Kingston. How many know, understand, or wish to partake in the historical significance that surrounds them while they drive by or enjoy their fish meal or ice cream?

The terms “history” and “heritage” are used throughout this paper, and for many people, the two are synonymous (Harrison, 2010). The historian David Lowenthal (1997), in making the distinction between the two, posits that “heritage is not history at all, as it is not an inquiry into the past, but a celebration of it” (Lowenthal, 1997). As such, heritage in this research refers to “something that can be passed from one generation to the next, can be conserved or inherited, and something that has historic or cultural value” (Harrison, 2010), as evidenced through objects, places, and practices. UNESCO further defines heritage as “the legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations.”¹ History is defined as the “scientific, evidence-based investigation of the past” (Seixas, 2014). Both concepts are however inextricably intertwined, as without history, there would be no heritage.

1 UNESCO definition of heritage: <https://www.unesco.org/en/world-heritage#:~:text=Heritage%20is%20our%20legacy%20from,sources%20of%20life%20and%20inspiration>.

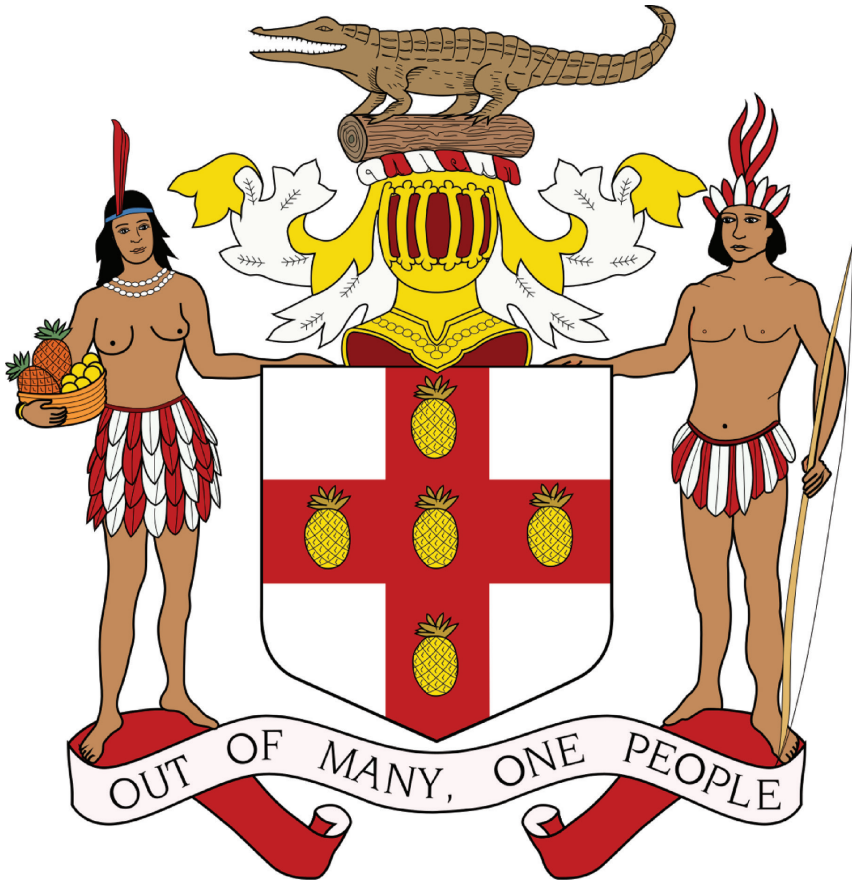


FIGURE 6.2 Jamaica's Coat of Arms, which depicts the native Amerindians

Papadopoulos and Urton (2012), in discussing the notion of value, highlight it as “a social construct [...] defined by the cultural context in which it is created,” and elaborate further by asking how value is created and defined. Reid (2012) theorizes that the process of identifying, recognizing, and managing heritage—and by extension valuing it—is always “political, partial and contested, [as in] the case of the Anglophone Caribbean whose varied history, and ethnic composition have been the result of conquest, immigration, dominance, resistance and creolization.”

In examining how Jamaicans value their archaeological heritage, we must identify the unique processes that have defined this value system, as well as determine if such value exists only for a select few or a particular section of society. One must also ask, *what does this value look like, and how is it manifested in exploring how Jamaicans interact with this heritage?* What are the tools, contexts, and processes that have helped Jamaicans to attain and or contextualize



FIGURE 6.3 The Giddy House in Port Royal, Jamaica
COURTESY OF THE JAMAICA NATIONAL HERITAGE TRUST



FIGURE 6.4 The Devon House historic mansion
COURTESY OF THE JAMAICA NATIONAL HERITAGE TRUST

this value? For example, is valuation of heritage achieved purely through the work of institutions assigned to protect heritage, or does the educational system (formal and informal) have a significant role to play in this? If there was an absence of cultural institutions, would the remaining systems in place lead

to any appreciable value being placed on our archaeological heritage? Importantly, within the context of the Caribbean, we often find situations in which a particular ethnic group constitutes the overwhelming majority, and it is often assumed that what is termed “national heritage” and valued is really the heritage of the majority.

2 Identifying Jamaica's Archaeological Heritage

The ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990) identifies archaeological heritage as comprising “all vestiges of human existence and consist[ing] of places relating to all manifestations of human activity, abandoned structures, and remains of all kinds (including subterranean and underwater sites), together with all the portable cultural material associated with them.”²

Jamaica has benefited from extensive archaeological research in the twentieth century, with work done by Lee in the 1960s (which led to the formation of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica), Link in Port Royal (1950s and 1960s), Mathewson at Old Kings House (1969–1973), Howard at White Marl (1950s and 1960s), Marx in Port Royal's Underwater City in the 1960s, Mayes at Port Royal's terrestrial sites (1960s), and the Columbus Caravels Archaeological Project (1990s) (Richards and Henriques, 2011). Added to these are archaeological research projects undertaken by the University of the West Indies History and Archaeology Department, as well as numerous overseas universities.

In the beginning, research primarily focused on Port Royal, plantation, and Amerindian archaeology; however, since the latter part of the twentieth century, there has been much work on the Afro-Jamaican and Maroon presence courtesy of Agorsah and Armstrong, among others. These research programs have ensured that there is a wealth of information on the archaeological heritage of Jamaica available to the public through the Jamaica National Heritage Trust.

In a 2003 survey (to be discussed later in this paper) on attitudes of the Jamaican public toward its archaeological heritage, Richards (2003) highlighted that Jamaicans viewed their archaeological heritage as anything from the colonial period, anything in use by Jamaicans now, anything used by the Amerindians, and pots and other objects used by peoples in the past. When discussing this heritage, Jamaicans tend to focus on what is known to them; thus, because there has been very little archaeological research done, for example, on the Indian presence in Jamaica, there is very little awareness of this.

2 Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990). Accessed at: https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/arch_e.pdf

With a known and recorded history spanning several centuries of discovery, occupation, and migration, Jamaica's archaeological heritage highlights the peoples who have made Jamaica their home—encompassing Amerindians, Europeans, Africans, Asians, and Middle Easterners. Such circumstances create a unique case study through which to discuss valuing heritage: whose heritage is it, what is valued, and why?

The archaeological record indicates that after AD 600, Jamaica (Indigenous name “Yamaye”) was inhabited by ancestors of the so-called Taíno represented by the ceramic series defined as Ostionoid or redware culture (Rouse, 1992), whose earliest sites were Little River (Saint Ann) and Alligator Pond (Manchester). Three hundred years later, appeared the Meillacan Ostionoid subseries, also known as White Marl, from the name of the site dating to AD 877. Rouse (1992) linked this subseries with the Western Taíno, which inhabited parts of Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahamas. The Amerindian culture we call the Taíno developed about AD 1200. These cultures would leave behind a heritage discernible from its zemis, pottery, stone tools, petroglyphs, and burials, among other materials, particularly from sites such as White Marl.

Reid (2009) has pointed out how Caribbean researchers now use the word “Taíno” to differentiate the peoples of the northern Caribbean at the time of Spanish contact from the Arawakan societies of mainland South America. Reid goes a step further, however, in indicating that there are schools of thought that challenge the use of the word “Taíno” or claim that the peoples Columbus met did not have a “self-designation.” Atkinson (2006, 2010) has highlighted that in Jamaica, the word “Arawak” was still used to describe the Indigenous population, although Jamaican researchers and archaeologists had largely transitioned to using “Taíno.” Today, more and more Jamaicans use the word “Taíno”, especially in the educational system, where the name has replaced the formerly used “Arawak.”

Columbus arrived on the island in 1494 and claimed it as a colony of Spain. The Amerindian population would be decimated by the mid-seventeenth century, around the time England took control of the island from Spain in 1655 (Black, 1965). European colonization resulted in the mass enslavement of Africans who were brought to this “New World” primarily for the cultivation of sugar plantations and other forms of monoculture. Sites such as *Maima Seville* have been recognized as important contact sites for the Indigenous people, European colonizers, and enslaved Africans (Henri and Woodward, 2019).

The Maroons emerged from this system as enslaved Africans who liberated themselves from plantation slavery and forged new identities in the various mountainous areas of Jamaica, such as the Cockpit Country and the Blue and John Crow Mountains (communities include Accompong Town, Moore Town, Charles Town and Scotts Hall). During the nineteenth century, other ethnic groups such as Indians, Chinese, and Middle Easterners would also settle in



FIGURE 6.5 Seville Heritage Park. Top left: Seville Great House; Top right: Spanish Castle; Bottom: Replica of housing used by the enslaved.

Jamaica, in addition to other Europeans such as Irish, Scottish, and Germans, some of who were brought to the Caribbean as indentured laborers from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

3 Jamaican Identity through the Lens of Archaeology

The term “heritage values” refers to the meanings that individuals or groups of people bestow on heritage (including collections, buildings, archaeological sites, landscapes, and intangible expressions of culture, such as oral traditions). These values have been a key factor in legitimizing heritage conservation, protection, and management, although the understanding of what they are has varied over time, and there are nuances between one country and another. There are many classifications of values, including historical, aesthetic, economic, social, and scientific, among others (Mason, 2012).

Being “out of many, one people” (the national motto of Jamaica), there is no archaeological heritage that tells the complete narrative of all Jamaicans. However, if asked to name a heritage site in Jamaica that they identify with, most Jamaicans would answer “Seville” or “Port Royal,” yet not necessarily have a reason or understand why the site is of value to them as Jamaicans, beyond it being known as a heritage site.

Are Jamaicans to be blamed for not knowing or sufficiently valuing their own archaeological heritage to interact with it in a more meaningful way and contribute to its protection? What opportunities have been extended to Jamaicans to engender valuing this heritage? Can we expect them to value what they don't know?

In delving deeper into how Jamaicans have arrived at their value system and in what way this manifests in their interactions with heritage, we will take a closer look at the institutions tasked with protecting and sharing this heritage with Jamaicans; our systems of learning; and the values reflected in how Jamaicans manage, protect, or facilitate the destruction of this heritage.

4 How is Archaeological Heritage Valued in Jamaica?

The notion that our past is linked to material cultural heritage obtained from archaeological sites is something that many Jamaicans do not think about. As mentioned above, Jamaica's heritage is intertwined with that of many cultures, yet Jamaica's archaeological research mainly focuses on the Amerindians; Europeans, as reflected by the Spanish and English; and finally, Africans who were enslaved and brought to the island. This has been the archaeological heritage that is available for public dissemination and consumption.

Some of Jamaica's archaeological sites reflect several of these groups at once: sites such as Port Royal and Seville are two such examples and are referred to as "contact sites." The question of how Jamaicans view the material manifestation of this heritage is reflected firstly through their level of engagement with it.

Jamaicans are not known to just visit an archaeological site, except as part of a school-sanctioned educational trip or because an event is being hosted at a site. It is also widely perceived that Jamaica does not have a museum culture, as evidenced by the low visitor numbers to museums and interaction with exhibitions. Farmer and Cummins (2012) have highlighted the role of museums (displaying archaeological objects) in developing identity—and by extension a value system—in the postcolonial Caribbean landscape, and that of Caribbean museums in presenting the heritage of a nation to the public.

There is also the matter of access to be factored in, as only some archaeological sites are open to the public or promoted for visits.

The institutions with primary responsibility for managing heritage resources in Jamaica are the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ) and the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT). The IOJ was created in 1879 for collecting various types of material cultural resources (Richards & Henriques, 2011), including natural and cultural heritage. The IOJ has several divisions, such as the National Museum of Jamaica, the National Gallery of Jamaica, the African Caribbean Institute

of Jamaica/Jamaica Memory Bank, Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey, the Natural History Museum of Jamaica, the Simón Bolívar Cultural Centre, and the Jamaica Music Museum. Among these divisions, the IOJ has collections ranging from Jamaica's first peoples to the pre- and post-independence period.

In 1958, the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT) was founded as the Jamaica National Trust Commission, the name being changed to the present form in 1985. This change in 1985 resulted in a widening of the mandate of the entity in relation to the protection and promotion of all types of heritage sites. The divisions³ of the JNHT include Archaeology; Heritage Protection, Research, and Information; Communications; Estate Management; and Business Development. The entity has archaeological resources to enable research, analysis, and public outreach.

The Jamaican educational curriculum—the National Standards Curriculum, introduced in 2016—encourages teachers and students to learn about and visit heritage sites, museums, and other heritage spaces. Some excerpts from the National Standards Curriculum, which govern grades 1 to 9, read:

In Grades 1–3, students are introduced to topics such as: places of interest in my community, aspects of Jamaican culture. In Grade 4, students are asked to: locate at least three Taíno settlement sites on a map of Jamaica, explain how the Taínos used their environment, state aspects of Jamaica's culture influenced by the Taínos, among other topics. Grades 1–3 have integrated studies which may include field trips.

Grades 4–6 include more discrete subject areas, but with history and geography combined in social studies. Visits to heritage sites are encouraged in the section of the curriculum titled “Extended Learning,” which provides students with the opportunities for authentic experiences associated with what they have learnt.⁴ For Grades 7–9, the subject areas are completely discrete, and history is taught separately, however, much like the other grades, visits to heritage sites are not mandatory, and the sites suggested are often those that are well known (i.e., Port Royal, Spanish Town, and Seville).

While schools may visit sites and museums throughout the year, these visits are not mandatory and occur predominantly on days linked to the country's heritage, such as Reggae and Black History Month and Jamaica Day in February, Taíno Day in May, and National Heroes Week in October.

3 Information from http://jnht.com/about_jnht.php.

4 National Standards Curriculum Exploratory Core—Grade 4, January 2020: <https://pep.moey.gov.jm/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/NSC-Grade-4-Exploratory-Core-Jan-2020.pdf>.

TABLE 6.1 Visitor statistics 2019/2020. Data provided by the JNHT and IOJ

Museum/Heritage site	April–June	July–Sept	Oct–Dec	Jan–Mar	Total
	2019	2019	2019	2020	
African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica/Jamaica Memory Bank	408	379	1,905	4,472	7,164
Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey	984	754	4,959	1,892	8,589
National Museum Jamaica	18,513	10,895	5,568	6,066	41,042
National Gallery (West)	1,028	1,220	1,867	1,493	5,608
National Gallery of Jamaica	4,416	4,789	4,369	5,078	18,652
Natural History Museum of Jamaica	2,299	921	3,360	891	7,471
Jamaica Music Museum	1,243	843	2,838	59	4,983
Simón Bolívar Cultural Centre	515	425		202	1,142
Programme Coordination Division	556	450	4,780	5,483	11,269
Fort Charles	6,451	4,848	3,214	0 (closed)	14,513
Seville Heritage Park	5,010	1,692	7,693	2,700	17,095
Total	41,423	27,216	40,553	28,336	1,37,528

Throughout the year, both the JNHT and the IOJ welcome visitors to heritage sites and exhibitions in the spaces over which they have jurisdiction. The table below, compiled from 2019–2020 data received from the IOJ and JNHT, highlights an increase in visitor numbers during the periods where days linked to Jamaica’s heritage – as mentioned above - are located. This is also evident for the two most visited heritage sites on the island, Fort Charles in Port Royal and Seville Heritage Park in Saint Ann, both operated by the JNHT. Of course, these are also the two most accessible and promoted sites in Jamaica.

Aside from visits to these well-known or popular sites being carried out by researchers, many Jamaicans visit these spaces more often to fulfill the school curriculum and as an extracurricular activity than for actual enjoyment.⁵ The table of visitor statistics above shows that the total number of persons visiting the site in the period of April 2019 to March 2020 was reported as 137,528, which represents approximately 4.5% of the population visiting museums and cultural spaces in the year 2019/20.

This brings us to a discussion on public archaeology in Jamaica, which is led mostly by the JNHT and, to a lesser extent, by the nongovernmental Archaeological Society of Jamaica (ASJ). Importantly, while the IOJ is not involved in the

⁵ Nicole Patrick Shaw, Deputy Executive Director, IOJ, personal communication (2020).

actual archaeological excavation of sites, interpreting the knowledge gained is within their remit. The line between the entities is sometimes blurred, as the JNHT occupies this role as well.

These institutions have had to develop creative means to engage the Jamaican populace and publicize the heritage that makes us who we are today. This has entailed “taking heritage to the people” instead of waiting for them to reach it, from incorporating music to enticing people to “come, see, and learn” to opening museums on Saturdays and Sundays, going where the people are, to art shows and other entertainment, among other events. It also includes directly engaging students by visiting primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions and exposing aspects of Jamaica’s material cultural heritage to children and adults who would not have normally seen evidence of Jamaica’s heritage otherwise.

Through these types of engagements, there is increasing awareness that artifacts from AD 650 (or at least a very, very long time ago) exist and that Jamaica’s material cultural heritage remains are not just relics from their great-grandparent’s generation—such as the *kitchen bitch*, *enamel mug*, and the *shet pan*, among other objects associated with the island’s independence in 1962—but far beyond or much earlier than that. This has resulted in an understanding that culture is a significant contributing factor to their national and individual identity.

5 Role of Cultural Institutions

The structure of the government’s cultural resources management is that of a central ministry with several agencies managing various aspects of heritage. Within the scope of archaeological heritage, that ministry – the Ministry of Culture, is responsible for determining policy, and guiding the work of the associated agencies, namely the JNHT and the IOJ. The operations of both entities are set in motion by the legislations through which they were constituted.

The role of the JNHT and IOJ involves not just their outreach to the public, but also the research, preservation, maintenance, and display of the collections they hold. Through the Jamaica National Heritage Trust Act (1985), the JNHT has the chief tasks of research, declaration and designation of heritage sites as national monuments or protected national heritage, and regulation of such sites. It is through the JNHT that all aspects of archaeological research are undertaken or regulated. In fact, the JNHT Act is the main piece of legislation through which all activities toward the preservation, promotion, and development of Jamaica’s cultural heritage are regulated.

Through the Institute of Jamaica Act 1995 (1978), the IOJ has had the chief tasks of maintaining and presenting its wide and varied collections, which include not only collections from archaeological sites, but also those associated

with Jamaica's flora, fauna, and ethnography, including African retentions and fine art.

The activities of these entities remain extremely significant and relevant; and it is often through these activities that Jamaican participants cultivate a greater appreciation of their heritage. However, understanding the value of heritage does not happen overnight, as only a small slice of the populace is ever exposed to these efforts, which makes the work of cultural agencies ever-increasing and repetitive.

6 Value or No Value?

Despite the work of culture agencies, the average Jamaican's understanding of the need to protect the nation's heritage is still not at a level that would ensure its preservation and safeguarding. This understanding normally focuses on the tangible elements of heritage, reflected in its historical objects, monuments, etc., which in times past have been defaced, neglected, and in some cases destroyed. Examples of this include the removal of bricks from historic buildings for use in home construction or renovation, and archaeological remains that have been the target of looters and illegal excavations and have suffered from the impact of development.

The consistent deficiency in funding for initiatives promoting heritage awareness and preservation is a strong contributor to this situation. Due to a lack of understanding and coordination between unrelated government agencies, often those with significant financial backing in small countries such as those in the Caribbean, cultural heritage is sidelined as merely a social good. The oft-heard yet misguided saying "there is no money [value] in heritage (heritage doesn't pay)" can be interpreted in this context, as many see no economic value in heritage, much less in protecting it. The funding needed to protect sites from neglect, to preserve and conserve them, is simply unavailable, and the general society interprets this as a reflection of their unimportance or lack of value, which influences how Jamaicans view and treat heritage. However, there is more that can and should be done with available resources.

There are several sites that have suffered the impact of illegal excavations and looting; these mostly include Amerindian sites, such as White Marl, Saint Catherine, Chancery Hall, Saint Andrew, and Canoe Valley at the border of Manchester and Clarendon, as well as underwater and terrestrial sites in Port Royal, among others. In these cases, those responsible for the wanton destruction recognized the financial gains to be made in selling these materials to collectors and not because they were aware of their value to Jamaica's archaeological heritage. The destruction of sites is not only due to the work of looters

who feed the collections of private individuals, but can also be attributed to large-scale infrastructural engineering or land-based development at the expense of heritage, where there have been few examples of compromise in favor of Jamaica's archaeological heritage.

The question of whether Jamaicans understand the extreme damage being inflicted on heritage sites is uncertain. One might infer that those who loot sites, ransack historic structures for building materials for their homes, or replace historic buildings with modern structures do not understand the finite nature of heritage resources or see the relevance of preserving them. Clearly, this is evidence of the Jamaican public's conflicted interaction with its heritage and what it means to fill the gaps in our national identity by investigating its material culture. Awareness and understanding are lacking, not only in the average Jamaican but also in many government entities. In 2000, a portion of the historic Bushy Park aqueduct was slated to be relocated to facilitate the construction of the Highway 2000 development. The JNHT placed a preservation notice⁶ on the site while it arranged for the mapping and eventual relocation of the monument. The day after the expiration of the notice, the National Works Agency (NWA), another government agency, moved in and tore down a portion of the monument (Richards and Henriques, 2011). Such poor coordination between government agencies and a lack of awareness regarding the heritage of the nation is of serious concern, particularly for the future preservation of historic monuments. Insensitivity and ignorance among those who are responsible for development are a concern.

Often, the protection of archaeological sites—both explored and unexplored—is not a priority to developers, and sometimes these sites are easily sacrificed for the sake of development. The most relevant piece of legislation to the protection of archaeological sites, the JNHT Act, authorizes the JNHT to “declare to be a national monument, any structure, the preservation of which is, in the opinion of the Trust, a matter of public interest by reason of the historic, architecturally, traditional, artistic, aesthetic, scientific or archaeological interest.”⁷

Regarding land-based development impacting sites, the act only addresses the destruction of sites declared as national monuments or protected national heritage, and in Section 17 declares it “an offence,” for which one “on summary conviction before a Resident Magistrate [may] be liable to a fine not exceeding forty thousand dollars (approximately three hundred United States dollars) or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or to both such fine and

⁶ No action could be taken that would impact the integrity of the structure.

⁷ JNHT Act, Section 12, located at http://www.jnht.com/download/act_jnht_1985.pdf.

imprisonment, and in addition, such person may be ordered to pay the cost of replacement of any such monument, mark or notice and in default of payment of such cost, to be imprisoned with hard labour for a further term not exceeding twelve months.” There have been few cases where the destruction of heritage has been declared an offense; however, this also speaks to the availability of the JNHT’s resources to pursue these offenses, and the police and court system to act on them.

The Act is rarely enforced within the context of competing priorities at the national level. Further, provisions for Heritage Impact Assessments are not mandatory or legislated, although there have been cases of Archaeological or Heritage Impact Assessments taking place on their own or as part of a wider Environmental Impact Assessment, as was the case with White Marl, Cockpit Country, and the construction of the Old Harbour Bypass, North Coast Highway Development Project, Highway 2000, and the Long Mountain Housing Development Project. In these instances, archaeologists could conduct research and rescue archaeology and, in a few cases, even save some sites by proposing mitigation actions that were accepted. The JNHT also conducts “watching briefs” on sites that are known to them or declared as protected national heritage, and which may be impacted by development works. At present, much of the responsibility for declaring what is found and alerting the Trust lies in the hands of the developer, which is never a good situation. This is particularly within the context of limited awareness by developers, and there have been several examples island-wide in which the JNHT has not been able to adequately protect archaeological remains from hotel development and, more recently, from the construction of the cruise-ship pier in Port Royal, among other things.

In 2009, the JNHT initiated a process to update the Act⁸ with the intention of implementing greater enforcement measures as it concerns the looting of archaeological sites, destruction of heritage sites and monuments, and the engagement of private collectors and collections. The revised Act will also entail increased fines and other matters associated with international cultural heritage law, such as management of world heritage properties, preservation of underwater cultural heritage, and legal and illegal trade in cultural objects. Prior to this, as indicated previously, the Act had little teeth, and very little punishment, if any, was meted out to those who contributed to the destruction of monuments. The process of updating the Act is still ongoing, but presents an opportunity for the Trust to renew its push to build greater awareness—for example, through consultations with stakeholders regarding Jamaica’s

8 Jamaica National Heritage Trust Act—A Review.

heritage. This is particularly important for engaging those involved in development projects and responsible for approving them, and for enacting value campaigns targeting society on different levels.

The ongoing destruction of sites has led heritage agencies to seek greater engagement at the central government level in order to have a say in policies that are not associated with heritage, but have implications for the protection of sensitive heritage sites. Importantly, over the last decade, there has been an evolution in the understanding of the value of archaeological heritage by arms of government unconcerned with its protection and preservation, resulting in an improvement in how heritage resources are engaged. While there is still a way to go before considering the preservation of heritage in the natural environment or cultural landscapes, a settled matter, the present context—being given an opportunity to put forward concerns, such as with parish development orders - demonstrates an improvement in the understanding and awareness of the value of heritage resources. An example of a policy unassociated with cultural heritage is the National Minerals Policy, which is now being finalized with an addition that addresses sensitive sites such as world heritage properties. Through the JNHT, there remains a consistent push to ensure that the interests of urban planning, mining, and road and other infrastructural development have no negative impact on archaeological sites. However, this is an uphill battle. In the face of financial and human resource challenges, the agency maintains its regulatory function to protect archaeological sites throughout the island inasmuch as possible.

7 Moving Forward: Opportunities for Shifting the Paradigm of How Archaeological Heritage is Valued

Merriman (2000) states that “it is only by finding out the content of people’s images of the past that we can begin to assess where misconceptions lie and where approaches to the exhibition of the past might be modified.” McManamom (1990), in applying the subdivisions used in determining the scientific literacy of the general public to archaeology, stated that only a small percentage (less than 5%) were truly archaeologically literate; a somewhat larger percentage is interested (or intrigued) enough to read materials on the topic, watch the history channel, or visit heritage sites/museums, etc. The rest of the public (a significant portion) gets its archaeology from *Indiana Jones* or the nightly news. These larger percentages present unique opportunities for engagement in engendering a more aware public, and an aware public participates in the protection of its archaeological heritage.

In the earlier mentioned 2003 survey on attitudes of the Jamaican public toward its archaeological heritage (Richards, 2003), Jamaicans were asked, "What do you think our archaeological heritage is?" Out of four hundred and five respondents (representing all fourteen parishes), participants responded as follows: "anything from the colonial period," 167; "anything in use by us now," 9; "anything used by the Amerindians," 87; "pots and other objects used by peoples in the past," 120; "all of the above," 142; "none of the above," 20. This indicates that individuals do have an understanding that anything older than their time is considered their archaeological heritage.

In the same survey, the respondents (in multiple responses) indicated that they learned about archaeology through: television, 222; books/magazines, 195; archaeological projects, 20; school, 129; cultural/historical events, 121; the internet, 26; archaeological/historical society, 30; and museum/heritage site visits, 3. Fifty-five respondents never learned about archaeology. It can be seen from these figures that visiting heritage sites/museums, archaeological and historical societies, etc. remain under-utilized strategies, when in fact these should be the primary strategies for stimulating and nurturing an awareness of the archaeological heritage.

When asked if they could name an archaeological site, many did not understand what the term "archaeological site" meant, and thus were prompted with the term "heritage site." The results suggested that many individuals knew only limited sites; thirty-eight percent of those sampled could not name any site. Port Royal (33.1%), Seville (23.5%), and White Marl (11.2%) were the most popular answers among those who could name a site; the sites that 1 to 11% of respondents named were: Spanish Town, 6%; Rose Hall Great House, 6.8%, Accompong, 1.6%, Blenheim, 1.2%, Maroon Town, 1.6%, Green Grotto Caves, 2.4% and Fort Charlotte, 1.2%. Sites with less than 1% of responses were Stony Gut, Bath Fountain, Morant Bay Court House, Trelawny Barracks School, Parish Church and Bottle Dome, National Heroes Park, Hendon House, Harrison House, Sligoville Great House, the Rio Nuevo Battle site, Devon House, Montego Bay Civic Centre, Two Sisters Cave, Harmony Hall, Ashton Great House, Flagstaff, Green Castle, Colbeck Castle, St. Andrew Parish Church, and Paradise Park.

Awareness leads to value, and the solution for greater awareness among Jamaicans is greater outreach in all spheres. One such example that needs upscaling is the program that the ministry responsible for culture developed in 2013, in collaboration with the Jamaica Cultural Development Commission's (JCDC) Culture Clubs, and relaunched in mid-2015. The program, titled the "Culture Passport" program, was created to encourage primary-, secondary-,

and tertiary-level students, persons with disabilities, unattached youth, and the elderly to engage with heritage sites, museums, and plays and other cultural performances at reduced rates or free of cost, to create a more culturally aware citizenry. Students are also encouraged to become part of the culture club at their schools, which also ensures that participation is not limited to students of history alone. Each participant is provided with a “passport” that allows entry into the cultural space and is also stamped at the end of the visit. The program has experienced some hiccups, but is now a program between the ministries responsible for culture and education.

7.1 *The Place for Archaeological Heritage in Education*

In 1992, Irving Rouse's research for his book *The Taínos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* prompted the JNHT to intensify its outreach efforts to the general public, in particular teachers' colleges, where they explained the differences between the Taínos and the Arawaks as a means of stimulating greater interest in Jamaica's Amerindian inhabitants.

The JNHT, having engaged the teachers' colleges, extended their public communications to students island-wide. Through this initiative, the ministry responsible for education sought to change the historical narrative in schools.⁹ This change of narrative resulted in a burgeoning understanding of Jamaica's earliest inhabitants by the wider Jamaican public, and again filled in some gaps in Jamaican national identity.

This illustrates that there is ample capacity for the integration of archaeological research into the educational curriculum beyond the mere mention of and visits to heritage sites. There is also a robust opportunity for archaeological remains and heritage sites to be used to teach elements of other subjects, for example, using historic water wheels to teach science. From schools to the average resident of each parish, individuals should be encouraged to learn more about the heritage existing within their parish boundaries, instead of just the better-known sites of Port Royal and Seville. The Covid-19 pandemic has also revealed a wonderful opportunity for Jamaica's archaeological heritage to be conveyed through technology, such as through the development and promotion of virtual and interactive tours. This would contribute significantly to awareness and accessibility. There is also the possibility to create virtual discovery archaeological tours or trails in each parish to encourage awareness and research.

9 Personal communication with archaeologist Dorrick Gray, August 3, 2020.

There should also be a drive to promote a more representative and inclusive archaeological heritage beyond the Amerindian, European, and African narrative. We should also seek more interesting ways to stimulate awareness, encouraging Jamaicans to explore the varying ways in which they can value their heritage.

A formal chain of information transmission is something that can be developed to ensure that the island's educational system receives regular updates. Further, amid the understanding that culture is central to the national identity of any people, filling in the gaps through education is necessary and significant. Education officers at the ministry responsible for history, geography, and social sciences education understand this, and have sought to formalize such a system, which could be done through a memorandum of understanding between the ministries responsible for culture and education and their associated agencies.

Another major advance is the provision of short certificate courses to registered teachers by the Jamaica Teaching Council (a ministry agency responsible for education) during the summer break. Based on communication with the Core Curriculum Unit, the summer 2020 program is being used by other government agencies, namely the National Environment and Planning Agency (NEPA), to provide updated information on geography. This is an opportunity to ensure that the information being communicated through the educational system is relevant and current, as the available information on Jamaica's archaeological heritage very often proves to be outdated.

While the JNHT routinely drafts reports on archaeological excavations, it remains to be determined what portion of these analyses is communicated to Jamaicans via publications, school curricula, and informal avenues. There is no coordinated flow of information to the educational system, as the means of dissemination are informal. Education officers and teachers often gain additional information through workshops, conferences, or relationships with cultural agencies.¹⁰ This lack of structure in transmitting information is a concern, as the knowledge that would benefit both teachers and students is obtained only through haphazard sharing, which creates unnecessary, and potentially costly gaps in the information flow.

A program promoting Jamaica's archaeological heritage during the summer, could be used to consistently reach a larger group of teachers island-wide, in comparison to the infrequent face-to-face engagement workshops, which can

10 Personal communication with education officers of the Core Curriculum Unit, August 11, 2020.

only facilitate a small number due to financial constraints and other logistical issues.

The above mentioned proposed engagement with teachers has the potential to be extremely beneficial, as this structured approach to information sharing requires minimal effort. This is due to the ministry responsible for education already having the necessary platform and support infrastructure for effective implementation.

The Ministry of Education's "Culture in Education" program is based on the use of culture "as context, content and methodology for learning." Under the view that culture can be used to support the transmission of school curricula, one of the objectives of the program is to "promote and encourage visits by the school community to heritage sites."¹¹ Through the implementation of this program, culture agents ensure that both students and teachers are actively engaged. This program has even greater potential in tandem with cultural agencies to encourage awareness of Jamaica's archaeological heritage as a part of the nation's identity. Jamaica Day is celebrated island-wide and is a product of the Culture in Education program. Observed on the last Friday in February, it has the potential to remind Jamaicans annually that their heritage extends beyond emancipation and independence, encompassing many peoples, objects, and places. Jamaica Day also presents an opportunity to promote an inclusive archaeological heritage. The understanding that much of our archaeological heritage still needs to be uncovered, and that we must safeguard what remains for current and future generations, is a lesson that many would benefit from learning.

A good example of integrating heritage and education—which should be recognized and its sustainability ensured—was the project "The JNHT Presents: Heritage Across the Curriculum." Through this program, the agency sought to introduce heritage in a more dynamic way, encouraging the use of heritage resources beyond the usual history, social studies, and geography curriculum, such as using a sugar plantation to teach economics while exposing students to the history and heritage of the site. Though the project has had some challenges in implementation, a complete launch is expected to be undertaken by the JNHT and the Ministry of Education, bringing history and heritage to the forefront not only for teachers and students, but also the wider Jamaican public.

In the greater Jamaican society, a more focused awareness program is needed to engage the public and secure their support. While enforcement

11 "Culture in Education" program brochure.

measures are being enacted through legislation, compliance is also a necessity. Protection of archaeological heritage resources is a major concern, and while it is possible to police this in some instances, it can only truly be safeguarded when people recognize why it's important to them, understand its value to their national identity, and play their part. Moving forward, an initiative encouraging local community heritage programs is key. This can be facilitated, for example, through communities that have already approached the JNHT to obtain assistance to research and investigate their heritage spaces; community tourism programs that foster pride; parish heritage trails; and additional work for civil society organizations such as the Archaeological, Historical, and Georgian Societies to promote awareness of lesser-known areas and encourage stewardship. In addition, programs to build awareness in other agencies and work with parish councils can promote an understanding of the value of these sites and encourage their preservation. This has worked for the environment in some instances, and it can also work for culture.

Through ordinary citizens, sites can be protected and interpreted in a way that promotes sustainability for the sites themselves and the wider community. This impact is well reflected in the Community Tourism Policy and Strategy 2015, which indicates that the positive engagement of communities will lead to the beneficial harnessing of Jamaican creativity and natural and cultural resources that can empower communities to “generate opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, improve their social condition, and celebrate, preserve and rejuvenate their natural and cultural heritage.”¹² Community interaction has played a significant role in protecting sites such as Accompong and Charles Town, both Maroon sites, where the community recognizes the value of sustaining their archaeological heritage. In so doing, they have built tourism initiatives that promote the preservation of Maroon heritage, some of which is archaeological in nature.

8 Conclusion

As Firth (2015) highlights, “cultural heritage is a valuable, and irreplaceable record of human activity ... and [our] heritage provides us with a tangible link to the past and connects intangible stories to people and places. It provides many social, well-being and environmental benefits, including a sense

12 <https://jis.gov.jm/media/FINAL-COMMUNITY-TOURISM-POLICY-AND-STRATEGY-White-Paper-April-2015.pdf>.

of identity and a stimulus for community involvement, learning, leisure and recreational activities.”

The issue of Jamaicans recognizing the value of archaeological heritage, or in fact all types of cultural heritage, is an important part of this discourse. The fact remains that while a select few members of the Jamaican population—mostly those in culture agencies, academia, and civil society—recognize the historical, social, and aesthetic values of heritage, the average Jamaican associates archaeological heritage mainly with its social or recreational value. It is not necessarily an awareness of the historical value of these sites, but the ability to enjoy the spaces within a social context. Port Royal and Devon House are perfect examples of this. Jamaicans visit Port Royal primarily for socializing in the cool, well-known restaurant on the edge of Kingston Harbour, and Giddy House is remembered for its nostalgic memories as opposed to the actual historical use of the structure. Little beyond the obvious is known or appreciated, but if this sense of value can be utilized more effectively to increase historical value, then these opportunities should be pursued. Certain challenges, as discussed above, put our archaeological heritage at risk; however, continued support of the work of culture agencies is a must, with an increased push to make the population aware of the connection between Jamaica's archaeology and its national identity. A historically aware and engaged Jamaican populace can only be of value to its archaeological heritage.

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Engaging with Colonial Archaeological Sites in Haiti

Joseph Sony Jean and Jerry Michel

1 Introduction

Under French colonial rule, Saint-Domingue—now Haiti—was the largest sugar producer and richest colony in the New World thanks to the labor of enslaved Africans. The dynamics of the social condition of the enslaved Africans in the colony spurred a revolution that culminated in 1804. Archaeological ruins and historical remains, symbols of the imperial failure—mainly the remains of plantations, military fortresses, and industrial buildings—are distributed throughout the physical environment. According to Rachele Charlier-Doucet, in recent years, remains from the Indigenous and colonial periods seem to have suffered what she calls “the great indifference to places of memory in Haiti” (Charlier-Doucet, 2001, p. 58). The latter have been subject to looting, reusing, and appropriation for various purposes by individuals and members of contemporary communities (Jean et al., 2021). This is despite a strong interest in Haiti’s historical heritage over the last three decades. This interest takes different forms, such as the establishment of new study programs, documentation, inventories, and scientific publications. However, it does not analyze in-depth the relationships that ordinary people develop with remains of the past. Therefore, there is a need to understand the role heritage as a link to (public) memory to understand certain aspects of the history and culture of Haitian society, as well as to approach heritage through narratives of social experience. In the foreword of the book *L’habitation Sucrière Dominguoise* (Lerebours, 2006, p. 8), Laënnec Hurbon poses the question of prevented transmission: “How could we [Haitians] transmit this heritage to future generations, if we continue in the strict sense to trample on these traces and places of memory without even suspecting it, and to trivialize them to the point of allowing them to be carried away stone by stone by vandalism for which we, as researchers, would be the first to be responsible, if we were to shut ourselves up in silence about this heritage?”

This paper proposes to study how certain remains of colonial plantations are reused in Haiti (Jean, 2019; Jean et al., 2021; Michel, 2021). Ancient colonial plantations places are subject to a process of “patrimonialization” (Michel,

2021) that takes on diverse and variable forms in time as well as in space; the process first concerns vestiges, monuments, and objects, then extends to intangible elements such as cultural and cultic practices. Moving away from a colonial point of view, instead, we use the term “patrimonialization” here as a process that can center the different actors, places, local knowledge, and support that come into play in the process of transmission and in claims of heritage and memories. This process is multifaceted both from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view (Skounti, 2010, p. 20). At the heart of its reflections, this study explores the understanding of the contexts, stakes, and uses through which historical sites become heritage along with implications for archaeology.

Through this work, we wish to contribute to understanding these places that are rarely included in the recollections of the historical pathways of Haiti. This work is a continuation of Jacques De Cauna’s (2003; 2013) and Michel-Philippe Lerebours’s (2006) historical and anthropological work on the historicity of colonial habitations in Haiti. It is thus a matter of continuing the initiatives already begun so that the archaeology and sociology of memory and heritage, in connection with historical sites (not only in their materiality but also in their representations in various linguistic and artistic forms), might take shape and engender new questions and research.

2 Historical Background of the Colonial Settlements

The colonial invasion of the Caribbean, initiated by Christopher Columbus in 1492, allows us to understand the colonial power’s roots in the political and economic thought of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Without questioning the legitimacy of seizing “unknown lands,” Christopher Columbus implicitly surmises from the outset that all “discovered lands” immediately become the domain of both the Spanish Crown and himself, since for the occasion he has been promoted to the status of a viceroy, a high political figure in the Kingdom of Spain. In this vein, first the Spaniards, then the French, the English, and the Dutch, exhibited an attitude of entitlement that, without hesitation, construes the other or unknown as an object of appropriation and expropriation. On December 5, 1492, Christopher Columbus landed in the present-day Republic of Haiti, then populated by the Indigenous people who called it “Ayiti.” The first inhabitants of contemporary Haiti were the first victims of the slavery perpetrated by the European colonial system. They were also the first to resist the plantation system and the exploitation of the territory (Jean & Hofman, 2018, p. 131).

According to the early sixteenth-century testimony of theologians, jurists, and canonists, through the colonists who accompanied Christopher Columbus to the West Indies, Spain enslaved the Amerindians (Hurbon, 2001, p. 25). Laënnec Hurbon shows how, within the *encomienda*—a system of forced labor for the exploitation of gold mines—the Spaniards carried out the genocide of the newly conquered Amerindian population (Hurbon, 2001). From this primary violence stems the exploitation, domination, and abuse of the Amerindians. During the enslavement of the first inhabitants (Saint-Merry, 1797, pp. 78–79), the colonizers developed a plantation economy centered on export crops (coffee, sugar cane, indigo, cotton, and precious woods), whereas previously, the Amerindians of Haiti had cultivated mainly foodstuffs such as manioc and *maïs roucou*, and tobacco. The colonists orchestrated the disappearance of the first inhabitants towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Indigenous enslavement contributed to the emergence of the transatlantic slave trade (Valcárcel et al. 2020). Faced with the mass genocide of the Indigenous people in the region, considered unfit for slavery, the colonists (most notably the Dominican Bartholomew de Las Casas, who suggested replacing the “Indians” with Africans) instituted the “transatlantic slave trade”. When Europeans started the colonization in the Caribbean, after having nearly exterminated the Amerindians, they were determined to bring in the Africans they had enslaved and exploit the land. This led to the singular phenomenon of the “slave trade” in the Caribbean, that is, the introduction of African “captives” (Casimir, 2000) who came as human commodities to replace the Amerindian laborers in their enforced agricultural structures. By the end of the eighteenth century, the French colony of Saint-Domingue was the most populous (at least 600,000 inhabitants), as well as the richest and most prosperous of the French colonies (seven times richer than Martinique and Guadeloupe) (De Cauna, 2013, p. 3). Producing three-fourths of the world’s sugar and two-thirds of its coffee, it was nicknamed Saint-Domingue or the “Pearl of the Antilles” at the time due to its flourishing wealth (Figure 7.1). Slavery based on forced labor and “racialized” black captives made the island the “jewel of the sugar islands” (De Cauna, 2013) thanks to the exploitation of sugar as well as coffee, indigo, cocoa, and precious woods. These material traces of the colonial legacy remain as evidence of the collapse of the imperial system, provoked by the agency of the enslaved people.

3 A Closer Look at the Approach and Method

With reference to Édouard Glissant, we understand how the pursuit of the past and of collective memory are sources of hope for many peoples. Indeed,



FIGURE 7.1 La partie Françoise de l'isle de Saint Domingue Map by Bellin, Jacques Nicolas. 1764. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center

Glissant believes that collective memory can foster the reclaiming of an authentic cultural foundation that allows for the reconstitution of the various social and racial layers of a society into a nation (Glissant, 1981, 1993). In this work, the link between collective memory and heritage is conceived in an attempt to go beyond the usual disciplinary, methodological, and thematic boundaries, in particular those between archaeology, history, and sociology as well as those between human and social sciences. Based on the work of Micoud (2004), we define heritage as a “set of goods and values from the past that a collective, at a given moment in its history, collects and highlights as a guarantee of the perpetuation of its identity over time” (Micoud, 2004). We can thus understand that collective memory is a memory of the past that the individual or the social group constructs through the effort of reasoning with the social frameworks (Halbwachs, 1925, p. 79). In this paper, collective memory is approached not only as a social fact, but also as the political relationship of Haitian society with time, space, language, and creation. This process of social construction is not without tension, and requires identifying the types of heritage discourses and practices involved and the complex and dynamic interplay through which the legitimacy of the statements is determined (Tardy & Dodebei, 2015, p. 10).

The conception of former colonial plantations as microcosms of the colonial system is often viewed broadly and is frequently discussed.

This paper focuses how the archaeological colonial remains can be used, by looking at the relation with memory and tourism. We conducted archaeological and ethnographic research at several colonial sites in Haiti. Observation of these places allowed us to nurture our reflections on the reconfigurations of historical vestiges that, had they not be reconfigured to other uses, would offer the possibility of problematizing the political and cultural choices of consecutive Haitian governments. To discuss this, through direct observation and interviews with local individuals institutional actors, and professionals in heritage, our empirical approach aimed to analyze the ways in which the sites are used in society.

From the point of view of archaeological analysis (e.g. Deagan, 1995; Jean, 2019), this approach makes it possible to regard Haiti's colonial history from another angle, one that takes into account the material traces left at the sites as key elements in challenging the biased narratives of Haitian history. Its aim is to identify the archaeological features and their history in order to illuminate the historical contexts of their implantation, as well as to grasp their place in the current context in order to draw up a true cartography of Haiti's "places of memory." This involves an in-depth examination of how heritage sites or objects are viewed in the process of "patrimonialization" and the co-safeguarding (Jean, 2019; Jean et al., 2020). Our approach focuses on the discourses and practices of "heritage institutions," individuals, and communities that develop everyday connections with traces of the past. By recalling the historicity and current situation of colonial spaces, our aim is to present a first sketch of colonial places and to provide a description of the potential places of memory that have served as templates during our investigations. The uses of colonial ruins vary according to the different social actors who use them, their representations of themselves in relation to society, and the conditions defining the type of appropriation and representation of the historical remains.

4 Colonial Ruins as Places for Reappropriation

The term "colonial habitations" encompasses plantation structures large properties, small properties, food plots, etc. In Saint-Domingue, for example, on the eve of the French Revolution in 1789, tobacco and precious woods were first cultivated and exported, followed by indigo, sugarcane, cotton, coffee, and cocoa. Each of the plantations had its own characteristics and a long history with multiple variations from one region to another. It was in the former colonies, occupied and ruthlessly exploited by European colonizers, that the

idea of developing colonial plantations as a key to economic success through enslavement of people first took shape (De Cauna, 2003; Mintz, 1959). Gradually, another idea arose: the exploitation of thousands of captives taken from Africa by the transatlantic trade and colonial slavery. Thus, colonial plantations were born to populate what the colonists consider wrongly the empty spaces in the slave colonies, particularly in the Caribbean, and to transform them into domains of exclusivity (Jean, 2019). In the first part of his book *L'Habitation Sucrière Dominguoise*, Michel-Philippe Lerebours (2006) shows how the Caribbean islands fell prey to the great European powers, as they represented an economic asset to them. This colonial enterprise was the cooperative work of European royalty, the financial aristocracy, slave traders, and large commercial companies from the metropolises of Europe (Debien, 1970, pp. 1–39; Pétré-Grénouillau, 2004, p. 58). This also implies the displacement of numerous European men from the metropolises who saw a possibility for their enrichment in this enterprise. They came from the ranks of craftsmen, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie. After 1713, the families of the provincial aristocracy were joined in this migration with a view to ensuring their enrichment, knowing that the great positions of the army and the administration were reserved for the members of the nobility (Casimir, 2001, p. 30). In general, colonial plantations were developed primarily in regions with little topography. In terms of the topography, there is a crucial opposition between colonial plantations (e.g., sugar mills, cotton mills, and cocoa farms) located on the plains, and those located in the mountainous and hilly areas (e.g., coffee farms, forest reserves, and indigo farms). The constituent elements (e.g., land, huts, churches, settlers, enslaved people gardens, and materials) reflect the variation of the colonial settlements. The plantation economy was based on the concentration and division of labor as well as on the gathering of land and the accumulation of capital. The colonial plantations were initially intended as testing grounds for the monoculture of tropical products and as vast open-air industries for the study of a commodity in state, i.e., more or less modified for export to the metropolises. These spaces even found a functional use: the plantation structures allowed for the massive production of tropical commodities that the industrial revolution had not yet achieved in Europe.

The material remains are now several centuries old and cover a variety of contexts in the Caribbean, particularly in Haiti (Figure 7.2). Not all countries have the same interpretation of the “value” of such ruins, nor do they have the same will to enforce the necessary regulations and respect the constraints related to the protection of potential places of memory. Nor do they have the same opportunities to do so. Haitian society is not immune to these challenges. The conditions of old colonial places in Haiti are sometimes very



FIGURE 7.2 Ruins of an old colonial plantation at Camp-Perrin
PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEPH SONY JEAN

different from one region or city to another, and they can even be the complete opposite of one another. Besides the existing literature about the terms, we got insight into the different names from different localities in the South and North of Haiti. The immovable colonial remains demand a whole series of terms that reflect precise and varied concerns and objectives, including *vye mazi* (old hovel), *bitasyon* (dwelling), *kay zansèt yo* (house of the ancestors), *vye ansyen kay* (old houses), *vye bagay ansyen* (old thing), *lakou* (courtyard), *pijiri* (sugarcane purge), *eritaj* (heritage), vestiges, and ruins (De Cauna, 2013; Jean et al., 2021; Michel, 2021).

Some of the terms can take on a pejorative sense when these structures are intentionally destroyed by people to take rock for rebuilding houses or cleaning more spaces for cultivation. For the Institut du Sauvegarde du Patrimoine National (ISPAN), “colonial plantations are considered monuments and sites of Haiti with high cultural, historical or architectural value” (ISPAN, 2012). Today, however, they are a type of wasteland as much as they are the forms invested in by the “social frames of memory” (Halbwachs, 1925). Historical research shows that Saint-Domingue once had approximately 8,000 colonial plantations (De Cauna, 2013). However, archaeological research is sparse in the country, and there would otherwise be a comprehensive assessment of what

remains as material evidence. Recent archaeological work in the Fort-Liberté area of Haiti has begun to demonstrate that colonial settlements were developed in strategic locations to feed the plantation system (Jean, 2019). At the same time, archaeological surveys associated with ethnographic studies have demonstrated the complex relationships that the individuals have developed with the colonial remains. These relationships can take forms from recovering some of a site's components to build new houses, to maintaining its state for transmission to future generations—considering that it is heritage—to performing spiritual ceremonies at the sites. Considering how such sites are perceived in the community, archaeological studies of colonial plantations are able to bring out other narratives related to the past in the present day, namely those narratives related to historical memory and contemporary social practices related to *eritaj* (Haitian Creole) (Jean et al., 2021). Traces of ceremonial activities can also be observed at both colonial and postcolonial structures. For example, figure 7.3 demonstrates that within a single site, social practices can



FIGURE 7.3 Top: a written “message” meaning “God, the only Power” at the site of Camp des Anglais in Matheux, West Haiti. Bottom: Traces of vodou-ceremony activities at Camp des Anglais in Matheux, West Haiti
PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEPH SONY JEAN

emerge through religious contestation¹. In essence, the study of these complex relationships can offer new foundations for the study of historical archaeology by taking into account social interactions at the heritage site. In some places such as Fort-Liberté, Camp-Perrin, Abricots, narratives collected from individuals about the role that colonial remains play in the social landscape link them with the legacy of slavery. In some cases found in Fort-Liberté, colonial ruins can be related to places spiritual practitioners use to negotiate the continuous remembering of their ancestors (Jean et al., 2021).

The modes of use, representation, and appropriation in Haiti demonstrate the different ways in which the divergent interests of the users produce conflicting relationships. The reconciliation of the uses and social relevance of these places in Haiti occasionally gives rise to collective actions that are results of various public interventions (Michel, 2021). The government still seems to be the main institution to foregrounded public initiatives, although it seems less interested in the long-term enhancement of heritage. Because the national heritage institutions do not receive enough funding for implementing strong public policies for heritage. However, it is possible to occasionally glimpse the interaction between the private sector, local nongovernmental institutions, international agencies, users, heritage practitioners, tourists, and local visitors in the formulation of key heritage paradigms, and even in making heritage. Individuals, families, foundations, international organizations, and other actors working in the field of culture and heritage today form a real investors in heritage alongside the state. Somehow, they can interact with the state in an attempt to define policies for the safeguarding and enhancement of heritage.

Despite many laws and decree-laws (see Jean et al., 2021), safeguarding heritage against human activities and environmental contingencies is not an imperative in Haiti. The state has not defined a general heritage interest, nor has it developed a comprehensive and overarching state policy despite the various laws and decrees placing heritage in the public domain (Jean et al., 2020). The Haitian scholar, Jean Ronald Augustin did well to show that in Haiti, “heritage is reduced to the identification of places, sites and monuments that support moments of glory and some elements of beliefs of the Haitian people” (Augustin, 2016, p. 128). The Haitian state, the guarantor for safeguarding the national heritage, does not have the adequate means—institutional, administrative, or financial—to realize this constitutional principle. Furthermore, there is a lack of coordination between official cultural institutions in Haiti. Additionally, it

1 We observed these features during a trip to Chaine des Matheux with Mrs. Monique Rocourt, director of the heritage enhancement project of Habitation Dion, Habitation Lamothe and Fort Douet.

refers to the problematic relationship between the legislative and executive branches and the failure to implement appropriate legislation for heritage.

The lack of a legal framework for the Haitian Ministry of Culture impedes the development of cultural programs that would address the needs of the cultural and heritage sector. Therefore, cultural support does not increase, nor are there many changes in terms of reflecting on the implementation of cultural policy. Throughout its existence, the Ministry of Culture in Haiti has neglected a variety of functions, even those that would not have created any difficulties or led to any power struggles.

Consequently, it is development that is prioritized above all, which is understandable for a country classified as one of the most impoverished. However, for the developing culture and tourism projects to be effective, the enhancement of heritage must be fully integrated into culture and heritage policy. Moreover, the objective of the development is not focused exclusively on the safeguarding of colonial heritage. Most of the policies in the field of culture in Haiti are not aimed at development projects that integrate a significant dimension of the diverse archaeological heritage. Many archaeological objects and sites have already been lost during social crises and long process of landscape changes over the course in addition to the consequences of natural hazards and land management. Some sites, are being kept after a fierce struggle, requiring the intervention of the private sector and the participation of inhabitants of the surrounding localities (Michel, 2015, 2021). The social pressures of urban development are also negatively impacting historical heritage including, places of colonial plantations, colonial and postcolonial fortresses. Historic sites in particular are targeted by increasing, uncontrolled reoccupation. It is amid this hostile climate that Haitian legislation for heritage must fight for monuments and other archaeological sites. Yet no long-term co-protective action can be resolved on without community participation.

We have already pointed out that in many cases, the appropriation of colonial ruins is not generally related to the re-users' or landowners' personal attachment to the property, leading to its co-stewardship as *eritaj* (Haitian Kreyol means heritage), but rather entails the reuse of elements such as bricks and rocks for personal purposes, leading to the properties' loss. Further, it has been observed that the way individuals renegotiate the places contributes to the likelihood of their safeguarding when it is reused for religious purposes. For those who recognize the colonial ruins as historical elements related the enslavement of their ancestors, revisiting these ruins as religious rites honors the memory of their ancestors (Jean et al., 2021). In some cases, the relationship of a site with its landowner is also an important factor in heritage co-safeguarding, and appropriation. Typically, families have lived in the former colonial spaces that claim as their property. This implies that these people, as "co-guardians of the heritage," will pay particular attention to what is there, to

what exists, to the colonial features and their uses, and even to the environment. In some cases, places of colonial plantation can become living museum spaces where they highlight the role of sugarcane exploitation not only in colonial wealth, but also in national agricultural production (*see* Michel, 2015; 2021). The impact of having these museum spaces in the country is linked to the type of visitors and their behavior as well as the quality of the services offered (Michel, 2021). This ultimately depends on the type of customer each visitor is. During our surveys, the museum visitors acknowledged that they could retain the names of some of the nation's fathers and important dates in Haitian history, which allowed them to appreciate the museum and have a better idea of the society's history.

These places, which are becoming accessible to a larger public, offer a very wide variety of uses; those with hotel infrastructure have the advantage of hosting restaurants, play areas, and meetings with family or friends (Michel, 2022). Some of the spaces offer playgrounds, swimming pools, and bars and restaurants in which to buy drinks and food. In a recent discussion, Michel (2022) pointed out that these potential places of memory are increasingly being integrated as components of the tourism sector. In this sense, colonial ruins have become potential places of memory like any other form of tourist infrastructure, and they are therefore associated with social markers. They are listed in the tourist guides distributed by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Industries and the Tourist Association of Haiti (ATH). This particular form of remaking heritage is recently discussed further by Michel (2021).

5 Discussion and Conclusion: Looking Closer at Tourism and Memory

The co-safeguarding and development of heritage are not incompatible with responsible tourism when it comes to co-creating heritage narratives and illuminating the past. In some places dedicated to tourism, guides are in charge for introducing new visitors to the contents; thus they play an essential role in popularizing the historical knowledge of these places. The guides valorize the places and propose a circuit to allow the visitor to better view them in a limited amount of time. The narrative of the guides leads to transformation of the place into a memorial *mise-en-scène* for visitors who seek to develop an affinity with the historical reality of the places that they visit. This corresponds to the process of consecrating a space, which is one of the hallmarks of tourism (Amirou, 1995, pp. 108–109). There are also stories of the great events that have marked their history, and many historical monuments whose history reflects anecdotes and feats of arms that form an essential part of collective memory (Figure 7.4).



FIGURE 7.4 Freshly restored colonial Fort Saint-Joseph in Cap-Haitien, open to the general public and for tourist attraction
PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSEPH SONY JEAN

In accordance with the *mise-en-scène* of the museums in Haiti (Joseph, 2017), the guides favor viewpoints that exhibit a greater variety to the visitor. Beyond the description of a place, the guides' discourse summarizes and focuses the entire visit on the historical interest in Haiti. The memory of the colonial past still remains a sensitive subject in early twenty-first-century in the world including Haiti despite Haiti's role in ending slavery. In his recent study, Michel (2021) argued that is because the history of Haiti is largely confused with that of colonial history and of colonization, from the struggle for independence and the beginnings of the nation to recent attempts to build a democratic society. This memory, which is sensitive, is not "erased". As in many countries around the world, it is difficult to address them without stoking tension (Michel, 2022) even during the recent worldwide *Black Lives Matters* movement.

Society has various but repetitive responses to the memory of slavery. Individuals have adopted them without even realizing it and live them implicitly. These postures are specific to Haitian society and to different periods of its history, and they are at the very basis of shaping the collective memory, as they determine the attitudes, behaviors, and how the character of the citizen is shaped by the entire cultural milieu. Several scholars have already raised questions about the imperative strategy of making slavery visible in public spaces and museums (*see* Araujo,

2013; Augustin, 2016; Celius, 1998; Cummins and Farmer, 2013; Haloran, 2009). Carlo Celius (2013, pp. 36–37) pointed out that: “A museographic tour always results from a choice. Not everything can be said. Therefore, an active policy of temporary exhibitions must be envisaged, in which new forms of display can be experimented with to meet the challenge of showing slavery through its many aspects and implications”. Public spaces can remind us of the atrocities committed during the era of slavery and how people resisted it. Museums should play a vital role in informing the public about slavery’s historical, social, and cultural aspects. They should serve as a platform to examine the complex dynamics of slavery and its afterlives.

There is only one national museum, the Musée du Panthéon National Haïtien (MUPANAH), in which the memory of the past through its objects and arts is somewhat visible. There are also annual demonstrations to celebrate the memory of the Haitian revolution and its legacies on specific national days: for instance, the commemoration of the last battle for independence, on November 18; Independence Day, January 1; and National Flag Day, May 18, when the heroes of independence are at the heart of debates over freedom and revolution. In contemporary Haitian society, the discourses and memorial narratives of the colonial-slavery period are put into the service of current political issues: for example, the difficulty of obtaining a consensus about historical memory, which is a timely issue. The construction of memories is not preceded by the search for historical truth, but is accompanied by silence and a form of oblivion aimed at not reopening old wounds. As Trouillot highlighted it is not only the silence itself, but also the mechanism that makes it silent (Trouillot, 1995). When looking governmental strategy, memory of slavery in museum can be interpreted as story of repression (Celius, 1998). For instance, the process of creating a museum of slavery in Haiti began in 1997. Of course, the appellation can be problematic, since the resistance of enslaved people, counter-colonial landscape, and freedom remain fundamental in narrating Haitian history, however a public space that aims to recollect these layers should occupy a critical place in the society. The political and material foundations of the project are still being laid after more than two decades. In this vein, Laennec Hurbon (2020) in *Pourquoi un musée de l’esclavage en Haïti?* published in *Le Club Mediapart* reminds us that “with the museum project, the memory that is thought to have been lost or forgotten remains hidden in monuments, fortresses, the rituals of daily life and religious systems, in oral culture (language, legends, stories, etc.). This reawakened memory can, in turn, revive history, renew it and support new interpretations, helping to strengthen social bonds and regain a sense of nationhood” (authors translation).

In addition, it is critical to underline the role of individuals who live around remains of colonial places can play in narrating the histories of the past and in archaeological and heritage projects. In our study, many individuals mentioned how old colonial buildings could be used as tourist attractions. This

calls for grassroots tourist initiatives. This is how their discourses and practices can contribute to archaeological site and cultural heritage co-safeguarding. In this context, discourses, visibility, and practices related to the heritage and memory of slavery can be negotiated and envisioned in different layers of society, from public institutions to private sectors and grassroots initiatives.

The Haitian context provides also other ways to explore the relationship to the memory of slavery in terms that differ from those used in the Western approach to written history. The collective memory of slavery can be understood, through the art of storytelling, and it is analyzed in the light of orality and interpreted as orality. Collective memory pertains to the long term as part of a historiographic procedure. The medium of this collective memory is therefore generally literary, and the model of analysis is clearly that of oral history. In the sense of reviving history, as Hurbon (2020) argues, oral history can provide through the museum about slavery, valuable insights into the lived experiences of people and communities, particularly those whose voices have not traditionally been represented in written records. Accordingly, a museum about slavery in Haiti can incorporate oral history into its exhibitions and programming in a number of ways. They can also use oral history as a means of interpreting and contextualizing the colonial objects and artefacts in their collections. Beyond the collection and display of oral history, a museum about slavery can provide opportunities for visitor engagement with oral history through interactive exhibits and public programs featuring live storytelling, talks, and performances (e.g., Farmer, this volume). Cultural policies are struggling to create these spaces that are capable of spotlighting narratives about Haiti's long colonial period. One wonders whether the historical duty to remember the past is carried by orality or not. Several historical studies have shown the importance of oral narratives in the production of historical knowledge (Fouchard 1988; Madiou 1988). What is now sought are the symbolic structures and logic of the transmitted narrative, and how social groups such as the *vodouisants* organize the oral treatment of their past, including how they tell their story as storytellers. The relationship of Haitians to the collective memory, that of slavery, in particular, is no longer organized according to a social logic. Fundamentally, it now involves an oral logic. This logic does not push down the importance of archaeology. Instead, archaeological and heritage practices can provide valuable insights into the construction of collective memory by revealing the material culture and practices of people of African descent in colonial times that may have been lost or forgotten in Haitian society.

The relationship that individuals have developed with these archaeological sites can have diverse meanings based on the social and micro geographical context. The appropriation process of various places can be discerned from the historical trajectory and the agency of their ancestors. In terms of ownership, having colonial ruins can mean a lot for landowners, considering their

“prestigious,” spiritual, social, and economic value. Through public or co-conservation spaces, archaeological narratives about the past can provide ways through which memories, remembering and forgetting, and the neglecting process as relates to the colonial period can be understood in the present. It opens up the possibility to better undertake archaeological practices within communities by considering the ways in which citizens, the public, and professionals can reconcile the methods and approaches used for the long-term benefit of heritage studies and community awareness (Atalay, 2012). Other layers of memory such as the Indigenous people who were the first to resist the European invasion and slavery are important components to consider in Haitian society (Jean & Hofman (2018). In this sense, archaeological objects and sites related to past Indigenous people can help to redress the narratives about the deep Haitian past.

However, the first inhabitants’ memory of slavery cannot emerge when objects related to their history are used by individuals for their *prestigious personal vitrine* (Jean & Hofman, 2018). More archaeological and heritage research can bring out new narratives for the process of memory, remembering and forgetting, especially when considering the social practices that are embedded in colonial archaeological sites. By studying the material remains of past societies, archaeological practices can help reconstruct and reinterpret ‘History’, providing tangible evidence of people’s social experiences. By contributing to our understanding of the past, archaeology can also help to shape and inform the collective memory of the present day, thereby enriching our understanding of cultural heritage and identity. The uses of archaeological sites and objects by the different people and institutions can help to deepen the different meanings of their components in the landscape. The social practices of farmers, religious practitioners, landowners, and citizens who live on heritage sites are crucial in the study of archaeology when it comes to understanding what narratives emerge from their interactions with the colonial sites.

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The Social Construction of “Cultural Heritage” in Guadeloupe and Martinique: Challenges and Perspectives

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1 Introduction

Over the course of the twentieth century, the Guadeloupe and Martinique societies followed a unique trajectory in terms of the relationship between heritage and inheritance. These social spaces developed singular strategies of survival in the face of colonization. In places where violence was a *potomitan*,¹ the claims of “collective personality” and “collective heritage” as articulated by different authorities are confronted by the need for recognition and responsibility.

Thus, since the twentieth century, on the islands that have evaded sovereignty and have the right to self-determination, the question of political responsibility has been addressed via different strategies. These are deployed in service of the category of “identity.” Consequently, the emergence of “patrimonial” discourses and memory policies are at the heart of the process of the social construction of identity.

The mechanics of recognition and this intergenerational transmission of a “legacy” do not come without a selective decision-making process. In the same way, this procedural dynamic, or “patrimonialization,” is subject to a series of social interactions. Indeed, there is no such thing as “heritage” or “heritage objects” as an objective reality per se. However, a system of patrimonial constructs that operates through a series of actors is inserted into relationships of power.

In the so-called “French West Indies”, some of these actors, or social groups, have long been assigned the role of spectators. Rendered inferior and integrated into a dominant structure with its own vision of the world as its frame

1 The term *Potomitan* or “central pillar” is an Antillean-Guyanese Creole expression referring to the person at the center of the household. This is a strong person, generally the mother, around whom everything is organized.

of reference, their alternative to this marginalization was the affirmation of a different and autonomous culture, sounding "the hour of ourselves" (Césaire, 1956, translated by the authors). This affirmation, or reassertion, of cultural power in place of political power was very pronounced in the second half of the twentieth century. This new cultural dynamic is reflected in the intellectual conflict between withdrawal into oneself and openness to the world.

As with analogous fields, the development of Martinican and Guadeloupean heritage studies was frenetic. Some themes were essential in the process of the instrumentalization of heritage. For instance, detachment from Western civilization, the Negritude movement, the anthropological study of the West Indies, the defense and illustration of the Creole language, Caribbean discourse, Caribbean or African heritage, and the praise of Creoleness were integral to guiding the direction of heritage preservation (Bernabé et al., 1993; Césaire, 1955; Fonkoua, 1995; Glissant, 1981).

Today, the demand for recognition, diversification of heritage elements (tangible or intangible), and participation in cultural life is accentuated in the different strata and social categories that link the processes of patrimonialization to those of claiming fundamental "cultural rights." Heritage is thus moving into the field of citizen ethics and participation in public affairs, accompanied by the new stakes of international cultural and legal policies that, since the 1990s, have placed communities in the decision-making chain. The recent debates on the delicate relationship between ethical principles, ecological principles, and the preservation/conservation of heritage, particularly concerning restitution, bear witness to this.

The four examples of patrimonialization presented in this chapter are linked to a history of critical thought and knowledge that is non-Eurocentric, non-hegemonic, and questions the coloniality of knowledge. The concept of "coloniality of knowledge" is understood here as the architecture of hierarchies of power conceived through forms of thought, action, spirituality, aesthetics, pedagogy, political authority, or economy inherited from the colonial world. They therefore also describe a curve, oscillating between consensus and conflict, on the axes of institutional construction and multi-appropriation of public spaces. In this respect, through each case, we will evoke the modalities and forms taken by these different patrimonializations. We will also observe the close relationship between these processes and those of the political-economic construction of territories. We will end this presentation by validating the idea that Heritage—its anthropological references, its political definitions, its economic structures, and its legal status—is "an ideological field, an instrument of life (the set of social instruments of perception)" (Casimir, 2008).

2 The Case of the Domaine de Fonds Saint-Jacques (Martinique)

2.1 *Short History and Official Summary*

The estate of Fonds Saint-Jacques is situated in Sainte-Marie, Martinique (Figure 8.1). This piece of land was granted to the friars preachers of the Order of Saint Dominic in 1659 by Marie de Saint-André-Bonnard, widow of the first governor, Jacques Dyel du Parquet, who himself was a Lord, the owner of the island of Martinique and nephew of Pierre Belain D'Esnambuc. The estate is located on the North Atlantic coast of Martinique, in the commune of Sainte-Marie, along the river of the same name.



FIGURE 8.1 Domaine de Fonds Saint-Jacques, Martinique

The commune of Sainte-Marie was founded on the site of the last battles between French settlers and Amerindians in the Cabesterre, also called the "Home of the Savages" by the first settlers. The Fonds Saint-Jacques subsequently endured a long history focused on the sugar industry, as famously described in Father Jean-Baptiste Labat's *A New Voyage to the Islands of America*, published in 1722. This Dominican missionary and slave driver, among many other roles (architect, technician, man of war, ethnographer, pastor, etc.), was appointed administrator of the house in 1696.

With Father Jean-Baptiste Labat's support, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this unique site in Martinique witnessed historic developments in the slave trade, industry, and religion. The Conseil Général de la Martinique (General Council) acquired the estate in 1948; between 1968 and 1987, it housed the Centre de Recherche Caraïbe of the Université de Montréal, directed by Professor Jean Benoist. In its two decades under Prof. Benoist's directorship, the center produced various works on anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, geography, demography, zoology, and ecology devoted to the societies of the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean. It was at the end of Prof. Benoist's scientific career that the General Council created a management association in order to turn the estate into a cultural center dedicated to promoting the arts and heritage of the Caribbean.

2.2 *A Thousand Lives and a Long History*

The Fonds Saint-Jacques was established, in the early colonial period, by the Public Prosecutor's Office's agreement to grant a property to the Dominican Order, which "Father Boulogne consecrated to the apostle Saint James, in memory of the close obligations [owed] to the late Monsieur le Général, Messire Jacques Dyel, Lord of the Public Prosecutor's Office" (du Tertre, 1654, p. 24). The right to enjoy and dispose of property was realized through the principles and methods of European colonization: in other words, the conquest of land, resources, and domination of the local populations, in this case the Kalinago, known as the Island Caribs. Thus, in 1658, at the end of an expedition that a General Council of Officers had organized to drive the Amerindians off the island, the General of the Public Prosecutor's Office gave this building complex to Father Boulogne, who—like the Jesuits' superior, Father Bonin—had accompanied the colonial troops. The habitation began developing in 1696, when Father Labat settled there and began sugar production on the estate. He subsequently established the basic model for the merchant dwellings of the Lesser Antilles, the "sugar-factory dwelling," in which the colonist lived, unlike the colonists of Santo Domingo, who were generally non-resident managers. The Domaine de Fonds Saint-Jacques would expand to more than 230 hectares

and produce between 100,000 and 200,000 pounds of sugar for 7,200 liters of brandy each year. It counted some 20 enslaved workers in 1666, 90 enslaved workers in 1701, and 138 enslaved workers in 1741 for a production output of 84,000 liters of brandy, 84 jars of sugar, and 1,000 barrels of coffee; up to 574 enslaved people, “all born Creole,” worked on the plantation in 1802, when the Treaty of Amiens was signed. The treaty ensured the return of Martinique to the French, which had been under English occupation since 1794, before clergy property like the Fonds Saint-Jacques was nationalized.

The house passed from one owner to the next and accumulated leases of management. From 1803, the Fonds Saint-Jacques served as a factory with a railway and a locomotive before ultimately being liquidated; returning to the heritage of the colony, the land was then divided among farmers into 203 lots, constituting the current district of Saint-Jacques (1933). In the meantime, it hosted a school run by the Ploermel brothers, who were sent to the West Indies by the Ministry of Public Instruction to organize primary education, a correctional home for juvenile delinquents, and, later, a shelter for the Indian labor force “imported” to Martinique from 1855. Generations of individuals, born in Martinique or abroad, have thus lived there since the seventeenth century. They have comprised the majority of the population of the Saint-Jacques district since the 1930s. During and beyond the first half of the twentieth century, the neighborhood’s families (Wagram, Garnier, Cassildé, etc.) lived within the walls of what has now become a cultural center. This use of “popular housing,” perpetuated after the abolition of slavery, may be considered the first patrimonialization of the place. The usual social, cultural, and economic appropriation of heritage through time, by a population of direct heirs—without any documentation or rights—to the historical continuum of a singular space.

2.3 *Uses and Representations, from the Other to Oneself*

The Domaine de Fonds Saint-Jacques reflects a *mise en abîme*. For instance, this account of the estate’s history engages—in a factual, measured, and neutral manner—with the content of the speeches and heritage stories that comprise heritage “at the level of the social body” (Bérard, 2014). These sources will result in making the colonial place Habitation Saint-Jacques an official heritage object having been among the first to benefit from the French “Monument Historique” label in 1980.

In fact, this initial impulse towards popular appropriation was followed by an official and institutional approach. This was the initiative of a mixed group of academic and political leaders led by the Canadian professor Jean

Benoist of the University of Montréal. This process of putting the space on the heritage list began in the late 1960s, with the desire to turn what some people considered to be "a property in ruins, occupied by inhabitants without rights" (Benoist, 2015, 12) into a "credible international crossroads" (Benoist, 2015, 12) in cultural and scientific terms. The academic, political, and economic interests of the decision-makers of the time converged to build a new framework for the estate use. They determined that the estate would be renovated, its local occupants relocated, and the property would be rented (through an association created to receive foreign funding) to the Université de Montréal and its Centre de Recherche Caraïbe for two decades. During the late 60's, Martinique also changed its framework. Ideas of autonomy and independency grew; these ideas correlated with identity and statutory issues. For instance, the academic void from which the Quebec project had emerged was filled by the creation of the Centre Universitaire des Antilles-Guyane (1972) and the Université des Antilles-Guyane (1982). The French laws of "decentralization" (1982 to 1986) made Martinique a single departmental region, with local authorities with intertwined powers and competencies. During this period, the Fonds Saint-Jacques ceased to be a Centre de Recherche Canadienne in Martinique and instead became a Centre des Cultures et des Arts de la Caraïbe; the latter was managed by a new association delegated by the General Council, with a new cultural project dedicated to the development of Caribbean intangible heritage. In this context, this place was labialized Monument Historique et Centre Culturel de Rencontre allowing the site to be renovated and livened up regularly. While the estate's official heritage status was indexed to its academic and scientific worth within the framework of international and personal relations (Canada/France/Caribbean), this phase of transformation into a cultural center revealed that Martinican cultural and political actors had reevaluated their past, present, and future as well as their conception of their relationship with the other (Busquet, 2017).

2.4 *Dissolving Memory: History under Construction*

From the 1970s to the turn of the 2000s, the French West Indies were the site of negotiations between pair center/periphery, continuity/breakdown, exogenous/endogenous, urbanity/rurality, dependence/independence, and domination/emancipation. History is thus conceived as a category for analysis and debate: it is a "trap" and "over-determination" on the one hand (Glissant, 1981), and support for "finding one's roots, (and) becoming aware of one's identity" on the other (Armand Nicolas, 1996). At the Fonds Saint-Jacques,

the elite leaders in the field made the *domaine* a research center on intangible cultural heritage in the Caribbean and a cultural establishment that nurtures the territory. Moreover, archaeological excavations undertaken on the Fonds Saint-Jacques in the early 1990s revealed a cemetery containing approximately sixty burials, analyzed for carbon-14, which dated the burials to the mid-eighteenth century and identified the deceased as former enslaved people of the dwelling. Although the actors operating in the cultural center recognize the enslavement and coercive status of the space, for three decades the site remained a particular zone of dissimulation and pacification. Indeed, the motivation for preserving these ‘historic monuments’ was generally cast in economic terms: an “old sugar factory (having) known its hour of glory and increased productivity under the energetic leadership of Father Labat” (Maurice, 1989, p. 7). If Father Labat was indeed a Père Fouettard² figure in the popular imagination of Martinique’s inhabitants, he was most often, in the context of official speeches, a traveling chronicler, a wise administrator, and a cultivated industrialist. In the estate’s heritage discourse, and in the exhibition’s speeches and official publications of the *Association de gestion du centre culturel* as well as in certain scientific publications evoking the Fonds Saint-Jacques is usually evoked (Petitjean Roget, 1971). Thus, the structural tendency has been toward downplaying the presentation or representation of slavery, which has become the second-best solution of the colonial system, an acceptable model of a Christian micro-society of exploitation and dehumanization. Cottias et al. (2000) have pointed out that “the emphasis should be put on the human and the living” in an aesthetically pleasing monumental space made of carefully restored stones and eschewing representations of colonial-slavery violence.

To this end, the category of enslaved people is dissolved in the sociological lexicon: enslaved people are styled as “workers” or “laborers” rather than dehumanized personal property. The memory of Habitation Saint-Jacques is socially and politically instrumentalized, and the concept of slavery is revived in the name of an embodied heritage (Cottias et al., 2000) or a “valorization and amplification of the historical heritage value of the site” (Association culturelle de l’habitation Fonds Saint-Jacques, *Avant projet d’établissement du CCR*, 2012). However, the real meaning is the dissolution of the museographic and interpretative implications that the historical truth should raise in a space that wishes to “invite the visitor to enter this noisy world of people, cultures, music, dance and noise” (Cottias et al., 2000, p. xx). A crucial sign of patrimonialization, with variable interests, was the “enslaved people’s” cemetery on the estate. The burials, placed on the premises of the *Direction*

2 Père Fouettard is one of the St. Nicholas’ companions. Contrarily to this one, he is mean and whips the children who have been disobedient.

des Affaires Culturelles (a decentralized service of the French Ministry of Culture in Martinique), have never been the subject of any development or project of patrimonial interest, despite numerous requests from the public. The cemetery is now covered with vegetation and is regularly weeded by a neighborhood association located in a former building of the house. Commemorations in honor of enslaved peoples, organized by the public, take place at this location annually.

3 The Case of Poterie Fidelin and the Fonds Rousseau Habitation

In the French West Indies, there is a physical heritage with a symbolic form from which emanates an emotional charge linked to the history of slavery. In this context, these places of memory—these temples where disorder takes place amid the architectural beauty—cannot be apprehended with the same international standards introduced under the UNESCO concept of patrimonialization. This patrimonialization, which aims at the creation, preservation, and dissemination of different forms of heritage from an intergenerational perspective, will be interpreted here with attention to identity and resilience.

Our goal is to present, through two examples, the economic challenges of two historical sites that speak to slavery, to the living memory of men who have been fighting for equality for hundreds of years. Therefore, the traditionally neoclassical economic development will be recounted and reframed by the authors, Afro-descendants, in its social and cultural context to propose and stimulate ambitious new public policies. It is fundamental that the goods inherited in this context of pain be preserved through a strategy that involves local people in its implementation. These places bear the silence and spirituality of history. To support our argument, we will look at two different sites: one in Guadeloupe, the other in Martinique. There are management challenges related to the historical monuments and the local population tends not to embrace this heritage. To reclaim this heritage, the owners of the premises have chosen to invest in human capital to prevent choices that too often lead to impulsive and regrettable destruction. The establishment of a social economy in this environment should lead to greater awareness and prevent looting and destruction of cultural heritage. Destruction of heritage can be operated in different levels. We have seen in a regional level that the henchmen of Jair Bolsonaro (previous president of Brazil) have set fire to the Amazon rainforest, the habitat of marginalized Amerindians, which represents the world heritage of humanity. Locally, a manifesto in favor of commemorating the abolition of slavery, written in Martinique on May 22, 2020 and signed by Lanmounité (Lanmounité in Carpentier, 2020) calling for the destruction of monuments. According to Lanmounité these monuments have been characterized by the

legacy of apartheid. In this manifesto, the following excerpts can be found: “When will the homes be our free, all-access memory places? When will they stop being cash machines for the non-slavery survivors?”

Our two examples illustrating the integrated economic development of heritage, one in Guadeloupe and the other in Martinique, have social and human ends in mind. These two sites “build” us; they bring the author and owner of these places back to their slavery past. These places are not museums, but sites that dream of being recovered.

3.1 *The Poterie Fidelin*

Poterie Fidelin (Figure 8.2) is a relatively well-preserved complex located on an island south of Guadeloupe, the island of Terre-de-Bas, which has approximately 800 inhabitants. Its uniqueness and location made it a destination for UNESCO emissaries, such as those who visited its pottery factory in early 2020. The pottery factory was established by Jean-Pierre Fidelin shortly after 1760. The Fidelins are one of the oldest Creole families in Guadeloupe. The factory sugar molds and the pots used for sugar refining. Each sugar refinery had more than two thousand pots and had to replace them regularly. The pottery activities flourished from 1760 to 1815, when the development of the sugar beet in metropolitan France sounded the death knell for the Caribbean sugarcane industry and, by extension, that of its suppliers (Bortolussi, 2015; Gabriel,

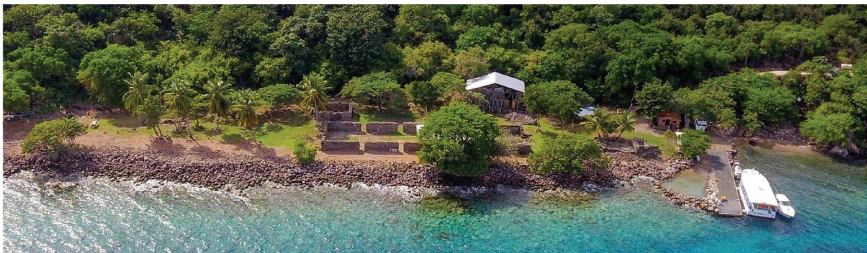


FIGURE 8.2 Top: Poterie Fidelin, Terre-de-Bas, Les Saintes; bottom: Habitation Fonds Rousseau, Martinique

2016). The factory, which employed a large part of the population of the island of Terre-de-Bas, had to diversify its products by occasionally producing tiles, flowerpots, and jars. From 1860 until 1920, the pottery manufacturer became a distillery of Allspice (*Pimenta racemosa*).

Today, all that remains of the pottery production center are the raised walls, the traces of two kilns, a cistern, the ruins of an animal-driven mill, and several unidentified ruined buildings. The plot containing the ruins of the old pottery factory was classified as a historical monument by decree on December 15, 1997. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the factory has been overlooked in the forest. In 2015, the author acquired the old pottery factory and is planning its cultural valorization and opening to the public.

3.2 *Habitation Fonds Rousseau*

Situated along the Case-Navire river, in the commune of Schœlcher in Martinique, the Fonds Rousseau dwelling extends over 4 hectares in the immediate vicinity of the Schœlcher suburbs and the Grand Village district, a short distance from the hustle and bustle of the town. A short distance from the hustle and bustle of the city, the property, which has been listed in the supplementary inventory of Monuments Historiques since the early 1990s, is a treasure trove of art and history.

Centuries-old trees and local plant species rub shoulders with the stone walls and brick roofs of this complex. The masonry and stone floors, scaly tiles, and precious woods—everything here is reminiscent of the traditional codes of Creole architecture. Installed on a site occupied since pre-Columbian times, the mansion and its outbuildings, the manager’s house, the enslaved peoples’ living quarters, and the industrial buildings tell, in their own way, two tumultuous centuries of Martinique’s history.

The Habitation Fonds Rousseau is one of the oldest sugar-factory in Schœlcher and the only building in the community to be listed as a historical monument. In 1660, Gabriel Turpin owned 360 hectares in the parish that would later become the commune of Schœlcher. François Hurault de Manoncourt cultivated mulberry trees for silkworm breeding, which led to his land being established as a fief in 1687. Later on, sugar was produced there; then, until the beginning of the twentieth century, rum. Initially named Fonds Plumet, the house owes its current name to the construction of a distillation column from a Saint-Pierre factory belonging to Charles Rousseau after the 1902 volcano eruption. In the 1950s, the house was abandoned and became a ruin; in the 1980s, it was restored and the buildings rented as accommodations. In 2017, one of the author of this paper acquired the Habitation Fonds Rousseau and planned its cultural development and opening to the public.

The economic and heritage policies in the French West Indies have led us to the observations that follow.

3.3 *The Formal Context of France*

The difficulties in managing cultural policy in the region have not disappeared with the decentralization laws. “Overseas people” are often excluded from the management of their assets for lack of compliant diplomas. This hindrance leads to a decreased use of these premises, which leads to less vigorous heritage development of the sit. This translates to the absence of workers who can participate in the very expensive renovations due to the requirements imposed by state administration.

Certain advantages of France's formal institutional framework should not be overlooked. As examples, let us mention:

- an administration that is well-versed in cultural matters and has made France the world leader in the preservation of property for social and economic benefit;
- historic house associations that bring together enthusiasts, advise them, and promote dynamism by awarding prizes to volunteers; and
- the creation of the Foundation for the Memory of Slavery, which is a public utility association aimed at diffusing and preserving material and immaterial goods related to slavery. This national association has its headquarters at the *Palais de la Marine*, a place that holds the symbolism of being the site where the French Republic ratified the Decree of the Abolition of Slavery of 1848.

3.4 *The Economic Possession of Places of Memory: the békés of Martinique*

The decree of April 27, 1848, disseminated by the provisional government of the Second Republic, proclaimed the abolition of slavery in the French colonies (Article 1) but also recognized that an indemnity must be paid to all owners (Article 5) to compensate for the loss of what the law had hitherto considered a patrimonial asset. A decree of June of that same year instituted a commission “charged with preparing proposals to be submitted to the National Assembly for the settlement of the compensation due to the settlers.” One year after the emancipation decree, the National Assembly set the amount of the colonial indemnity for all the territories concerned. On November 24, 1849, a decree signed by Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte definitively established the terms of payment of the colonial indemnity. Settlers who lost nearly 250,000 workers

received 123,784,426 francs; this is the equivalent of nearly 5 billion euros today. The heirs of the settlers, with their financial and land inheritance, are called *békés* today, like their ancestors; they occupy a very important place in the economy. The possession these sites, which are steeped in painful history, by the descendants of the enslavers contributes to excluding Afro-descendants from heritage practices and discussions related to the future of sites associated with slavery. In this way, the emotional dimension of the houses is not preserved.

3.5 *Paths to Sustainable Developments*

The acquisition of the Poterie Fidelin and Habitation Fonds Rousseau with the private funds of parties sensitive to the preservation of heritage has generated subsequent initiatives. The missions of these places have been redefined and their identity, cultural, or even religious frameworks are privileged in opposition to the "tourist cash machine."

The Poterie Fidelin has become a place for art and music festivals. The Fonds Rousseau has served as the site of the Pool Art Fair, a gathering of more than sixty Caribbean artists and a venue for screening historical films. The descendants of talented slaves, associations of the elderly, primary-school students, and artists bring these places to life. The intent is to privilege the cultural value of our places of memory per se: their aesthetic value, spiritual value, social value, historical value, symbolic value, and the value of their authenticity.

3.6 *Personal Feedback in Relation to Both Examples*

There is a form of loneliness in the process of safeguarding heritage. One might say that the local population is not interested in taking part of safeguarding process. It is, in addition, important to highlight that it is expensive to maintain the staff needed for conservation, and the upkeep of the property costs tens of thousands of euros. Administrative procedures are slow and exhausting; heritage culture is not a priority. Researchers must look at other forms of education: for instance, a public education policy that would adhere to the mission of valorizing Creole heritage. The Master's program in heritage studies that the Université des Antilles has just launched has such a mission. Developing the public importance of heritage would obligate institutes to participate financially in the preservation of listed historical monuments. It may be useful to specify that local authorities in Guadeloupe are enthusiastic about such a prospect, and it is hoped that Martinican authorities will follow suit.

The assumption of financial responsibility by the institutions will complement the legal instruments available to UNESCO, requiring communities to preserve listed heritage objects through financial intervention or other form of service that contributes to protect heritage. The valorization of our heritage related to slavery can be done without fear because the social development of Guadeloupe and Martinique allows citizens to confront the negative effects of patrimonialization.

4 The Case of the Centre d'Animation et d'Interprétation de la Culture Amérindienne (CAICA)

In Martinique in 1502, there was a clash between two worlds, two civilizations: on one side were the Amerindians; on the other side, the Europeans. This clash of cultures forever transformed the history of the Caribbean. This year would also mark the beginning of the decline and annihilation of the Amerindian people, who until then had inhabited and exploited the resources of this vast Caribbean geographical space.

In 1635, the first French colony settled on *Iouanacaëra*, the Amerindian name for Martinique, and caused unprecedented sociocultural and economic upheaval. The mass arrival of the first enslaved people through the African slave trade and the development of sugar plantations profoundly transformed the Caribbean landscape.

In recent years, we have seen an increased collective awareness of our cultural practices. Indeed, our vision of “heritage” and “culture” is being questioned and re-examined through a new framework of “cultural rights.” The Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights, drafted in 2007 (*Déclaration de Fribourg, 2007*), is the result of twenty years of work by a group of international experts coordinated by the philosopher Patrice Meyer-Bisch. This declaration promotes the protection of the diversity of cultural rights within the human rights system.

We will demonstrate to what extent archaeology contributes to the transmission of common heritage in Martinique through the example of the *Centre d'Animation et d'Interprétation de la Culture Amérindienne (CAICA) of Vivé* (Figure 8.3). In addition, we will explain how cultural heritage can be interwoven into different layers of our contemporary Caribbean societies.

4.1 *History of the project*

The north of Martinique possesses numerous Amerindian archaeological deposits: thirteen spread over more than 30 km. The ancient ceramic deposits have quite exceptional burial and preservation conditions. The ancient



FIGURE 8.3 Centre d'Animation et d'Interprétation de la Culture Amérindienne de Vivé, Cap Nord Martinique

site of Vivé is one of the major sites of Amerindian archaeology. It has been listed in the supplementary inventory of *Monument Historique* since February 1, 1994. It was discovered by archaeologists in the 1930s and has been the subject of numerous field studies and academic publications. Fieldwork has led to numerous excavations and increased knowledge of the archaeological subsoil. The latter is made up of a very well-preserved stratigraphy consisting of two distinct archaeological layers, separated by a level of eruptive pumice deposited by Mount Pelée and dating from the end of the fourth century B.C. (Bérard & Giraud, 2006). Vivé has yielded many archaeological structures, as well as numerous Amerindian human remains. Aware of the archaeological

and historical potential of this site, and in a policy of protection and enhancement of its cultural heritage, the *Communauté d'Agglomération du Pays Nord Martinique* (CAP Nord Martinique) has acquired the twenty-two hectares of land for the construction of its Caribbean Park, whose budget is estimated at 27 million euros. This project has experienced various twists and turns.

In fact, the General Council wanted to acquire the land to develop the site as early as the mid-1980s. By the end of the 1990s, the municipality of Lorrain was looking to build a reception and (cultural) mediation area for the local public and schoolchildren on the site. By cultural mediation, we mean strategies consisting of bringing the general public into contact with the site for educational, social and recreational purposes. Eventually, the project was taken over and redesigned by the CAP Nord Martinique community, and the *Centre d'Animation et d'Interprétation de la Culture Amérindienne* (CAICA) was born. A first feasibility study was carried out in 2002 and then updated in 2005 and 2009. The year 2019 will mark a considerable advancement in the project, with the recruitment of an archaeologist to fill the position of scientific advisor to the CAICA.

Why invest so much in this Amerindian heritage when historical and colonial heritage is also present in North Martinique? Besides the fact that the archaeological site of Vivé is an exceptional deposit, the answer lies especially in the fact that this Amerindian heritage is less painful than slavery heritage in the collective memory (Bérard, 2014). Consequently, this project succeeded in finding a process for claiming and reappropriating identity. Heritage projects of this nature tend to be a uniting factor in Caribbean and Martinican identity across cultural and racial.

4.2 *CAICA's Mission through the Framework of Cultural Rights*

North Martinique has a strong cultural identity, which is reflected in its inter-municipal vision: *Terre de mémoire, terre d'avenir* (Land of memory, land of the future). This region holds 44% of the historical monuments on the entire island. CAICA is therefore part of the process of enhancing the heritage of the north, with its various challenges. One of its objectives is to recognize and engage the local population of Martinique, in all its diversity, in cultural life. Culture is understood here in the broadest sense of the term, covering "the values, beliefs, convictions, languages, knowledge arts, traditions, institutions and ways of life through which a person or group expresses his or her humanity and the meanings it gives to its existence and development" (Déclaration de Fribourg, 2007, art. 2). Cultural rights were incorporated into French law in 2015 under the NOTRE Law (ibid., 2007, art. 103), and in 2016 under the Law on Architecture and Heritage Creation (ibid., 2007, art. 2). These are the rights of a person, alone or in common, to choose and express his or her identity. This

implies having access to the cultural resources necessary for this process of identity formation throughout one’s life. This approach to cultural and heritage policy through cultural rights is therefore an important paradigm shift. Thus, the central issue is no longer access to culture conceived primarily as knowledge, places, or works that should be accessed, but rather the recognition of people, their wealth, their intelligence, and their ability to develop their resources with others. Cultural rights therefore aim to guarantee everyone the freedom to live and express their cultural identity, understood as “the set of cultural references by which a person, alone or in common, defines himself or herself, constitutes himself or herself, communicates and intends to be recognized in his or her dignity” (*Schéma d’orientations culturelles*, 2016). In this perspective, CAICA’s declared objective is to promote the dialogue and richness of each person, to involve as many people as possible in cultural life, and to propose a broadening of the sources of knowledge and information through exchange and the possibility of participating in this enrichment. This would no longer be a question of bringing culture to the population, but rather of implementing favorable conditions so that everyone can cultivate what makes sense for them, alongside others, while respecting everyone’s fundamental rights (*Schéma d’orientations culturelles*, 2016).

Thus, CAICA aims to serve as a bridge and strengthen ties between the museums of Fort-de-France and Rivière Pilote, which deal with Amerindian themes. Given the current context, it is more important than ever to bring out and identify, to the general public, places of memory. This space would make it possible to find the right balance between the valorization of an archaeological site, preservation of nature, and preservation of the environment while allowing a territorial rebalancing at the level of tourism (BICFL, 2009).

Dedicated to memory, information, knowledge, and archaeological research, CAICA plans to emphasize the active and immersive participation of the general public and schoolchildren in the various educational, social and recreational activities. It would be a question of making visible the rich archaeological heritage left to us today at the Vivé site. This plan consists also in making the Amerindian heritage available to everyone, at each reading level, while explaining the means of interpretation, methods, and knowledge of archaeologists.

For these various reasons, the future park’s aims include:

- a site dedicated primarily to the theme of “archaeology and Amerindian culture” in the context of Martinique, the Caribbean, and also internationally, capturing public enthusiasm with its specific items and high quality;
- a facility that is part of a strategy of networking with other touristic and cultural sites and projects in Martinique, as well as an interregional and international partnership;

- a facility that is part of a sustainable development approach and thus reconciles environmental, sociocultural, and economic constraints; and
- a consensual tool for Caribbean identity across community and cultural divides.
- Various actions aimed at the general public and schoolchildren have been set up in order to enhance and promote the future Caribbean Park:
- **On the road to Vivé:** A historical journey to discover the Amerindian cultural heritage of northern Martinique through the lens of art and archaeology. This will be developed in partnership with schoolchildren. The course, based on Amerindian artwork- *Adorno*, will have only one QR code referring visitors to the information on the site of Vivé.
- **Abakéta:** A discovery workshop on Amerindian archaeology. *Abakéta*, a word of Caribbean origin that means “to learn, to acquire knowledge,” sums up the scope of this workshop for the general public. The goal of this workshop is not only to present the results of archaeological research, but also to present the Amerindian heritage to contemporary society.
- **Abakétoni:** An international colloquium that has been organized in 2021 under the following theme: *La médiation scientifique en archéologie dans la Caraïbe. Un territoire, des peuples : transmission et savoirs* Abakétoni, which means “what is taught” in spoken Kalinago, is the name of the program of knowledge sharing at the Caribbean Park of Vivé. This professional and scientific event has been organized in 2021, and will question the notion of territory and the theoretical issues and professional practices of cultural mediation.

Nowadays, the valorization and transmission of Amerindian heritage is a strong axis of the patrimonial policy of Martinique. Through the framework of cultural rights, we observe a collective awareness and appropriation or even reappropriation of this Amerindian heritage. For several years now, various local actors, such as the Karisko Association, have been mobilizing to highlight this heritage. Indeed, this association promotes the conservation, appropriation, and valorization of the historical and environmental heritage of the Caribbean through the transmission of this heritage to the youth. CAP Nord, through the creation of CAICA, wishes to go even further in these efforts to allow this heritage to radiate throughout the Caribbean.

5 The Case of Museums and Archaeology: a Brief History of Archaeology in the French West Indies

Three major phases punctuate the history of archaeology and its development in the French West Indies. During the 1930s, the first archaeological excavations took place on the islands of Martinique and then Guadeloupe

(Bérard, 2014). They were followed by exhibitions that, for the first time, presented the general public with traces of the populations that existed prior to the arrival of the French colonists, signs of a precolonial island anchorage and a local heritage distinct from the national heritage. In the 1960s and 1970s, an identity movement turned public attention in the Caribbean toward Black Africa. In Martinique and Guadeloupe, the valorization of the Amerindian heritage developed most notably thanks to the creation of the *Direction des antiquités* (French ministry of culture). However, this is an institutionalized patrimonialization in the French West Indies, whose “appropriation by the white component of the population of this part of the history of the West Indies undoubtedly constituted a brake on the passage from this institutional patrimonialization to a broader social consideration of this element” (Bérard, 2014, p. 242). In the 1990s, the professionalization of archaeology made it possible to better understand and observe Amerindian societies through the artifacts found in excavations, leading to the emergence of projects on these themes.

This “invisible” Amerindian is thus part of a memory and a history less painful than that linked to slavery, while at the same time, it permits an anchoring and a legitimacy of belonging to the local landscape. In Guadeloupe history was promoted through the creation of a departmental museum of Amerindian archaeology, the Edgar Clerc Archaeological Museum. According to a 2007 definition of the International Council of Museums (ICOM, 2020): “The museum is a permanent non-profit institution, at the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, preserves, studies, exhibits, and transmits the tangible and intangible heritage humanity and its environment for the purposes of study, education and enjoyment” (ICOM, 2007). A link between the past and the present, the Edgar Clerc museum presents artifacts from archaeological excavations. The objects take on their full heritage dimension because they are a “witness and narrative support, [...] for the non-specialist visitor. Reputed as a mediator, it is in fact an instrument for putting oneself at a distance from a real unknown, a factor of astonishment, questioning, and reflection” (Colardelle, 2011). This is how the museum of Amerindian archaeology participates in rewriting the history of the first inhabitants of the islands now known as Martinique and Guadeloupe, and more broadly of the Caribbean archipelago.

5.1 *Edgar Clerc Museum: Departmental Museum of Amerindian Archaeology*

In Guadeloupe, the Edgar Clerc museum is a Guadeloupean council’s museum of Amerindian Archaeology that was created in 1984, although the idea for its creation dates back to 1978. It was conceived through the donation

of artifacts by Edgar Clerc, conceptualized by the Guadeloupean architect Jack Berthelot, with a museography by Georges-Henri Rivières (Figure 8.4). The museum would later be renamed after its main donor, Edgar Clerc, who died two years before its inauguration. The state of knowledge at the time focused on a region settled only by two groups: the Arawak on the one hand and the Caribs on the other. This duality influenced the architecture and spatial organization of the building. The Edgar Clerc Museum, which belongs to the *Conseil Départemental de la Guadeloupe*, is an establishment with the “Musée de France” label, as are three other museums in Guadeloupe (the Mus’arth, the Ecomuseum of Marie-Galante, and the Saint-John Perse Museum). It receives more than ten thousand visitors per year. They are



FIGURE 8.4 Top: Four panels of the Caribbean Ties exhibition at Edgar Clerc museum. Bottom: Edgar Clerc departmental museum of Amerindian archaeology, Guadeloupe

divided into three social categories: primarily tourists (French, Caribbean, foreigners), then local residents, but also schoolchildren (primary and secondary). The museum is currently undergoing a renovation phase. In addition to the permanent exhibition, temporary exhibitions are also set up and presented to the public. As of this writing, the most recent exhibit, held in from 2019 to 2022, was “Caribbean Ties: Connected People Then and Now,” which aimed to “present the complex diversity of the Caribbean islands before the arrival of Europeans” (Hofman et al., 2019, p. 3). Therefore, the project reflects the point of view of the Amerindian communities, far from the texts and historical sources of the colonizers, which have until recently served as the sources of an unquestioned narrative. Its goal is to express the common Amerindian heritage shared by and still present in the contemporary Caribbean way of life.

5.2 *International “Caribbean Ties” Exhibition*

Initiated and designed by the ERC Synergy project Nexus 1492—based at Leiden University and the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and the University of Konstanz, Germany—in collaboration with institutions, museums, and communities throughout the Caribbean, the exhibition “Caribbean Ties: Connected People Then and Now” focuses on the contributions of Amerindian heritage, including multi-ethnic Caribbean societies and cultures, particularly through the presentation of the research results of the Nexus 1492 project.

Thanks to a modern modular concept that adapts to spatial constraints, local context, and interest, the exhibition has been designed to be itinerant and allow the entire population to have access to the research results. Envisioned as a circular Amerindian dwelling, based on the results of excavations in the Caribbean, the exhibition is composed of four structures and a central column. Each structure deals with a different theme. The first theme, “Multi-cultural landscape,” approaches the Caribbean area as a place where people and cultures mix. The second theme, “Travel, migration, and exchange,” deals with the importance of navigation in the establishment of Amerindian ways of life. The third theme, “Food and beliefs,” is related to changes observed in the Caribbean before and during colonization. The last theme, dedicated to “The future of the past,” focuses on the contributions of advanced research to archaeology. In order to sensitize not only schoolchildren, but also the general public—whether amateurs or experts—interactive devices were created, such as facsimiles of artifacts to be touched and online games and programs. Texts, images, and photos, brief information—everything is done so that each category of visitor, from novice to expert, from children to the

elderly, can find content suitable to their level. Likewise, with the objective of reaching the greatest number of visitors, the texts of the exhibition are in multiple languages, including the languages spoken in the Caribbean: English, Spanish, French, and Dutch, as well as Papiamentu and Guadeloupean Creole.

5.3 *Local Variation Exhibition: Liens Caribéens/Lyannaj péyi LaKarayib*
 Right from the design stage, the institutions hosting the exhibition were encouraged to create a local variation to best meet the specific expectations of the territories. Thus, in Guadeloupe, under the author's curatorship, with local partners such as the Departmental Council of Guadeloupe, the Aï-ti Association, and Coreca, the exhibition "Caribbean Ties: Connected People Then and Now" was translated into French and Creole and renamed "Caribbean Ties: Connected People Then and Now/ Lyannaj péyi LaKarayib: Nasyon lyanné yè é jodijou." The surveys carried out beforehand on the feeling of belonging to the Caribbean allowed us to target identity, culture, and population blended as well as music and the island environment as departure points for exploring the theme of the "multicultural landscape."

Finally, concerning itinerancy, the concept of a museum "outside the walls" has been realized, with several exhibition locations selected throughout the archipelago (in various cities including Les Saintes, La Désirade, and Marie-Galante; further partnerships have been signed with St. Martin and St. Lucia).

The institutions' enthusiasm for taking part in the programming of the exhibition itinerary, as well as the feedback from visitors, confirmed the Guadeloupean popular interest in this Amerindian past. However, persisting in the dissemination of obsolete data, especially in textbooks—such as the narrative of the "good" Arawaks having been chased away by the "bad" Caribs, instead of presenting dynamic networks of Arawak and Caribs—hinders its appropriation by the entire population.

5.4 *A New Generation of Local Archaeologists*

The discipline of archaeology has experienced a surge of interest in recent years, popularizing it on a national scale. In our territories, the creation of the *Service régional de l'archéologie* and the *Direction régionale des affaires culturelles* in the early 1990s enabled the arrival of continental archaeologists. The work undertaken—excavations, studies, inventories, and the development of preventive archaeology—shows an enthusiasm for the research and development of not only Amerindian heritage, but also colonial heritage.

The visibility of the discipline and the artifacts discovered participates in the democratization of archaeology among Caribbean peoples. These new researchers bring a new (different) perspective, imbued with questions of identity, the relationship to the territory and they vehicule of the "rhizome identity" evoked by Edouard Glissant (Glissant, 1997), approach heritage research and development with a new eye, raising new questions of identity and relationship to the territory. These researchers share strong ambitions for pedagogy and popularization of these little-known parts of French West Indian history based on objects that are the manifestation and materialization of these past populations. They work in the cultural services of local authorities or in a private capacity and/or do research. Among the popularization of knowledge activities that they have undertaken, we can mention the author's monthly television column *Sur les traces d'Anacaona, la chronique amérindienne*; Guadeloupean David Laporal's publication of the book *La Guadeloupe et ses trésors: Le patrimoine archéologique de l'île papillon*; Martinican Isabelle Gabrielle's research on the *neg mawon* in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe; or Martinican colleague Matthieu Ecrabet's "Abakéta" workshops, introducing participants to the archaeological excavation. A few excavation technicians from the two islands complete this Caribbean team, not to mention the very committed and experienced Guadeloupean archaeologist Carloman Bassette, who has enabled the creation of the archaeology resource center at Trois-Rivières College and is working on the preservation of engraved rocks. These projects are therefore an important contribution to the development of archaeology and cultural heritage in the French Caribbean.

5.5 *Interest and Reappropriation of Amerindian Culture*

Other projects emanating from civil society continue to flourish. Let us mention, among others, the Amerindian festival of Trois-Rivières and the projects of Jean Barfleur's K'nawa association. The artistic world has also taken up these themes, like the visual artist Pierre Chadru, who promotes Caribbean art, invading even the most important hall of the Prefecture of Guadeloupe, a building symbolic of the French state. The artistic world has also taken up these themes, as well as the carnival community by organizing of parades where people are painted with roucou (Bixa orellana) to pay homage to the Indigenous ancestors, formerly called "red skin"

In Guadeloupe as in Martinique, many structures with varied fields of competence and activity take their names from Amerindian terms or names of Amerindian ethnic groups. In addition, many public projects, private projects,

and initiatives are being created. For example, in Guadeloupe, the commitment of local political authorities is seen in the ambitious project to renovate the Musée Edgar Clerc. The museum is a place with a duty to remember the past and its collections are material traces of local history. The Departmental Council of Guadeloupe also supports exhibitions such as “Liens caribéens/Lyannaj péyi LaKarayib,” which focuses on the persistence of Amerindian traditions, techniques, plants, and words in the Caribbean and globally. Finally, in 2018, the KalinaGwada association was created, composed of Kalinago descendants living in Guadeloupe. Its objectives are to promote the traditions and present-day culture of Kalinago Amerindians and the diaspora. This association raises the visibility of the Amerindian culture and contributes to keeping this heritage alive.

The movement integrating the Amerindian heritage of the French West Indies with its Creole identity is underway.

6 Conclusion

These examples of heritage in Guadeloupe and Martinique remind us that the issues surrounding Caribbean heritage are integrated into a fabric of diverse social relations and interactions. Indeed, if heritage and memory policies have experienced substantial development over the last two decades, they are currently experiencing a resurgence of the tension or conflict that demonstrates their uniqueness.

Heritage policies serve projects that carry worldviews that are called upon to reach a consensus, that are intended to be universalist, but remain inserted in areas of social, political, and economic competition. Each individual (person, collective, or institution) uses them to defend his or her version of history and privileged memory. Consequently, if the perspective that these policies and processes reveal is that of pacifying society and learning “lessons from the past,” it is clear that they are not immune to the social realities of the present. This over-determination can be seen as a vector of encounter between actors and recipients of heritage and memory policies. It is through this renewed meeting of project bearers, who are at the same time bearers of values, that a reconciliatory and tolerant normative framework can take shape.

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Patrimonialization of Industrial Archaeological Sites in the Sierra del Rosario, Artemisa Province, Cuba

Lisette Roura Alvarez

1 Introduction

From the perspective of heritage studies, managing rural industrial heritage fosters the revaluation of cultural assets and archaeological landscapes, generating sustainable local development models. In Cuba, examples of this are very scarce, though the creation of ecomuseums could promote endogenous development through the design and implementation of sociocultural projects rooted in the country's various rural industrial landscapes, which are fundamentally linked to nineteenth-century sugar and coffee production. This would constitute a valid strategy for old mills and coffee plantations that are in an advanced state of deterioration, a reality that is unfortunately confronted at countless sites in Cuba.

A correct valuation of this historical-archaeological heritage would yield public benefits: not only economic benefits but also social ones, drawing from the meaning and importance of this heritage while also allowing for its protection and preservation for future generations. Researcher Rolando Bustos has pointed out that he prefers to use the term “patrimonializing” to refer to the perspective of builders of patrimony rather than custodians of it, because “(...) although patrimony has the idea of the parents' legacy, of an authorization by the past, actually patrimonialization implies an action, that is to say, a project that is oriented towards the future” (2004, p. 19).

The implementation of this process does not necessarily imply the implementation of museum procedures to achieve the safeguarding of objects, sites, or regions. In western Cuba, the patrimonialization of old coffee farms has made it possible to strengthen the link between archaeology and ecomuseum, giving the community the option of getting to know its past better and living with the material evidence of it.

The environmental and historical specificities of the Las Terrazas community (Figure 9.1), located to the east of the Sierra del Rosario, Artemisa Province, ultimately spurred the inauguration (in May 2010) of the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum,

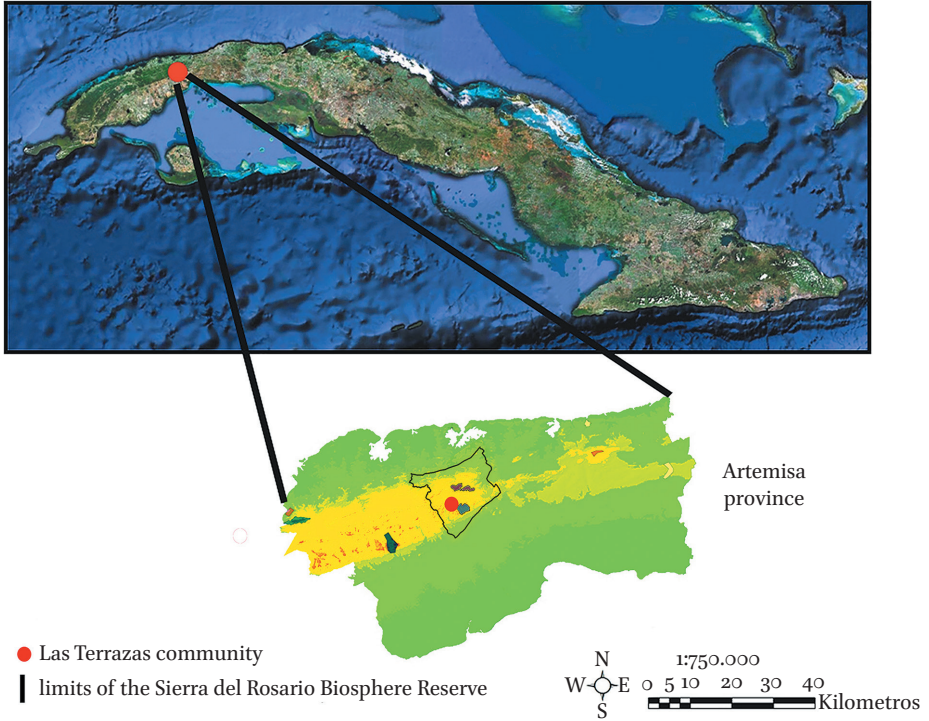


FIGURE 9.1 Location of Las Terrazas town as part of the Sierra del Rosario Biosphere Reserve, Artemisa Province
CREATED BY THE AUTHOR

the first ecomuseum in Cuba. The institution documents how almost four hundred years of human intervention and transformations in the landscape have created an integrated cultural heritage that favors the cohesion and stability of the young community, exploring the natural, historical, and social values that represent the territory's identity. The local inhabitants are protagonists in a dynamic presentation involving the sites that make up the heritage complex, at the same time serving as a form of expression and instrument for participation in the present and future development of the community.

Thanks to this initiative and to the interest of the management of the local tourist complex, in 2011, archaeological investigations began at the old San Pedro coffee plantation, one of the sites belonging to said ecomuseum, under the notion that the industrial landscapes and movable and immovable evidence that need to be understood and assumed as part of the past and present. This implies that historians and archaeologists intervene as “translators” and reveal, through the study of documents and items, the history of the sites and of the men who inhabited them.

2 Industrial Heritage and Its Presence in Cuba

Industrial heritage has very different characteristics from other types of heritage assets. The most significant difference is that its importance does not lie in its uniqueness, but on the contrary, in its impact on a certain place.

The generalized concept of heritage arose in the nineteenth century with the Industrial Revolution, which presupposed a radical change in the way of producing material goods in some societies, moving from agrarian to industrial. The process began in England, with social changes that brought about the use of new techniques, energy sources, and forms of labor organization, which caused an unusual growth in the production of consumer goods. The daily life of different social sectors was drastically modified with the development of capitalism and the new relations of production that the system introduced. Taking these contrasts into account, today we can consider industrial heritage worthy of this category due to its specific values—whether an old plantation or a fifty-year-old factory.

This recognition is evidence of the importance that the material remains of the different phases of global industrial development have today. New labor perspectives were defined, from which new concepts emerged, such as industrial landscape—which, until a few decades ago, was unexpected, since it is not possible to conceive of a building or building complex without the landscape in which it is inserted. Faced with the dilemma of how to treat an industrial cultural landscape, the most widespread solution is to preserve it as a reference for local identity, giving the inhabitants of a certain area the opportunity to integrate their life experience into its story so that it can be identified as their own and recognized as part of their history. One possible direction for this is the implementation of cultural tourism in industrial landscapes. Heritage tourism is a value that is becoming more and more established as a part of the postmodern discourse in the face of the scientific-technical advances achieved by highly developed capitalist societies.

In Cuba, international tourism that has time and money to enjoy the cultural offerings is willing to visit the historical industrial landscapes, aware of the value of this heritage. From the legal point of view, efforts to preserve the country's industrial historical memory have been undertaken since 1977, when the Law for the Protection of Cultural Heritage established the preservation of relevant assets related to archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, education, art, and science, as well as their protection. This law allowed for the creation of the National Council for Cultural Heritage, an institution responsible for putting the legislation regarding the protection and conservation of cultural heritage into practice.

The Law of National and Local Monuments defines the degrees of protection that are afforded based on the exceptional nature of these assets, referring to objects that can be classified as scientific, historical, archaeological, and natural and constructions that can be classified as civil, commemorative, domestic, religious, and industrial. The implementation of these laws marked a step forward in the protection of the nation's cultural heritage, including that identified with various industrial processes. However, there have been many patrimonial assets that, since they are not worthy of declaration as local or national monuments, have a total lack of protection, since the specialized personnel of the museums is unable to resort to the application of legal instruments that sanction actions that negatively affect the conservation of the sites.

The most important Cuban industrial heritage assets are concentrated into two large groups, characterized by the activity carried out and the geographical location:

1. Industries that developed operations, chiefly in urban areas, linked to services, food production, and transport, such as factories for food products and beverages, electricity generation, port services, and transport of passengers and goods, among others.
2. Industries located mostly in rural areas and related to traditional industries: sugar, coffee, tobacco, and cocoa. These have evolved in close connection with the slave regime, and reached a peak during the nineteenth century. There are numerous sites included within this group, among which the coffee plantations and mills stand out (Figure 9.2).

Initiatives to safeguard these sites have come to life through the efforts of provincial heritage entities throughout the country. More recent projects

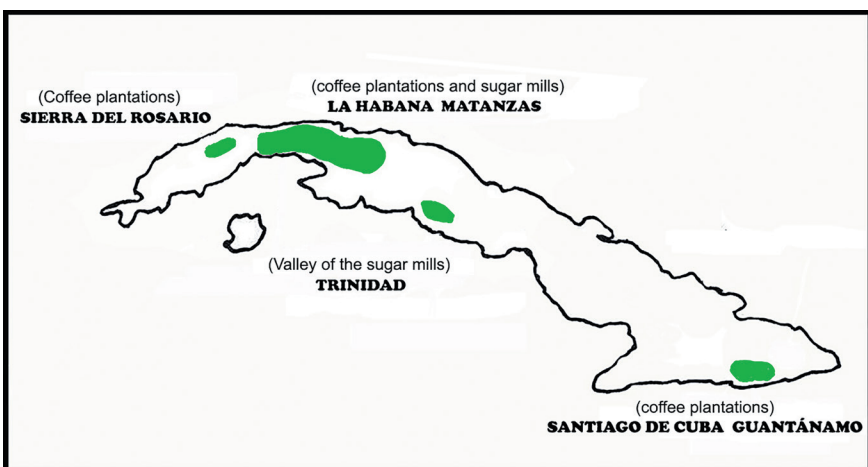


FIGURE 9.2 Map showing the four great Cuban plantation zones
CREATED BY THE AUTHOR

are gaining momentum with the support of organizations, institutions, and authorities, implementing mechanisms and bringing together specialists. Such is the case of the Cuban Committee of the Slave Route, inserted within the UNESCO project The Slave Route, born in 1994. Its work lies in the promotion, research, and preservation of the African legacy and thus the development of the same among Cuban plantations. Likewise, the Cacao Route has been promoted, mainly in the territory of Baracoa, Guantánamo Province, to highlight this industrial activity that was developed for more than two centuries in Cuba.

3 Industrial Archaeology and Its Implementation in Cuba

In recent decades, the concept of archaeology has broken the temporal and spatial barriers that have bound it since its origins in the nineteenth century, opening up new fields of research that had remained overlooked until now. Some issues have been treated from the ethnocentric perspective, such as the lives of enslaves, minorities, and women and the daily life of the popular classes. Meanwhile, the constant change of systems toward increasingly industrial and advanced societies constantly led to the disuse of a large number of buildings and machinery that had witnessed different stages of development. Another issue was that the transfer of industries to underdeveloped countries as a strategy to lower the wages of workers resulted in large industrial and mining areas being abandoned. Consequently, these industrial landscapes became the objects of economic revitalization projects and the rescue of the industrial past, which resulted in the emergence of the concept of “industrial archaeology” in the 1950s, with “industrial heritage” being its direct predecessor.

It was Michael Rix, a professor at the British University of Birmingham, who first referred to industrial archaeology in 1955, defining it as the “registration, preservation and interpretation of the sites and structures of the first industrial activities, particularly the monuments of the industrial revolution” (cited by Vicenti, 2007, p. 2). In his study, he commented that the field should intervene in factories and mills built in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the locomotives and steam engines that made it possible to obtain energy, the first buildings with iron frames, aqueducts, bridges, and the first attempts at railways, locks, canals, and other structures. However, in 1963, Kenneth Hudson recast this discipline as the one in charge of defining, discovering, cataloging, and studying the physical remains of the industrial past and thus knowing significant aspects of its working conditions, technical processes, and production processes (Vicenti, 2007). Based on this definition, the expression became the object of different interpretations due to the ambiguity

of the industrial term, since what would be the temporal limits of the discipline and what would its object of study be?

The definitions have been varied; the English, Spanish, and French schools took different positions, some more traditional than others, focusing mainly on the stages of industrial development. Finally, the research areas incorporated real looms and all small industries from the beginning of modernity to the present—with special emphasis on the capitalist stage. Industrial archaeology received worldwide recognition it was due as an important part of the archaeological discipline since most of the specialists of the “Old World” rejected the idea that there were aspects that dealt with topics such as the colony, the postcolony, or gender studies. With regard to industrial heritage, archaeology has precise tools to analyze, understand, and relate details to their historical context, since “(...) a heritage element without its consequent study becomes a meaningless continent” (Vicenti, 2007, p. 1).

Knowing the different definitions of industrial archaeology leads to reflecting on the variations in its realization. These variations are aimed at successful regional applications, encouraging the identification of several topics of interest:

- The chronology of the concept of industrial archaeology should not be closed with respect to the sites of intervention, since the Industrial Revolution did not arrive in all regions at once.
- Industrial Heritage is very diverse, and it is possible that this factor contributes to its relativity. For those who study industrial archaeology in Spain, a nineteenth-century loom may be significant, while for an Englishman, this same loom is unimportant when compared to the factories that were developed in this same century on English territory.
- Archaeological investigations should not be limited to immovable evidence, ignoring contexts containing movable evidence, or to constructions generated by a specific industrial activity. Often, the interventions focus on the search for walls and other remains of the factories that made up the industries, in many cases ignoring the movable evidence resulting from human activities.

Beyond regionalisms, particularities of the industries, and the development that they have attained, it is worthwhile to reformulate a definition in accordance with the interests of those who dedicate themselves to this specialty: industrial archaeology refers to archaeological research carried out at sites where economic activities linked to specific production cycles have been developed, in which an industrial process that distinguishes and characterizes it has great preponderance.

Based on the above, it can be argued that the development of rural industries in Cuba constituted a typical phenomenon in the American colonial context, characterized by the use of slave labor as its support. The most representative were those industries related to sugar and coffee, and to a lesser extent, those related to tobacco and cocoa. This phenomenon directly corresponds to the emergence and development of industrial archaeology in the Cuban archipelago, since most of the archaeologically intervened sites relate to the rise of these two industries in the nineteenth century, which has an inevitable relationship with the construction quality of the buildings and their survival to this day. In Cuba, historical archaeology began when the researcher Fernando Boytel Bambú (1961) intervened archaeologically in the old La Isabelica coffee plantation (La Gran Piedra, Santiago de Cuba province), with the purpose of knowing its particularities and proceeding with its restoration.

Throughout the years and with the experience acquired, the knowledge of Cuban archaeologists in dealing with fieldwork in rural industrial contexts has been revolutionized. In the case of sugar mills, the main results are related to the identification of material evidence related to the daily life of African enslaves and plantations, variations in the design of the estates and production mechanisms, and identification of the degree of mechanization with which cane sugar was produced. In coffee plantations, typologies have been identified depending on the organization of its component parts, settlement systems and innovative designs related to their proximity to water supply sources, the preponderance of coffee processing methods -wet or dry, correlatable with the different regions of the country-, and artifacts linked to daily and productive activities. In both cases, various types of slave housing have been studied and identified (Roura, 2012), an element that directly affected the spatial distribution of the properties that made up the plantations and the number of slaves present in the endowments. Likewise, there are many interventions in slave cemeteries where remains have revealed bone pathologies resulting from continuous effort and nutritional deficiencies, as well as dental mutilations for ritual and aesthetic purposes.

The accumulation of information has promoted various initiatives related to industrial landscapes, such as the declaration of the Sierra del Rosario Biosphere Reserve (Artemisa Province) and the Archaeological Landscape of the First Coffee Plantations in Southeast Cuba as UNESCO World Heritage Sites; the execution of the Los Caminos del Café project (Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo Provinces); the implementation of the Valle de los Ingenios Industrial Site Management Project (Trinidad, Sancti Spíritus Province); and the reconceptualization of the spaces belonging to a nineteenth-century coffee

plantation within the Río Canímar Cultural Landscape Project (Matanzas Province). In all cases, the information generated from archaeological investigations has formed the basis for these projects and declarations, in which the mandatory presence of archaeologists as part of the decision-making and executing teams is noted.

4 Ecomuseum Las Terrazas: Manager of Industrial Archaeological Heritage

First of all, it is necessary to point out that the ecomuseum is an entity that must be born and cultivated based on the desires and needs of the community; for this, however, adequate strategies related to cultural tourism, one of the main consolidated industries worldwide, must be put into practice. This includes acknowledging heritage beyond its traditional limits of historical and artistic monuments and museums, extending to and encompassing lesser-known phenomena such as intangible heritage.

The materialization of ecomuseums largely depends on achieving a successful interweaving of identity, heritage, and historical-cultural region. These relationships are extremely complex and heterogeneous, as they are marked by anthropological, historical, geographical, psychological, linguistic, and sociological components. They become evident in society, which is where the forms of culture and their respective identity manifestations take shape. Therefore, the relationships established between the ecomuseum and the community that houses it are intrinsic and inseparable through the identity values that it treasures and promotes. The ecomuseum or territorial community museum is made up of three closely related elements that form a basic triad, from which its entire conception derives: the territory, the natural and cultural heritage, and the community.

The European Network of Ecomuseums, an initiative that tries to build an organization of European ecomuseums, defines them as "(...) a dynamic process with which communities preserve, interpret and value their heritage for sustainable development" (Fernández, 2011, p. 1). According to René Rivard's comparative model, the main differences between traditional museums and ecomuseums are:

Building + Collections + Experts + Public = Conventional Museum
 Territory + Heritage + Memory + Population = Ecomuseum (Méndez, 2011, p. 1)

In other words, the museum becomes an ecomuseum; the collection becomes a heritage site; the building is replaced by the territory; and the concept of the visitor is eradicated, since community members are the fundamental actors of the institution. The ecomuseum becomes the means for the population to identify and preserve their heritage. Ecomuseums are made up of three main components: the museum itself, which is nothing more than an information and/or interpretation center; the territory, not only the physical surface, but also the environmental, cultural, and social elements that define a specific local heritage; and finally, the community and local institutions, which are those that are committed to guiding and developing the future of the territory. The establishment of an ecomuseum linked to industrial archaeological heritage is exemplified, in the case of Cuba, with the Ecomuseum Las Terrazas, which includes the community of the same name, located in the Sierra del Rosario, Artemisa Province. The establishment of an ecomuseum in this town responded to several natural, economic, and historical factors, conditioning factors that also allowed the emergence of the community, regional tourism development, and the implementation of archaeological research.

The oldest documentary references to the territory date from the period between 1559 and 1721, when the lands corresponding to its interior mountains and surrounding plains were granted. The Sierra del Rosario had experienced economic development for more than three centuries; this was based on the extensive breeding of cattle and pigs, concentrated in farms called *corrales*. Gradually, this economy declined, and the coffee plantation sustained the owners, resulting in the demolition of cattle ranches, selling the land in smaller units, and revaluing their prices.

The revolution in Saint-Domingue brought about a migratory movement of coffee growers to Cuba, leading to the establishment of more than one hundred farms in the Sierra del Rosario area. The first coffee grower, the Frenchman Jean Delaunay, arrived in the mountains in 1793; from then on, this industry began to flourish, resulting in a direct negative impact on the natural context of the region. Among the first activities was the clearing of the original forest, which, in the long term, led to the impoverishment of the soil. In addition, in the areas that would be used for coffee plantations, work was carried out toward planting subsistence crops and building pens for raising domestic animals, all based on the notion of economic sustainability from one's own resources.

As can be deduced, the entire mountainous surface was anthropized and practically devastated. The coffee development had a direct and negative impact on the vegetation and soil, destroying the natural botanical heritage of the region. Therefore, toward the first half of the nineteenth century, the natural

context of the Sierra del Rosario was in a deplorable state. Toward the second half of the same century, there was a decrease in the level of soil exploitation, because once coffee growing ceased in the area, its lamentable state remained unchanged until the second half of the twentieth century, probably worsened by the persistence of forest clearing in order to achieve a subsistence economy by the inhabitants of the surrounding areas. They took advantage of natural resources to make charcoal ovens and try to sell the resulting product later.

The year 1968 marked the beginning of rescue efforts for the Cuban forests. The Sierra del Rosario Socioeconomic Development Plan began to be implemented, as part of the Comprehensive Development Plans, which aimed to positively intervene in affected and impoverished areas through human action; this plan is still being carried out today by the Forestry Exploitation Company. The Cuban Academy of Sciences was then summoned to carry out research, in which various institutes and departments participated.

The fundamental objective of this plan was to reforest 5,000 hectares of forest through a system of terraces with constant platforms, which would provide a strip of land for forest plantations, stopping the erosion of the mountains and achieving the restoration of the lost vegetation layer. In 1971, the Las Terrazas community was inaugurated (Figure 9.3), in which 273 family nuclei were concentrated, for a population of 1,300 inhabitants (Marcia Leyseca, personal communication, 2017). It is perfectly integrated into the natural environment,

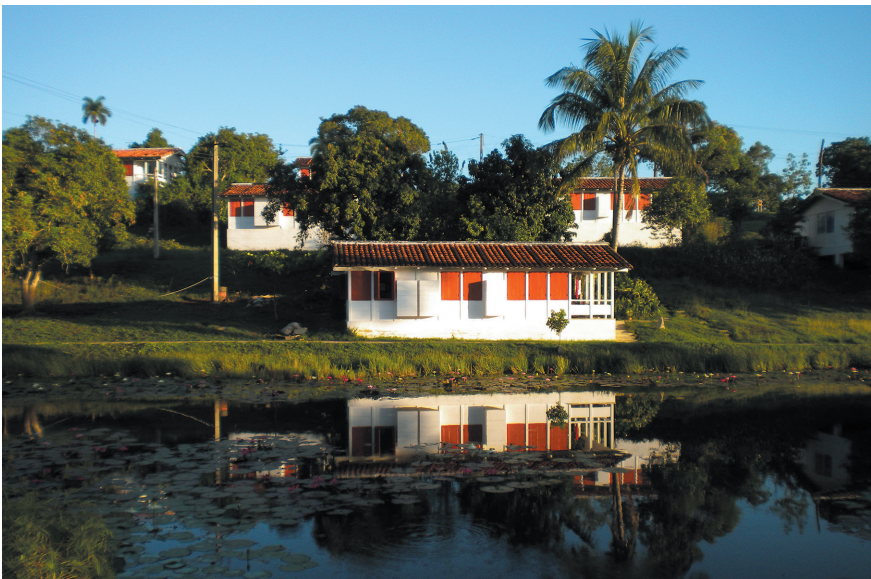


FIGURE 9.3 Some houses in the Las Terrazas community
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2016

has architectural characteristics that make it *sui generis* in the archipelago, and was conceived in line with the rural experience of sustainable development. The residents are coffee producers with an ecological pulper for the beans, raise livestock, and are experts in beekeeping and forestry.

In 1985, 25,000 hectares belonging to the Sierra del Rosario were declared as a biosphere reserve by UNESCO—the only one in Cuba that includes both man and human activities in its scope. Eight communities can be identified within the reserve, with approximately 5,000 inhabitants, distributed across small towns located in the middle of the mountains and directly linked to sustainable economic activities and environmental protection (Morena, 2003, p. 1). Human settlements interact with the natural environment through socioeconomic plans that allow for the sustainable use of natural resources.

In 1991, a tourism project for Las Terrazas began, which, taking its natural, ecological, historical, and social resources as a starting point, laid the foundations for achieving a harmonious tourism-community-environment relationship. One of the first actions was to reinvest part of the economic benefits generated by tourism into conserving natural resources and meeting the fundamental needs of the community's inhabitants. Under the direction of the Las Terrazas Tourist Complex, research, teaching, and recreation are carried out, including nature tourism activities. Undoubtedly, one of the most important achievements has been the conversion of vestiges of nineteenth-century coffee plantations into a tourist industrial landscape, contributing to the conservation of the region's cultural heritage and balancing the relationship between man and nature; some of these old coffee plantations are part of the trails offered to international tourists.

Starting from the fact that the community is the social site of the ecomuseum, and that 15% of its inhabitants are descendants of slaves and landowners who bear the surnames of the owners of the coffee plantations in this region, the participation of community members is recognized. The first actions were aimed at the peasants of the Sierra who voluntarily joined the community. For this reason, the tour guides, the artisans who still produce traditional products, the chefs in the tourist centers who preserve and reproduce nineteenth-century recipes, and the coffee growers and farmers in general are all community members who were born within the limits of the old coffee plantations, and they have preserved the customs and ways of yesteryear. All this has been possible thanks to an effective cooperation led by the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum and chaired by its Reference Center. Its actions are concentrated in spaces where man and nature have left their mark for more than four hundred years, where the population strives to recognize itself and build its own future.

5 Old Coffee Plantation San Pedro

The integration of six old coffee-growing complexes into the list of sites that make up the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum has allowed for the development of research projects of various kinds, among which are those related to archaeology. As an example of the management of Cuban archaeological heritage sites, these are inserted into the old San Pedro coffee plantation. This old hacienda was one of the largest producers in the Sierra del Rosario plantation context in the nineteenth century. Its imposing structures can still be observed today, and innovative solutions promoted its adaptation to the natural environment. For this reason, since 2011 and as part of the actions undertaken by the Cabinet of Archaeology of the Office of the Historian of Havana, in collaboration with the Ecomuseum Las Terrazas, the Archaeological Intervention Project in the Cafetal San Pedro has been developed (Figure 9.4). This arose from the clear need to investigate the history and specificities of the industry that flourished in said region between the years 1790 and 1850. The characteristics present in this coffee plantation make it *sui generis* in the country, due to the design of

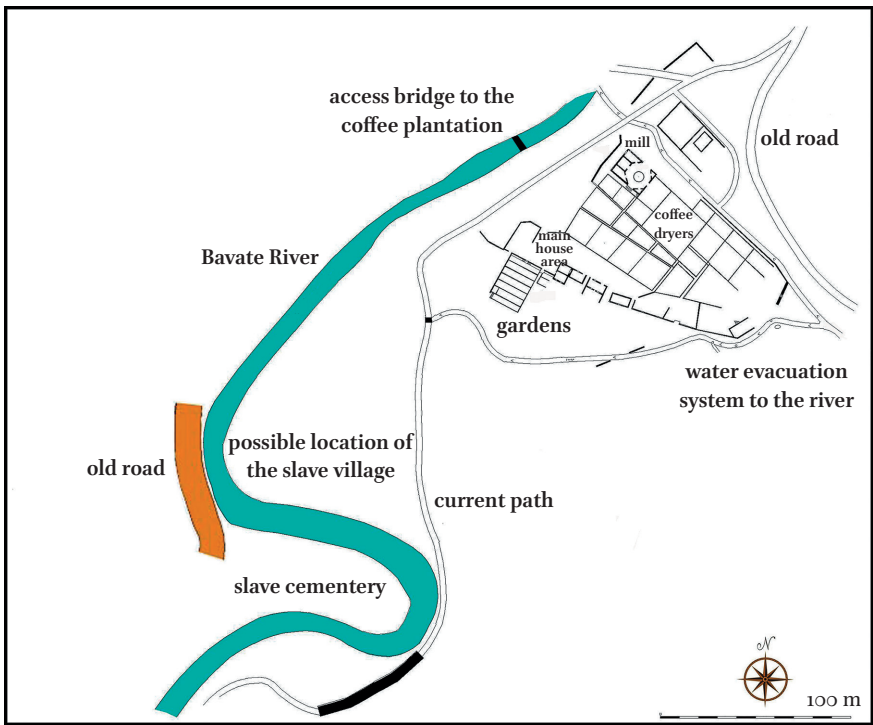


FIGURE 9.4 Plan of the San Pedro coffee plantation, where the spatial distribution of its components can be observed

its hydraulic systems, the form and dimensions of its Tahona (coffee mill), and its adaptation to the topography and terracing of the coffee plantation areas.

The documentation found in the National Archive of Cuba and other regional archives makes it possible to confirm that this plantation was promoted in the first years of the nineteenth century in part of the lands belonging to the El Cuzco corral. One of the most active coffee plantations in the Sierra del Rosario, it kept producing for approximately fifty years, considering that in 1804, it was already reported to be under the ownership of the North American Pedro Leret, its builder and sole owner (Roura & Oliva, 2015).

The site is 7,000 m away from the Las Terrazas community; it was located in a small valley between two elevations, one of its most significant assets; its former owner designed it in a wedge-shaped, staggered manner, allowing the waters generated by runoff from the mountains to pour directly into the river. Currently, the following structures can be observed in the old hacienda: drying rooms, bakery, retaining walls, master and secondary channels, some walls corresponding to the domestic area, ramps, stairs, paths, gardens, and probable warehouse areas, among others that are not identified. The location of the coffee plantations in mountainous areas, in most cases, makes it possible to identify the intramontane valleys, the slopes and the tops of the mountains, as the areas where the landowners founded their farms, not only in eastern Cuba, but also throughout the national territory; those located in the plains should be the object of further investigation. The *batey*¹ of the San Pedro coffee plantation can be classified as a group configuration, and within this, there is a variant in which no central axis is perceived and spatial organization is determined by the proximity of the architectural components, the drying rooms being the most significant elements of the composition, occupying most of the surface of the *batey*.

The factors that motivated the start of archaeological research were diverse:

- Presence of a complex hydraulic drainage system, within which various open and underground solutions can be recognized.
- Location and type of the unknown dwelling house.
- Location and typology of the unknown slave dwelling.
- Unknown access road to the plantation.
- Establishment of the unknown cemetery.
- Little historical information regarding the endowment of slaves.
- Innovative architectural solution in the construction of the bakery, the only one of its kind on the island.
- Presence of wall elements that suggest the terraces of the plantation area.

1 *Batey*: term of Indigenous origin that designates the group of houses or buildings that constitute the center of a town or plantation.

The archaeological campaigns carried out have made it possible to compare the documentary sources with the material record and to point out that this coffee plantation became one of the most prosperous in the area. In the *batey* of the hacienda, two construction stages have been defined, which indicate transformations in the structures and the economic solvency of the owner. One of the most significant results of this exploration work was the identification of the terracing of the coffee-growing area, with walls that serve as containment for the terraces, which are kept in perfect condition. This ingenious solution prevented landslides in a predominantly mountainous area, allowing them to keep producing in optimal conditions for a long period of time; this would explain why this property sustained its high yield for almost fifty years. This finding constitutes the first report of artificial terracing in the planted areas for Cuban coffee plantations.

It was also verified that the entire area of the *batey* was filled with rocks, with the aim of leveling the land to achieve higher quality in the construction work. The location of the dwelling house, the kitchen, and the coffee selection area and the use of stone slabs for floors in all areas of the coffee plantation were verified. The footprints on the access bridge to the plantation and two decorative forms of *tejamaní*,² or beaver tail, were also found: evidence of the creativity of local potters and of homeowners' concern for the appearance and functionality of their homes.

The study of the skeletal remains and associated materials in the cemetery allowed researchers to corroborate the burial of a landowner: a very rare fact, taking into account that "whites" were preferably buried in general cemeteries located in the villages. Everything seems to indicate that not all coffee plantations in the region had a cemetery, a hypothesis generated from an analysis of the previous document; therefore, the discovery and study of this space was of vital importance to the recovery of elements fundamentally linked to the particularities of the slave supply.

Two graves and two burials were identified, each in different directions. The use of mortuary boxes is not evidenced, and the position of the tombs did not indicate that there was any arrangement of the burials within the cemetery. The discovery and exploration of the surrounding areas allowed the corroboration and enrichment of the data obtained in the historical research. The hypothesis that slave cemeteries were located far from the productive areas and main dwellings, on the bank opposite the rivers, was confirmed. The study

2 *Tejamaní* or beaver's tail: a type of flat tile made of clay, small and with one end at a right or curved angle.

and location of the structures (road, cemetery, bridge, and *batey*) allow us to locate the area where the slave farm was probably located.

In the case of San Pedro—as this constitutes one of the sites that make up the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum—the results of such investigations are implemented almost immediately, through the organization of workshops focused on updating the knowledge of the guides and workers of the tourist complex. The institution encourages visits to the site, publishes work reviews in local periodicals, and reports directly to community members. Likewise, it promotes the composition of graduate or postgraduate theses related to the archaeological project, and renews the artifactual samples present in the Reference Center. Currently, a 3D reconstruction of the site started, and signage that will be part of the old coffee plantation is being designed, contributing to the site's process of patrimonialization.

The interplay between Ecomuseo Las Terrazas and industrial archaeological sites is indissoluble, as museum, community, and sites are integrated into a whole, focused on the sustainable management of their cultural heritage and contributing to its conservation and enhancement. A nexus between nature and archaeology is perceived, consolidating itself as a center where the visitor can explore the history of the population and its customs, in the same way that they can visit all its natural and industrial landscapes. The discourse has focused on the territory and cultural sedimentation in analyzing the transformations produced by the different human groups that inhabited it: it constitutes an example of the nexus between natural and cultural heritage.

6 Conclusions

The archaeological excavations at the San Pedro coffee plantation have allowed the work of the ecomuseum to be socialized, in addition to revaluing the site as one of the most important deposits within the Cuban plantation context of the nineteenth century (in the Sierra del Rosario in particular), with novel construction solutions that allowed for maximum productivity for approximately fifty years. The archaeological project, carried out thanks to the collaboration of the institution to which it belongs, has led to the rebirth of the specialty in the town after a several-year absence of research related to the regional industrial landscape.

The success of the work of the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum is thus reaffirmed, demonstrating the effectiveness of the patrimonialization and implementation of ecomuseums related to industrial archaeological heritage sites. This experience has allowed the community members to live in an environment of

great value and to be aware of it; to participate in work carried out at the sites belonging to the ecomuseum; and to know the spiritual and material benefits generated thanks to their actions, since the implementation of nature tourism, and to a lesser extent scientific tourism, generate well-being through a sustainable economy. Thus, although much remains to be done, the results confirmed so far are laudable, since the Las Terrazas Ecomuseum is an example of human will, good practices, and the establishment of a successful heritage-building process. It can be concluded that, thanks to the efforts of authorities, specialists, and community members, at least part of the industrial heritage of the Sierra del Rosario is safe and available to all.

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“These Fields and Hills are Now Our Very Own”: Locating Self within Excavated Material Culture

Kevin Farmer

1 Introduction

The island of Barbados, noted for being the first island in the region to undergo a sugar revolution, entered the twenty-first century reimagining its economic fortunes, now following a global pandemic. The responses to the pandemic have in some ways refocused attention on history, heritage, and development, allowing for their intersection at a critical moment. Nevertheless, similar moments had arisen before; will now be the time that heritage is fully embraced as a pillar of development? The past may be a prologue.

Following independence, in the 1960s through the 1980s, emerging Anglophone Caribbean nation-states turned their attention (in some cases reluctantly) to the creation of a national identity that went beyond designing a flag, singing a national anthem, and reciting a national pledge. The role of identity creation became the core mandate of cultural institutions, which in many instances were museums and heritage institutions. I will examine the ways in which the nation-state utilizes its material culture (or not). Though I am concerned with addressing the situation in Barbados, some references will include other islands in the English-speaking Caribbean. Interrogating the use of material culture will entail examining its legal position before delving into issues of cultural resource management and interpretation. At that juncture of interpretation, the contested identities between state-sanctioned and marginalized groupings can be explored, thus allowing for a better understanding of the issues surrounding identity creation. The thread of thoughts expressed in this article has preoccupied my research into Caribbean museology for some time and is a modified and updated version of a paper presented in Basil Reid, *Caribbean Heritage* 2012. Central to this is the evolving methodology used to reconstruct, deconstruct and expand on what is Caribbean Museology in the age of decoloniality.

2 Archaeological Resources

Historical archaeology on the island is relatively new and the excavated sites are few. What has been researched is primarily located in the rural context and has only been examined as it relates to burial practices (Handler & Lange, 1978); the potential locations of enslaved villages (Handler, 1989; Handler & Lange, 1978); and the development of sugar estates and the creolization of pottery manufacture (Farmer, 2016; Lofffield, 2001; Scheid, 2005). The development of historic settlement on the island has been examined both in the rural (Armstrong, 2011; Reilly, 2014, 2019; Schied, 2005; Stoner, 2000) and urban contexts (Finneran, 2019; Farmer and Smith, 2005; Smith and Farmer, 2004).

Meanwhile, the field of prehistoric archaeology has been professionally studied since the 1960s (Bullen & Bullen, 1968). Its main concerns have been settlement (Bullen, 1966; Drewett, 1991), delimiting sites and periods of occupation (Drewett, 1991; Fitzpatrick, 2019), and ceramic typology (Harris, 2019). It further has a greater number of excavated sites on the island, with some 70 prehistoric sites excavated compared to 10 historic archaeological sites (De Waal et al., 2019). The use of artifacts in formal education is minimal; in the informal sector, they are used by museums.

3 The Independence Movement in Context

Following the independence thrust of the post-World War II period in the British Caribbean, initial gradualism gave way to full-scale independence for a select few in the 1960s. At the outset, these pioneering independence movements sought to grapple with the type of societies they wished to form, and engaged in concrete social engineering through free education, housing programs, and apprenticeship schemes to transform their agrarian societies into modern service-oriented and industrial societies. Few of these movements invoked history or heritage as a tool by which to engender national identity, beyond the newly invested symbols of state wrapped in the package of anthem, flag, and coat of arms. Nor was the new nation-state engaged in an inclusive creation of national identity. Identity creation rested on the core foundation of repudiating all that was European, but gradually. Such gradation was a form of nationalist veneer, embracing cultural forms that had been sanitized for mass consumption. The revitalization of harvest festivals or carnivals with an eye to increasing the tourist trade did not concern itself with preserving local culture. Commodification of culture was to be a revenue earner. This economic impetus was not interested in radical change but gradualism: clearly a sign

that colonialism had embedded a cautious strain when it came to matters of sociopolitical adventurism. Those states that opted out of the normative social liberal democracy were ostracized or underwent invasion, like Guyana under Jagan. At the outside, culture was not a pillar of national identity regionally, though there were some exceptions.

The creation of the Peoples' Museum of Craft and Technology (originally called the Folk Museum of Jamaica) in 1961, located in the old capital of Spanish Town, was that exception. At the forefront of a revolution taking place in Jamaican popular culture at the time, the museum was seen as an anti-elitist symbol. Elevating the folk within the space of a museum was an attempt, I believe, to illustrate the worthiness of the marginalized. One may argue as to its effectiveness.

The Folk Museum mandate and purpose were to celebrate the creativity and industry of the now "emancipated" people as they fashioned a new life for themselves in towns and rural villages across Jamaica. The exhibition offered visitors a truly nostalgic trip down memory lane, back to "ole time Jamaica" to reminisce and enjoy. In reading its mandate, one notes its strident call "to truly appreciate our fore parents' triumph over enormous odds to secure our future in modern Jamaica." Such naked nationalism was the mantra of museums created during the post independence phase. The narrative was as important as the space in which it was told.

However, it is instructive that the museum is located in a space comprised of many former colonial buildings. The reimagining of colonial spaces to tell the story of post independence peoples is problematic, but also emblematic of the development ethos that neglected culture as a pillar of development. In retrospect, the museum was a clarion call for the dispossessed and disenfranchised in the region, its siting a clear attempt to reclaim a contested identity from a liminal space. The movement to redress legitimate and perceived marginalization through the narrative told in museums had begun.

At a national level, these museums sought to distill a national identity that was accessible to all, and increasingly so to the visitor as economic development shifted to tourism. In some places, this was now joined by a state that acknowledged that the past must be engaged in order for a new type of nationalism to thrive. Social partnerships developed whereby the professional curator, the antiquarian, both amateur and professional historians, and others interested in heritage came together to forge or formulate policy for the operation of museums in the region. The museum was therefore evolving from an elitist institution to one that, in addressing populist concerns about representing the "common man," was now the preserve of an emergent middle-class elite. However, it was the role of the state to control the message and the messenger. The

result was that it unintentionally energized a contested new state, apart from the one it was seeking to change.

4 Identity in the Post Independence Landscape

The post independence Caribbean was determined, both ideologically and physically, to discard and distance itself from the colonial past, in some cases going to extremes in dismantling the vestiges of empire: for example, through the neglect (and ultimate destruction) of colonial-style buildings. A major catalyst for this ideological shift lay within the developing historiography of the region, disseminated by a new cadre of professionally trained historians returning from the metropole to teach at the newly developed and growing University College of the West Indies (now the University of the West Indies). These Caribbean historians thus had a platform from which they could confront the historiography of the region.

These new indigenous historians from Goveia to Marshall, Beckles, Shepherd and the new cadre sought to interpret the history of the region from a postcolonial, gendered perspective and not that of empire. Their research continues to inform and frame the paradigm around reparatory justice and deconstruction of imperial histories. It informs what and how museums present and interpret such histories for its societies.

This emergent nationalism has also seen the co-option of colonial institutions in the development of the newly independent nation-state, at the same time that new institutions were being created to meet the challenges of development. That which was British became West Indian and eventually Caribbean, with some modifications. Alissandra Cummins (1994) notes that colonization was a process of “de-culturalization,” and such a process was reflected in the development of museums in the region. Born out of the Victorian desire to explain the world through science and to exhibit its progress, museums in the Caribbean became showcases of technological progress juxtaposed against all that was primitive. This dichotomy meant that what was presented invariably indicated that all that was European was superior and all that was not (i.e., Amerindian, African, and Asian) was inferior. Created by the colonial elite, these often privately funded institutions were governed by a discriminatory mindset that persisted into the postcolonial era.

Existing museums in the region were co-opted by postcolonial governments to become agents of identity creation. This saw existing institutions, such as the Barbados Museum and Historical Society (BMHS), change focus through government intervention to facilitate the creation of a new national identity.

Politically, nationalism manifested itself symbolically in the election of majority non-white governments. At the national level, this meant that the formerly disenfranchised black populace eventually became masters of their fate. However, the result of this has been that, in the nationalist experiment of the Caribbean, the creation of the region's image as primarily comprising descendants of Africa has led to the marginalization of certain other ethnic groups.

This has led to new forms of contestation. Sometimes this marginalization evolved into factionalized political parties, as witnessed in Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana following independence. Independence therefore witnessed the creation of a pro-black nation-state whose institutions and organs were organized to facilitate such a shift in the politics of government business. The response to this has been the intensification of ethnically oriented cultural activity, not least the creation, in 2006, of the Indian Caribbean Museum in Trinidad and Tobago.

In some cases, these new museums are not born out of resisting a particular narrative, but of re-informing the present about the past. Such an approach has been undertaken by the new Jewish arrivals in Barbados toward the Sephardic Jewish presence on the island, which predated them by some 30 years, having existed on the island since the mid-seventeenth century. Here were new migrants, identifying with the earlier presence of Jewish people and taking care to preserve and interpret that past, firstly through renovation of a historic synagogue, and eventually by creating a Jewish Museum on the island. The synagogue and museum are called Nidhe Israel Synagogue and Museum, respectively. This reconstruction of a Jewish past in the region is not confined to Barbados, as there are similar efforts in various phases of development ongoing in Nevis, Tobago and Curacao, whether the upkeep of a cemetery or synagogue. For in the twenty-first century, regional heritage resides within museums, at sites, within historic buildings, and in memory. It is both tangible and intangible and requires continual research to bring it into the light. Landscape and seascape form part of the material construct of the region and must be interpreted as such if one is to reconstruct and interpret that past.

Caribbean nationalism, as it was constructed in the post independence era, sought to combat the issue of the colonial self as inferior, replacing it with a notion of self as superior and therefore capable of running one's own country. However, there was also a need to face the reality of how to combat the five hundred years of colonization practiced and legitimized by the judicial, political, and social machinery of the day. The Caribbean, then and now, can be framed within Lamming's concept of "Caliban bettering Prospero" in his *The Pleasure of Exile* (1960). This thesis posits that an emergent Caribbean consciousness, when awakened and rooted in a strong sense of self, is able to

overthrow the weight of the colonial stereotype of ineptitude. The emergent Caribbean nation is still grappling with this concept of self-actualization and development of identity, and has turned to its museums as agents of change. The question is, can they fulfill this role of redefining the national psyche?

The development of Caribbean museums has gone through several phases nuanced by temporal and spatial factors, and as such, the region's museums cannot simply be labeled as pre- or postcolonial institutions. One such phase of museum development witnessed the colonial museum, formed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, evolving into a postcolonial institution. This museum has been able to redress its imbalances internally without resorting to name changes or being shuttered, and has readjusted to reflect the new society in which it now functions: the emerging independent nation-state. Concomitant with this is the development of site- or theme-specific museums, situated at restored plantation houses or historic, industrial, or military sites that focus on attracting the tourist, such as Sunbury Plantation in Barbados; Nelson's Dockyard, Antigua; and the Chaguaramus Military History and Aerospace Museum in Trinidad and Tobago. Added to these social historic museums are natural history exhibits such as the Soufriere interpretive center in Saint Lucia and the Montserrat Volcano Observatory (MVO) that explore aspects of the physical landscape and its creation, which are and have become part of the identity of the people. So much so that the national flag of independent Saint Lucia utilizes one of the Pitons, a volcanic plug, as a national symbol. Museums in the region have become more selective in what they interpret and exhibit.

The museum in its use of artefacts to tell the narrative of the National State, its people and context has within the artefact the threads of many stories. Its curation revolves around the selection of which narrative to amplify in the telling of the nation's story. In the past that narrative has resulted in a monolithic tale that erases many voices. That erasure is being resisted in the formation of thematic museums.

Thematic museum created by energized individuals or groups in the community, are motivated by creating a space in which their voices can be heard. They add the missing narratives in the national storytelling, asserting a place at the table of what constitutes the history of place. Such interventions are not without its detractors but it highlights the nuances and messiness of history. The many sided view of how the story and object can be seen differently and use in various ways by people.

Thematic museums also fall within the ambit of "subaltern" museum spaces, constructed by persons or groups that see themselves as marginalized in society and seek to redress this imbalance through museum creation. Personal or community collections have found fertile ground, inspiring the emergence of

“culture houses” in Belize, “negga houses” in Antigua and Barbuda, and Amerindian museums in Dominica, Guyana, Belize, and Trinidad. Meanwhile, a new type of thematic museum is concerned with locating the intangible, such as the Junkanoo Museum in the Bahamas; this museum seeks to house objects that traditionally have been destroyed as part of their cycle of creation. The museum upholds this cultural practice, and as such is engaged in safeguarding the intangible through destroying the tangible. This juxtaposition runs counter to what a museum is, but in fact it chronicles an aspect of Caribbean culture that has yet to be fully explored: the inherent destruction of the created object as a form of cultural expression. Perhaps this foreshadows a new movement in Caribbean museology.

These institutions were confronted with similar issues of interpretation, relevance to the communities they served, and the “democracy” inherent in the creation of exhibits. Canizzo (1987) states that museums are “negotiated realities” that reflect the fears and aspirations of those who create them. As elsewhere, museums in the Caribbean rely on their collections to frame the interpretation of history that the viewer will experience. Much of their new direction, however, is designed to lessen reliance on the tangible (where the preserved heritage tends to be largely colonial in origin and focus), and to balance this with intangible memories and historical experiences based on family or community knowledge.

As such, the formulation of Caribbean museums as repositories and showcases of the region’s economic and cultural diversity reflects the Enlightenment worldview advanced by the founders of colonial museums and expanded upon by the founders of the postcolonial museum.

But all is not lost. The legacy of Garvey’s pan-African movement is reflected in national governments’ joint creation of the Order of National Heroes in the last 60 years in the region. From Jamaica in 1969 to Barbados in 1998, various regional governments have turned to this method to frame the National Story. This in turn has resulted in the establishment of monuments or galleries of “national heroes”; for example, Barbados’s Museum of Parliament and National Heroes Gallery. Essentially, they are designed to commemorate the lives of persons chosen to be “heroes” for the national audience. Similarly, the Institute of Jamaica recently created a museum in honor of Marcus Garvey at Liberty Hall for his centenary anniversary. The privately owned Bob Marley Museum in Jamaica, while responding to a more opportunistic imperative, also broadens its visitor base through memory and popular culture in the region.

Material Culture is the foundation of the museum interpretation of the past for the present society. Knowledge creation resides in those who have been trained to understand its function. In this region, such creation has been the

purview of the external researcher. It is time that such research is taken up by persons' resident in the region but that also involves the society from which such artifacts are located. In some instances, local memory can inform on how an object was used and its importance to the community. Those voices require access and equity. Such equity must be the model for the New Caribbean Museum.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Caribbean museums are not yet fully democratic, and it is their willingness to combat this lack of democracy and limited funding that will determine how these museums formulate and develop content, programs, and policies. They must grapple with being spaces for the intangible, being truthful to the communities they serve, and avoid narrow political posturing in their desire to create identity. Museums in the region need to become more reflexive if they are to be dynamic and relevant in the twenty-first century.

This is particularly important in the face of developing globalization and a nascent neocolonial mentality. The museum must be more than the sum of its collections. Regional museums must construct a hybrid between the traditional "tangible" orientation of the European model and the intangible modalities of Indigenous, African and Asian museums. They must embrace the oral tradition of storytelling and "ole talk" and maximize the masquerade festivals and their potential to engage peripheral communities. In this, the Bahamian Carnival museum is an exemplar of a new path. More importantly, regional museums must engage the community in co-curation to ensure societal ownership and engender that trust that is required to be the space in which all narratives are welcomed.

They must become centers of discourse, willing and able to voice the concerns, fears, and aspirations of the multiple voices of the people they represent, without bias or favor. They must reflect the development of the societies they represent and prepare themselves to question—and in some cases help resolve—societal problems through their programs and heritage interpretation. Both the tangible and intangible components of a society must find equal space within the museum as it strives to give voice to varying constituents in the new century. The museum must not see itself as the singular authority in the construction of national identity but must instead allow itself to be a conduit through which the often manifold voices of society are heard. The curator is not a gatekeeper but a custodian by popular decree, not a master, but a servant. Society should be encouraged to shape its national identity within

the “negotiated reality” of the national museum and in association with its “subaltern” counterparts, even though issues of contestation might arise. For in a space of contestation, elements of the authentic may be found. This must be grounded in the need to utilize the excavated object as part of the narrative. Its story is the story of the present, past and future.

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Collaboration Ecosystems in Heritage: Case studies from Aruba and Sint Eustatius

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1 Introduction

The Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands are a diverse set of islands with different languages, cultures, and relationships to each other and to the European Netherlands. These differences are correlated with each island's historical and geographical contexts, migration stories, status in the kingdom, and demographics. The islands—Curaçao (C), Aruba (A), Saba (S), Bonaire (B), Sint Eustatius (E or S), and Sint Maarten (S)—are often referred to as the “Dutch Caribbean,” the “CAS” and “BES” islands (according to the political status of the islands in relation to the Netherlands) or, as preferred by many islanders, according to their geography and languages: the “ABC” and “sss” islands (ABCSSS islands). In these islands, there are diverse, sometimes conflicting, and changing perspectives on heritage and the role of heritage in the islands' national identities, communities, and tourism brands (Sankatsing Nava, et al., 2023).

According to Phulgence (2008), the public, government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), developers, and archaeologists all carry responsibility with regard to Caribbean heritage research, engagement, and management. This also applies to archaeological heritage in the ABCSSS islands, where the lack of enforced heritage legislation means that government-mandated institutions do not carry the sole responsibility or authority to ensure the safety, respectful treatment, or protection of archaeological sites on the islands. The history of archaeological research and heritage legislation as well as the challenges related to the lack of enforced legislation in the region have been described in detail (Haviser and Gilmore, 2011; Dijkhof and Linville, 2015; Hofman and Haviser, 2015). The lack of enforced legislation means that community engagement, local guidelines, and professional codes are of utmost importance. This is being addressed from both a local perspective as well as a broader Caribbean perspective in multiple ways. For example, the International Association of Caribbean Archaeologists has developed and ratified a new code of conduct

with the cooperation of its membership, which has traditionally included the majority of archaeologists working in the Caribbean. This code of conduct advocates for a community-based approach to archaeological practice.

In this chapter, we explore Phulgence's idea of shared responsibility for heritage through the lens of collaboration ecosystems in the ABCSSS islands. In considering case studies of collaboration in Aruba and Sint Eustatius, we take an integrated, community-based approach to heritage collaborations that entails shared responsibility and is both fluid and involves a heterogenous group, including community members and non-academics (Poulios, 2014). In doing this, we embrace the notion that "collaborative methods involving heritage professionals and communities in a network of on-going relationships with heritage places are arguably the most productive means to accommodate the inherently fluid processes of valuing the historic environment" (Jones, 2017). What challenges and benefits does this shared responsibility bring to heritage ecosystems in the ABCSSS islands? To explore this question, we use examples from Aruba and Sint Eustatius: two case studies on collaborations between researchers, governments, communities, and the private sector in the management of archaeological sites in Aruba, and two case studies on the dynamics between heritage and nature conservation actors through an iguana conservation program in Sint Eustatius and a marine archaeology case study in Aruba.

Each case study also considers the involvement and influence of communities in these heritage ecosystems. In Aruba, the archaeological case studies of the Savaneta 7 archaeological site and the Paradera rock art site shed light on the dynamics between archaeologists, government, property developers, and the local community in the management of archaeological heritage sites. Similarly, the case studies on collaboration ecosystems of nature and archaeology highlight the dynamics and tensions between stakeholders as well as successes when responsibility is shared through longer-term collaboration.

2 Archaeological Heritage Ecosystems

Heritage actors in the ABCSSS islands are involved in cultural heritage and the arts in varying ways. Often one individual wears different "hats" in the cultural sector: as a practitioner, creator, researcher, artist, organizer, community member, or policymaker. At the same time, cultural heritage actors may also be active in other sectors, such as nature conservation or industry. These different individual roles within and between sectors are often complementary but can be conflicting: heritage actors are often represented by single umbrella organizations, yet at the same time, heritage organizations sometimes operate in

fragmented ways. Over the years, cultural actors and researchers in Aruba have reflected on this fragmentation and advocated for increased collaboration between ministries, departments, heritage professionals, and practitioners (Cain, 2021; Franken, 2021). These characteristics are part of a larger trend in the cultural sector on the islands, where cultural heritage actors are simultaneously overcommitted and underfunded. This is paired with rapidly changing social, political, and environmental conditions.

In the past decades, the islands have seen dramatic changes in government and governmental policies, as well as imposed top-down measures and policies at the kingdom level (such as through the COHO regulatory body, enforced after the islands' COVID-19 relief negotiations with the Netherlands). This has coincided with severe social and economic consequences related to crises like hurricanes and pandemics on the islands. These changes have deeply impacted the cultural sector as a whole and disrupt the implementation of successful long-term strategies for cultural policy on the islands and within the kingdom. National budget cuts for culture across the Kingdom of the Netherlands deter continuity in the islands' cultural sector. At the same time, there are many motivated creatives building innovative collaborations across islands, as well as emerging opportunities for funding cultural projects, such as crowdfunding and cultural entrepreneurship. Recently the governments of Sint Maarten and Aruba have invested in encouraging the islands' creative economies through networking sessions and training and awareness programs. In the European Netherlands, kingdom funds for culture and research are once again strengthening efforts to include the Dutch Caribbean islands in their programs after years of omission (NWO, 2019; Mondriaan Fonds, 2021). Other new and renewed avenues include inter-island efforts toward cultural funding (Oostindie, 2021) as well as funding through the European Commission (such as Erasmus+ and Archipel, the OCTA's Creative Europe fund).

In the Caribbean, island communities are a core part of heritage ecosystems. With regards to archaeological research, heritage management, and community engagement in the Dutch Caribbean, there are a number of established public and nonpublic actors on each island, some with a community-oriented focus. These are the National Archaeological Museum Aruba (NAMA), the National Archeological Anthropological Memory Management (Curaçao), the Sint Maarten Archaeological Research Center (SIMARC), the Saba Archaeological Center (SABARC) and Saba Heritage Center, the St. Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR), and BONAI, the archaeology group on Bonaire. In addition, there are several international actors involved in archaeological heritage on the islands, through ad hoc or long-standing collaborators from foreign universities. One such long-term collaborator in Aruba is Leiden University in the Netherlands. Short-term contract archaeologists are often

employed on the islands for both small and larger projects (Hofman & Havisser, 2015). In the case of contract archaeology, regional or local archaeologists are sometimes involved in the process. But not all archaeological and research organizations on the islands are rooted in the local community, despite the community's central role in the heritage ecosystems of each island. When these actors are not included, or when projects occur without community involvement, the projects often fail to address the concerns of islanders. This occurred in 2021, with the Golden Rock Plantation excavation of an African burial ground in Sint Eustatius, which resulted in a public call for the accountability of archaeologists and for community involvement and authority in heritage research and led to the establishment of the Statia Heritage Research Commission (SHRC, 2021; Kok, 2022; Fricke, 2023). Such initiatives, like that of the Afrikan Burial Ground Alliance (which led to the establishment of the SHRC) or the newly developed code of conduct by the International Association of Caribbean Archaeologists, push the discipline to reflect more carefully on its practices and recenter communities as core actors in local heritage ecosystems.

The following sections explore the challenges and opportunities in heritage ecosystems and emphasize the importance of an integrated, community-based approach of shared responsibility that engages closely with communities early on in heritage research, management, and conservation actions.

3 Societal Collaboration to Safeguard Archaeological Sites in Aruba

In Aruba, the National Archaeological Museum Aruba (NAMA) plays an important role in the archaeological heritage management and preservation ecosystem, and as such leads the efforts of a wide variety of community members and stakeholders dedicated to the research, presentation, promotion, management, and conservation of Aruba's archaeological heritage, all of whose efforts are required for successful cultural resource management (Dijkhof & Linville, 2015). The management and preservation of archaeological heritage sites on private land is a key task for NAMA, albeit a difficult one. The lack of legal protection for archaeological heritage on private land makes the collaboration with GOs, NGOs, private companies, communities, and the broader public one of the most important factors in mitigating the damage and loss of archaeological sites in Aruba (Dijkhoff and Linville, 2015). In the case of archaeological heritage in Aruba, besides NAMA, the Department of Infrastructure and Planning (DIP), the Department of Public Works (DOW), and Aruban communities play a crucial role in the heritage ecosystem. This section describes two archaeological sites: the Savaneta 7 and Paradera A20 case studies. Both sites are situated on land owned by the real estate company Better Homes Aruba

N.V. These archaeological sites illustrate two different outcomes in archaeological heritage collaborations involving commercial landowners, government departments, and community members.

3.1 *Savaneta 7: Managing Heritage in Silos*

The Savaneta 7 archaeological site, located on the southern part of Aruba, measures 1.18 hectares, and is situated within one of the few remaining large open terrains within the G. M. Bruinewijk neighborhood, which has been designated for construction and development within the national Spatial Development Plan. The steady population increase on the island of Aruba, concomitant with a rise in residential construction, translated to a great number of archaeological finds in the G. M. Bruinewijk neighborhood over time. Island archaeologists closely monitored this area through regular visits, preparation of reports, and emergency rescue excavations. These research and monitoring activities aimed to emphasize the importance of the area for Aruban cultural heritage to both government and the island community.

The Savaneta 7 archaeological site lies within the large Ceramic Period (AD 900/1000–1515) habitation site of Savaneta (Du Ry, 1960; Boerstra, 1974; Versteeg & Ruiz, 1990). Aside from Indigenous habitation, the Savaneta 7 site also served as a large-scale stone tool production center. The tool production component of this site is a unique feature within the other large-scale Ceramic Period habitation sites in Aruba. These factors make the site highly significant for the island of Aruba due to its typo-chronological and specialistic activity qualities. This, together with a history of primary land use for crop cultivation using methods that caused minimal damage to the underlying strata, has made Savaneta 7 a particularly important heritage site to preserve for the National Archaeological Museum Aruba.

From 2006 onwards, NAMA led concentrated efforts to achieve conservation of the Savaneta 7 site. This involved regular site controls and intensified collaboration efforts with the Department of Infrastructure and Planning. NAMA provided documentation of the Savaneta 7 site, along with documentation of other sites of high archaeological value, for consideration and possible inclusion as conservation areas within the national Spatial Development Plan. The purpose of this documentation was also to aid the safeguarding of these invaluable cultural heritage areas during the processing and approval of parcelation permits. The formal documentation of the Savaneta 7 site showed the specialistic features of the site that were considered key factors in the conservation of the property during an eventual sale of the land.

Despite NAMA's documentation efforts to have this site marked as a conservation area, neither the museum nor the island community was notified when,

in 2010, the Savaneta 7 site was bought by the housing developer Better Homes Aruba N.V. and the parcellation permit was approved by the Minister of Infrastructure and Planning in 2012. Clearing of the land started in the beginning of 2013 and the first construction activities started in the second half of 2013. The museum finally became aware of the land sale to Better Homes Aruba N.V. during a routine archaeological site control in July 2013. The archaeologists immediately intensified their efforts to protect the site, halt construction activities, and work toward a land exchange with the involved parties.

On previous occasions, the Aruban government had facilitated archaeological site conservation by exchanging property containing valuable archaeological sites with other available land; for example, this type of land exchange was conducted successfully with another archaeological site, in Tanki Flip. The developer Better Homes Aruba N.V. was in favor of the land exchange, despite already having made investments in the construction and land clearing. Construction activities on the site ceased and, despite the fact that archaeologists and community members were not involved in the land exchange process, it seemed that the process was ongoing.

Sometime after these events, however, it became clear that the land exchange process had not been initiated by government authorities, and construction was resumed on the property. The archaeologists contacted the DIP and efforts were once again intensified to facilitate the start of the land exchange process with the parties involved. Eventually, Better Homes Aruba N.V. agreed to an exchange with a property of their choice, and protection of the site once again seemed possible. However, the exchange request was rejected by the Department of Infrastructure and Planning. The DIP did not factor in the cultural and societal value of the site as described in the archaeological reports in the calculation of the total value of the land. As a result, the property selected for exchange by Better Homes Aruba N.V. was listed with a higher commercial value than the Savaneta 7 property containing the archaeological site. While the archaeologists' actions aimed to emphasize the importance of the area for Aruban cultural heritage to the government and the island community, both the archaeologists and community members were excluded from the land value and exchange negotiations between the government and the developers. Ultimately, this led to the construction of the first house at Savaneta 7 in June 2014, and the loss of an important archaeological site in Aruba.

3.2 *Paradera A20: Integrated Heritage Collaborations*

The Paradera A20 pictograph site is a batholith boulder containing nine red-colored geometric motifs situated within the Casibari Better Homes Aruba N.V. housing project. NAMA first became aware of the threat to the site in 2006,

when a concerned community noticed that the site occurred within a parcelation destined for house construction. Site control and documentation were carried out in October 2006 and showed the urgency of coming to a conservation agreement with the developer. A meeting was convened and Better Homes Aruba N.V. acknowledged the site's unique qualities, establishing the importance of the site in its spatial plan by assigning it as a no-construction zone and conserving the archaeological site and pictographs.

Beyond collaborating to conserve the site, the developer took an active role toward a more robust solution to protect the archaeological site for the long term. A metal enclosure with a gate was proposed, and the developer agreed to its construction and placement and financed the building of the enclosure. NAMA has widely shared the conservation efforts by Better Homes Aruba N.V. as an exceptional case of public and private partnership toward the protection of cultural heritage, which has built further trust and developed their relationship.

Conservation efforts at Paradera A20 did not end with the placement of the metal enclosure, but continued years after the project was finished. Community members and homeowners in the direct vicinity of the site participated in the conservation efforts and became voluntary custodians of access keys to the enclosure to facilitate maintenance of the site, including the removal of vegetation when needed. One such instance that resulted in a collaboration between homeowners, NAMA, and the Department of Public Works occurred in 2013, when a homeowner contacted NAMA to report the explosive growth of vegetation, which decreased the visibility of the pictographs and threatened to damage the heritage site. NAMA contacted the DOW for assistance in the removal of the vegetation, and the enclosure was cleaned to prevent further damage to the pictographs. After the vegetation removal, the owners of the property included the site in the landscaping of their yard and covered the ground with plastic decorative pebbles to prevent vegetation growth that could damage the pictographs in the future.

The long-term collaboration between the community members, archaeologists, developers, and the Department of Public Works led to the successful conservation of the archaeological site through a heritage garden, a scheme that has facilitated community access and involved community action and custodianship in its preservation. This shows that an involved partner can take archaeological sites into account in construction projects when the heritage concerns of all parties, including community members, are considered, and they are actively involved early in the construction and project development process in a reciprocal and trust-based relationship.

The archaeological case studies of the Savaneta 7 archaeological site and the Paradera rock art site shed light on the possible dynamics between

archaeologists, government, property developers, and the local community in sharing responsibility for archaeological heritage sites. Shared responsibility has had mixed levels of success and has in the past led to the preservation of, research on, engagement with, or destruction of heritage sites. These case studies show that the degree of commitment and flexibility of the government, developers, community members, and landowners has been crucial to a positive outcome.

4 Natural and Cultural Heritage Engagement: Conflicts and Collaborations

This section explores some of the tensions between nature and cultural heritage activists on Sint Eustatius and collaborations between archaeologists, the government, and recreational divers in the conservation of marine archaeological sites in Aruba. It highlights some of the challenges of working in silos in heritage management. At the same time, it illustrates how actors in the cultural and natural heritage ecosystems can often benefit from an integrated, community-based approach to shared responsibility for solutions that serve the goals of all parties.

4.1 *Endangered Iguanas and Monumental Ruins in Sint Eustatius*

The Lesser Antillean iguana, or *Iguana delicatissima*, is a critically endangered iguana native to the island of Sint Eustatius. Sint Eustatius is one of the few islands where the iguana still appears, but it is threatened by hunters for consumption (the name says it all: the creatures are considered a delicacy), loss of habitat, and the introduction of the invasive green iguana (or *Iguana iguana*). This threat leads to hybridization (i.e., interbreeding of the two species) and displacement. Ultimately these threats result in the loss of the genetically unique populations of the *Iguana delicatissima* (van Wagenveld & van den Burg, 2018). In a span of eight years, the IUCN Red List status of this species was elevated from endangered (Breiul et al., 2010) to critically endangered (van den Burg et al., 2018). In Sint Eustatius, ecologists monitor the health and count of the iguana population by tracking and catching the iguanas to tag and register them for continued monitoring.

The island of Sint Eustatius also boasts a rich cultural heritage. The historic city center, Oranjestad, lies alongside the west coast of Sint Eustatius and is known as the “Historic Core,” with buildings constructed in the eighteenth century. Some of these buildings are ruins, but most have been restored. Some well-known restored and preserved buildings in Sint Eustatius are the Roman

Catholic church, the Government Guesthouse, and the former Gertrude Judson Library. Most of these buildings are built from Dutch *ijsselsteentjes* (a type of yellow brick from the Netherlands) transported to the island, which functioned as ballast for the colonial ships (Stelten, 2019). In this historic center also lies the well-known and well-preserved Fort Oranje, dating from 1636.

The story in the highlighted box below explores some of the tensions and (lack of) collaboration between nature and cultural heritage activists on St. Eustatius. At the same time, it illustrates how actors in the cultural and natural heritage ecosystems can often benefit from integrated heritage management solutions that serve the goals of all parties.

Case highlight by Stacey Mac Donald

In April 2016, I joined two ecologists on their daily hunt to find the critically endangered Lesser Antillean iguana. Alongside the cliff whereon the old monumental Fort Oranje is built were several trees in which the ecologist knew several iguanas made their homes. The first iguana was carefully and skillfully caught, after which he was measured, weighed, and tagged for future reference.

After several hours and visiting several locations, we arrived at our last site. This was in the ruins of an old sugar mill plantation that nature had taken over, and only several walls and parts of the tower used to process the sugarcane remained. As the ecologists scouted the area for another iguana, they carefully stepped over the ruins' remainders. That was until another iguana was spotted in a nearly impossible-to-reach location, high up in a tree leaning against the ruins' walls. As the ecologist climbed up the tree to capture the iguana, he had to use the walls for additional support. As he did so, several small pieces of brick fell from the ruin, further reducing the remains of that piece of cultural heritage. However, this did not seem to bother the ecologists at work, as they were solely and fully focused on safely capturing the iguana for their monitoring research.

A couple of years later, the tree in Fort Oranje was cut down, destroying the habitat of the iguana we visited with the ecologists. The tree was removed to make way for the necessary artificial reinforcement of the cliff. The natural reinforcement (i.e., the rooting system of plants and trees) had been destroyed due to the mismanagement of roaming animals (goats) over the years. If the cliff was not reinforced, it would not be able to support the fort, ultimately leading to its destruction. Moreover, the deterioration and erosion had reached such a dire state that natural reinforcement through replanting and reforestation would take too long to establish the cliff's required safety and stability.

In the events described above, both cultural heritage activists and nature conservationists experienced frustration as they witnessed the threat of destruction and disappearance of heritage and nature. At the same time, there were significant tensions between the cultural and natural actors. When the ecologists were confronted with their behavior on cultural monuments, they expressed that if the heritage sites were truly valued, the community and government would not have let them reach such a fragile and dire state in the first place. Similarly, a member of the Sint Eustatius Monument Foundation expressed that, while she understood and valued the importance of the natural environment, the nature conservationists do not adequately consider the island's cultural heritage, and damage ruins too easily in their efforts to study nature. She agreed that nature needs to be preserved but noted that ruins and monuments cannot be replaced: once a building is gone, it is lost forever, whereas trees, for example, can be restored. This, in turn, dismisses the ecologists' perspective that it can take years before damaged environments are sufficiently restored to provide healthy and safe habitats for species—years that critically endangered species, like the *Iguana delicatissima*, do not have.

These two instances illustrate that while there are tensions between nature and cultural heritage activists, they often benefit from solutions that serve both interests. Proper maintenance and restoration of archaeological and monumental sites like that of the sugar plantation would safeguard the building and prevent iguanas from making that area their habitat of choice and further damaging the site. Similarly, while reinforcement of the fort was surely necessary, the entire process surrounding the management of Fort Oranje seemed counterintuitive and paradoxical: removing vegetation (i.e., plants and trees) and thus destroying the critical habitat of an endangered and culturally valued species, in order to protect another form of cultural heritage at risk due to the removal or disappearance of nature (i.e., plants and trees). In the case of the cliff, rather than removing vegetation, the removal of roaming livestock would have been the best way to prevent loss of habitat for the *Iguana delicatissima*, and likewise forestall erosion of the cliff and therefore safeguard the monumental fort in Oranjestad. The examples above highlight that in the case of nature and heritage conservation in Sint Eustatius, all parties could benefit from sharing responsibilities and implementing a more integrated approach to managing culture and natural heritage on the island.

4.2 *Underwater Cultural Heritage of Aruba: an Opportunity for Nature – Culture Collaborations*

Aruba's archaeological record begins around four thousand years ago (1500 BC), the estimated date of arrival of the first inhabitants (Kelly and Hofman,

2019). A total of more than two hundred terrestrial sites are registered and, for a long time, researchers focused on Aruba's prehistoric Amerindian cultural heritage. Since 1999, Aruba has turned its attention toward the island's Historic Period and submerged sites. These two site categories are underdeveloped in studies of Aruban archaeology, and NAMA has spearheaded an initiative to manage and protect all archaeological resources (Dijkhoff and Linville, 2015). The island has no underwater archaeologist, nor a maritime museum, while there is also no infrastructure yet present to manage submerged cultural sites. Interest in Aruba's underwater cultural heritage, of which the NAMA has registered ten sites, began in the 1950s, when anchors and cannons were collected. There are also several private collections, which have never been investigated, and there is no comprehensive list of these collected artifacts or their conditions (Price, 2018). NAMA has a few artifacts from submerged sites collected by amateurs and by the Stichting Marien Archeologisch Nederlandse Antillen (STIMANA).

In 2012, the NAMA began raising awareness of this heritage through a publication on the sailor's grave of a mariner shipwrecked in 1886, a temporary exhibition, and several activities linking the site to Aruba's underwater cultural heritage. This development was triggered after a case of looting in 2009 when a WWII commemoration foundation began to remove propellers, anchors, and artifacts from a few sunken WWII vessels. They were lauded as heroes by governmental representatives and the community and were even aided by the coast guard. However, the divers removed the artifacts without regard for current professional archaeological standards and conservation practices (Dijkhoff, 2011; Price, 2018). NAMA contacted the commander of the marine base as well as the Department of Shipping, collaborating with these organizations to raise awareness of the illegality of these actions. These engagement activities were successful, and the organizations halted the unintended looting, which stemmed from a lack of awareness of preservation and marine archaeological heritage management among community members. The awareness activities organized by NAMA in 2012 had a positive impact on many community members, including government officials and recreational divers. The Department of Shipping solicited NAMA's input in the development of an ordinance on the maritime heritage management of Aruba using the guidelines of the UNESCO 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. Meanwhile, certain coastal areas of interest have been assigned as a marine park to be managed by the Fundacion Parke Nacional Aruba, with whom NAMA has a close cooperation.

In 2019, the autonomous islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Curaçao, Aruba, and Sint Maarten) formally made a petition to the Ministry

of Culture of the Netherlands to ratify the UNESCO 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. To honor this petition, a questionnaire was developed to assess the current state of underwater cultural heritage (UCH) in the islands of the Dutch Caribbean. The results led to a Dutch Caribbean UCH expert meeting in 2020, the creation of a report on underwater cultural heritage, and the formation of a Dutch Caribbean maritime heritage workgroup, with representatives from all the countries of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (MECS, 2020a). NAMA and a marine biologist are Aruba's representatives in this working group. This group is working toward the implementation of the UNESCO convention using three important themes: 1. capacity building; 2. knowledge exchange and cooperation; and 3. increasing awareness. In the upcoming years, a very large network will be established, with stakeholders from the community as well as government, nongovernmental, and business sectors to work toward the implementation of the UNESCO convention (MECS, 2020b).

5 Discussion and Conclusion: Collaboration Ecosystems in Cultural Heritage

These case studies demonstrate the importance of partnerships and integrated collaboration for cultural heritage with public and private partners, as well as with the broader community and other stakeholders. Construction and housing development companies play an important role in the safeguarding of archaeological heritage in Aruba. As illustrated in the case studies of Paradera A20 and Savaneta 7, developers can form a threat to heritage engagement, management, and conservation, but can also lead conservation and safeguarding initiatives. In some cases, it is not the commercial companies that create barriers to archaeological heritage protection. Successful implementation of rescue archaeology projects at sites affected by human impacts in the Dutch Caribbean is often dependent on intensive and integrated collaboration across sectors and finding common ground between stakeholders, as has also been previously demonstrated for older archaeological sites such as the Bethlehem Plantation on the island of Sint Maarten and the Spaanse Water site in Curaçao (Hofman and Hoogland, 2016).

Archaeological heritage management has shown to be successful in long-term collaborative partnerships between archaeologists, conservationists, private landowners and developers, societal partners, communities, and government. Together, they provide the technical, financial, logistical, and community support required to successfully conserve and co-manage archaeological

heritage sites. This follows the recommendations for heritage management in the broader Caribbean region (Keegan and Phulgence, 2011), as well as the principles that have been included in the IACA Code of Conduct (2021). Better governance according to strategic and integrated policy can thus support effective and collaborative heritage ecosystems between government, developers, researchers, and society.

The case studies in this chapter illustrate how heritage conservation objectives can be achieved when involved partners co-define the importance, are aware of the relevance, and are actively involved with archaeological heritage. To ensure equitable and successful collaborations, engaging in a long-term commitment to build trust through partnerships that center reciprocity, such as site custodianship of community members, is key. This has also been found in archaeological heritage projects in other Caribbean islands (Sankatsing Nava & Hofman, 2018). Partners who are equitably involved early on in projects are often flexible and willing to work diligently to achieve common goals in heritage research, engagement, and management. In these cases, collaborations are often built upon mutual reciprocity and personal relationships, where the partners involved trust each other's intentions and expertise and can apply this expertise to their field of work to collaboratively achieve heritage protection despite the possible conflict of interests. This was the case in the building development of Paradera A20, where the homeowners involved archaeologists and considered archaeological heritage in the landscaping plans. Developers and government officials can take archaeological sites into account by successfully applying for land exchange, planning heritage gardens in construction projects when the heritage concerns of all parties are considered, and all are actively involved early in the construction and project development process. In these cases, it is essential to engage with the community and other stakeholders at the early stages of the research process and to ensure equitable involvement in key decision-making phases.

At the same time, the case studies show that when stakeholders are involved in more formalized stakeholder groups, or are not deeply involved in the process and do not build relationships based on trust and reciprocity, their individual (and sometimes short-term) objectives overrule common goals, and long-term heritage projects are more difficult to achieve. An important factor in heritage collaborations is the ability to listen, build awareness, and engage both public and private partners. While there are sometimes tensions between nature and cultural heritage workers, as the case study about iguana conservation and the fort restoration in Sint Eustatius shows, they can often benefit from strategies that serve both interests, and an integrated approach to collaboration would facilitate identifying these solutions.

An integrated community-based approach that involves the broader public can open doors to more long-term sustained strategies, specifically when community members feel and are included in decision-making and remain informed and involved throughout the research and conservation process. Echoing Phulgence (2008), this chapter shows that the public, government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), developers, and archaeologists all carry (shared) responsibility with regard to Caribbean heritage. Community engagement with heritage is therefore an important area of further research in the Caribbean, and specifically in the ABCSSS islands. How is this responsibility shared and how are the collaborations cultivated and managed across and among the six islands? It is important to understand how heritage collaborations and community engagement function in the Kingdom of the Netherlands beyond the limited case studies in this chapter; further research is needed to this end. Future research should also explore the emerging opportunities for the funding of Dutch Caribbean heritage collaborations, while considering the potential of co-creation and community engagement in building equitable and sustainable collaborative relationships.

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Guardians of the Past: Creation and Perpetuation of Archaeological Heritage in Trinidad and Tobago

Ashleigh John Morris, Kara M. Roopsingh and Zara Ali

1 Introduction

In “Trinbago” parlance, “spinning top in mud” is a popular metaphor used to describe situations in which one’s efforts are seemingly futile. This idiom effectively describes the present state of archaeological heritage management (AHM) in Trinidad and Tobago at the national level. In 1924, John A. Bullbrook, a pioneer of archaeology in Trinidad and Tobago, submitted a document to its colonial government titled “Suggestions for the Terms of an Ordinance for the Conservation of the Aboriginal Remains of Trinidad, B.W.I.” (Nero & Baptiste, 2015). Then governor Sir S. H. Wilson refused to support legislation on the matter and opted to issue non-binding instructions to protect and preserve such remains as much as possible. A century later, there is still no cohesive national legislation governing the management of archaeological heritage in Trinidad and Tobago. Meanwhile, the artifacts, structures, middens, monuments, and spaces that comprise this nation’s patrimony remain at risk from natural and anthropogenic factors like coastal erosion, uncontrolled development, and looting (Fitzpatrick, 2012; Hofman and Hoogland, 2015; Reid & Lewis, 2011) for which there has not yet been any comprehensive investigation, and which are beyond the realm of this paper.

Past explorations into Caribbean archaeological heritage have revealed an ongoing epidemic of undervaluation, mismanagement, and destruction (Fitzpatrick, 2012; Reid & Gilmore, 2014; Siegel, Richter, & Ebrary, 2011; Siegel et al., 2013; Wilson, 2007). Despite the commonalities that connect us through space and time, distinct colonial experiences and the resulting linguistic differences have led to geopolitical divisions in the regional management of this precious resource (Hofman, 2015). In most English-speaking territories, existing local legislative frameworks designed to protect heritage have fallen into disuse, or there is a lack of political will for proper enforcement (Keegan and Phulgence, 2011). In Trinidad and Tobago, the heavy responsibility of protection and management falls to archaeologists, historians, heritage professionals, site caretakers, museum professionals, First Peoples groups, and others who are

vested in heritage management. In 2011, Basil A. Reid and Vel Lewis coauthored the chapter “Trinidad and Tobago” in the edited volume *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean* (Siegel et al., 2011). The authors successfully explain the intricacies of Trinidad and Tobago’s cultural heritage management framework and offer key recommendations for policy reform. However, more than a decade has passed since publication, with little or no intervention in this issue. In this chapter, we reconsider the application of existing legislative frameworks and offer local perspectives from individuals and organizations involved in the safe passage of our patrimony into the future.

The country of Trinidad and Tobago comprise the southernmost islands in the Caribbean chain. They are considered continental islands, as they were once joined to South America and now reside on its continental shelf. However, both islands are inextricably linked to their regional neighbors through the shared past of human migration, colonialism, and exploitation. Trinidad and Tobago is known to be one of the primary thresholds through which Indigenous groups from the South American mainland ventured northward into the Lesser Antilles in successive waves of migration (Boomert, 2000, 2013; Keegan & Hofman, 2017; Rouse, 1992). At the time of European contact, the Indigenous population of Trinidad and Tobago was heterogeneous, multi-component, and multilingual. According to Boomert, Trinidad’s population consisted of groupings such as Carinepagoto, Yaio, Shebaio, Arawak, and Nepoio, whereas Tobago was home mainly to the Kali’na (Boomert, 2016). The island’s colonial history is equally complex and defined by competition between opposing European nations, including Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Britain, the plantation system, and waves of forced and voluntary migration. Unification occurred in 1899 when Tobago was declared a ward of Trinidad, thus creating a single entity under British control (Nimblett, 2012). On August 31st, 1962, Trinidad and Tobago divorced itself from Great Britain to become an independent state and then a republic in 1976. This twin-island nation has a history of archaeological research spanning more than one hundred years, with over three hundred identified archaeological sites and countless artifacts representing its precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial past.

2 The Guardians

This work would not have been possible without the fantastic and thought-provoking responses received from Trinbagonians working at various levels in the fields of cultural and archaeological heritage management (Figure 12.1).

People like Hamlet Harrypersad, the National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago’s (The Trust) custodian for the Banwari Trace Archaeological Site, provided



FIGURE 12.1 Images of three guardians of archaeological heritage in Trinidad and Tobago. Left: Hamlet Harrypersad; top right: Rudylynn DeFour Roberts; bottom right: Derek Chung

invaluable insight into the day-to-day operations at sites in Trinidad and Tobago. As a young man, Hamlet was involved in the very first excavation conducted at Banwari Trace by the Trinidad and Tobago Historical Society in 1969. “I was just nineteen when the archaeologist came to do work there, my family owned the land where they found the site so I was involved in a little digging and I went to the shop for their drinks and so on” (Harrypersad, 2020). He has lived adjacent to the Banwari Trace site for over forty years, and therefore also has a unique longitudinal perspective on the site’s management. In Tobago, Derek Chung is the owner and operator of Undersea Tobago, a dive resort in Crown Point. Since 1987, Derek has been involved in the preservation and promotion of this nation’s underwater cultural heritage (UCH). He has personally identified and explored over forty shipwrecks, dating from the eighteenth century to the World War II era. Derek has also represented Trinidad and Tobago

at several international workshops and conferences related to UCH. Between 2012 and 2014, Derek acted as the Tobago Museum's liaison in the Rockley Bay Research Project, which investigated the 1677 naval battle between French and Dutch forces in Scarborough Harbor (Batchvarov, 2016; Chung, 2020).

Rudylynn DeFour Roberts is an architect who has devoted much of her life to restoring historic buildings and lobbying for the preservation of built heritage in Trinidad and Tobago (Reid & Gilmore, 2014). Rudylynn has also served on several national committees and boards, as well as organizations focused on heritage preservation and management, such as the The Trust and Citizens for Conservation's Historic Restoration Unit. The contributors listed above represent only a sample of the perspectives included in this work and are by no means the only contributors to archaeological heritage management in Trinidad and Tobago. The following table shows our other interviewees.

The present study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted in 2020 with individuals, NGOs, and professionals working in the heritage sector (Table 12.1).

TABLE 12.1 Interviews conducted in 2020 with individuals

Interviewee	Organization
Christo Adonis	Piyai (healer, herbalist) of the Santa Rosa First People's Community
Christopher Harris	Custodian of the Peter Harris Archaeological Collection
Ricardo Bharath	Chief of the Santa Rosa First People's Community
Derek Chung	Owner of Undersea Tobago Dive Shop and underwater archaeology enthusiast
Eric Lewis	Curator of the Moruga Museum, Chief of the Warao Nation (Trinidad and Tobago)
Hamlet Harrypersad	Caretaker of Banwari Trace Archaeological Site
Jennalee Ramnarine	Curatorial Assistant, University of the West Indies (UWI) Zoological Museum, St. Augustine
Kevin Farmer	Deputy Director of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society (BMHS) and former archaeology lecturer at UWI St. Augustine
Margaret McDowall	Chairman of the National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago
Nimah Muwakil	Former curator of the National Museum and Art Gallery
Lorraine Johnson	Curator of the National Museum and Art Gallery
Rudylynn De Four Roberts	Restoration architect, President of Citizens for Conservation, former President of the National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago, and former board member of the Archaeological Committee of Trinidad and Tobago

2.1 *AHM: Pre-independence*

Figure 12.2 shows the pioneers of Trinidad and Tobago archaeology. Interest in archaeological research in Trinidad and Tobago began as a byproduct of geological surveys conducted in the mid-nineteenth century (Boomert, 2000). The surveys of G. P. Wall and J. G. Sawkins were designed to provide information about the structure and mineral resources of the island to the colonial government (Wall & Sawkins, 1860). During their work, Wall and Sawkins encountered several shell deposits in southern Trinidad. These deposits were subsequently identified as the middens of prehistoric settlements by the famous naturalist R. J. Lechmere Guppy in 1864 (Boomert, 2000). Contemporaneous research was focused on collecting and describing artifacts found in chance encounters. Subsequently, researchers like John A. Bullbrook, John M. Goggin, and Irving Rouse conducted extensive excavations in southern Trinidad, in places like

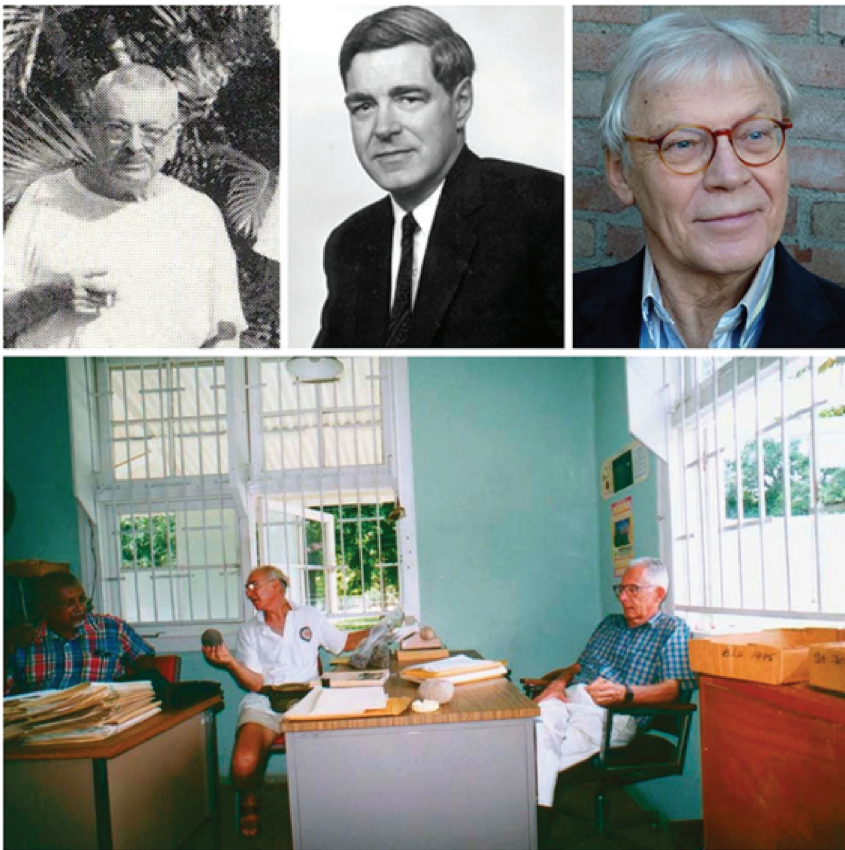


FIGURE 12.2 Pioneers of Trinidad and Tobago archaeology. Top left: John A. Bullbrook; top center: Irving Rouse; top right: Arie Boomert; bottom: Archie Chauharjasingh, Peter Harris, and Prof. Keith O. Laurence

Cedros, Erin, and Palo Seco (Boomert et al., 2013). These men were not born on the island, but some, like Bullbrook, devoted decades of their careers pursuing a greater understanding of the precolonial history of Trinidad and Tobago and advocating for the protection of tangible heritage. The discoveries made in this preindependence period piqued local interest in precolonial history and antiquities. This fascination contributed to the founding of the Royal Victoria Institute (RVI) which became the catalyst for other history or conservation organisations and institutions.

3 Archaeological Heritage Institutions

The Royal Victoria Institute (Figure 12.3) was built in Port of Spain in 1892 as a tribute for the Diamond Jubilee of the then British Monarch, Queen Victoria. The multifunctional space was initially designed to combine the Scientific Association, Agricultural Society, a public library, and a museum. It also functioned as a place for research exhibits on natural history and archaeology, as well as a lecture hall (Collens, 1888). The museum, housed within the institute, began as an amalgamation of several collections of curiosities, but soon became the most important collection of artifacts on the island. Unfortunately, the building and all its priceless contents were destroyed by fire in 1920. Among the losses was a prized collection of Amerindian ceramics donated by



FIGURE 12.3 Photograph of the Royal Victoria Institute, home of the National Museum and Art Gallery of Trinidad and Tobago

R. J. Lechmere Guppy. The structure was subsequently rebuilt in 1923; however, rebuilding the collection took several years. In 1952, John A. Bullbrook became an assistant curator at the museum of the Royal Victoria Institute (Nero & Baptiste, 2015). During his tenure, Bullbrook endeavored to protect and preserve items housed at the RVI. At the time, the museum's collection boasted thousands of potsherds, stone tools, and biological materials representing a broad cross section of the heterogeneous Indigenous population of Trinidad and Tobago. After independence in 1962, the Royal Victoria Institute was repurposed as the National Museum and Art Gallery (NMAG), and in 2013, it was recognized as a heritage site by the National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago. As of 2022, the NMAG is undergoing refurbishment, and its management team intends to update the archaeological collection as part of this process (Johnson, pers. comm).

The Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago was an association established in 1932 to promote and disseminate historical information to the broader population of Trinidad and Tobago (Jarvis, 1998). The society's founders were a multidisciplinary group of esteemed scholars and luminaries from colonial public service and private enterprise. The association was most successful in collecting, translating, printing, and circulating all manner of historical documents pertaining to Trinidad and Tobago's colonial past under Spanish and British rule. The society consisted of a number of subcommittees, each with a focus that reflected the society's underlying ethos. The historic sites or landmarks section and the archaeology section provided early direction in the management of the colony's tangible heritage assets. The landmarks section's mission was to identify and preserve historical sites in Trinidad and Tobago. By 1938, this section had arranged for the documentation and restoration of several historic forts, such as Fort Abercrombie and Fort King George (Jarvis, 1998). John A. Bullbrook was invited to join the society and establish its archaeology section after his well-received public lecture on Trinidad's prehistory titled "The Ierian Race," which was held at the Royal Victoria Institute on March 3, 1939 (Annual Reports 1938–1939). The archaeology section conducted excavations, organized exhibitions of artifacts, and raised public awareness of archaeology. Bullbrook's work as the founder of this section and his curatorship of the Royal Victoria Institute Museum emboldened his tireless pursuit of legislative protection for the archaeological heritage of Trinidad and Tobago. However, his advocacy would not bear fruit during his lifetime. This pioneering archaeologist is considered to be the original guardian of this country's archaeological patrimony.

3.1 *AHM: Post-independence*

Appointed by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in 1979, the Archaeological Committee functioned in an advisory capacity to secure the protection,

preservation, and restoration of sites of historical/archaeological and architectural significance, including some 250 middens (Reid & Lewis, 2011) and was vested with a broad remit in all matters of archaeology in Trinidad and Tobago. The mandate of the committee included making recommendations to the Town and Country Planning Division, the Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board, the Chaguaramas Development Authority, the Tobago House of Assembly, and other state agencies on archaeological matters including land development, the listing of archaeological sites, and the conduct of archaeological research in Trinidad and Tobago. The committee functioned under the Chairmanship of the late Keith O' Laurence, Professor of History at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. It included members such as Arie Boomert, then the resident archaeologist at the University of the West Indies History Department; the late Peter O'Brian Harris of the Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago; representatives from the Town and Country Planning Division; UNESCO; the Office of the Solicitor General, and the Trinidad and Tobago Tourist Board, among others.

The government established this committee in direct response to a research proposal submitted by Wilfred Laurier University to excavate a prehistoric site called Lover's Retreat in Tobago (Reid & Gilmore, 2014). Although the project never happened, this committee's activities formalized cultural heritage management in the country. However, its powers were limited as an advisory body. Rudylynn DeFour Roberts became a member of the society due to her work with the NGO Citizens for Conservation. Ms. Roberts spoke highly of the work done by the committee, but highlighted several issues in the way in which it was administered.

We kept impeccable records on archaeologists active in the country and on their projects ... [W]e also physically oversaw excavations and conducted environmental impact assessments on suspected sites. However, we were not empowered to act on land development or other risk factors that infringed upon archaeological heritage sites. We could only make recommendations to the minister [responsible for culture]. (Roberts, 2020)

This lack of statutory authority often hindered the committee in their mission to protect important archaeological sites from damage and destruction. Additionally, the lack of financial support from the government and the inability to raise funds also affected the committee's effectiveness. Members of the committee were not regularly compensated for their time and effort, and budgetary allowances for site visits in Tobago and hosting visiting archaeologists absorbed much of the available resources. According to Reid, "[The

committee was] provided with access to infinitesimal resources through the ministry responsible for culture” (Reid & Gilmore, 2014). Despite these challenges, this organization laid the groundwork for formalized heritage management in Trinidad and Tobago. The Archaeological Committee had functioned continuously from its appointment in 1979 until 2009, with the resignation of its long-standing Chairman.

The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago is a membership-based organization created by an Act of Parliament in 1991 to recognize and protect tangible heritage assets or “properties of interest.” The National Trust Act defines “property of interest” as any monument, fossil, place, or site of natural beauty or national, historic, scientific, or archaeological interest (The Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1991). The National Trust Act is the only one that mentions monuments above or below the surface of the land or floor, whereby “monument” means any building, structure, or other work of man or nature—whether above or below the surface of the land or the floor of the sea—of national architectural, aesthetic, or historic interest. Therefore, preserving archaeological heritage falls under the purview of the National Trust. This organization has a wide-ranging set of obligations, including safeguarding the nation’s built and natural heritage through legal protection and acquisition; public education on heritage matters; and encouragement of local and foreign academic research.

In 2011, the National Trust sought to address the vacuum left by the Archaeological Committee by establishing a subcommittee focusing on archaeological matters (Reid & Gilmore, 2014; Reid & Lewis, 2011). However, this was a short-lived measure due to gaps in succession planning and budgetary concerns. Ms. Roberts laments on her experience, stating, “I remember going to sites where we heard something was found, and we get the committee, and we fly down there to look, and by the time you get there, foundation works were hurriedly done. When we spoke to individuals in the community about the find they would say ‘yea they found something there, but they cover it up fast fast’ ... People in this country feel like the preservation of heritage is anti-development. This is something we have to work on” (Roberts, 2020). This dialogue shows that enforcement is complicated and frequently near impossible without an authority or committee with government authorization. Most of the interviewees agreed that stricter legislation is needed. They see it as the only way to curb the loss of archaeological heritage. However, Trinidad and Tobago’s legislation archaeological heritage is inadequate and simply not enforced.

Another legislative achievement is the Protection of Wrecks Act in 1994. This act affords protection for underwater archaeology in the form of wrecks.

The act stipulates that “on account of the historical, archaeological or artistic importance of the vessel, or of any objects contained or formerly contained in it which may be lying on the seabed in or near the abandoned wreck; the site ought to be protected from unauthorized interference” (Protection of Wrecks Act, Chap. 37: 04). This legislation hoped to curb the practices of treasure hunting and unauthorized salvaging from historic wrecks. However, it has not been enforced, and seasoned divers like Derek Chung have reported significant losses of underwater archaeology to looting, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s (Chung, 2020). There seems to be a significant gap in knowledge about the underwater archaeology of Trinidad and Tobago. Legislation should not only protect these wrecks, but also help to foster more research and public education about them.

The limited legislative protections afforded to heritage did not spring up overnight but have been carefully cultivated from colonial times to the post-independence era. Trinidad and Tobago have made great strides in closing the gaps in heritage protection. Legislative attempts at protection seemed to blaze a trail in the '80s and '90s, but since then, enforcement, legislative improvements, and compliance have not been dealt with for archaeological properties.

3.2 *Education and Promotion*

The promotion of archaeological heritage and the way it is communicated to the public has been changing over the last thirty years in many parts of the world. One major transformation is the importance of making archaeology more meaningful and accessible to a broader public (Cleere, 1984; Grima, 2002). This transformation can occur through a reimagining of public interpretation. Public interpretation can be described as “the official (and unofficial) versions presented at an archaeological/ heritage site or museum exhibit” (Walker, 2009, p. 3). The way an archaeological site is promoted or described to the public can affect how people understand and appreciate the site. While interpretation should strive for accuracy and enjoyment, the most successful interpretive strategies create an experience for visitors that allow the site and its surrounding environment to influence their awareness and appreciation of the place (Walker, 2009). Building an appreciative population can help individuals, NGOs, or any organization or agency gain support for conservation policies and legislative changes to protect sites further. In short, public appreciation will garner public support to protect archaeological sites.

The interviewees agreed that more could be done to protect the archaeological heritage of Trinidad and Tobago. However, among the interviewees, there was no clear consensus on how it should be promoted. A common theme was the lack of archaeological heritage promotion in Trinidad and Tobago.



FIGURE 12.4 Excavations at the Red House, Port of Spain

Interestingly, this was described by each guardian as needing improvement, but when it came to their own dealings with archaeology, many seemed to shy away from it. During the interviews, interviewees often volunteered disclaimers that archaeology was not their “main area of focus” or that they “accidentally” ended up as custodians of archaeological heritage. Overall, they tended to distance themselves from this type of heritage. By contrast, those who claimed to have become “accidentally” involved in archaeology offered some of the most interesting suggestions for ideas and experiences related to heritage promotion.

One interviewee, Margaret, took the time to actively consider how heritage could be promoted by taking a more constructivist approach to the National Trust’s only archaeological property, the Banwari Trace Archaeological Site. This property is the only archaeological site in the country that is legally protected as a “property of Interest” under the National Trust Act of Trinidad and Tobago, Chap 40:53. It is dated about 5000 BC or 7000 BP (years Before Present), and it is the oldest pre-Columbian site in the West Indies (O’Brian Harris and Trinidad & Tobago Historical Society, 1971; Rouse & Allaire, 1978; Tankersley et al., 2018). It is a well-stratified shell midden located in southeastern Trinidad, providing the oldest known archaeological evidence of human settlement in the West Indies and has been crucial to our understanding

of the initial peopling of the greater Caribbean region. Detailed excavation profile descriptions, soil and faunal analyses, accelerator mass spectrometry radiocarbon and optically stimulated luminescence dating, and stable carbon isotope analyses provide an accurate chronology and paleoenvironmental framework for the natural and anthropogenic depositional history of this significant archaeological site. Findings suggest three Middle Holocene strata at Banwari Trace, which represent significant periods of midden deposition and environmental change at ~7800–7900 cal BP (Level 3) (O'Brian Harris and Trinidad & Tobago Historical Society, 1971; Tankersley et al., 2018). The oldest human remains in Trinidad were found on the site and have been preserved at the UWI Zoological Museum since 1978. The “Banwari burial,” as it is locally known, is one of the main attractions of the Zoological Museum. Margaret has a future vision for the site that includes a sandbox where children can dig like “archaeologists” and discover new finds. She hopes “to get a future archaeologist” out of the site’s visitors with this proposal. She underscores the importance of having more trained professionals in the field and hopes to encourage the next generation in this direction. The Banwari Trace site is the perfect location to emphasize Trinidad’s connectedness to the rest of the Caribbean. Margaret is aware of this as she states, “We are more connected to the rest of the world than we understand. Trinidad is one of those centres of the world where people passed through.” The Trust hopes that the site becomes a place where the voice of the Trust and of conservation is secondary to the inner voice of discovery and experience. Unfortunately, this idea is awaiting funding to become a reality.

Funding seems to be the most mentioned limitation to promotion and education. Exhibitions, interpretive materials, and their maintenance are costly to all the organizations in this study. Despite the common rhetoric of budget constraints, there are some elements that heritage stakeholders hope can be improved on a shoestring budget. Their goal is to get the public to understand and appreciate the archaeological heritage of Trinidad and Tobago. For the participants, there has been only one example of this thus far: the Red House Restoration Archaeological Project. Ms. Roberts describes the Red House excavations as “a shining example of what ought to be done, even in private enterprise.” In March 2013, discoveries including human remains, artifacts, and other archaeological materials were made at the Red House, Trinidad and Tobago’s seat of parliament, during a structural assessment of the foundations during restoration work. Preliminary data from this investigation suggested that the Red House site was a relatively sizable native settlement that was continuously inhabited for over twelve hundred years (Reid, 2018). The project’s committee included a consultation phase where information was shared with

all the major heritage stakeholders. The First People groups of Trinidad and Tobago, including the Santa Rosa First Peoples Community and the Warao Nation, played an active role in deliberations over excavation methodology and processing of finds. After this Archaeological Project was completed, the First People communities of Trinidad and Tobago held a reinterment ceremony in October 2019, in which they reburied the human remains uncovered during the excavation. This unprecedented event and the preceding project are perfect examples of future archaeological projects. The site upon which these human remains now rest will undoubtedly become archaeological heritage in the future.

3.3 The Collections

The archaeological collections in Trinidad and Tobago are stored in multiple repositories across both islands. To our dismay, none of these repositories possesses documented protocols for the use of their collections by academic researchers or the public. In most instances, there is either no staff, or staff lack the qualifications and knowledge to assess and maintain their collections adeptly. Nevertheless, the institutions responsible for the following collections have done as much as they can with the available resources. In this section, we highlight these collections and the individuals who have contributed to the promotion and preservation of archaeological heritage through their biographies, and in so doing, improved the archaeological heritage management of the nation.

The Archaeology Centre was established over four decades ago, in 1981, by renowned Caribbean archaeologist Arie Boomert, and pioneering local amateur archaeologist Peter O'Brien Harris. The Centre is quite literally the nucleus of archaeological research in the country. As part of the Department of History at the UWI, St. Augustine the Archaeology Centre has resources found in no other repository. The facility has climate-controlled storage, is better equipped than other repositories, and used to be easily accessible to local and visiting researchers. The Archaeology Centre has several archaeological collections from Trinidad, Tobago, and some of Trinidad's offshore islands. Notable pieces at the center are the Biche point arrowhead, as well as stone tools from the Archaic Age site of St. John, which produced the oldest known evidence of the use of domestic plants in the insular Caribbean (Pagán-Jiménez et al., 2015). The collection located here spans the entire chronology of the human occupation of Trinidad and Tobago and is comparable only to the archaeological and historical assemblages found at the National Museum and Art Gallery. The Archaeology Centre possesses the only national archaeological site inventory, of which there is only one hard copy and one in digital format. Though this

facility is the best equipped in the country, there is virtually no public awareness of the facility outside of academic circles, and issues with the maintenance and curation of materials are similarly faced by other repositories. At the time of writing, this facility was unfortunately closed indefinitely due to insufficient funds and the lack of any professional archaeologists in Trinidad and Tobago, among other reasons. If Trinidad and Tobago is to promote and bolster its human resources in the sphere of cultural heritage management and archaeology, this facility must function, with resources allocated to improving its physical, digital, educational, and research capacities.

3.4 *Peter O'Brien Harris Collection, University of Trinidad and Tobago (UTT)*

The Peter O'Brien Harris Collection is a diverse array of pre-Columbian and historic artifacts and ecofacts that were collected over decades of archaeological work in Trinidad and Tobago, from the 1960s to the 2000s, by Peter O'Brien Harris. The collection is under the guardianship of O'Brien Harris' children who are based internationally, and the finds had been moved several times due to improper storage conditions before arriving at its current location at the O'Meara Campus of the UTT. The collection has undergone initial curation by Arie Boomert, but this paper-based catalogue he created in the 1990s has not been digitized in a detailed manner, and within the UTT facility, there is an obvious need for the holding containers and individual labeling to be upgraded. While the room in which the collection is stored at UTT has a stable environment, the O'Meara campus was shut down at the end of 2020 because of financial considerations, so the future location, utility, and management of the O'Brien Harris Collection remain uncertain.

4 Recommendations

Our goal for this section is to highlight areas of hope for improving archaeological heritage management in Trinidad and Tobago. While the interviewees have highlighted many challenges and setbacks within the heritage industry, we have chosen to take a closer look at some of their main concerns: legislation, education, and collection management.

4.1 *Legislation*

A thorough account of recommendations for improving archaeology in Trinidad and Tobago could fill an entire book, but within the constraints of this chapter, we have tried to be succinct. As can be discerned thus far, adequate national legislation is paramount to the success and progress of archaeological

work, and to the preservation of archaeological heritage in Trinidad and Tobago. All of our interviewees share the opinion that a sound legislative framework will coalesce the abovementioned disconnected measures into one national system. An essential consideration within any legislation put forth is the presence and need for protection of artifacts and sites on land and in the sea.

It is highly recommended, and requested by guardians of heritage, museums, and the authors, that the National Archaeological Committee be reconstituted and rendered functional with qualified, competent members. This committee will be the national regulatory body for archaeology in Trinidad and Tobago and act as an advisory committee to the government, providing structure and clarity for the operations of all individuals and institutions involved or affecting archaeological heritage, as well as lobbying for funding for promoting local archaeological projects and public education. The Archaeological Committee should develop productive links with government ministries and other relevant local governmental bodies, so these external expertise can assist the committee members in their role as consultants for the archaeological assessment of both private and commercial locations. In 2005, Trinidad and Tobago signed the 1972 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention). It is noteworthy to mention that our twin-island republic is the only major island-state in the Anglophone Caribbean that is without a UNESCO World Heritage Site. We recommend that this obvious omission be addressed, as it could potentially increase public awareness and interest regarding issues of heritage preservation and management. Trinidad and Tobago is also a signatory to the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage 2001, which was enforced globally in 2009. However, there are numerous facets of underwater heritage that need to be overseen by trained marine archaeologists, divers, conservators, and the like, but are glaringly absent from the cohort of archaeological and heritage professionals in the country.

4.2 *Education*

Trinidad and Tobago has a plethora of terrestrial and marine archaeological resources. These resources require a steady supply of well-trained archaeologists and heritage practitioners to tap their potential. In their 2011 work, Reid and Lewis highlighted the improvements made: with the establishment of the Archaeology Centre, “heritage management has been given a boost with the presence of the archaeology program at the University of the West Indies (UWI), St. Augustine Campus.” Trinidad and Tobago’s archaeology was indeed well served by the activities of the Centre; however, the offered program only provides a small number of elective undergraduate courses, with no possibility

of doing a major or minor in archaeology or heritage studies. Therefore, students interested in these disciplines must leave our shores to further their education. As previously mentioned, at the time of writing, the Archaeology Centre is without an archaeologist and is closed indefinitely, therefore putting all courses on hiatus. Further, the UWI is the only tertiary-level institution in the country that offers education in archaeology. Reid and Lewis (2011) reported the need for more locally trained archaeologists to develop sustainable research agendas and effective management of archaeological resources. This situation remains relatively unchanged - there are only a few individuals with archaeological experience residing in Trinidad and Tobago, but some of these citizens are pursuing related archaeological training abroad. It is recommended that other local tertiary institutions, like the University of Trinidad and Tobago, redevelop history programs to include information about the precolonial history and archaeology of Trinidad and Tobago and the wider Caribbean.

At the secondary school level, the basics of history should be compulsory for all students. Additionally, prehistory and archaeology should have a higher priority in the syllabus for students opting to pursue history in the later years of their secondary education. Mock excavations and other introductions to archaeological fieldwork should be used to encourage students to pursue history and archaeology programs at the tertiary level. Currently, and problematically, there are very few local opportunities for employment in the fields of archaeology and heritage management. However, recent trends in the state's willingness to support heritage restoration projects as a precursor to the development of the local tourism industry augur well for the future.

4.3 *Collection Management*

In the Caribbean, it is well documented that there are major issues with adequately curating materials and documents in archaeological studies (Siegel et al., 2013). Trinidad and Tobago has not been immune to this problem. The country has been fortunate to have some level of interest in archaeology, but a centralized curation system for archaeological collections is recommended. This measure will allow researchers to locate and identify material assemblages that have been dispersed among the collections, which in turn can inform what needs to be done to preserve and conserve the items, and how they can best be presented to the respective audiences for storage, curation, education, and research purposes. A comprehensive and uniform curation system can assist in closing the gaps in tangible terrestrial and underwater heritage management in the country. Accompanying this should be protocols established by the Archaeological Committee, which could be templates for the

activities of museums and other bodies that house archaeological collections. A national, digital inventory would be an indispensable requirement and aid for protecting and enabling efficient in-house and external use of the contents of the collections. The Archaeology Centre has the only national site inventory and has also started an electronic inventory of its own assemblages. We further endorse the establishment of a register of materials (individual artifacts and collections) that have been extracted from the country, both illegally and for scientific research. Both these inventories should be improved through standardized data inputs and regular updates and should eventually be transferred to an electronic database that allows remote public research access.

5 Conclusion

Trinidad and Tobago has the frameworks in place for proper archaeological heritage management in the form of government regulatory oversight from the Archaeological Committee. It also has the potential to improve education and outreach through new experiential and innovative practices at sites. These activities can help improve interaction and coordination among heritage institutions and organizations, as well as between agencies and communities (Sankatsing Nava and Hofman, 2018). It is fortunate for Trinidad and Tobago's archaeological heritage—in the absence of sturdy, comprehensive legislation—that the efforts of the aforementioned guardians have been consistent and impactful. Despite the lack of funding, Trinidad and Tobago has an incredible support base through these indefatigable custodians, yet it requires more concerted efforts on the part of the government to enable purposeful, sustained development. While communities can possibly have the opportunity to gain an understanding and new interpretation of the past through engaging with the institutions, universities, and collections or museums that house archaeological heritage, there are serious challenges to the longevity of protection offered. Issues of accessibility, passing on of information, and persons leaving important positions without succession planning are just some of the problems that have plagued heritage institutions. Although individuals have taken on the role of custodians and preservation champions, there is a serious lack of continuity in a country that relies heavily on the state for institutional support. The guardians of the past are working laudably in the present, but for archaeological heritage to have a safe future, there must be a cohesive effort from individuals, communities, and the government that is guided by local and international legislation.

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Epilogue

Wilhelm Londoño Díaz

The book we have just finished is a journey through the Antilles that allows us to appreciate, in detail, what is happening in terms of the archaeological heritage of the region. With this epilogue, I would like to create research bridges and comparisons between the Caribbean region, as expressed in the chapters of this book, and my personal experience doing research in the Colombian Caribbean and other regions of South America. The second chapter is based on an interview with the former Kalinago Chief Irvince Auguiste. Irvince's voice alerts us to the processes of ethnic revitalization occurring in Dominica. Although Irvince tells us that the self-determination of the Kalinago identity has met with positive acceptance in Dominican society, there is still some work to be done, for example, to diminish the prominence, in the social imaginary, of the idea of the Carib as cruel warriors who feuded with the Arawak over the islands. This case teaches us that, in the geographic basin of the Caribbean, there are processes of identity construction that seek to minimize the impact of colonial histories based on migration studies and catastrophism (Gnecco, 2002). In the case of the Colombian Caribbean, for example, various social movements, especially the Taganga social movement, based in the city of Santa Marta, also seek to make visible local histories that show that their traditions were not eradicated by the conquest, as previously believed (Daniels, 2011). In the struggle against historical biases, not only do Indigenous social movements participate, but there is also a vital critique emerging from the discipline itself. The third chapter showed us how the analysis of school texts in the Dominican Republic proves that national historiographies have had little interest in updating history. In the Colombian case, a critical battlefield has questioned national historiographies and proposals for other histories have been generated through other archaeologies (Gnecco, 2009). This has also occurred in Argentina, where the conjunction of archaeologists and Indigenous movements, especially in northwestern Argentina, has allowed for the questioning of national histories built on ethnic territories (Haber et al., 2010). In the case of the Colombian Caribbean, the Indigenous social movement has been just as forceful as elsewhere and, through its own publications, has questioned archaeological excavations as acts against sacred sites (Mestre & Rawitscher, 2018).

The political transformations demanded by the Indigenous social movement lead us to examine education. In chapter 4, we saw criticism of the disdain with which the state authorities have treated archaeological heritage in Grenada, but we could also realize the importance of the landscape as a collective property that goes beyond the idea of private property. Undoubtedly, as chapter 5 shows for the case of Saint Kitts, educational processes must usher local voices to the main stage and address the problem of decolonization of memory. Thus, visits to former sugar plantations should emphasize the dehumanization involved in slavery rather than exalt the colonial grandeur of these enterprises. Paradoxically, the awareness described in the case of Saint Kitts is totally absent from Afro-descendant social movements in Colombia, which have not yet claimed from archaeology a revision of their history and contribution to the construction of colonial society. There are notable exceptions, however, such as the case of the Palenque de San Basilio near Cartagena (Mantilla, 2011), a former libertarian settlement of the colony, where a powerful Afro-descendant movement has questioned the history of whiteness.

In chapter 6, we saw the efforts made in Jamaica toward what could be a heritage-education process, defined as creating a societal impulse to become aware of the archaeological assets of its territory. This could fit into a community archaeology that encourages citizens to acquire competencies in the value—academic, historical, and cultural—of the archaeological record (Londoño, 2021a). It is evident in South America that community archaeology does not necessarily imply a process of decolonization or a change of paradigm, but the extension of traditional archaeological thinking to the general society. In chapter 7, we saw that, in Haiti, the demands of decolonial archaeology are stronger and push away interest in practicing mere community archaeology because there are, at least, three forms of linkage with colonial traces: these are the use of colonial vestiges for house construction, the consideration of these traces as heritage, and finally the symbolization of these spaces as sites of communication with ancestors. In this framework, appears as a complex questioning of how to link colonial heritage to a narrative that does not exclude the processes of local resistance, while offering a tourist package that does not make the vacation an experience of the horrors of slavery. In Colombia, this problem has been addressed through the construction of the idea of the colony as a melting pot under the famous theory of the culture of the three ethnicities: white, Black, and Indigenous (Villalba et al., 2014). This paradigm involves managing historical resources such as archives and colonial archaeological sites as expressions of a melting pot of identity absent of conflict. At the Universidad del Magdalena, for example, after the creation of the undergraduate degree in History and Heritage Management, a museum was built in which

the events of the conquest were shown as an “encounter.” Thus, the statement provided in chapter 8, documenting the cases of Guadeloupe and Martinique, is accurate in claiming that “there is no such thing as ‘heritage’ or ‘heritage objects’ having an objective reality per se.” Heritage objects are the result of representational frameworks; the more participatory they are, the more legitimacy they will have as an ideology of representation of past materialities. As is the case for other parts of the Antillean Caribbean, this case shows that the heritagization of the old sugar factories cannot be done through the exaltation of the majesty of production while obliterating the cruelties of slavery.

Moreover, it would not be possible to make these patrimonial stagings without declaring that, in the Caribbean, before Europe, industrial-scale production processes had already begun to exist, which would distort the idea of Europe as the cradle of the Industrial Revolution (Trouillot, 2002). From a decolonial perspective, the Caribbean was not only the cradle of industrial production design, but also the cradle of the praxis of resistance associated with these dynamics of domination. Thus, the proposals we have seen throughout the book interrogate these components of local agencies and their visions of history.

Chapter 9, take us to the Cuban case and how the staging of archaeological industrial heritage has been thought of. This case made it clear to us, with its reference to the work of Rolando Bustos, that heritage processes are based on actions and not on recognitions or observations; the existence of heritage is not confirmed but constructed. We had already been warned above that heritage objects are not ontologically existent, but an epistemological, ergo political, production. In this case, the heritagization of Cuba’s industrial heritage highlights the processes of constructing slave enclaves while proposing a fusion of landscape and museum spaces under the idea of the ecomuseum. This concept is essential since it points out how these initiatives link objects, communities, and territories in the planned tours. Linking history and landscape has also been tested by Indigenous people in Colombia, as in the case of the Misak in the southwest of the country (Urdaneta, 1988). Undoubtedly, this decentralization of the museum from the building system that houses collections has been an essential pillar in the processes of decolonization of the museum.

We saw in chapter 10 how “the past may be a prologue” in Barbados. This demonstrates how, on a global scale, cultural and archaeological heritage are inputs that seek to empower local voices through the search for their roots, while heritage becomes something that motivates tours and visits: routes (Clifford, 1997). Undoubtedly, the educational possibilities of cultural and archaeological heritage are adjacent to its potential for political empowerment; the people

who manage these processes must deal, as in the case of Barbados, with the fact of recognizing in this heritage vestiges of processes of domination. Likewise, when certain traces become starting points for national construction, the collateral effect is the invisibilization of specific ethnic components that do not fit into the defined narratives. In this way, as the chapter demonstrates, the staging of thematic museums ends up promoting colonial images.

On a global scale, cultural and archaeological heritage are part of the theater of the symbolic dispute over the past. In the domain of heritage commodification, there has been an effort emanating from state cultural institutions to convert heritage into a commodity of enjoyment (Talalay, 2004); in the domain of social movements, there has been an imperative to reverse the vestiges of the past into evidence of a preexistence of the state that implies a differential political treatment (Londoño, 2021a). However, this political potential of heritage is not at odds with the establishment of ecosystems for managing cultural and archaeological heritage. Chapter 11, showed us the interinstitutional management that allows for the social management of heritage. The case of the Dutch Caribbean also shows us the importance of managing submerged heritage resources, which is another sphere of analysis of heritage issues. In the case of the Colombian Caribbean, Los Taganga shows that coastal communities demand management of the sea and submerged resources, including archaeological sites. The case of the wreck known as the San José Galleon has shown that wrecks such as this one should be analyzed and understood together with the Indigenous Peoples who created the wealth on that ship (Buitrago et al., 2021). As we saw in chapter 12, the concern for submerged cultural heritage is related to the individual agency of the subjects who end up, almost accidentally, being custodians of these heritages. In a certain sense, this local capacity to participate in the management of submerged archaeological heritage, as shown in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, reveals a state weakness in the management of archaeological research that should be configured into constant efforts to inject funds and generate legislation in favor of archaeological heritage.

In the case of South America, including the Colombian Caribbean, state weakness in the financing of archaeological research is concomitant with the existence of detailed legislation regulating preventive archaeology programs, in such a way that archaeological research has almost been abandoned to turn the profession into a site release technique (Londoño, 2016; Gnecco, 2018). Amid this correlation of forces, as systems of recognition of cultural differences appear, disciplines such as archaeology become instruments of the market, losing their critical potential.

Throughout this book, we have seen the unfolding of several themes that are global and that, in the continental and insular Caribbean and in Latin America in general, acquire various nuances. The issue of low state commitment to archaeological research agendas emerges. This is a problem not only for the Antilles, but also for Latin America. In most cases, doing archaeology in Latin America implies being associated with universities that require researchers to teach classes while using their vacations to do fieldwork. There is no research career in Latin American countries except Chile, Argentina, and Mexico, so archaeological research takes time from other professional activities, even requiring the sacrifice of family time. Another significant problem has to do with colonial heritage. Historical sites intended to become references of heritage often carry the burden of being the materiality of oppressive systems. People then make efforts to disarticulate these historical pressures and turn the spaces into references to the glamour of the past, erasing things like slavery. This has happened in Cartagena de Indias; the saturation of the city's historical center with tourists takes advantage of the local workers to go through the old streets in carriages pulled by starving horses. In this way, the tourist has an impression of colonialism as an aesthetic experience and does not really have contact with the materialities of human trafficking and the role of these enslaved people in forming the city and its walls. In addition to the lack of state support for research, together with the problems of a colonial legacy, we encounter another issue: the existence of native populations for whom archaeological research is a problem in itself. In the case of the Indigenous peoples of the Colombian Caribbean, such as the Koguis, archaeological research projects are a challenge to local laws that prohibit the collection of buried or surface archaeological objects. Although Indigenous archaeology projects have been proposed (Izquierdo 2021), Indigenous methodologies are not yet part of the agenda of the full Indigenous social movement of the Colombian Caribbean. We can affirm that in the case of the Colombian Caribbean, archaeological practice must correspond to the social movement's demands; otherwise, it would be too complicated to access sites. Moreover, the Indigenous social movements do not want a history of migrations and catastrophes, but rather a history of their survival. As we saw throughout the book, especially in the interview with Kalinago Chief Irvince Auguiste, this also happens in the Antilles; undoubtedly, amid the promotion and protection of archaeological heritage, the number of groups that claim Amerindian affiliations will increase.

In addition to these problems, the future demands research into regional history to better understand the Caribbean—i.e., not from the classical perspectives that divide it into two poles, one insular and the other continental,

which are more a reflection of colonial experiences than historical dynamics, including pre-Hispanic times. Undoubtedly, the classic and monotonous questions about the famous Arawak migration on the western side, or the famous Chibcha migration on the eastern side, must give way to an understanding of the landscapes that have gestated over centuries of human occupation, which implied the establishment of circuits of exchanges that we have barely begun to learn about. Only a few years ago, some researchers created models to understand Indigenous navigation in the eastern Caribbean (Callaghan & Bray, 2007), as there is no evidence of Indigenous maritime technologies except for some stone anchors found in Santa Marta, Colombia (Londoño, 2021b). However, ethnographic data reveal Indigenous marine communication technologies in the Caribbean; ethnographic work with Kalinago carpenters (Shearn, 2020) has shown the existence of traditional maritime technologies that allow us to create models to infer systems of interisland relations in pre-Hispanic times. The same occurs in the Colombian Caribbean, where Taganga carpenters teach local skills for manufacturing single-trunk canoes or monoxiles, described in early conquest documents as the Indigenous maritime technology par excellence (see e.g., Fitzpatrick, 2013).

In conclusion, the Caribbean should be looked at from other perspectives, ones that do not involve colonial prejudices, such as understanding migrations as a motivating factor for archaeological research. Likewise, the Caribbean must be viewed in its totality as a space of multiple interactions with diverse intensities. Finally, the Caribbean must be understood as a decolonial space par excellence since, in the constitution of its society, the submission of Amerindian communities and the establishment of slavery generated a culture of resistance that is undoubtedly a modern political expression. Without addressing these new fronts of work that the book opens up, we can do little to generate the epistemological and political revolutions we need in these uncertain times. In any case, we must remember Trouillot's statement that the Caribbean is an open frontier for anthropological theory (Trouillot, 1992).

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What is the role of local Caribbean individuals and communities in creating and perpetuating archaeological heritage? How has archaeological knowledge been integrated into education plans in different countries? This book aims to fill a gap in both archaeological scholarship and popular knowledge by providing a platform for local Caribbean voices to speak about the archaeological heritage of their region. To achieve this, each chapter of the book focuses on identifying and developing strategies that academics, heritage practitioners, and non-scholars from the insular Caribbean can adopt to stimulate a necessary dialogue on how archaeological heritage is used and produced on various academic, political, and social levels.

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