

THE CARIBBEAN: ORIGIN OF THE MODERN WORLD



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Consuelo Naranjo Orovio, M^a Dolores González-Ripoll Navarro and
María Ruiz del Árbol Moro (editors)



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Introduction

This book is the result of collaboration between researchers participating in this project, belonging to 15 institutions in Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America, with their different values and cultures, working methods and needs.

The “Connected Worlds: The Caribbean, Origin of Modern World” project, started in 2019 and coordinated by Consuelo Naranjo Orovio from the CSIC Institute of History, seeks to establish an academic dialogue between Europe and the Caribbean. It is a project funded by the European Commission in the Horizon 2020 programme, under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie modality, Grant Agreement No 823846.

Its transnational approach allows addressing issues about the shaping of the Atlantic World since 1492, all of them clearly contemporary: the definition of the Caribbean as a space for cultural, economic and social interactions, slavery, the creation of the concept of race, racism, the policies of the great empires and their struggles to dominate the region, local resistance, the circulation of knowledge, regional identities, the sustainable conservation of natural and cultural heritage, urban, political, economic and social development models, the representations in and of the Caribbean, cultural exchanges and dialogues of the region and literature.

This book, aimed at the educational community, presents the different aspects discussed in the project. The objective is to provide an accessible and rigorous work tool to professors, to the educational community in general but, in particular, to that linked to the last years of education, that is, to students between the ages of 14 and 17.

The volume is structured in eight parts. Contributions, varying in number depending on the addressed topics, discuss key aspects related to each of the major issues of the project.

The first part is dedicated to the Caribbean space, a structured geopolitical space, in which economic, political, social and cultural contacts flow from one island to another, as well as to American continental lands. The three chapters that address this topic deepen in the cultural and social processes that converge in the building of the Caribbean world between the 15th and 21st centuries.

Slavery is one of the key aspects to know the social and cultural characteristics of the Caribbean region today. The most important issues for understanding its origin, development and consequences are explained in the second and third parts of the book. Its analysis is essential to comprehend and assess the formation of ideas and practices concerning racial classification and racism. Racism occupies the fourth part of the book which provides clues to understanding its validity in today's societies.

Closely related to these aspects is the study of the multiple identities and cultural forms in Caribbean societies, dealt with in the fifth, sixth and seventh parts of the volume. In the fifth part, special attention is paid to the processes of cultural dialogue through the study of heritage, identities and languages, while the sixth and seventh parts are dedicated to the socio-economic development models of the region and, specifically, to the historical processes that have shaped it. Special attention is given to the study of sugar cultivation, production and marketing for its crucial importance in understanding the functioning of the slave system and the role of the Caribbean in the configuration of the modern world.

The book ends with a global vision of the region's literature. In this part the Caribbean's cultural diversity emerges through the written testimonies, themes and figures that have nurtured a rich cultural exchange.

With this volume we want to contribute, in short, to the knowledge of the past and present of Caribbean countries and their connection with the rest of Latin America, Europe and Africa. The various themes emphasize topical issues that cannot be missing in the higher education of our societies, whose classrooms, a true reflection of society, are marked by integration, multiculturalism and coexistence between different cultures. Education therefore must contribute to the integration of human diversity and the banishment of concepts of one-

upmanship between populations, based on the misconception regarding the existence of races in the human species.

We live in a society characterized by an easy access to information. However, unfortunately neither its didactic quality nor its veracity are permanently guaranteed. In this context, in globalized societies such as ours, informed by websites and social networks, the development of critical thinking in educational training is essential. In order to achieve this, it is vital to have well-founded prior knowledge, impregnated with ethical values, which is impossible to acquire in a self-taught way, let alone, by merely surfing the Internet.

Not all learning can be done through digital presentation, video or the manipulation of processed data. This is true especially in disciplines such as history, in which the role of the educational community is essential. Professors and teachers are the foundation of the preservation of society's cultural heritage that is, in turn, key to its historical identity. For this reason, they have to be literate from a scientific and humanistic point of view.

This book is presented so that the educational community has the latest and necessary scientific knowledge, in a clear and accessible way, for its transmission to new generations, and contributes -through education and historical knowledge- to combat the discrimination against non-white populations in Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America. Through studies we try to promote, rescue and protect our historical memory and cultural expressions of different peoples, as well as enhance dialogue, debate and international cooperation.

In this book, teachers and students will find multimedia resources that expand the gathered information and various interviews with Caribbean history specialists, designed and conducted by Consuelo Naranjo Orovio and edited by Luis Centuri3n, from Ediciones Doce Calles publishing house team, who is also a project member:

<http://youtube.com/c/ConneccaribbeanProyecto>

For more information: <http://conneccaribbean.com/>

I THE CARIBBEAN SPACE



1. The Caribbean: strategic space of imperial rivalry
2. Spanish scientific expeditions to the New World
3. Caribbean fortifications, cities and ports
(16th -18th centuries)
4. Urbanism and modernization in the Caribbean area

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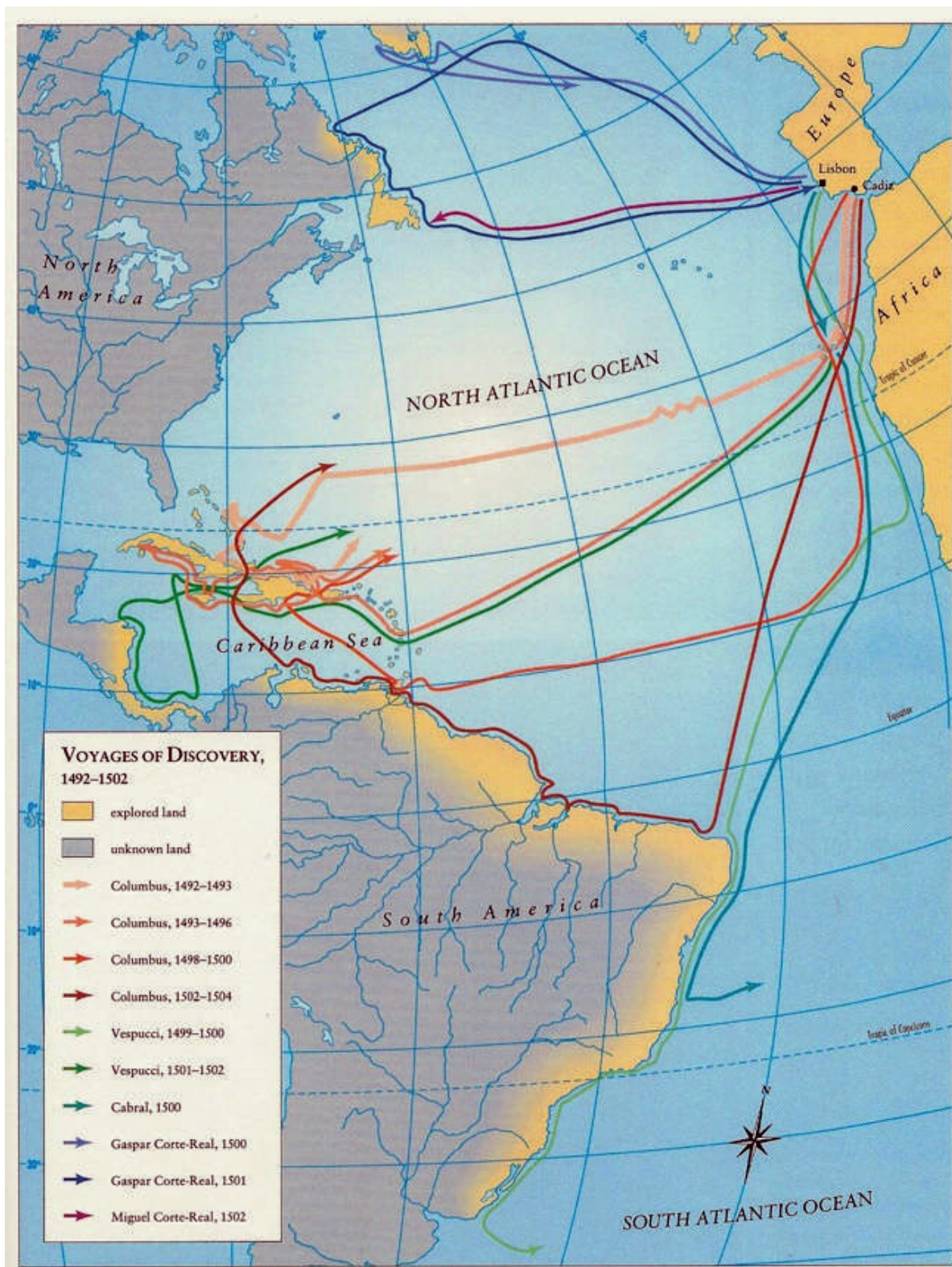
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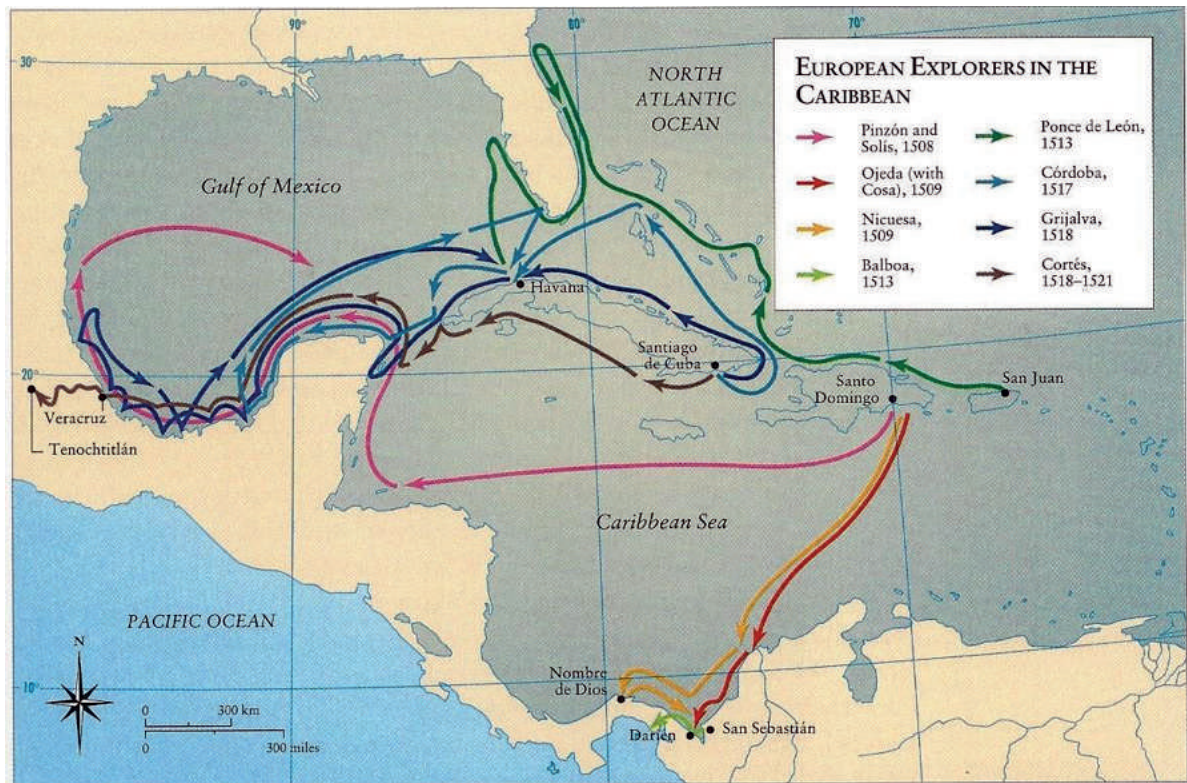
The Caribbean: strategic space of imperial rivalry

Some historians have considered The Caribbean Sea or Antilles Sea as the “American Mediterranean”. It is a sea located between the two American continental masses, North America and South America, east of the Central American isthmus. Therefore it bathes the coasts of the geographical region known as Central America.

What does the Caribbean or Antilles Sea remind us of? For many of us, it is a world of pirates and buccaneers, of galleons full of treasures and never-ending adventures. Almost everyone has seen one of the Pirates of the Caribbean movies; if we leave out some of its fantasy, we can perceive a lively image of the islands and their history back in colonial times in the 17th and 18th centuries: dazzling tropical landscapes, a multi-color sea, black African slaves and constant fights between pirates, Englishmen and Spaniards. Let us explore a little about the history and geography of this fascinating world.

The first conquest expeditions started in the Antilles, advanced towards Mexico (Cortés, 1519) and then later towards Peru (Pizarro, 1531-1532). There were large indigenous populations in these countries, as well as highly advanced civilizations and great riches in gold and especially silver. The two large centers of the Spanish Empire in America settled there during the 16th and 17th centuries. Antilles was the key to both centers as well as the axis of communication with the Iberian metropolis. This gave the region we are studying notable geopolitical importance.





The Spanish Empire: Commercial Traffic

During the 16th and 17th centuries and the first half of the 18th century, the great mineral riches of America, produced thanks to subjected indigenous labor, arrived to Spain on annual galleon fleets that traveled on a long sea route through the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans until Seville. On the way back to America, the galleons carried all kinds of European products, eagerly awaited by Spanish and Creole settlers.

Until today, the Caribbean has been defined by its strategic position between Europe and the continental lands of the New World, by its exuberant nature that attracts both tourism but also hurricanes and earthquakes, by its ethnic and cultural diversity, almost unique in the world after the unfortunate disappearance of the native population in the 16th century, and by its enormous political, economic and linguistic fragmentation: with Spanish as the most spoken language, followed by French and Creole, and English being the least spoken.

The characteristic variety of the Caribbean has to do with the historical process lived over time in a region whose geography is quite singular, with more than 300 islands, islets, keys and rocks, with a climate of extreme seasons (a wet one from April to October and a dry one from November to March), and waters that are difficult to navigate due to storms and sea currents.

The Caribbean was the first American space of European expansion and, since 1492, the Antilles Islands became a place of adjustment for newcomers, a springboard to jump to the mainland and conquer great cultures, and the first sugar trading experience thanks to African slave labor. The occupation of the largest islands by the Spaniards —Cuba, Puerto Rico and Hispaniola (today divided between Dominican Republic in the East and Haiti in the West)— made the smaller islands, called the Lesser Antilles, receive less attention and soon they were attractive to other colonial powers (Great Britain, France, Holland). These countries found the way to hinder the trade of American silver on its route to Spain, competing for the control of maritime routes and strategic points, and making the Caribbean a new scenario for their political and religious disputes,



and with the islands as future exchange pieces in peace treaties.

Thus, in the 16th century there were continued attacks and looting by the Portuguese, French and English upon enclaves such as San Germán (Puerto Rico), Santiago de Cuba and Havana (Cuba) or Santo Domingo; many of these were in the hands of pirates turned into corsairs (thanks to permission granted by monarchs through “Letters of Marque”), for instance Jacques de Sores or well-known John Hawkins and Francis Drake, for whose services the latter was appointed knight by the

Queen of England. In order to defend its towns, Spain initiated a program to build defensive fortresses at main ports like San Juan in Puerto Rico (San Felipe del Morro) or Havana (the Castillo de la Fuerza and the Castillo del Morro).

In the 17th century, Europeans decided to permanently occupy Caribbean territories, so the English, French, Dutch and even Danes fought the natives (the Carib Indians) and spread across the different islands in search of the best and safest places for ships and the most advantageous position to access other islands: Great Britain from 1624 at St. Kitts —shared with France until 1713—, and in subsequent years Barbados, Barbuda, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat and Jamaica, among others; Holland settled in the islands off the coast of Venezuela (Aruba, Curacao, Bonaire) from where it organized a profitable contraband. France settled in Martinique, Guadeloupe, Grenada, etc., until 1697, when the Treaty of Ryswick with Spain formalized the occupation of the western part of Hispaniola Island, naming it Saint-Domingue or French Santo Domingo.

Many of these territories specialized in tropical crops destined for European markets with rising demand, so at that time it was of more value to own a small sugar-producing island in the Caribbean than the enormous extension of Canada since any island meant a position of power, a post of superiority, a



La Cabaña, Fortress in Havana

connecting post and a trading post. Therefore, by the end of the 17th century, the Caribbean had become an international sea where the Spanish monarchy saw the threat of other powers (especially Great Britain) to its sea routes as well as the control of its overseas territories and began to grant Letters of Marque to its subjects to defend the Indies.

Wars on both sides of the Atlantic

Anglo-Spanish rivalry existed in Europe and America, which led both imperial powers to engage in periodic wars over and over again throughout the 18th century, being France an ally or enemy according to the situation. In fact, there is only one decade, that of 1750, when Fernando VI opted for neutrality and freed Spain from international conflicts because, between the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and those of the independence of the Spanish-American colonies in the early 19th century, there was a fierce fight between the powers turning the Antillean space into a historical main character of great importance for geopolitics at that time.

The War of the Spanish Succession (after the end of the Austrian dynasty, when Charles II died childless) expanded French influence with the arrival of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain, and throughout the century allowed several Spanish/French families to pact, thanks to blood ties, against England. In fact, the first pact was the result of the Peace of Utrecht (1714) which was especially beneficial for the British who kept Menorca and Gibraltar in Europe and achieved the so-called “*asiento de negros*” or monopoly of African slave trade to Spanish America for thirty years.

In 1739 another armed conflict, with a political-dynastic and commercial background, exploded between Great Britain and Spain, the War of Austrian Succession or “War of Jenkins’ Ear” that lasted until 1748 and during which there were large-scale war campaigns in the Caribbean and the capture of Spanish plazas. Thereafter, Spain accepted that its destiny regarding the overseas land should be settled, rather than in European battlefields. Moreover, Spain was, to a large extent, a second-rate power that sought its place under the authentic axis of international life of the 18th century —the Anglo-French rivalry— but

still possessed the most extensive colonial empire on Earth and was necessary to defend with fortifications, troops and considerable naval forces.

By the middle of the century, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) constituted the greatest conflict between Great Britain and France (with Spain as an ally by the third Pacte de Famille) and America became the main, almost leading, setting for the first time in the wars of the old continent. The Caribbean area was badly affected both during the conflict as well as in the favorable peace conditions for Great Britain, that kept part of French Louisiana (the other part was for Spain) and took over Florida —region held by Spain since 1513— in exchange for returning Havana, whose takeover in 1762 caused great commotion in the Hispanic world.

If the war left a feeling of revenge in the defeated (especially France) that decisively marked immediate foreign policy, Spain also verified the state of helplessness their territories were in and began to reconsider its American policy. In order to reinforce their overseas political and economic control, they carried out different reforms —the so— called *Bourbon reforms*: creation of intendencias (*intendencias*), greater freedom of trade, increased taxation, fortifications, statistical work and even scientific commissions for greater knowledge of natural resources and better planning and defense of the territory.

But since 1779 Spain once again confronted Great Britain by supporting the independence of the northern English colonies with money, agents and war material; due to the peace of 1783, the Spaniards recovered western Florida and free entry to the gulf while the United States emerged as a threatening rival that would wipe out Spanish sovereignty in only three decades.

In the course of battles, Spanish sailors were aware of the mistakes in the nautical charts they used containing maps drawn up in previous centuries or recorded abroad; maps that could —even— contain intentional errors in the location of areas of interest by cartographers in each country. The situation worsened because the Hispanic monarchy, conscious of the vulnerability of its empire, had exercised a secrecy policy by hiding its geographical knowledge and limiting cartographic publications. Consequently, a program of expeditions was activated to improve mapping and ensure control of a region of great strategic value. To carry them out, they had to learn new technical and scientific methods, buy instruments and know how to use

them in addition to keeping them in good use. A reform agenda of the study plans of marine guards was initiated and a course of major studies was established, what would be known today as a specialized master's degree, to train professionals in the latest scientific knowledge. The explorations went to the area of Campeche, Florida, the Bahama Channel, the island of Trinidad, the eastern coast of Cuba and attempted to cross the entire Mexican territory and the Lesser Antilles in the last extensive expedition destined to this area called the "Atlas of North America."

The European political upheaval of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, first with the French revolution in 1789 and then the Napoleonic Wars, (1797-1815) deeply affected the Caribbean with the outbreak of the Haitian slave revolution in 1791 that would see the first free black state of America emerge in 1804.

Various subsequent conflicts led to the signing of the Peace of Basel (1795) whereby Spain ceded the eastern part of Hispaniola, current Dominican Republic, to France while the English took over the island of Trinidad in 1797, when they also attempted the assault on San Juan of Puerto Rico without succeeding.

New Caribbean empires and strategies

The 19th century is marked by the expansion of the United States in the continental area with the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the acquisition of Florida in 1819, and became the dominant power in the Caribbean after the victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 in Cuba and Puerto Rico, a country that from 1952 till today retains the status of Free Associated State of the US. Other relevant events of the economic and military geostrategy of the United States, that had repercussions throughout the Caribbean area, were the building of the Panama Canal between 1904 and 1914 and the control exercised over the territory or "Canal Zone" until the end of the century, as well as the acquisitions of islands such as the archipelago of the US Virgin Islands in 1916 and the development of a policy in the "American Mediterranean" that is the Caribbean that led to the invasion of US troops in Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. From WWII, the Cold War was embodied in

the Caribbean with the gradual independence of many colonies from their European metropolises, the Cuban revolution (1959) and the consequent anti-communist struggle of the United States until 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the USSR, even though the influences of Russian and American powers survive in the area in the 21st century.

Towards the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the Caribbean has been transformed. Sugar plantations are ever more a reality of the past and small islands have become privileged tourist destinations for rich countries (beaches, palm trees, sun, rum and coke); there is an abundance of luxury casinos and hotels. Maquilas (industrial workshops) and money transfers from migrants living in the United States and Europe, are part of the livelihoods of the working classes. Another important element: drug trafficking. The Caribbean and Central America are an important part of its transit route, from South America to the United States.

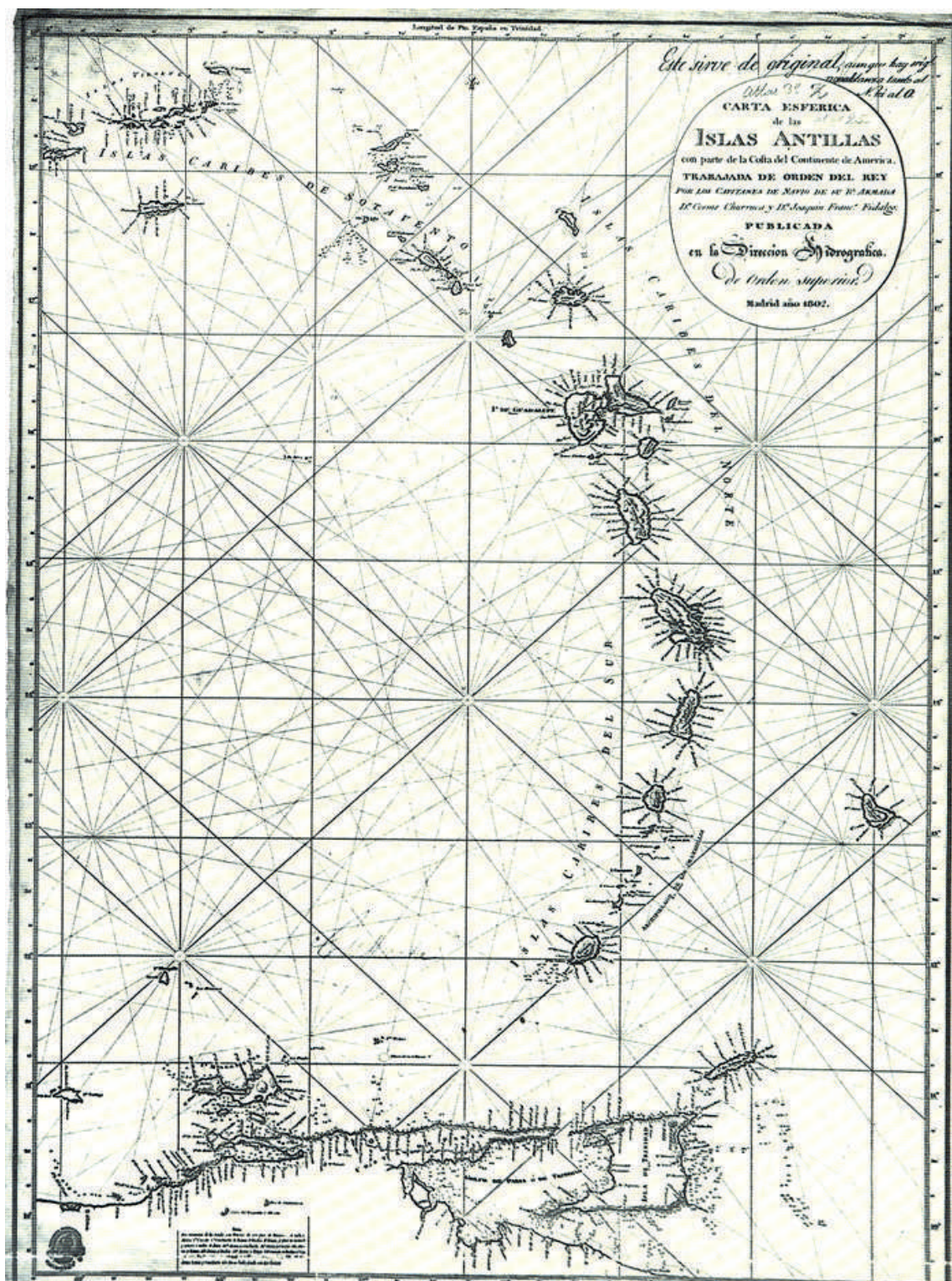
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MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

- <https://enciclopediapr.org/encyclopedia/el-caribe-en-el-siglo-xx/>
- <http://www.caribbean-atlas.com/es/>
- <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/358656>
- <https://idpc.net/es/incidencia-politica/caribe>
- <https://www.documentales-online.com/la-guerra-fria-18-intrigas-en-latinoamerica-1954-a-1990/>
- <https://youtu.be/hbqmlNqhfPI>

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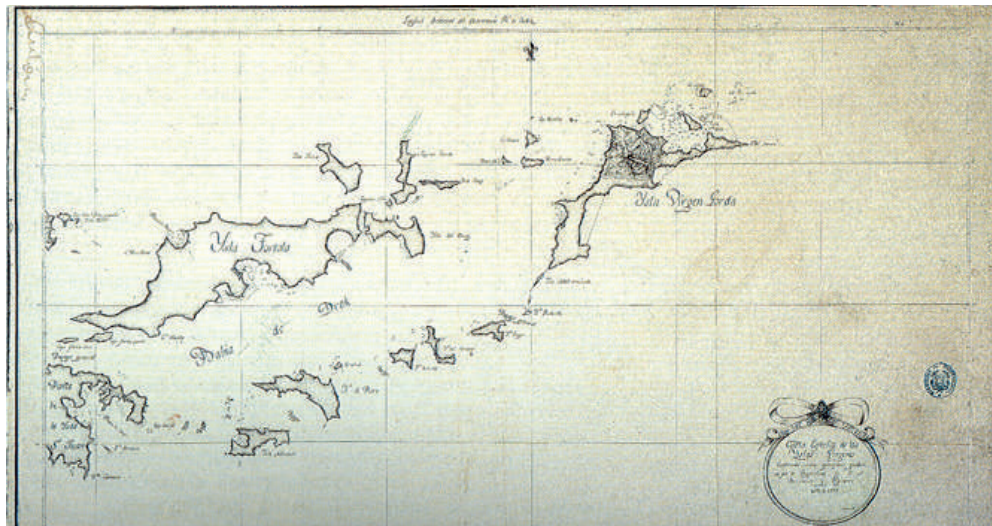


Spherical nautical chart of the Antilles Islands, 1807 (*Atlas of North America expedition, 1792-1795*). Madrid Naval Museum Archives.



Port of Spain, Trinidad & Tobago

Map of the Antilles, extending from Puerto Rico in the northwest, to Trinidad and Tobago in the southeast and showing Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Tortuga, Grenada, Martinique, Dominica, Barbuda, Barbados, St. Barthélemy, St. Kitts, Sint Maarten and Guadeloupe, among others. Several major sea battles are depicted. From Mallet's monumental *Description de l'Univers*, first published in Paris in 1683.



Nautical chart of the US Virgin Islands (North American Atlas expedition, 1792-1795). Madrid Naval Museum Archives.

2

Spanish scientific expeditions to the New World

Some of the greatest contributions of Spanish science to universal knowledge come from the explorations that Spanish naturalists carried out in America since the 16th century, in their search for natural products useful for medicine, pharmacy, commerce, and others. The first relevant scientific expedition was undertaken by Francisco Hernández (1570-1577) -*protomédico* of Philip II-, although the work of chroniclers from the Indies that include scientific content is also necessary to take into account, such as that by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, José de Acosta, Bernardino de Sahagún, etc. as well as that of some doctors who made botanical novelties from the American world known, like Nicolás Monardes.

With the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain in the 18th century, the number of scientific expeditions is immense and diverse. From maritime and river explorations, high quality mapping contributions, astronomical and geodetic expeditions to natural reconnaissance that exposed European science to new plant and animal species, at the time when modern natural history emerged as a scientific discipline. Among these excursions, we must highlight the Spanish-French geodesic mission to Quito (1735-1744) involving Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. One of the main enterprises of Enlightened Reformism in Spain were the expeditions in which the navy played a leading role by turning their ships into “floating laboratories”. There, new astronomical measurement methods were tested with instruments that helped improve existing maps.

The belief that the seas were destined to become final confrontation “theaters” between European powers, increasingly ambitious to control maritime and trade routes, forced them to protect the neuralgic points of Spanish overseas: the Caribbean, the northwest of the American continent and the Southern Cone. The organization and sending of Spanish expeditions to colonial domains, besides being caused by the enlightened Bourbon scientific policy, was the result of a series of political factors such as boundary delimitation, expansion control over other imperial powers; economy, such as increased trade, containment of smuggling and exploitation of new natural resources; and demographic and cartographic factors. The expedition members were chosen among sailors, doctors, pharmacists, naturalists and Spanish military engineers, in addition to some enlightened representative of the Creole elite. Support staff were artists and painters, trained both at academies in the metropolis, such as San Fernando, and in the colonies, especially that of San Carlos in New Spain, and were responsible for representing exotic specimens and drawing maps of explored territories.

Among the first expeditions we would like to recall are those destined to establish borders between Spanish and Portuguese domains in America, known as border expeditions. In the mid-18th century, tension caused by the clash between Spaniards and Portuguese was about to provoke a serious conflict in the South American area. The foreign policy of Ferdinand VI, headed by his minister Carvajal, tried to solve the problem by signing, in 1750, the Treaty of Madrid, which recognized Spanish and Portuguese possessions in South America.

The rise to the throne of Charles III boosted some of the scientific projects of the previous reign. In the field of science, militarization and centralization continued to be two of its most pronounced features, as well as acquiring technical knowledge through the sending of pensioners and spies or the hiring of foreign experts. Likewise, public health care was greatly emphasized and, after expelling the Jesuits, universities were reformed, which did not yield the expected results in the science field so Surgery schools, Botanical Gardens, chemical laboratories, the Royal Cabinet of Natural History, etc. were founded, directly linked to the State or promoted from it, as was the case of the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country, an important means of transmitting enlightened ideology. Ambitious Americanist research programs

with military, sanitary, mining-metallurgical and natural resources goals are also developed, reflected in innumerable scientific expeditions.

Even though we can affirm that the exploration of the Pacific was always a part of the plans of the Spanish monarchy, great expeditions fostered by France and England, together with the advances made by the Russians in the north, brought about the organization of a series of trips destined to the imperial control and scientific acknowledgement of their possessions in the “Spanish lake”. One of the activity areas of these expeditions was the Californian coast and the northwest of America, areas of great strategic potential from a political and economic point of view, where the Russians, French, English and North Americans would try to establish bases from which they could launch exploration trips and start a lucrative fur trade. It should be noted, however, that one of the first Spanish proceedings in California were exclusively of scientific nature and in collaboration with the French, with whom they had already carried out other campaigns. Thus, while Captain Cook was preparing, in 1769, to make his observations on the transit of Venus on the island of Tahiti, a Spanish-French expedition led by astronomer Jean Baptiste Chappe d’Auteroche, with the support of Salvador de Medina and Vicente Doz, installed their observatory on the Californian Mission San José to study the same phenomenon. After a multitude of reconnaissance expeditions sent from the port of San Blas, the last relevant expedition was carried out before the exploration of Malaspina, between 1790 and 1791 by order of Bodega and Quadra who intended to reinforce the defenses at Nootka and proclaim Spanish sovereignty on the northwest American coast, in the face of possible incursions by other European powers. On the other hand, English and French exploration of the Patagonian coast and their desire to settle there and on the Falkland Islands, led to the sending of frigate *Santa María de la Cabeza* in 1785, with commanding officer Captain Antonio de Córdova. The seafarers’ stay at the Strait of Magellan resulted in the elaboration of the best maps and charts in this region, despite the fact that the explorers had not been able to finish their trip due to adverse weather conditions. This circumstance forced the Spanish government to send a second expedition, carried out in 1788 and 1789, with Antonio de Córdova in command of the *Santa Casilda* and *Santa Eulalia* packet boats.

The enlightened policy carried out in Spain during the 18th century attached great importance to new scientific disciplines that, like botany, were at the service of the project to modernize economic and social structures. On expeditions aimed towards acquiring knowledge about New World nature, the Royal Cabinet of Natural History and the Royal Botanical Garden of Madrid would be in charge of carrying out the new plans, similar to what was happening in London and Paris. The expeditions and trips directed by these institutions - especially by Casimiro Gómez Ortega, director of the Royal Botanical Gardens - were responsible, on the one hand, for preparing a catalog about the three kingdoms of nature for their posterior control and, on the other hand, of the implementation of certain reformist measures in the colonies, especially regarding health and education.

The first official botanical expedition to the viceroyalties was mediated by the French interest in revealing the secrets of American nature and its possible applications, while obtaining valuable information on Spanish possessions in America. Additionally, the search for the manuscripts of J. Jussieu was pretexted, a scientist who had participated in the Spanish-French geodesic expedition of La Condamine (1735-1745), mission assigned to Quito in order to clarify the controversy over the shape of the Earth, which included Spanish midshipmen Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa as members. In 1777, the following were appointed expedition members: Hipólito Ruiz, first botanist, José Pavón, second botanist, and, from the French side, Joseph Dombey as “accompanying member”. Being almost an exception, we will highlight that part of the scientific results of the expedition to the Viceroyalty of Peru were published and produced a strong impact on the international scientific community.

The second botanical expedition organized by Charles III to the Viceroyalty of New Granada was that of Doctor José Celestino Mutis, from Cádiz. After the approval of the expedition in 1782 by the Archbishop-Viceroy, he began to build a *Flora of Bogotá* (*Flora de Bogotá*), to acclimate cinnamon trees, promote his tea from Bogotá, look for sources of mercury, test mining techniques, implement health measures, etc. as well as organize the Royal Monopoly of Quinine. This expedition gave way to an authentic scientific institution with centralized tasks and dedicated to various disciplines. Here activities were professionalized by forming Creole scientists, who achieved some autonomy

until they created a small scientific community of national characteristics. In addition, Salvador Rizo directed a magnificent painting workshop dedicated to the iconographic representations of the Flora of Bogotá, which was attended by numerous artists and resulted in a magnificent 6,000 sheet collection.

The third botanical expedition to the viceroyalties was destined for New Spain, in 1786, under the command of Aragonese Doctor Martín de Sessé and the participation of other naturalists such as Vicente Cervantes, who formed outstanding disciples such as José Mariano Mociño. The royal order of 1786 had a botanical garden established in Mexico with its corresponding professorship, and created an expedition that had to “make drawings, collect natural products, illustrate and complete the writings of Francisco Hernández”. The arrival of the expedition to New Spain meant the introduction of modern natural history and the exploration of an immense territory that included Mexico, part of the present United States, Central America and the West Indies.

The Enlightened policy was designed to know, reform and ensure the American possessions of the Spanish Empire by sending scientific expeditions, and reached its peak organizing an expedition around the world with Alejandro Malaspina (1789-1794), an attempt to make a great circumnavigation expedition emulating the expeditions of Captain Cook and La Perouse. Two newly constructed corvettes were arranged for the trip, *la Descubierta* and *la Atrevida*, led by Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra, respectively. Working as scientists were Antonio de Pineda y Ramírez - a military man who had completed his science studies at the Royal Botanical Gardens and the Royal Cabinet of Natural History of Madrid-, Luis Née, a French botanist, and as a third member, Bohemian naturalist Tadeo Haenke. They also counted on a group of painters which was renewed throughout the trip. The results of this expedition were very valuable in different science fields, but were hardly known due to the sad ending of Malaspina, imprisoned because he was accused of conspiracy against the monarch and his favorite Godoy.

In the 19th century, we will only mention the so-called Scientific Commission of the Pacific (1862-1866), which traveled along the coasts of America, from Brazil to California, including important naturalists such as Marcos Jiménez

de la Espada, Manuel Almagro, Fernando Amor, Francisco Martínez Sáez and photographer Rafael Castro, a genuine graphic chronicler of this scientific adventure organized by Elizabeth II.

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On Malaspina 2010, a projection into the future of Malaspina

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UNITS OF GRAPHIC MATERIAL

Illustrations by José Celestino Mutis:

<http://www.rjb.csic.es/icones/mutis/paginas/>

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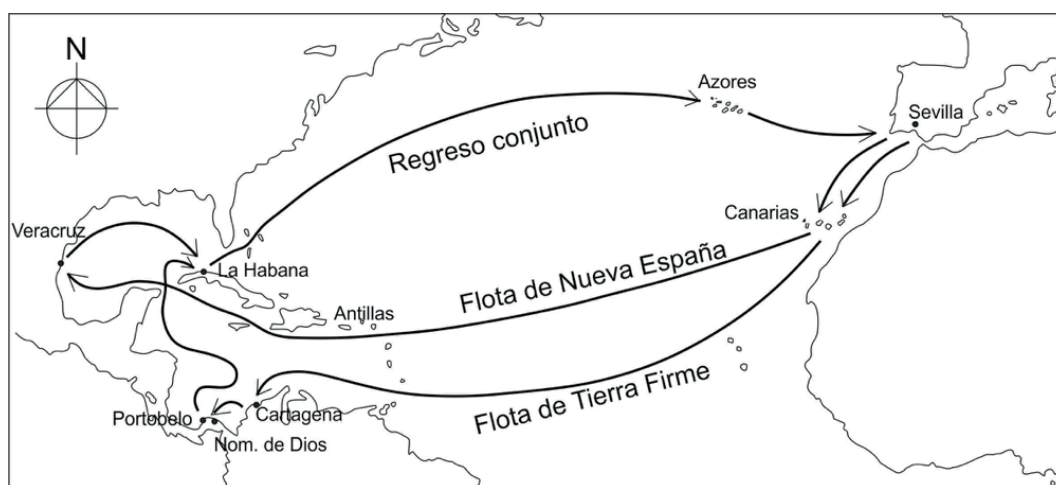
Caribbean fortifications, cities and ports (16th-18th centuries)

Fleets, fairs and ports

Few years had gone by since the first European colonizers arrived to the New World, when Spanish monarchy established and regulated trade trafficking between the metropolis and newly conquered territories. The exploitation of American resources had to be organized and audited, according to market experts of Spanish courts, to prevent other powers from participating in the profits of the bustle of goods and gold and silver stocks that those faraway lands provided to the Spanish crown. To ensure this control, overseas trade ships were ordered to leave from only one port in the Iberian Peninsula, the port of Seville. Furthermore, these ships could dock only at certain points on American coasts, previously specified, ports situated mostly in the Caribbean Sea –both on the Antilles islands as well as on the continent. Additionally, this trade traffic could not take place on single boats that departed or arrived at any time, but only together in large ship convoys called *Fleets*. These left Seville once a year and upon arriving to American ports and performing their trading activities at *Fairs* –large gatherings and business meetings for trade and exchange–, they all returned together to the Andalusian port once again. Therefore, it was possible to control all trade done with America and protect all ships from the danger of being attacked by pirates, corsairs or vessels belonging to other enemy powers.

Due to the large amount of merchandise and precious metals that were transported, and the many ships that Fleets had, it was necessary to divide them into two annual expeditions. One, named *Tierra Firme Fleet* or *The Galleons*, left Seville and went to the northern coasts of South America, especially to the port of Cartagena de Indias and the Panama Isthmus (where they disembarked merchandise destined to the Viceroyalty of Peru, and loaded metals from the Andes, especially from the Hill of Potosí); and another one called *New Spain Fleet* or *Azogue* which, after passing through the Antilles, sailed to the Mexican port of Veracruz where they would unload the merchandise and quicksilver (mercury, necessary for silver production from Mexican mines), and load the metal and other treasures from the Viceroyalty of Mexico. After carrying out these operations, both Fleets, the Galleons and the Azogue, would meet at the Cuban port of Havana to travel back together to Seville from there, passing through the Azores Islands. This Fleet system was named *Carreras de Indias*.

Spanish treasure fleet routes. N. Gutiérrez Montoya.



The Carrera de Indias turned these American ports, where the Fleets arrived and the Fairs were held, into the most important centers for trade and product and treasure exchange of the New World, therefore becoming increasingly large cities, where numerous merchants and a high population settled attracted by their wealth. In just a few years they grew in importance, had multiple warehouses, affluent customs and abundant metal deposits, where you could find a great plethora of shops and businesses, workshops, shipyards...thus, Cartagena de Indias, Veracruz, Nombre de Dios, Santo Domingo, Puerto

Rico, Havana... were soon emporiums of wealth whose legendary names were spread by the winds throughout the seas of the world.

Fame and fortune immediately brought about greed and the desire of many to steal those treasures –not only the pirates, corsairs or filibusters who sailed the seas in search of riches– but also other European crowns were tempted to own that source of wealth, which allowed Spanish monarchy to maintain large armies in Europe to fight back.

Afraid their American trade centers would be assaulted, which happened straight away (enemy attacks on these American ports increased daily from the mid-16th century), Spanish monarch Philip II started an ambitious Fortification plan for all of them so as to avoid the risk of them being looted or even losing them.

To take this forward, the most famous and experienced military engineers from all over Europe, mainly Italian and Spanish, crossed the sea and began to build great defense structures at these ports which, they assured, would prevent thieves from easily obtaining such precious spoils.



Main fortified Caribbean ports. N. Gutiérrez Montoya.

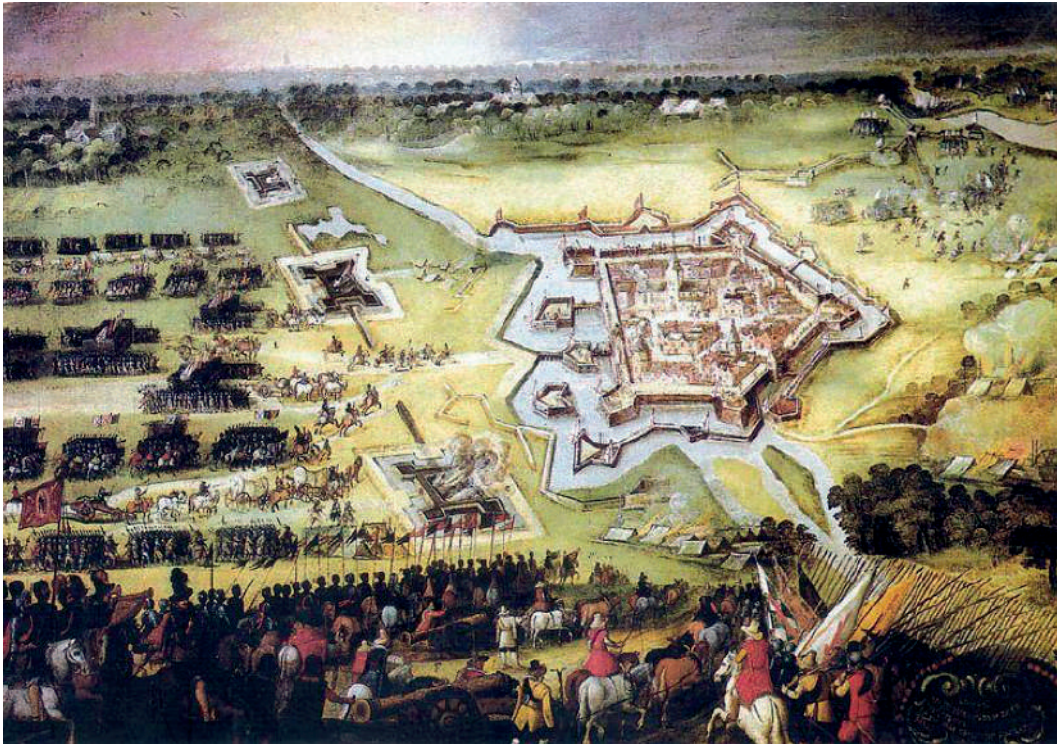


Siege of Deventer. 1591. Artillery easily brings down medieval walls of the city. Frans Hogenberg. https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:Deventer_1591.jpg, Public domain

The defensive plan of Philip II

In the second half of the 16th century, European wars and particularly those in Italy, Flanders and on French borders, had notably modified the old medieval scheme of defending towns and cities through isolated castles or high thin walls. The rapid development of artillery, consisting of large bronze cannons that shot heavy iron balls with great strength and speed, and more powerful propelling gunpowder, literally shattered old medieval walls –high so as to avoid an infantry assault, but unable to resist the persistent impact of many of these metal balls shot at a short distance.

Therefore a new fortification system was developed based on an innovative positioning of the defensive walls, concerning their size, thickness and location in the face of the enemy, trying to make it impossible for them to approach the fortified complex and readily install their artillery. Much lower but solid walls were organized in groups called *bastions*, in the shape of a diamond point so that



Siege of Groenlo. 1606. New fortifications prevent artillery from knocking them down. The infantry cannot attack and the besieging army is arrested. Peter Snayers. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Siege_of_Groenlo_November_9th_1606_Snayers.jpg#/media/Bestand:Siege_of_Groenlo_November_9th_1606_Snayers.jpg. Public domain

the enemy could hardly reach the façade. Powerful artillery was installed inside them, among robust battlements named *merlons*, which were continuously used to harass the enemy without letting them position themselves. The whole complex of bastions and walls were surrounded by a ditch –usually dry– to keep the infantry from comfortably approaching the fortified enclosure.

This new *Fortification Art* was studied at various academies and was especially disseminated in numerous printed treaties, most importantly that of the *Theory and Practice of Fortifications* by Cristóbal de Rojas in Spain, edited in Madrid by Luis Sánchez in 1598. This *Art* was so important in the development of the war that some authors describe this period as of the *Military Revolution* due to the transcendence of these new war techniques in European and World politics and economy, with the conflict extending among major powers to the end of the Earth.

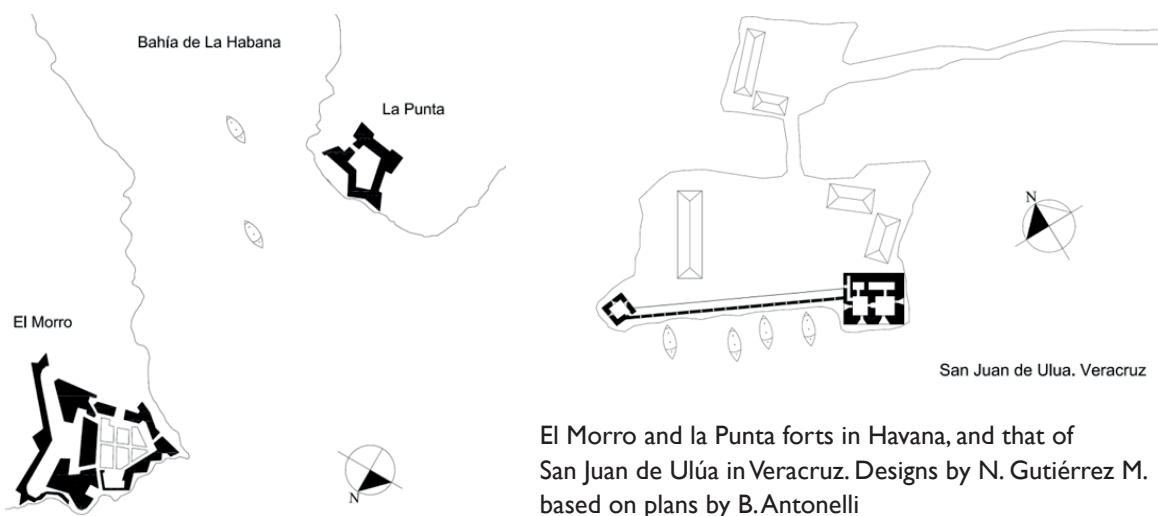


Cover of the abovementioned work

Philip II and later Philip III relied on their best engineers, among these the Antonelli brothers (Juan Bautista and Bautista), Tiburcio Spannocchi, Cristóbal de Roda and other many, to prepare and execute a vast defensive plan for all the American ports where Fleets docked and therefore, where they amassed their wealth. It was with this plan and others that followed that, in a short time, great fortifications were erected at these American ports and cities, in an attempt to ensure their safety in the face of enemy attacks.

Forts, bastions, batteries, hornworks, and enclosures constituted some of these major structures such as, for instance, the premises and castles of Cartagena de Indias, the San Juan de Ulúa fort in Veracruz, the Santiago de Araya fort, the San Lorenzo de Chagres castle (near Portobelo, in Panama), the Tres Reyes del Morro fort in Havana and in front of it the La

Punta fort next to the Real Fuerza, the Portobelo forts, the San Felipe del Morro Castle in Puerto Rico, the one of San Marcos in St. Augustine in Florida, the Santa Marta forts, the La Guaira batteries on the coast of Caracas, the batteries of Trujillo or Omoa, or the San Pedro de la Roca fortresses in Santiago de Cuba and the Ozama Fortress in Santo Domingo.



El Morro and la Punta forts in Havana, and that of San Juan de Ulúa in Veracruz. Designs by N. Gutiérrez M. based on plans by B. Antonelli

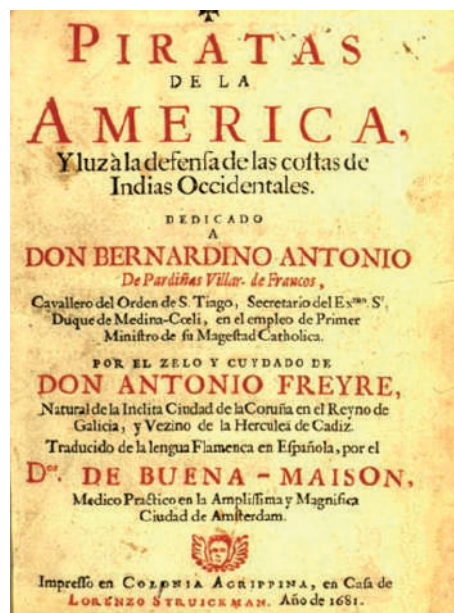
Success and failure

This first building phase at main Caribbean ports coincided with a myriad of pirate and corsair attacks, therefore forts and castles were continuously remade and rebuilt, progressively becoming larger, seeking to be impregnable. Sometimes the defenders were successful and forts held up through enemy attacks; at other times it was different, and port-cities were assaulted and looted. This sequence of robberies of Spanish treasures in the Caribbean constituted a widespread myth at European ports, changing quickly from reality to literature and dreams: the *Pirates of the Caribbean* were part of the imaginary of the time –on the one hand frightening due to the fear their evil caused; on the other hand, fantastic, as many were enraptured by the world of adventure and wealth they portrayed.

One of the most famous texts on this topic was written by a doctor who sailed with and served the best known corsairs and pirates, witnessing their adventures and outrages: Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. He called his work *The Buccaneers of America*, a best seller in 1678, when it was edited, in over 5 countries and several languages.

There were many pirates and corsairs that struck Caribbean ports for over a century and a half, from the mid-16th century to the end of the 17th, and

Cover of the first Spanish edition of the book by Exquemelin, Cologne, 1681, and one of its engravings that shows the assault of Morgan on Portobelo in 1669, depicted in quite a fantastic manner.



whose names and assaults remain in history: Roberto Baal attacked and sieged Cartagena de Indias in 1544, François Leclerc upon Santiago de Cuba in 1554, Jacques De Sores upon Santo Domingo in 1553 and Havana in 1555, Francis Drake upon Cartagena, Santo Domingo and St. Augustine in Florida in 1586, dying in an attack on Portobelo; Jean David Nau, known as François L'Olonnais attacked Maracaibo in 1566, Puerto Cabello in 1567 and the Central American coast in 1571, dying in Darién; George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, assaulted Puerto Rico in 1598, and previously Walter Raleigh conquered Trinidad, Caracas and then Guiana; John Hawkins also attacked Puerto Rico, and Edward Mansvelt the coast of Panamá; further on Henry Morgan struck Port-au-Prince in 1668, and Portobelo and Maracaibo in 1669, Chagres the next year and finally Panamá in 1671, and last but not least the final corsair assault on Caribbean ports, that of The Baron of Pointis and the Ducasse buccaneers on Cartagena de Indias in 1697, which they sieged and looted.

In any case, despite all the assaults and threats, and since it was such an immense territory to defend, the defensive plan designed by Philip II and executed by his engineers worked acceptably and delivered good outcomes. In general these ports and cities went through those one hundred and fifty years with relative safety, commercial trafficking was stable, losses were not very high and, additionally, these assaults and attacks led defensive structures, year after year, to continue growing in number and size at every port. In this way, at the end of the 17th century, the engineers of the King had laid the foundations for what would be one of the most important defense compounds in world history; the forts at Caribbean ports.

The 18th century. International wars and the new defensive plan

The *Art of Fortification*, started to be replaced by *poliorcetics* or the *Science of Fortification* from the end of the 17th century. Indeed, military engineers coming from Mathematics Academies founded all over Europe in the light of Enlightenment principles, learned that any defensive structure should be subjected to the *maxims* or principals of Mathematics and Physics which would make it impregnable. One of the initiators of this new science was French engineer Sebastián le Prestre, Marquis de *Vauban*. *According to him, by applying the maxims plus the hard work invested in great fortification structures,*

they would succeed in defending and saving human lives: La sueur épargne le sang (Sweat spares blood) wrote: “The preservation of the blood of one of our soldiers should be considered more than the loss of thousands of enemies”. For this, he noted, cities and strongholds should be so invincible that they would discourage the enemy from attacking them.

The following videos can be seen:

Vauban, La sueur épargne le sang. Film by Pascal Cuisot.

<https://youtu.be/p2d4YhrAY0s>

Architectures. La citadelle de Vauban. Art. France.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9Y-s56rXh0>

And so monumental structures were placed over the primitive fortifications built in previous centuries.

The 18th century was the century of great war conflicts, which were worldwide for the first time. For instance, such devastation had never been seen before in a European war as in the so-called Seven Years' War, leaving one and a half million dead and dozens of ravaged cities. Additionally, frequent battles between Atlantic European powers (England, France, and Spain) brought the most powerful armies and oldest troops to fight in the American continent. And the Caribbean was one of the main scenarios of all these battles. The engineers of the Spanish King, formed at new academies, were sent to strengthen the threatened New World, to the Caribbean in particular –the main theater of war- following the new *Science of Fortification* and applying its maxims: Herrera and Sotomayor, Agustín Crame, Antonio de Arévalo, Juan Bautista MacEvan, Díaz Navarro, Ignacio

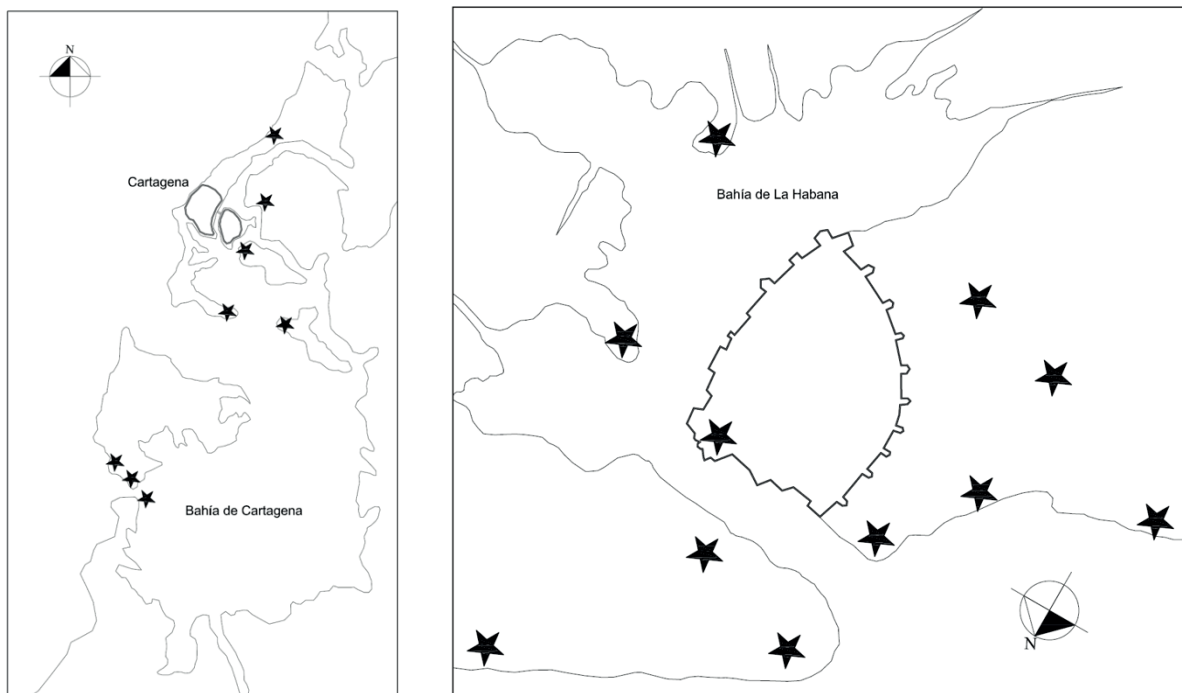
Uniform of the Engineers of the King.
1751. Juan Marchena Fernández et al.
*Uniforms of the Army of America and
the Philippines*, Ministry of Defense,
Madrid, 1991. Vol. III, n°. II. I. I.



de Sala, Jiménez Donoso...fortified the Caribbean seeking its impregnability which they achieved in large part, given that, despite the British attacks, and except the siege of Havana in 1762, the Caribbean ports successfully faced the offensives against them.

Thus, the large port compounds were full of bastions: Havana, for example, had a wall that enclosed it as well as the castles of El Morro, la Cabaña, la Punta, the Real Fuerza, Cojímar, San Lázaro, La Chorrera, Atarés and el Príncipe; all Cartagena was bastioned, both its plaza and its suburb Getsemaní, in addition they erected the exterior forts of San Fernando, San José, El Ángel, el Manzanillo, el Pastelillo, la Cruz Grande, San Felipe de Barajas, the hornworks of Palo Alto...In Veracruz, the great fort of San Juan de Ulúa was practically rebuilt facing the walled city; La Guaira was protected by several forts and over a dozen rugged batteries on hills surrounding the city; Puerto Cabello was defended by the San Felipe castle complex and the Solano stronghold; San Juan of Puerto Rico by the formidable bastions of El Morro, San Cristóbal and San Gerónimo; Santo Domingo by its city walls and the Real Fuerza forts,

Main fortification structures at the Cartagena de Indias and Havana bays. N. Gutiérrez M.



the batteries on the Ozama river and the castle of San Jerónimo; Santiago de Cuba by the immense castle of San Pedro de la Roca del Morro, the Estrella fort, the Santa Catalina battery, and the forts and batteries of San Francisco, Aguadores, Jaragua, Sardinero...to which we must add many other structures spread across the Caribbean that would fill several pages more.

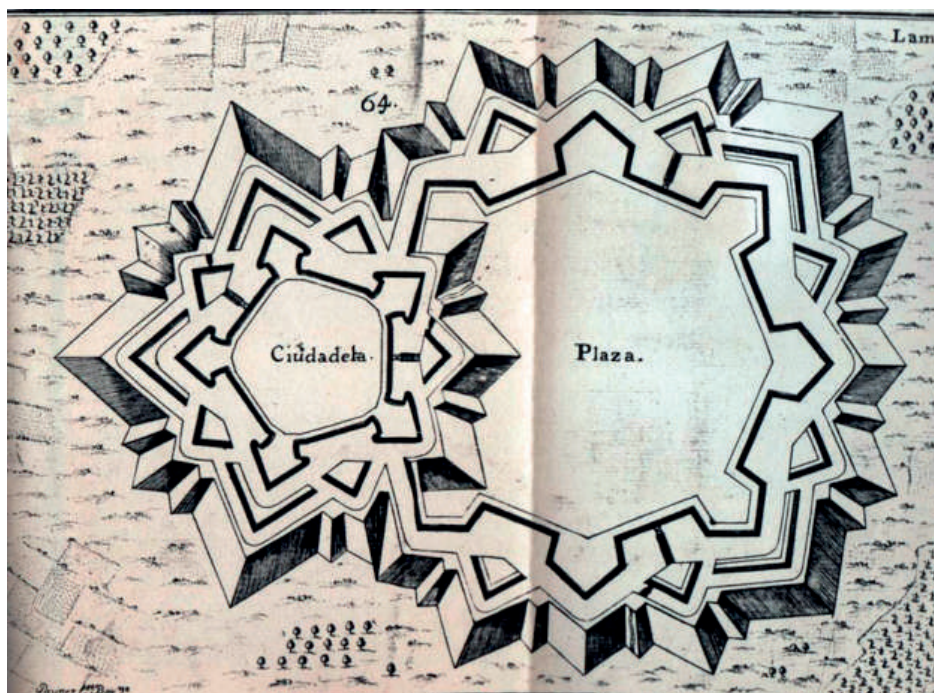
Fortification models and their major elements

Through the following images, we will explain about the different elements that make up these 18th century fortifications, resulting from the application of the maxims. First, the design of a bastioned stronghold with exterior enclosures and its citadel, in other words, the most protected enclosure from where the whole city was protected.

It may be noted that it is a square with seven bastions, and an attached citadel which protected it on one side, and also with more five bastions. We may find these plants in numerous American fortifications, always adapted to the terrain.

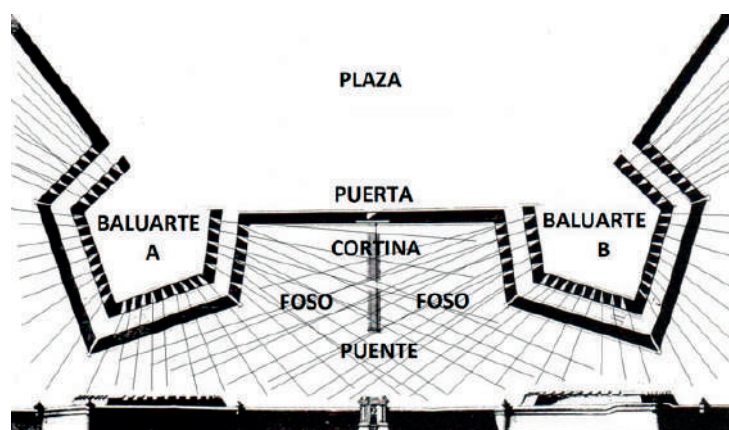
As understood from the previous etching, the bastion is the main element of the defensive system. Provided with four diamond-tip shaped walls, short but

The design of a stronghold and its citadel. Pedro de Lucuce, *Principals of Fortification*, Print by Thomas Piferrer, Barcelona, 1772. Sheet V.

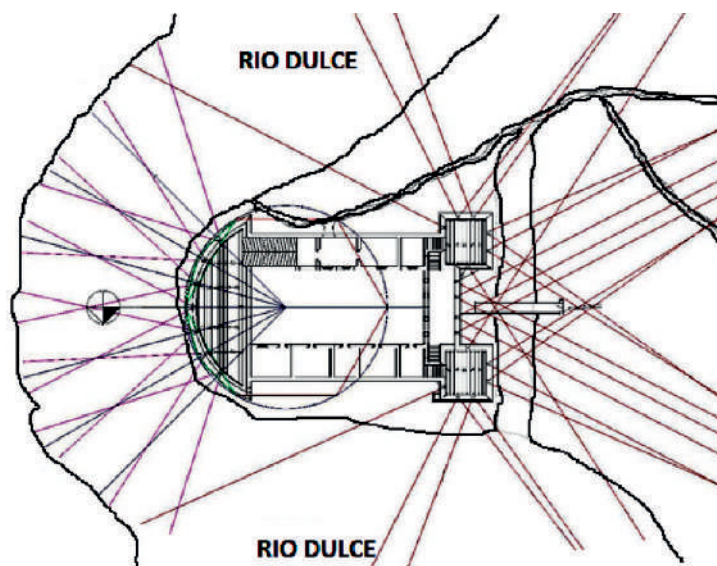


of great strength (stone exterior with a filling of compressed earth so as to absorb the impact of enemy projectiles better), from its platform -protected by wide robust battlements called *merlons* that formed loopholes- artillery pieces were placed, which could beat the enemy field sheltered from their gunshots, covering from their heights a wide space with shots that followed perfectly studied and defined trajectories. The bastions defended each other by crossing their fire, as well as the small piece of wall (called *curtain*) that separated them.

Crossfire system of two bastions in a plaza.
Design by N. Gutiérrez M.



In a castle or smaller fort, like this one of San Felipe de Izabal at Gulf of Dulce, on the Caribbean coast of Guatemala, characterized by three bastions, the crossfire system was equally maintained.

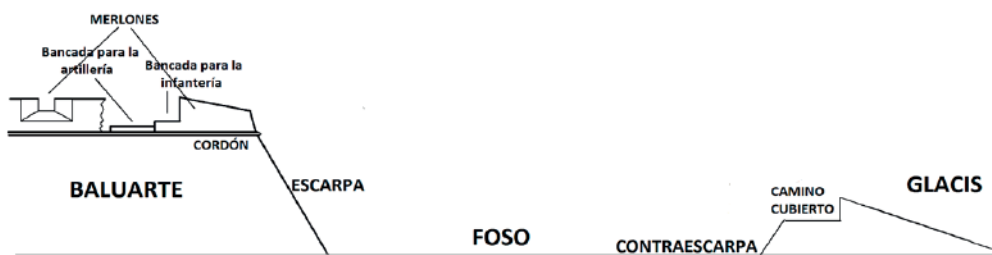


Crossfire system at Fort San Felipe de Izabal, on the Dulce River. Guatemala. Design by Mauricio Uribe Calle.

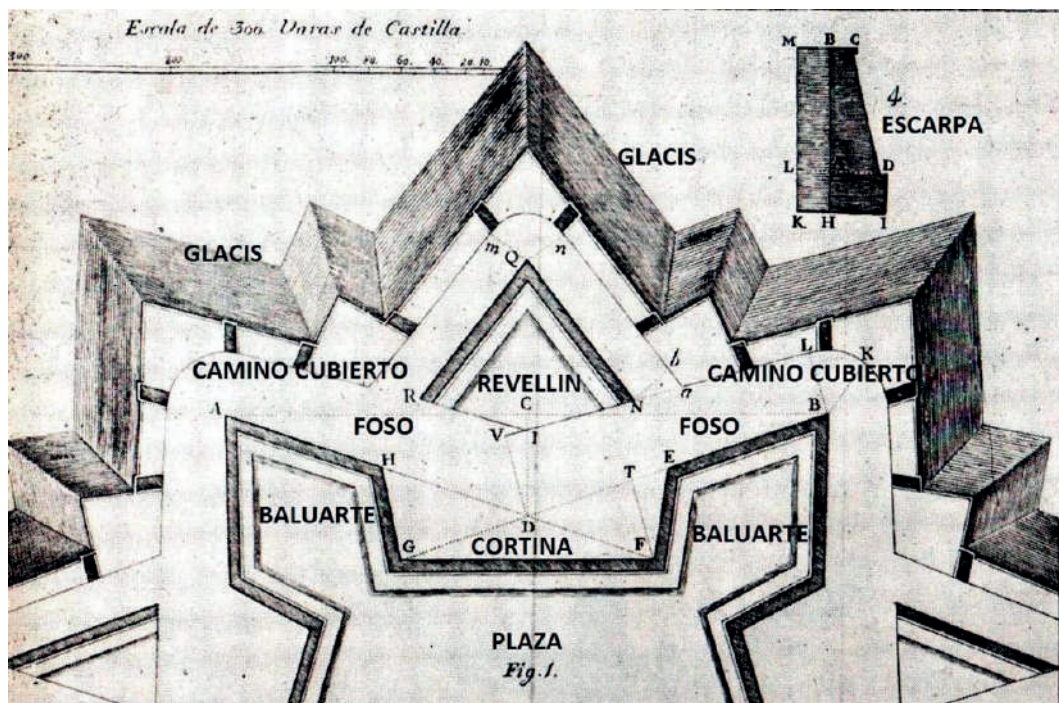
To support the defense of the bastions, the following elements could be used outside the walls: ditches —wet or dry, according to their flooding possibilities— which would prevent the attacking infantry from reaching the walls' scarps to climb them; covered ways, which enabled their own infantry to avoid attackers approaching the plaza, sheltered from enemy shootings; the glacis, or steep and naked grounds located beyond the covered ways, which obliged

the enemy infantry to expose itself uphill; the ravelins like isolated bastions in ditches, situated between two bastions to increase their firepower and defend the curtain behind them; the hornworks, or group of two bastions connected by a curtain, located outside the plaza as the frontline confronting the enemy...

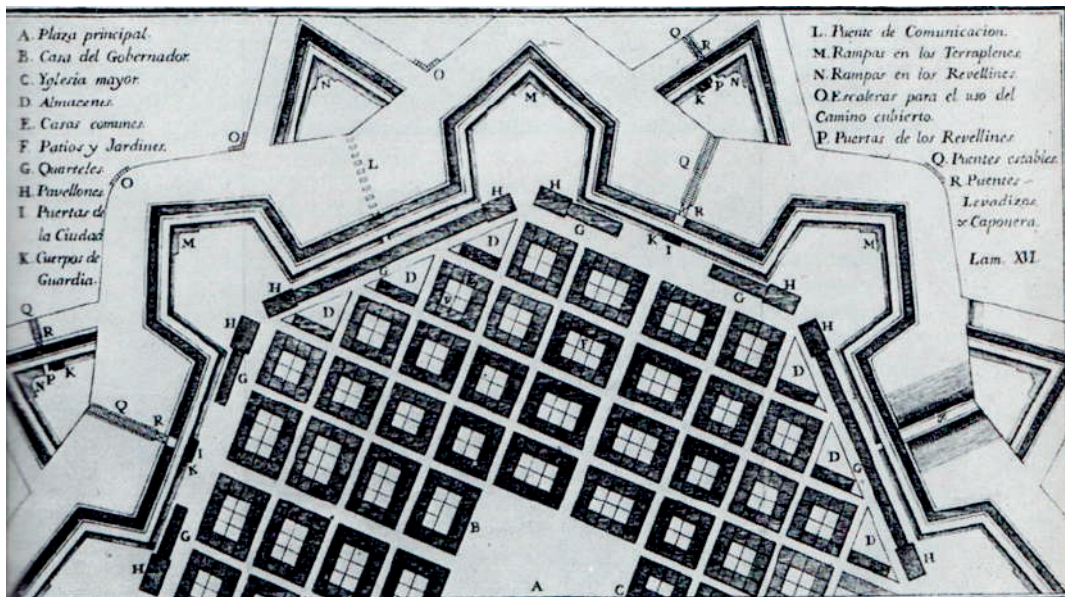
In turn, the group of bastions and curtains that enclosed the city determined its streets, orientation and utilities. Note in the following illustration from an engineer's manual, the organization of the blocks of houses around a central



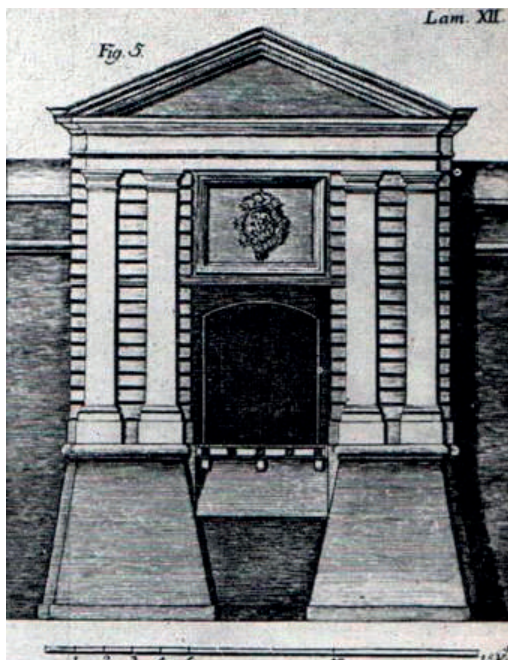
Scheme of the outer defenses of a plaza, located between the bastion and the glacis. Design by N. Gutiérrez M.



On an etching by Miguel Sánchez Taramas, *Tratado de Fortificación*, Barcelona, 1768, Sheet VI, outer defense provision. Design by N. Gutiérrez M.



Miguel Sánchez Taramas, *Tratado de Fortificación*, Cit., Sheet XVI.



From design to reality. Main front design by Miguel Sánchez Taramas, Cit., Sheet 12. Main front of the fortress of el Morro in Puerto Rico. Photo by J. Marchena F.

plaza with gardens and inner courtyards, official pavilions, storage depots, side barracks attached to the wall, entrance doors and streets leading to the plaza.

A stone wall adorned with a profusion of enlightened details: neoclassical fronts such as those in Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Havana, and Veracruz -with the Coat of Arms of the King and a tombstone with an inscription dedicated to the monarch.

Or elegantly designed gatehouses:



Gatehouse design. Miguel Sánchez Taramas, Cit., Sheet XIV. Gatehouse above the ditch and facing a ravelin and covered way. Photo by N. Gutiérrez Montoya.

In this manner, according to the maxims and fortification models designed by engineers, Caribbean cities were full of great fortifications, which to this day, are the main symbol of their identity, legacy of a time that marked them forever.

Many of these structures acted as barracks, storage depots, hospitals, leproseries, and jails in the 19th century...which were later abandoned and fell victims to the idleness of city inhabitants, when they were not demolished (especially the walls) because they prevented urban development or even caused diseases by preventing the free circulation of air through streets and plazas...But during the last thirty years, a revaluation movement of the urban

and cultural heritage of these cities has enabled their conservation, study, restoration and rehabilitation for new uses, particularly cultural ones. Thus, they are thought of as mute and impressive witnesses of the history of these cities and their inhabitants from the past.

In each of their current images, this history made up of stone -built and designed by the engineers of the King and thousands of anonymous builders, many of them forced, in the remote colonial time - can be clearly seen. Everything is a part of history.

For example, this door can still be seen at the city wall of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. It is known as The Count's Gate and has gatehouses and merlons, memory of a time when the whole city was bastioned.



The Count's Gate. Santo Domingo. Photo Nayibe Gutiérrez M.

And in the same city, the Fortress on the Ozama River, known as the Real Fuerza, reminds us how the crossover between Medieval and Modern Ages was, with its high crenellated *Torre del Homenaje* closely coexisting with the latest bastions and defensive architecture built later on.



Real Fuerza. Santo Domingo. Photo Nayibe Gutiérrez.

On other occasions, old colonial castles are maintained in a fairly preserved state, barely as traces of a time of strength and power, like these images of Forts La Gloria and San Jerónimo of Portobelo in Panama.



Portobelo Forts. Photo Nayibe Gutiérrez M.

In Cartagena de Indias, for instance, the San Fernando Fort, located at Bocachica which grants access to the bay, is a witness of the arrival and departure of dozens of ships every day. Its merlons and loopholes, at the lower battery water level, have lasted throughout time, through the assaults of the sea and hurricanes, and are still a monument to the past of a city carved in stone.



Fort San Fernando. Bocachica. Cartagena de Indias. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FUERTE_DE_SAN_FERNANDO,_CARTAGENA,_COLOMBIA.jpg

In San Juan of Puerto Rico, and protecting the access to the bay as well, stands the colossal stone mass of Castle del Morro, a structure begun in the 16th century and continuously enlarged until the 19th century. It is a compound of batteries, from the height of its lantern to its staggering rocky coast, which is a perfect safeguard for the city's entrance, inland from the bay.

Similarly, one of the major Caribbean forts, Fort Tres Reyes del Morro in Havana, which protects the bay entrance –scenario of many battles since the 16th century- is constantly renovated and fortified. This has achieved its current appearance, its lantern indicates the mouth of the port and its battery of the 12 Apostles are twelve mute witnesses of the past.



San Felipe del Morro Castle. San Juan of Puerto Rico. <https://www.goodfreephotos.com/united-states/puerto-rico/other-puerto-rico/shoreline-landscape-view-under-the-blue-sky- in-puerto-rico.jpg.php>



Castle del Morro. Havana. <https://pixabay.com/es/photos/la-habana-cuba-mar-cielo-cubano- 2632193/>

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MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

- Cartagena de Indias (Port, Fortresses and Monumental Compound)*
<https://youtu.be/IDH3kCvWMNg>
- San Juan of Puerto Rico - Castle San Felipe del Morro
<https://youtu.be/vPrk5ZLI9V0>
- La Real Fuerza Castle, Havana*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o3MqrqjtBAA>
- San Juan de Ulua. Veracruz.
<https://youtu.be/FfXMLB-KWlQ>

4

Urbanism and modernization in the Caribbean area

Analyzing the urban historical development of the area we call the Caribbean regional space, which encompasses the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the shores of *Tierra Firme* and of Central America, is essential for a better understanding of a region that has been key in the accumulation of capital, generator of new organizational forms of production and promoter of modern capitalism, by constituting slave labor, land disposal and capital as factors that enabled the development of the modern world. In this context, its main urban centers have played a key role since the 16th century as economic engines, places of connectivity and creativity.

What aspects led to the emergence and development of urban centers in the Hispanic Caribbean during the colonial period?

Cities played a key role within the plan of conquest and occupation of the American territory by the Spanish Monarchy, as urbanization constituted an end in itself and a key element of colonization. Among the functions that the newly founded populations had to fulfill were those of serving as supply and departure bases for new expeditions, trade exchange factories, local and regional administrative centers and also for the control of the surrounding territory.

Although it is true that Spanish presence in the region was characterized from the beginning by a distinctly commercial nature -the first colonizers formed a

network of factories dedicated to the exploitation of gold on large islands and of pearls on *Tierra Firme*- while traders-slavers established initial commercial links, there was also a clear interest in colonizing territory by founding urban centers and developing agricultural activity, first on the islands and then, with the encouragement of the Crown, in Central America and the Caribbean coasts of South America. However, the apparent trend of settlers to abandon insular enclaves in order to head for the new colonization centers developed in the continent, would lead to the weakness of the urban infrastructure that appeared in the Hispanic Caribbean before the 1530s.

The first urban settlement in the region was La Isabela, on the island of Hispaniola, founded by Christopher Columbus during his second trip in order to accommodate his fleet members and due to the commitment made in his capitulation to settle villas and build cities. The first attempts at colonization and acculturation occurred in La Isabela after its foundation at the beginning of 1494, until a fire destroyed it in two thirds when it had only existed for ten months. In 1496 the transfer of the town was proposed and that was when Bartolomé Colón founded the city of Santo Domingo, which would soon become the administrative capital of Hispaniola and the first stable settlement in the Antilles.

Santo Domingo acted as the headquarters of the first American *audiencia* in 1511 and covered the initial expectations through a double role, as a link with Spain and as a point of departure for expeditions that would reach neighboring islands and continental coasts. Nonetheless, this prominence as an axis of the conquest process in the Antillean period would quickly diminish by reason of the boom obtained by Havana from the end of that decade, a city founded on the neighboring island of Cuba that would undergo significant development. First, it served as a staging post for the conquerors of *Tierra Firme* and, from mid-century, it was consolidated as a reference port of the region in the new defensive system for the exchange of goods established by Philip II in order to achieve trade monopoly with America. This system included both a single route and the custody of the Spanish Treasure Fleet (Flota de Indias), as well as the fortification of the main Caribbean ports, among which were also those of Veracruz, Cartagena de Indias, Santo Domingo, San Juan of Puerto Rico, Portobelo or St. Augustine of Florida.

That is why these port-cities also became centers of intense military activity, provoking the greed of pirates and corsairs with attacks that would try to be avoided by mobilizing the entire population in case of threat, the construction of walls and in some cases of a castle or “morro”. However, despite the efforts made in this regard, by the mid-seventeenth century, the English, French and Dutch managed to break the Iberian monopoly and also establish permanent towns in the region. Occupations such as that of Havana by the English in 1762 could not be avoided in the 18th century either.

As a result of all the above and after the limited growth of the first decades of the 16th century, the main Caribbean urban centers underwent important changes that resulted in the expansion of their respective cities and in the diversification of workforce, being construction in strong demand, both for the materialization of defensive complexes and civil and religious buildings. Authors such as Franklin W. Knight have highlighted this situation for cases such as that of Havana, while also pointing out the transformation in the evolution of Caribbean cities and towns within the context of the sugar revolutions of the region between the 17th and 19th centuries, referring both to the environmental and demographic consequences, and to the introduction of the Caribbean industrial revolution.

Thus, the main port-cities of the Caribbean, as what happened with other parts of continental America, began to have their own lifestyle that differentiated them more and more from what historian José Luis Romero qualifies as «noblemen», when the merchant spirit acquired a more defined physiognomy within the framework of the growing pragmatism sustained by the ideas of Enlightenment and the reforms introduced by the Bourbons during the 18th century. It was then that these cities began to get involved in a scenario with a freer economy in which an increasingly open and bourgeois society prospered, in which new social and political ideas strengthened.

From the social point of view and under the government of a white Spanish minority, very heterogeneous contingent populations coexisted in Hispanic Caribbean cities, made up of an increasingly large black, mulatto and mestizo population, to which also settlers from different regions of Spain and even from other European countries were added. The demographic decline of the indigenous population of the Caribbean region from early dates, as a result of

the conquest and colonization processes, explains its insignificant presence, numerically speaking, compared to the other population groups.

As in the rest of the Hispanic American territory, the ideas of the Enlightenment, the American Revolutionary War and the French Revolution exerted a great influence on different sectors of the Caribbean population, especially on the urban one. After the Haitian Revolution started in 1791 and with the increase of the black slave population, the fear of possible revolts that jeopardized the established order became more evident. In parallel, the arrival to the region of revolutionary movements would lead Spain to strengthen the repressive system on the islands so as to avoid revolutionary uprisings, especially after 1814, when independence revolutions in large regions of the continent were already a fact. At the same time, a liberalizing policy was initiated for the benefit of Cuban and Puerto Rican elites, islands that became especially important after the definitive secession of the continental colonies in the early 1820s.

As a result, Havana and, to a lesser extent, other cities and towns of these two islands, experienced considerable development, thus becoming poles of attraction for a considerable number of Spaniards from the mid-nineteenth century. This event must also be understood within the framework of the migration policy of the Spanish government which was intended as a response to the disarticulation process of slave trade that had been taking place, as well as to reduce the “africanization” of Cuba’s and Puerto Rico’s societies.

How did Caribbean urban centers evolve from an urban and architectural standpoint?

After its transfer to the right bank of the Ozama River, Santo Domingo became the first semi-regular settlement of American urbanism, continuing a tradition in which, as Fernando de Terán says, «geometric order was an integral part of an identity that had to be affirmed». With this, a tradition was transferred from the Peninsula to the Canary Islands, the Caribbean and the American continent; a tradition that had been forged during the war between Christian and Muslim kingdoms and that seemed to have been recognized at the time of the Catholic Monarchs. This is embodied in examples such as those of the Grenadian camp of Santa Fe and settlements of the Andalusian

Atlantic coast such as Puerto Real or Chipiona. In this regard, architect Ramón Gutiérrez also points out the existence of an open attitude by adopting in the first foundations of the Caribbean a model «that in some aspects could exceed the prestigious metropolis models».

Another notable aspect from the urban perspective is the existence of the main square or main plaza, as an organizing element of each urban complex in Latin American settlements, including Caribbean ones. The most representative public buildings were located there, while serving as a scenario for the development of military, political, religious, commercial and leisure activities.

In terms of architecture, Gutierrez affirms that, in contrast to what happened with urban planning, the “direct transfer of artistic experiences and ideas appears perhaps somewhat outdated according to metropolitan models”, setting different 16th-century constructions made in Santo Domingo as an example. Among them, he mentions the palace of Diego Colón, having typological antecedents in old Castilian rural mansions, along with an outstanding set of dwellings of unorthodox language and a military architecture inscribed in the «habitual development of the Middle Ages». He also refers to its cathedral, in which he values the «creative freedom of the craftsmen» for the coexistence of diverse styles in it as Gothic, Mudejar or Renaissance.

With the progressive development of these different activities, Caribbean port-cities gradually lost their primitive physiognomy. On an architectural level both the expansion of fortifications such as those of Havana, San Juan of Puerto Rico, Cartagena de Indias or Veracruz, and the incorporation of the Baroque took place. This style would have its most noteworthy manifestations in Cuba under the protection of an enriched urban bourgeoisie and a landed aristocracy. This is how Havana, with the opening of avenues and walks and the development of important civil and religious works –among which are the Government and Post Office houses, the Compañía de Jesús Church and the current cathedral, the convent and Church of San Francisco or the church of Santa Paula– began to portray, during the last decades of the 18th century, the image of power and prosperity that would characterize it during the 19th century, thus adapting to the new situation and responding to the new habits of their inhabitants.

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II ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE



I. Slave trade

2. Biological heritage, journeys and food in the slave system

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I Slave trade

Since ancient times, various caravan routes crossed the Sahara to transport African products (gold, ivory, etc.) and slaves to North African ports, from where they were introduced into Mediterranean trade circuits. Although these trading routes through the desert underwent modifications over the centuries depending on the changes experienced by economic geography, they remained uninterrupted during the Middle Ages, as well as the supply of black slaves. At the end of this period, in the first decades of the 15th century, the Portuguese began to sail south along the Atlantic coast of the African continent, looking for African gold sources. Shortly after, slave trade became a parallel activity of the greatest interest. At the beginning of the 1440s, the Portuguese sold, in Lagos, in southern Portugal, the first African slaves captured by razzias on the current Atlantic coasts of the Sahara and Mauritania. However, a few years later, from the territory that started south of the Senegal River, the Portuguese began to replace the attack method and practices proper of a predatory economy with trade with local authorities to obtain slaves, although in one way or another, war and violence would always be linked to the slavery of the African peoples. Those lands, that the first Portuguese navigators reached for the first time directly in History, were frequently called—in relationships between travelers, geography books and historical chronicles, both Arab and European—as the “land of blacks” or the “country of blacks”, in reference to the color of its inhabitants’ skin.

From almost the beginning of the Portuguese presence in Africa, slave trade represented one of the main economic sectors of the crown. The Portuguese entered African economic circuits and thanks to their navigation knowledge they built an entire Atlantic market that linked African trade with the slave markets of the Iberian Peninsula and later on with the same markets created to supply workforce to the Spanish and Portuguese Americas. The most rigorous estimates on the first Atlantic slave trade consider that between 1450 and 1521 the Portuguese took about 156,000 black slaves from Africa (almost 2,200 annually on average) to send them to Lisbon and Lagos, from where they in turn were re-exported (on ships which used to take between a hundred and a hundred and fifty slaves approximately) to the ports of Seville, Malaga and Valencia. The remains of those cargoes were even sold in cities like Barcelona, Genoa or Florence. This initial trafficking allowed a new development of slavery in the southern and eastern societies of the Iberian Peninsula. From 1519, black slave circuits began to redirect to the New World, despite which the slave trade continued in the direction of the Iberian Peninsula until the 17th century. At the height of this deal, in the mid-1560s, the city of Seville came to have more than 6% of slaves among its population, and that of Lisbon almost 10% at the beginning of the previous decade.

To enable the Atlantic slave trade, the Portuguese settled in factories where they organized slave trade and other merchandise, at first in a commercial post built in Arguin (1445), on the coast of present-day Mauritania, and then colonizing the archipelago of Cape Verde (1462). Since then, the coast known as “Guinea”, which extended south of the Senegal River to Sierra Leone, became a powerful source of slaves for the Portuguese. Then came the creation of the São Jorge da Mina fort (1482) that linked gold from the African inland with the economy of the Slave Rivers coast. Access to the latter region was reinforced with the Portuguese presence on the islands of São Tomé (1493) and Príncipe (1500). From there, the slave trade from the Gold Coast, the Slave Rivers and the Bight of Benin was controlled quite effectively. Although from the 30s of the 16th century they also obtained slaves from the Kingdom of Congo and from Angola, it would not be until 1575 when the Portuguese founded a city in Angola, called Luanda, and strongly evidenced their presence in this part of the African continent, trying to boost the colonization of the territory by searching for precious metals and slaves.

Initially, the Portuguese crown took charge of the administration of taxes from trade and other income in all these locations through fiscal and political agents, but very soon this management was outsourced to contracts from trading consortiums with the crown. These were responsible for collecting taxes owed to the king, and among them, the one that paid for slave trade, also committing to nourish trade in these areas. The Portuguese monarchy thus received a fixed annual amount of money that represented a calculation of what they should receive in tax matters and in this way they spared the costs of direct tax collection management. Only merchants with regional experience and solid financial support in Lisbon could deal with these contracts, which on the one hand, involved all trade-related aspects with local powers in Africa, and on the other hand the managing of the Portuguese presence there, like the weapon and merchandise supplies needed by civil and ecclesiastical authorities and that enabled the lives of the soldiers and featured settlers in these locations. In this sense, the Portuguese presence was not the same in Cape Verde, São Tomé and then Luanda, more developed at a social and institutional level, as in the factories of Arguin and São Jorge da Mina —reduced trade spaces whose military control did not go beyond the environment of the fort in question.

The main exports of these territories were slaves and gold, although ivory, malagueta (a kind of pepper) and other products such as wax were also sent. All of them were exchanged for merchandise not only from Portugal, but from all over Europe, such as wine (Portuguese, Andalusian), clothing (Portuguese, but especially from Britain and Flanders, or Morocco), semi-precious stones and other merchandise, especially copper, brought from Central European mines via Antwerp, and also iron, a product in high demand among African elites. But, in addition, Portuguese dominance of long distances at sea allowed them to connect different African productions, of raw materials (cotton) and textile products, carrying out an intra-African intermediary trade that was enriched with the introduction of cotton fabrics from Portuguese India, making Portuguese trade even more interesting in the eyes of African elites.

“African contracts” were evolving in terms of geographic extension and commercial, tax and defense implications, to be summarized in the three major contracts of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and San Jorge de la Mina, adding

Angola at the end of the 16th century. The merchants who signed them had a lot of freedom to conduct their business, even though they were monitored by Treasury overseers and “factores del rey”, as well as by the governors of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Angola. Even though the cooperation between these merchants and the authorities used to give them much room to act with great benefits, because without their support—which consisted in advancing the amounts governors and captains needed to exercise their political and military action, and their role as goods suppliers that sustained Portuguese trade presence in the area—the dynamism of Portuguese presence in the immense African coastal area would have been much smaller.

These contracts contemplated, concerning the departure of slaves to the Indies of Castile, only the collection of export taxes, which were higher than those paid by slaves destined to Brazil. However, the business was tremendously lucrative when obtaining silver money by selling them in the Indies of Castile. As we shall see, these slaves had to be licensed by the King of Castile to be able to move to Spanish America, but beyond this issue the African merchants and contractors had no major responsibilities in the matter. However, in 1595 the Spanish king Philip II, after becoming king of Portugal in 1580, decided to modify the prevailing system to date, that is, the granting of licenses to send slaves to Spanish America, and leased the general traffic of slaves directed to that territory to a Portuguese merchant, Pedro Gómez Reinel, who through a contract (*asiento*) with the king, had to take 4,250 slaves annually to the Indies of Castile. He sold the licenses at prices appraised by the *asiento* to great merchants, who many times were the same contractors of Africa. This system left almost all of the African trade traffic circuit and the buying and selling of slaves in America to the Portuguese merchants, with the consequent benefits for those merchants. Thus, during the 16th century the Portuguese crown left the slave trade in Africa in the hands of private initiative in exchange for significant sums of money, developing it as a global labor market was created in the Iberian Atlantic, connected with the mining and agricultural expansion in America and the growth of textile industries of Europe and India, and that was under Portuguese commercial control throughout the 16th century until well into the next century, thanks to these contracts and *asientos*.

The privileged position of the crown of Portugal in accessing African sources of slave supply (legally sanctioned by the treaties of Alcaçovas in 1479 and Tordesillas in 1494) allowed it and the businessmen of its country to play a relevant role in the development of slave trade towards Spanish America. However, the implementation of transoceanic traffic required a complex political and economic articulation between the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Though the first black African slaves were taken by the Spaniards to America very early, the Spanish crown struggled at all times to control and regulate both the problem of the enslavement of indigenous peoples of the Americas and black slave trade towards the New World. In the first years of the 16th century, African slaves were already working on the island of Santo Domingo, and in 1505, Nicolás de Ovando, “governor of the islands and mainland of the ocean sea,” got the king of Castile to authorize him to import up to a hundred black slaves to work at the fluvial gold placers of the island. From 1513 the crown established the need for a license (at the price of two ducats per slave piece) to introduce African slaves in America, although its concession was scarce until 1518, when the new monarch, Charles I, granted over 5,000 licenses and opened up the possibility of a large-scale black slave trade that began in 1519. In the same year, an international lobby of big businessmen headed by Genoese banker Gaspar de Centurione and merchant Juan Fernández de Castro from Burgos signed a contract with the Portuguese king to supply the Indies with black African slaves, and from the end of that year black ships coming directly from the Portuguese factory of Arguin began to arrive to the Caribbean islands, mainly Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico. Growing American demand led the island of São Tomé, which trafficked slaves captured in the kingdom of Benin and Congo, and shortly after that of Cape Verde—which dealt with blacks from the coast of Guinea, to become the main suppliers of the new transoceanic trade from 1522. This led to a rapid modification of intra-African slave circuits, and the vertiginous pace of American demand, which grew alongside Spanish and Portuguese insertion in the New World, eventually resized ancient African slave trade, as it was now possible to supply markets of dimensions never imagined before. This stimulated the development of internal wars in Africa, as well as Portuguese penetration in the continent. The best example of this is the history of Angola, a region that from the last decades of the 16th century would occupy the first

place as a slave source for Atlantic economy. By then, Veracruz, in New Spain, and the Caribbean port of Cartagena de Indias, where cargoes arrived with hundreds of African slaves, had become the largest black slave trade ports in the Atlantic.

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MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

- <https://www.slavevoyages.org>
<http://enslaved.org/>

2

Biological heritage, journeys and food in the slave system

From time immemorial, human beings resorted to animals and plants for agricultural, medicinal, nutritional and religious purposes. From 1492 there was an incessant Columbian exchange of pathogens, plants and animals between the Old and the New World, which reaches to our days. One of the cycles of greater transfers of diseases, plants and animals occurred during the transatlantic slave trade between the 15th and 19th centuries.

Slave trade between Africa and America was one of the main dramas of humanity. By this means, America introduced more than twelve million African slaves forced to work on tropical crop plantations (sugar cane, tobacco, coffee, indigo, rice, cocoa, cotton, etc.). The crossing of the Atlantic was carried out on the so-called slave ships and named *Middle Passage*. During the trip, which lasted between two and three months, nearly two million Africans died.

Brazil and Cuba were the two territories in the Americas where slaves were introduced for the longest time (three and a half centuries). Of the 800,000 slaves brought to Cuba, over 60% were illegally introduced after 1820, when legal trafficking was abolished, while slavery was not banned until 1886 on this island and in 1888 in Brazil. America received slaves from many African regions -mostly from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, Bight of Biafra and West-Central Africa (Congo and

Angola) - so they incorporated a rich mix of cultures, practices and eating habits originating in its distant continent.

Slave diets during the crossing

Slave traders supplied ships with plants and fruits native to Africa and America. West Africa, the sending center par excellence of many of the slaves, constitutes the center of rice and African yam culture (*Dioscorea sp.*), responsible for 96% of world production. Only Nigeria produces 76% of the yam world production today. It is also the cradle of the Yoruba culture that exerted a central influence on food and religious practices in the Caribbean. Among its population, yam was known by the name of *nyami* which means eating. Rice (*Oryza glaberima*) and yam were essential in the food and religious worldview of Africans; in fact, these two products were their basic diet on the ships that transported them, and were easy to keep during the long voyage. In general, the diet of the slaves consisted of rice, yams, cereals, corn, cassava, potatoes, beans, millet, fish or salted meat. Banana (*Musa spp.*) was another indispensable food in the slaves' diet. Sometimes the traffickers offered slaves some liquor as a reward. By the mid-eighteenth century, English ships were stocked with some foods for the prevention of diseases such as lime and orange to fight scurvy. Over 400 slaves were carried on board of slave ships, which were overcrowded and in very bad conditions, favoring epidemics and high mortality on the high seas.

On slave ships, food was prepared by chefs and, above all, by women from Africa, who seasoned dishes with two main ingredients used in African stews: palm oil (*Elaeis guineensis*) and melegueta pepper (*Aframomum melegueta*). Factories in Africa served as warehouses and were the centers where traffickers acquired slaves in exchange for products such as cotton fabrics, gunpowder, rifles, machetes, ordinary crockery, beads, mirrors, flours, etc., in addition to gold and ivory, and as for trip provisions, palm oil and other fruits from the country: coconut, wax and ginger. Similarly, Africans approached with their canoes to supply slave ships. For its part, in some areas of the English-speaking Caribbean it has been documented that enslaved African women transported rice seeds interwoven in their hair.

African ethnobotanical heritage in America

The biological heritage of the African diaspora in America, in particular its ethnobotanical imprint, is evident in Caribbean cuisine, in fruit and vegetable names, as well as in the so-called green medicine and in the uses of plants associated with religion that endures to this day. The ships of transatlantic slave trade moved more than 2,000 grains, tubers, fruits and vegetables to America over 350 years, whose cultivation was carried out by slaves through the traditional knowledge (food, medicine and religion) of these plants. More than 50 species native to Africa became part of the Caribbean botanical resources, along with 14 species native to Asia that grew in Africa since ancient times. In all there are 125 genera and species, representing 52 botanical families. Of these, 19 genera from 15 families occur in both Africa and Latin America.

The slaves recognized many African crops in their Latin American and Caribbean destinations, for example, corn and cassava, which had been brought by the Portuguese and the Africans used to make bread. Among other crops were potatoes, tomatoes, chilli, mango and pineapple which coexisted with the main African crops yams, bananas, malangas, pumpkins, rice, okra, peanuts, legumes, coconuts, ginger, watermelon, melon, sesame, clove basil and other fruits.

The African crops introduced during the slave trade with the highest incidence in the Caribbean were African rice, yams, black-eyed peas and velvet beans -both used as food and green manure to restore land fertility- okra, sorghum, ricin, pigeon peas and tamarind, among others. Many of these products were not of interest to Europeans and slaves cultivated them in the *conucos*, Caribbean name for land developed by slaves for self-consumption. Other fruits, in contrast, were part of the plantation agriculture vision for the world market of tropical products and, in the case of palm oil, served as a basis for the English industrial revolution.

Women in Africa dedicated themselves to the production and sale of products at markets and cooked as well, customs they replicated in America. At the *conucos*, both enslaved and free women, were responsible for planting corn, rice, peanuts, sesame and okra; these African women were essential in the startup of commercial rice and indigo (anil) crops in the southern United States.

US traveler Samuel Hazard recounted that black Cuban women were in charge of selling fruit at markets, extracting castor oil and selecting the best Cuban coffee seeds.

African slaves had access to the plants they used for their rites and religious, dietary or construction symbology. Africans worshipped oil palm from where currently controversial palm oil is extracted and which they used for lighting, stews and house construction. Palm oil is widely used at food processing industries to make cookies (Fontaneda, Oreo, Príncipe, Cuétara), pastries, breakfast cereals, margarine, toast, chocolate, ice cream, jelly beans, etc. Similarly, it can be found in cosmetic products by brands such as Vichy, The Body Shop and L'Oreal. Lately, this oil has been harshly criticized by doctors, nutritionists and environmentalists due to the severe deforestation problems it causes and to the use of child labor in Africa.

Popular Castor oil or, ricin oil, has a widespread use in cosmetic and weight control products. In fact, Africans used it as a laxative and to prevent hair loss. Today, it is one of the main sources of biofuel, as is palm oil.

Africa has contributed important crops and traditional knowledge in a wide range of food and medicinal possibilities for both big multinationals and traditional medicine. Coffee (*Coffea arabica*) is the most cultivated and oldest variety in agriculture. Cola seeds (*Cola acuminata*), nutmeg or kola nut, are used by Africans for food, medicine, religion and as wood for construction. Globally, its most widespread use is the extract which is used to make Coca-Cola and other soft drinks of this flavor. Due to its high caffeine content, it is included in products to combat fatigue and in the production of products such as energy bars, in addition to constituting an aphrodisiac remedy, like African ginger.

The African continent also contributed important fodder plants to raise cattle in America and in the tropics in general. Among them, Guinea grass, Pará grass and Bermuda grass. Some of these plants, introduced during transatlantic trade, have become invasive pests in their new habitats.

The African diaspora in America transmitted the use of plants for the cure of diseases through the so-called green medicine. Moreover, plants and animals are used to venerate religious divinities on altars, *orishas* among them, as is the case of yam.

More recently, genealogical and DNA studies demonstrate the genetic inheritance of the forced migration of African slaves in the population of former slave societies. This reveals the miscegenation produced between Europeans and Africans, especially in the Caribbean region.

Culinary practices and names of African origin in America

Traditional Caribbean dishes reaffirm the botanical heritage and culinary practices of Africa, especially in Yoruba cuisine, in America. For example, Caribbean and Brazilian food and stew preparations are spiced with palm oil, okra and pepper. Fufu or funche in America is a food recipe based on green plantain, originally from Ghanaian cuisine and spread throughout Central and West Africa as a staple food. Creole *ajiacó* is another culinary dish that combines products from America and Africa and has been used by scholars and writers to highlight the characteristic miscegenation of slave plantation societies in the Caribbean. The food of slaves reached the table of the elites through African cooks, who transmitted their traditions.

The imprint of slaves also left traces in product names like, for example, the *Corojo de Guinea* (palm oil), the Guinea pepper, the okra, the *aleluya roja de Guinea*, Guinea grass and the guineo banana.

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III SLAVERY



- I. Slavery in the Hispanic World
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5. Non-Hispanic Antilles: abolition processes and post-slavery societies

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I

Slavery in the Hispanic World

Slavery, or slaveries, have had a presence throughout the history of mankind. Since ancient times, different peoples have captured and reduced to slavery countless people who also occupied the lowest social status in the societies where they were inserted. The enslaved were perceived as a foreign body within the social community where they became an “other” due to their physical appearance, customs or religion, where they had to spend years learning the languages and habits of the area, integrating through a slow process, plagued with difficulties. This practice was followed by the main empires of antiquity. Greeks, Romans, Persians, among many others, based much of their economy on the exploitation of peoples that fell into slavery. The disintegration of the Western Roman Empire favored the creation of the first German-Romanesque kingdoms, where a certain legacy remained in the management of slavery. This legacy crystallized in the creation of legal codes that tried to collect the uses and customs that occurred in these kingdoms in different matters, including slavery. In this sense, and despite the decline of slavery in the Middle Ages, we find one of the legal compilations that would have greater significance in the subsequent development of American slavery: The Seven-Part Code (*Las Siete Partidas*) by Alfonso X the Wise (*el Sabio*), King of Castile. In this text, written in the mid-thirteenth century, a good part of the slave body of law of German-Roman tradition was collected and

that, in part, would be transferred to America by the Castilians two and a half centuries later.

Slavery played a residual role until the mid-fourteenth century, when a sequence of Black Death epidemics caused the death of almost half the population of Western Europe, thus increasing the need to replace the missing workforce. They attempted to solve this problem through the use of enslaved people from the Balkan villages and the Slavic world, creating a trade circuit that connected the Black Sea with the western Mediterranean. Italian merchants from Genoa and Venice mainly, as well as the city of Ragusa (today Dubrovnik, Croatia), became the main redistributors of enslaved Slavs from the Asian context through the western Mediterranean. There was not, at that time, a racialization of slavery. The creation of the blackness-slavery binomial would come somewhat later, during modern times, when slavery developed strongly in the American hemisphere. In the medieval period, Slavic slaves were mostly white and predominantly female. In the creation of this “Mediterranean type slavery”, the conflict with different Muslim states also played a very important role. The Mediterranean was a border space between Christian and Muslim kingdoms in constant friction and where the capture of prisoners of war, who were subsequently enslaved, was the dominant reality.

The expansion of the Seljuk Turks in the Anatolian peninsula in front of the Byzantine Empire, threatened the closure of trade routes that connected the Black Sea (slave supply center) with the Mediterranean. This event finally occurred in 1453, when the Turks managed to conquer Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) by closing, or hindering, trade with Western European merchants, which caused them to look for, from the western Mediterranean, alternative trade routes that could maintain contact with Asia. Thus, Portugal, a Christian kingdom that had defeated and expelled Muslims two centuries earlier, set off on a great overseas expansion seeking to reach India and China. For this purpose, the Portuguese explorers tried to surround the African continent by creating coastal commercial sites, as well as occupying different archipelagos such as Madeira, Azores, Sao Tome or Cape Verde. The importance of business connections with the African coast was confirmed by the creation of the House of Guinea in 1482, a regulatory body for trade with West Africa. And given the lack of slaves from the eastern Mediterranean,

the Portuguese would begin to acquire Sub-Saharan slaves to send them to Europe or the Atlantic islands. Madeira and Cape Verde would become the territories where sugar plantation systems were developed for the first time. Thus the so-called Atlantic slavery was born, forty years before the discovery of America, increasingly racialized and predominantly male. The Iberian Peninsula became the main point of arrival of African slaves, producing a progressive modification in slave typology. Sub-Saharans, Muslims from the Mediterranean world and a decreasing number of Slavs made up the slave population in the Iberian Peninsula in the period prior to European arrival to America. A highlight within this historical process is that when the Castilians arrived to American territories, the model of Atlantic slavery had already been consolidated and would be transferred to the Caribbean islands and, subsequently, to all territories conquered and occupied by Europeans in the first years of colonization.

The conquest of the Caribbean after 1492 brought along the institution of slavery. In Antillean space, indigenous communities of the Caribs, Taino or Siboneyes were enslaved to work at conquerors' farms or in household services. A small part of these were sent to Europe, where they lived and worked in the main cities and fields until 1542, date of the enactment of the New Laws that banned indigenous enslavement with some exceptions (Caribs or Mapuches on the Chilean border would continue to be subjected to slavery in the coming years). This attempt to protect the indigenous population was made possible by the heated debate within Hispanic Monarchy on the nature of the indigenous and whether or not it was possible to condition them to slave labor. The complaints of churchmen such as Montesinos or Bartolomé de las Casas, who had denounced the excesses of the conquerors and colonizers, were backdrops. In addition, the impact of the European conquest entailed the demographic collapse of many of the indigenous communities and peoples, especially in the Antillean area. Facing the decrease of indigenous population, Spanish authorities decided to favor the arrival of African slaves to American territories. Since 1518 the system of licenses or royal grants to introduce African slaves in America was inaugurated, true awards granted by the king to individuals so as to meet the needs of the Monarchy in specific territories for a certain period of time. The forced laborers were brought from Africa and compelled to work in gold, silver, copper and precious stone mines,

in the building of fortifications, roads and public and private buildings, and on sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton and tobacco plantations, that produced for the world market of that time. Today, for those who live in an industrialized world, it can be difficult to assimilate that, two centuries ago, people were hunted in Africa like animals to move them to the New World where they would work as slaves. They were captured in inter-tribal wars, or acquired by debts, or simply stolen by their own counterparts, then taken to barracks near the port from where they left for the New World.

The first ship on record that sailed directly from Africa to America did so in the year 1520, from Portuguese Guinea to San Juan of Puerto Rico. With this a process started that, until 1866, year in which the last slave ship apparently arrived to America, boarded more than 12.5 million human beings from African coasts and of which only 10.7 million arrived as slaves to American territories. The major powers of the time participated in this human trafficking (Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, England, Scotland, Denmark, United States...) accumulating extraordinary wealth thanks to this inhuman trade. The massive introduction of Sub-Saharan slaves in the Americas, where merchants could make huge profits from the existence of large amounts of precious metal (gold and mainly silver), dramatically reduced the number of enslaved people arriving to Europe. There was, then, a transfer of slavery from the western part of Europe to the American territories recently conquered by the Europeans. Slavery was languishing in Portugal, Castile or Aragon, although it persisted, marginally, in time. Spain abolished slavery in its European territories and adjacent islands in 1837, in 1873 in Puerto Rico, and in 1886 in Cuba.

For the Hispanic world, the contribution of Portuguese and Spanish merchants was fundamental, especially until 1640. The year 1595 would mark the beginning of a new stage in Hispanic slave trade. Given the difficulties in introducing a sufficient number of slaves, the Spanish Crown began to sign *asientos* with Portuguese merchants who then controlled the main slave factories and ports on the African coast thanks to the *Tangomangos* (Portuguese merchants or their children with African women who served as intermediary agents of different African political units of slave supply). An *asiento* was a contract between an individual and the Crown whereby a merchant, or a company, would benefit from, in monopoly regime, the

possibility of introducing a certain number of slaves into specific ports for a stipulated number of years. At the end of the 17th century, private licenses decreased and the Asientos Treaties increased, which were arranged between the Spanish crown and commercial companies. The Portuguese got most of these asientos until 1640. The Portuguese Asiento Treaty (1696-1701) was the first and was established with the Portuguese Royal Guinea Company. This was followed by a series of asientos with Spanish, French merchants (the Treaty of the French *Asiento*, 1701-1713) or, the most famous one, the English asiento benefited by South Sea Company from 1713 to 1750. Due to the English asiento, “factories”, similar to dock-warehouses, were established, in different American port-cities, where Africans were deposited to be prepared and then sold at the so-called fairs. Until then, the largest slave ports in Spanish America were Veracruz, the gateway to the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Cartagena de Indias, for a subsequent distribution through New Granada and the ports of the Isthmus, Portobelo and Panama, which served as slave connection and redistribution points from the Caribbean to the Pacific coast. Buenos Aires also played an important role as a portal for slaves to South America; introduced from Brazil or the West African coast, Slavs were forced to go up the Río de la Plata until they reached, on a journey of thousands of kilometers, the mountains and coasts of Peru, Charcas Audience and Chile. In this way, slavery spread with unequal intensity and in different periods through all the territories controlled by the Spanish Crown.

The Caribbean became the main meeting point for the goods and precious metals produced in the continent, with the slaves that arrived, in exchange, on boats of different origin. The greater volume of slaves that was introduced in America was destined to Brazil, the southern US and the Caribbean, because part of their territories had sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco or cocoa plantations which produced for world markets. The price of slaves varied according to their age and physical condition, which, like that of any merchandise, increased when demand exceeded the supply. Children were called *mulequitos*, adolescents and young men *muleques* and those over 40 *mulecones* or *Piezas de Indias* on account of their size (1.70 meters or more), these were sold at a higher price. In general, the price oscillated between 100 and 300 silver pesos of 8 *reales*; the most expensive slaves were strong young men, women of childbearing age and slaves with useful trades, whose prices ranged between 250 and 300

pesos. Men over 45 and boys under 15 were generally sold between 200 and 150 pesos, while the older ones or those with physical defects were offered at 100 pesos or less. The sale could be on credit or cash and was registered with a scribe who acted as a notary.

Before the trip, during it, or when arriving to land, the Africans were *carimbados* (sealed), that is to say, marked with a hot iron as if they were animals to define who they belonged to. They remained chained, naked and poorly fed during the journey so many died and were thrown into the sea, others became ill and died upon landing.

Slaves were destined to work in all economic activities, both in the countryside and in the cities, in multiple mining districts (*reales de minas*) in New Spain, Peru or New Granada, at pearl fisheries on the Caribbean coast, on sugar farms in Cuba, Santo Domingo or Puerto Rico, on cocoa plantations in Venezuela, on cattle ranches, on small farms or cornfields where they developed small-scale peasant economies with a high margin of self-management, etc. But they were also present in the main American cities. The slaves covered household services to a large extent, or worked as port loaders, or offered their services as master builders, bakers, water carriers, mule loaders/drivers, goldsmiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and countless other trades. What is more, a sector of the enslaved was able to rent their labor force as slave day laborers (*esclavos jornaleros*). In these urban trades, and in the rural ones far from the big plantations, some slaves were able to acquire a *peculio*, a small salary that could be aimed towards the purchase of their freedom. Those who managed to save and buy their freedom were known as *negros horros* (free blacks). Although the vast majority of the enslaved remained under the slavery regime throughout their lives, for some it was possible to hope and get out of it by law. Slave manumission, moment in which the enslaved became legally considered a free man, was contemplated within the legal system. Slaves could buy their freedom for a price agreed with the owner or by the free will of the latter, who could or could not, establish conditions to access freedom. In this way, a sector of the population of Afro origin, was formed, legally free, both in the urban world and in cities. We must bear in mind that the fact that slaves were present in a good part of trades and public spaces facilitated coming into contact with other population groups, allowing the flourishing

of an extraordinary biological and cultural miscegenation, both within the group of those enslaved as within the free population.

The work and treatment to which Africans were subjected was tough and cruel. The day in the field began at dawn and ended when night fell; if they failed to comply with their obligations, they were punished with whippings and locked in the stocks, a torture device capable of immobilizing them. A famous punishment was the so-called upside down, which was done lying down and facing the ground. They were guarded by *mayorales* and *contra-mayorales*, the latter were also slaves, selected for their abilities to control the endowments. There were slaves who resisted inhuman working conditions and continued abuse through suicide; others broke work instruments and those who escaped, called maroons, used to live in isolation in mountainous areas or grouped in *palenques* or *quilombos*, a type of small town located in inaccessible places. To catch them, trained dogs were used, guided by ranchers who were experienced in capturing. Some slaves rebelled leading to famous conspiracies in Jamaica, Brazil and Cuba.

The slaves destined for plantations lived in *bohíos* -small wooden houses with palm roofs-, and had a small *conuco* -small lands where they planted some food and raised animals, usually birds and pigs that they could consume or sell. In the more modern mills or coffee plantations, homes were large bunkhouses, with rooms for single women and men and others for couples. Children under the age of seven were kept in so-called houses of *criollitos*, a name given to slaves born in the colonies who were cared for by elderly black women until, when they were older, they began to deal with minor tasks such as loading sugarcane, distributing water, taking care of plantation animals etc. Their food had, in general, great energy value so that they could withstand very long workdays, such as: *tasajo* (dry salted meat) or cod accompanied by bananas, yucca, sweet potato or rice, and *guarapo* (the juice of the sugarcane).

They received two outfits a year, one in summer and one in winter, made with coarse fabrics so they would last; men wore hats and women scarves of different colors to protect themselves from the intense sun. However, they were not provided with shoes with the cynical argument, on the part of the owners, that they did not wear them in Africa and that they could be a hindrance to walking in the fields. This situation, together with the lack of hygiene and

inadequate preparation of food, caused chronic diseases in the slaves, some so serious that they were fatal, such as enteritis, parasites, cholera, gout and also heart and lung problems. Many were mutilated during working hours, usually losing arms and eyes at the *trapiches*, also of the lower limbs due to lacerations by machetes; they could be victims of other mishaps at boiler houses such as getting burned when moving molasses or increasing fire with firewood.

Some slaves, usually the most capable, were selected by their masters to learn trades and work in mill manufacturing as experts in sugar, spirits, *tacheros* and kettlemen. Everyone learned their trades empirically, observing the Portuguese, French teachers or from other nations who were hired by the owners for the production of sugar, sugarcane brandy or other related tasks. At that time the elaboration of sugar, rums and liquor was considered an art, since the teacher had to determine the adequate degree of sweetness through the smells, colors and flavors of the boiling molasses. There were also expert potters, blacksmiths, tile makers and builders. Slaves with trades were expensive. Their willingness to learn and rigor in the performance of their trades, contradict racist statements about their inability to learn the technologies of the time and also the criteria about their clumsiness that would cause them to break the sophisticated machinery produced by the Industrial Revolution.

Urban slaves lived in the homes of their masters; if they were rich, they worked as two-wheel carriage drivers (*caleseros*), who were in charge of driving *volantas* (unique carriages with two large wheels) through city streets, cooks, washer women, wet nurses, etc., and were dedicated to addressing any need of the family of their owners. When the owner was poor, the slave was even more exploited, since he was rented for all kinds of work and was also obliged to perform multiple tasks at the home of his masters.

In spite of all the difficulties of this terrible daily life, slaves, both rural and urban, formed families, a relationship that was supported by the church, protected by the Regulations and accepted by some masters when considering that in this way they remained calmer while they increased their endowments by having children. The life of these families was different from that of the whites, even the poorest of them; many marriages were arranged between slaves from neighboring plantations or from different masters and had to live separately, the children were property of the master and could be sold when

they reached the age of seven. However, in spite of all these restrictions, many slave families held relationships and even visited each other on holidays.

Slaves' lives were controlled by special Regulations that indicated how they should be fed, dressed or how they could get married. They also adjusted the behavior of the masters, regulated the punishments that could be applied to them and systematized their purchase-sale. Spanish justice counted on an officer called the Slave Trustee (*Síndico de Esclavos*) who, supposedly, was responsible for listening to their complaints and defending them against violations of the Regulation, to the point of being able to change their owners if it was proven that they cruelly abused their dominance.

Slave trade liberalization

At the end of the 18th century, the Spanish Monarchy tried to reactivate slavery in its American domains. To do this, it eliminated the *asientos* system in 1789, liberalizing slave trade through a succession of measures (1789, 1791, 1797, and 1804) that allowed slave ships to enter in many American ports. The rise of slavery and the arrival of thousands of slaves were aimed at promoting export products. In the case of the West Indies, the fundamental objective was the development of sugar and, subsequently, coffee. These products were in high demand in Europe where a consumer society had developed, mainly among city dwellers. Prices in European markets ensured extraordinary profitability for producers and traders who, with the political support of the monarchy, began to elaborate plantation models. Cuba was the place where slavery and sugar and coffee plantations reached greater development.

This impulse was held back in the continent on account of the beginning of the independence wars starting in 1809. In them, thousands of slaves took up arms on both sides, in the face of promises of freedom; a freedom that could be possible as it had been demonstrated with the triumph of the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) that not only ended slavery in French Santo Domingo but also enabled the creation of the second independent state of America (Haiti, January 1, 1804). After the culmination of the independence wars of Hispanic territories, most of the young republics did not abolish slavery immediately due to the difficulties of this process and the opposition from

the not-so-new republican oligarchies. The abolitionist process was slow and gradual, terminating slavery first in the republics where the number of slaves was insignificant. It would not be until 1854, just over thirty years after the attainment of independence, when Peru and Venezuela abolished slavery and thereby marked the end of this institution in Spanish continental America.

While the continent burned in independence flames, Cuba and Puerto Rico, which, in the end, would remain as the last bastions of Spanish colonialism in American territory, experienced an extraordinary rise in slavery. Slavery and colonialism were complementary elements of these two islands under Spanish sovereignty. And all this despite the fact that Spain signed a treaty with the United Kingdom for the abolition of Atlantic slave trade in 1817 that was to be implemented in 1820. However, Spanish authorities systematically breached the agreement, so that, during the illegal traffic period, more slaves entered Cuba and Puerto Rico than in the three previous centuries. And all this despite the existence of increasingly rich abolitionist speeches in the region and in Europe, where the United Kingdom pressured Spain to put an end to the “hateful trade.” The massive arrival of enslaved people, many of them children, allowed the development of the so-called “second slavery” -a concept elaborated by Dale Tomich to define the massive slavery of the 19th century-oriented towards the development of plantation models that occurred in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil and the southern United States.

The sugar plantation system, in which slavery reached the highest rates of cruelty, decisively marked the future of Cuba and Puerto Rico. The life expectancy of the enslaved barely reached seven years given the exhausting work days they had to carry out, especially during the harvest period. To the high mortality figures it would be necessary to add a very high masculinity rate that hindered their natural reproduction. In addition, the development of the plantation caused the neglect of a good part of the economic sectors for the benefit of the plantation model. Without sugar there was no country, as one would say in Cuba. Therefore, the economies of the two islands were scarcely diversified and highly dependent on the external world. Only after 1844, when the introduction of slaves began to be more difficult, did the abolition of slavery begin to be seriously addressed. In 1866 the last slave ship arrived to the coast of Cuba, ending a trade that had permitted an extraordinary

accumulation of capital in the main financial centers. For authors like Eric Williams this would mark the origin of the industrial development of Western Europe and the northern United States, as well as the underdevelopment of the Caribbean area and the West African coast.

In both Cuba and Puerto Rico, the emergence of the independence ideology brought with it the abolition of slavery as one of its fundamental pillars. The year of 1868 marked the beginning of the Ten Year War in Cuba and the *Grito de Lares* in Puerto Rico, both having a strong nationalist and abolitionist character. The crisis of Spanish colonialism facilitated the end of slavery in Puerto Rico (1873) and Cuba (1886), the last Hispanic territories to suppress slavery. On the American continent, Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery in 1888, ending one of the most terrible pages in the history of mankind.

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2

Health, illness and death in the slave system

The frightening crossing of the Atlantic

In November 1781 there was an event that synthesizes the brutality of the Atlantic slave trade, the consideration of African slaves as merchandise and the despair of these men, torn from Africa and without freedom. The slave ship *Zong* had some navigation problems, which caused alarm because of the possible lack of food, especially water to serve the crew and the excessive number of slaves (442). This led to the decision of its commander, Luke Collingwood, to throw 132 Africans, men, women and children overboard, in order to lighten the burden and collect insurance, while ten other Africans decided to commit suicide, a fact that always accompanied slavery as a symbol of resistance and disobedience to white slave power. This dark event was immortalized, for its complaint, by the painter William Turner in his work *The Slave Ship*.

It has been estimated that between 1500 and 1640, about 640,000 African slaves had landed on American lands, imported mostly by Spanish and Portuguese vessels. In addition, many of them failed to reach their destination by “dying on the trip or by other unidentified events”. Among them, we may suppose, are the rebellions of slaves on board ships, accounting for the death of one for every fifteen slaves that died in the crossing. There was a very high incidence of digestive illnesses and poor nutrition, no doubt due to the inadequate transport conditions on the transatlantic journey, something that would

continue until the 19th century. Doctor Francisco de la Barrera, author of well-known work at the end of the 18th century, had already pointed out this circumstance when commenting on the food on board slave ships, deficient from many points of view, especially due to the lack of fresh food and fruits rich in vitamins. A statement that seems to have been proven when studying the slave diet, composed of rice, peas, black and white beans, some salted meat and flour cooked with these legumes, with significant nutritional deficiencies and lack of vitamin A and thiamine.

On slave ships there was a racialization of the relations of domination in which a white minority watched over, from a fortified and armed deck, a black human cargo in which individuals had chained hands and feet and were not able to move without permission. In addition, some slaves were already sick when they arrived to ships; for example, it seems that they frequently caught dysentery in African coast deposits or were previously affected by parasites and “bubas”, a confusing name that included from skin conditions to diseases of sexual type, filariasis or smallpox. It is also said that the *bozales* (African slaves) suffered a rare disease characterized as “moral” and called *caquexia de los negros* or *mal de comer tierra* (illness from eating dirt). This condition caused a serious nutritional deficiency, sometimes linked to the so-called *black melancholy*, to the feeling of physical separation from their homeland, which together with the abuse, caused a kind of depression that prevented adequate nutrition and could cause death.

When a ship arrived at its destination, a quarter or a fifth of blacks had already died or were mostly sick with cachexia, emaciation or exhaustion, blood in stools, and other ailments, such as hypochondria, caused by such abuse. They also suffered from dysenteries produced by the food given to them by traffickers that could have been adulterated, full of parasites, hardly nutritious and cooked with contaminated water; all this, together with the frequent incubation of infectious diseases such as smallpox, offered a devastating image of the overcrowded human cargo on slave ships. Some ships had few dead due to the cleanliness the captain demanded from blacks inside their boats, allowing them to breathe fresh air on the deck, not imprisoning them or infusing them with terror, and giving them drinking water and quantity and diversity of food; on others, because of the miserable and petty economy that some captains

maintained, there were hundreds of deaths. Due to their excessive interest, lack of humanity and remorse, these captains belittled the life of black *bozales*, claiming - for instance - they did not need a doctor because of the small crew on board when leaving American ports and without taking into account that they would not return loaded with bundles or packages but with living beings that, although black and slaves, should be aided just for being human.

Health at barracks

Concern for the health and attention to the diseases of slaves in their American destiny was not always widespread and often limited to a small infirmary located in barracks and attended by different types of staff, from professional doctors to surgeons, healers or poorly trained nurses, although large estates increased their prestige and power when they had doctors, often members of the Creole elite who generated their own scientific discourse.

From a legal point of view, the presence of infirmaries or hospitals on plantations had been regulated in different Ordinances and in the so-called Black Codes, developed especially in the 18th century following the French model of the *Code noir* of 1685, then developed in 1724. In the first one, it ordered that slaves disabled by old age, illness or other circumstance, whether the disease was incurable or not, should be fed and maintained by their masters, and in the case of being abandoned, be admitted to a hospital, whose daily feeding and maintenance costs should be paid for by their masters. In Hispanic territory, the first black code of 1768, that of Santo Domingo, indicated that sick or useless slaves owing to old age should be maintained by their masters and in case of abandonment they would be held in a city hospital, costing three *reales* a day and would be charged to their former masters. The code of 1784 includes the need to have a *bohío* on the haciendas, near the room of the master that would perform the nursing tasks to cure the sick and the “*fringidos*”. In addition, the “regulars” and helpless elderly, who could not be abandoned by their masters, would also occupy this infirmary.

As for the housing conditions, the situation varied in the plantation world and the slave barrack itself underwent modifications from the small *bohíos* in authorized areas, passing through what was known as the *barracón-*

nave (ship-barracks), with rooms leading to a central corridor whose ends connected to the outside, with a very unhealthy dirt floor, to the supposedly more “modern” patio *barrack*.

Regarding the working conditions and the mistreatment received, we know that the slaves hospitalized at the *Río Abajo* sugar mill were 6.9%, which sometimes reached 14.2%, while in most mills figures varied between 20 and 40%. From this same mill, supposedly less severe compared to the rest, frightening data appear for one year (1841-1842) after analyzing the infirmary log. There were 256 admissions for wounds, blows and burns, 214 slaves with stomach pains, vomiting, hemorrhages, etc., 200 for sores, bubas and tumors, 26 for scabies, others for fatigue, etc., reaching a 47 % of the endowment to be treated in one day, which reflects the hard physical work on slave plantations. A literary testimony on the health situation at sugar mills, in this case without doctors, appears in the famous novel by Miguel Barnet *El Cimarrón*, in which it is commented:

“Many diseases were caught at the barracks. It can be said, without figurations, that men got sick there the most. There was a case where a black man had up to three diseases at the same time. If it was not colic, it was whooping cough. Colic caused a pain in the navel that lasted for hours and killed you. Whooping cough and measles were contagious. But the worst, the ones that devastated anyone, were smallpox and black vomit. Smallpox made men swollen and black vomit surprised everyone, because it came all of a sudden and while vomiting you went stiff. There was a type of illness that whites picked up. It was a disease in the veins and in the male parts. You got rid of it with black women. The one who caught it laid with a black woman and passed it to her. Thus they were cured immediately.

In those days there was no great medicine. Doctors weren't seen anywhere. It was the half-witch nurses who cured with home remedies. Sometimes they cured diseases that doctors did not understand. Because the problem is not in touching one and pricking one's tongue; what needs to be done is to trust herbs that are the mother of medicine. Africans over there, on the other side of the ocean, never get sick because they have all the herbs on their hands. If a slave caught a contagious disease, they would take him out of the room and transfer him to the infirmary. They tried to cure him there. If the slave began to gasp, they put him in large boxes and took him to the cemetery.”

Slave suicide

Another unsolved problem after the arrival of the bozal slaves to Antillean land was that of suicide, a phenomenon in which economic factors, abuse and voluntary death are mixed. Abuse was common at the haciendas and a multitude of travelers testified to the submission of slaves to inhuman conditions and unthinkable punishments, such as stocks, whippings, etc., which led to annual death rates of 10-18%, especially among newly arrived bozales, being life expectancy, since they arrived to port, between seven and twelve years. Therefore, there was death from physical abuse, although suicide should be considered as a means of slave resistance, when the will to live was crossed with despair over the freedom of death. This phenomenon was quite frequent in Cuba, especially during the first year of adaptation of the slaves, as well as what happened in the British American colonies such as North and South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. There could have been passive resignation in suicide, often related to nostalgia and longing - not exempt from religiousness- to return to African land; suicide could also have been an act of individual or collective active resistance that led to violent death (by hanging, drowning in wells and tanks, etc.) described especially for some ethnic groups, such as the Lucumi and the Carabali, as “mental disorder suicide”.

In the case of Brazil, the apparent cause of suicides according to a study based on police sources, offers the following data according to suicide records: 25.3% due to insanity or mental alienation, 24.2% after a capture, 18.4% after punishment or for getting out of them, 13.8% after a crime, 6.9% after a sale that severely broke family ties, 6.9% for love reasons, 3.4% for health reasons and 1.1% for particular reasons not specified. The methods used for suicide and its frequency were: by hanging 36.4%, by poisoning 20.2%, by drowning 19.2%, by falling 10.3%, by bladed weapon 10.3% and 3.4% by firearm.

It is difficult to establish a clear diagnosis of the causes of slave suicide over a long period of time and in such an immense geographical area (the Atlantic space), with different actors according to their origin and culture and at different times of their situation as slaves, from their capture in Africa, through boarding ships and crossing the ocean until settling in diverse American territories. As it has already been mentioned, there was a process of racialization of the relations of domination on slave ships in which African

slaves were chained by hands and feet, their lives depending on the will of their white masters, with minimal space for exercising their free will through rebellion or suicide, active or passive means to offer resistance to their new situation, which does not exclude, in the case of suicide, a previous depressive state, which could include the so-called melancholy, the *banzo* and nostalgia, before reaching death.

At haciendas, mills, in the fields, and even in domestic slavery, the acts of resistance to domination were repeated again through escaping, maroonage (runaway slaves), uprisings, etc. and also suicide, both individual and collective. In any case, the end -the voluntary loss of life- was clearly related to a brutal exploitation system that completely annulled the freedom of those men and women torn from their African land to reach a hell in the New World.

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3

Slavery in the Circum-Caribbean and slave nomenclature

At the beginning of the 16th century, the profile of slaves in colonial worlds was not only made up of black people from Sub-Saharan Africa. In spaces such as pearl farms (perlerías) on Cubagua Island (northeast of what Venezuela is today) there were Africans working alongside indigenous people who were captured on Tierra Firme or in places like Yucatán and the Bay of Honduras, and then transferred to Cuba or Peru. This led to the development of a slave supply center in Nicaragua, from which it is estimated that nearly half a million indigenous people left under the legal protection of the medieval principle of “just war” that authorized the enslavement of non-Christians; argument that, incidentally, was also used by the Portuguese to subdue the Africans.

After the abolition of indigenous slavery and encomiendas in the mid-16th century, the growing demand for labor and high mortality of native populations led to taxes on personal service and the search for alternative sources of servile work. West Africa, from where the Portuguese had successfully developed a triangular trading system to supply slaves to Brazil, was the main human gathering place and the model was soon adopted and even expanded by other colonial powers. This fact, together with the relative proximity of Africa, to the legal legitimacy of the reduction of its inhabitants to slavery and to the successful adaptation of blacks to intertropical climates, led them to gradually become the “ideal slaves “.

The use of slave labor could vary greatly from region to region, although in most cases it was destined for mining, agricultural production, public works, small manufacturers, domestic service and commerce. In the case of the Circum-Caribbean (continental territories surrounding the Caribbean basin), although slave exploitation began very early in the sixteenth century, it did not reach the importance it had in the Antillean Arch because there were hardly any plantations in that continental region. The continental colonies were also under Spanish power, which disconnected them from the Atlantic trade circuits dominated by other European powers, especially France, Holland and England. These transcontinental trade circuits were only connected in peacetime through “licenses” or specific trade agreements with other European nations (the so-called “asientos”) or through smuggling. This irregular trade was particularly intense with the Dutch island of Curacao (off the north coast of South America) and served as a point of departure for tropical products (especially cocoa) to the markets of northern Europe.

The main Spanish center of African slave trade in all Hispanic America was the city of Cartagena de Indias, located in an ideal location north of New Granada and near both the mouth of the Magdalena River (genuine motorway leading to the internal lands of the viceroyalty) and the city of *Nombre de Dios* (where the isthmus was crossed to pass to the Pacific). This allowed, to a large extent, to satisfy not only the local slave demand but also that of Venezuela, the Royal Audience of Quito (now Ecuador) and other regions of South America. It is estimated that more than 170,000 African slaves were distributed throughout America through that city. The existence of an important slave market was exploited by local landowners to obtain labor for their agricultural productions, which greatly increased the population of African origin.

Regarding Venezuelan space, after the depletion of pearl farms in the mid-16th century, slaves continued to be useful for various activities, although to a lesser extent. Since the 1630s, demand skyrocketed owing to the increase in cocoa production due to its greater demand in New Spain and in Europe, where this product arrived largely on Dutch smuggling vessels. The following century, the Crown unsuccessfully tried to regulate this trade by creating the Royal Guipuzcoan Company of Caracas that also contributed to introducing slaves

to that continental territory. In total, the slaves introduced to the Venezuelan coast, both formally and informally, could exceed 100,000 individuals.

The Spanish colonies in Central America (which towards the end of the colonial era were gathered under the name of the Captaincy General of Guatemala), although their economies were smaller than those of other Spanish American regions, they also used slave labor, especially in agricultural productions such as sugar and vegetable dye like indigo. Despite its socioeconomic backwardness, it is estimated that up to 24,000 slaves had been introduced into the region at the beginning of the 19th century, at the time of independence. Further north, in the Yucatan Peninsula (which was part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain), whose economy towards the end of the colonial period rested upon indigenous Mayan labor, African slaves were used as “luxury” domestic workers.

In Central America there were also British settlements. The most successful was the one founded in the Bay of Honduras (now Belize) in the early seventeenth century; it was ruled from Jamaica and had been initially established in order to exploit the so-called Logwood (*Palo de Campeche*, another natural dye). In the eighteenth century, they reoriented their production to exploit abundant timber resources, for which they introduced around 2,100 slaves who, organized in squads, cut down large quantities of trees whose trunks were taken by river to the coast to be shipped.

There were also numerous slaves in the Circum-Caribbean regions in the southeast of the United States. In Louisiana, under French sovereignty in the first half of the 18th century, many indigenous people were massacred and survivors reduced to slavery in order to control the mouth of the Mississippi River. The French also introduced hundreds of African slaves, seeking to develop agriculture in the region. After a treaty in 1768, the territory was taken over by the Spaniards who introduced their slave legislation, prohibiting the slavery of indigenous people and introducing principles such as “coartación” (slave’s self-purchase). In 1803, again in French hands, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States and the cultivation of cotton was introduced along with the entry of thousands of slaves who did not arrive directly from Africa, but from other states of the country after the prohibition of slave trade by The American Congress in 1807.

In the case of Florida, neither under Spanish nor US aegis, it had a large slave population although many maroons escaped from the plantations of the

British colonies located further north, in Georgia and the Carolinas, seeking to take advantage of Spanish legislation that granted freedom to runaway slaves from the territories of rival powers. This situation also occurred in other Caribbean scenarios, like in the towns in eastern Venezuela made up of fugitive slaves from Curaçao. The English also used strategies that incorporated slaves against the Spaniards, as in the famous sacking of Panama City in 1573 by corsair Francis Drake who had the help of local maroons. At the end of the 18th century they used slave regiments to take the island of Trinidad in 1797, which was then part of the Captaincy General of Venezuela.

In all the colonial spaces where slavery existed, the mistreatment inflicted on slaves to force them to work and the terrible punishments they were subjected to, caused the rebellion of many. They also often escaped, forming settlements in isolated regions, out of reach of owners and authorities. While many villages of runaway slaves were destroyed, others resisted and even came to engage commercially with colonial society. This phenomenon known as maroonage (*cimarronaje*) is found in practically all Circum-Caribbean spaces, especially in those where slaves were most numerous, such as Venezuela, Louisiana and the Province of Cartagena. In the latter region, more than twenty “palenques” were formed, the best known being that of San Basilio (formerly San Miguel Arcángel) for being the first to regularize its situation before the authorities in 1691 in exchange for not accepting any more escaped slaves. The runaway slaves sometimes found refuge in the indigenous populations who they mixed with, such as the Black Seminoles in Florida and the Black Caribs on the island of San Vicente. The latter, after being defeated by the British at the end of the 18th century, were displaced to the coast of Honduras where they settled with Spanish permission and formed communities of Garifuna culture.

Nomenclature

During almost four centuries of trafficking and Atlantic slavery, countless voices associated with this activity emerged, most of which reflected economic criteria or perceptions of alterity. Here are some of the most used:

Bozal: word that refers to an individual that was originally a slave, who did not speak a European language; later used as a generalized term to define slaves from Africa.

Captive (from Portuguese, *cativo*): synonym of slave, originally used to define enslaved prisoners in the framework of the “just war”.

Creole (from Portuguese *crioulo*): refers to slaves born *in situ* and later used to pejoratively describe Spanish subjects born in America.

Slave: voice associated with the enslavement of non-Christian individuals of Slavic origin in Western markets and originates the term.

Rescue slaves: slaves bought from other indigenous people or Africans.

Piece of India (from the Portuguese *peça de india*): trade approach that standardized the value of a healthy slave, at least 7 quarters high, and between 15 and 25 years of age.

Alterity Criteria

Maroon: originally used for a pet that escaped and became wild, and was later applied to fugitive slaves in Atlantic slave contexts.

Ladino: acculturated black who spoke Spanish or Portuguese and was converted to Christianity and was normally a slave.

Mulatto: offspring of a white father with a black woman.

Black: besides meaning the color, it became a synonym of slave once the enslavement of black Africans of Sub-Saharan origin was amplified.

Palenque: word that means palisade and was used to indicate the settlements of maroons (*quilombo* and *rochela* were also used in other parts of Latin America).

Pardos: individuals mixed at any level of Euro-African descent.

Zambo: offspring of Afro-indigenous descent.



4

Abolitionism in the insular and continental Caribbean

The struggle to end slavery began from the moment slaves resisted their captivity, regardless of place and time. This resistance could be active (via escape, protest or rebellion) or passive, resisting work, using the legal mechanisms at their disposal (especially in the Hispanic worlds) and, in extreme cases, even committing suicide. In the 16th century, when European expansion entered its heyday, the enslavement of indigenous populations began to disturb the Spanish Crown and some churchmen, which caused, in 1530, the prohibition of slavery of the Amerindians for considering them *gentiles* (that is, pagans who did not know Christianity). In order to exploit them, a forced labor system was used in exchange for the evangelization known under the name of *encomienda*. Some Dominican friars, headed by Bartolomé de las Casas, raised their voice in court against the ill-treatment to which the natives were subjected in Cuba, Guatemala and Santo Domingo. This led to an intense debate known as the Valladolid Debate that resulted in the abolition of the *encomienda* by the so-called New Laws of 1542.

As an alternative to indigenous enslavement, Father Las Casas proposed the introduction of African blacks who, unlike the Amerindians, were not *gentiles* because they lived in the Old World, so they were likely to be enslaved. This perception set the Atlantic slave trade in motion, first by Portuguese merchants and then by other European colonial powers. The historical dynamics that

were established then would take more than twelve million individuals from Sub-Saharan Africa to different parts of America. Seeing the serious consequences of his proposal and also moved by the cruelty of the new slave trade, the gesture of Las Casas would be the first link in a long debate among Hispanic theologians, in different works published between 1542 and 1571, that would question the “fair” causes to enslave an individual converted to Christianity, in violation of his natural rights and that transformed him into the property of another.

This theological debate resonated on the other side of the Atlantic in the attitudes and opinions of some Churchmen living mainly in the north of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. Among them, Jesuits Pedro Claver and Alonso de Sandoval who were in Cartagena de Indias -one of the most active slave ports in Spanish America- were moved by the painful state of the slaves. Claver personally helped blacks, seeking to heal their bodies and save their souls, and baptized over 3,000; while Sandoval, in a work on the salvation of the souls of slaves, published in 1627, stressed the topic of the possible illegality of black slavery.

Other friars took a more active stand against slavery, which led them to confront the owners and colonial authorities. Such is the case of Jesuit Lu s de Fr as who, while in Antioquia in 1614, advocated that slaves should be treated in a good way, even claiming that “slapping a nigger, is like slapping God”; this generated a great scandal that entailed the opening of a procedure by the Inquisition. By the middle of the century, two Capuchin friars, Francisco Jos  de Jaca and Epifanio de Moirans, were in Havana after having had problems on Tierra Firme for criticizing slavery and opposing parishioners who did not grant freedom to their slaves. Both churchmen then wrote memorials explaining their reasons for opposing the slavery of African blacks, going as far as to writing letters to the mission prefect in Congo and to King Charles II himself. The monarch would forward the arguments to the Council of the Indies that recommended maintaining slavery so as not to ruin the American colonies.

During the 18th century, the anti-slavery debate would rise in the North Atlantic, especially in France, Britain and some of its North American colonies. This was due, in the first place, to the impact of Enlightenment. This can be seen in the *Encyclopedie*, and also in the works of Montesquieu, Abbe Raynal, Adam Smith and other Scottish thinkers; which, sometimes ironically,

underlined the cruelty of slavery and slave trade, as well as the illegality and economic infeasibility of slavery. Second, this debate also took place within the framework of a true religious awakening in some Protestant sectors, especially Quakers. First in Pennsylvania, then in other British colonies in North America and, finally, in England, members of this Christian sect would establish that slavery was incompatible with Christianity, even threatening to expulse slave owners or participants of trafficking from their societies.

Beginning in 1775, the “despiritualization” process of the anti-slavery debate began, which would lead to the creation of numerous anti-slavery societies in northern colonies. In these assemblies, the sinful nature of slavery was replaced by a more secular one of illegality. Meetings were attended by individuals of different ideologies, including one of the most active revolutionaries of the time, Thomas Paine who, that same year, published the first anti-slavery pamphlet written in the British colonies, *African Slavery in America*, in which he claimed that it was not “natural” to turn Africans into merchandise. Paine was also the co-author of the first of freedom of wombs law sanctioned in the United States (Pennsylvania, 1780), which would be followed by similar ones in almost all the new states of the North. This process also led to the formation of an anti-slavery society in Great Britain in 1787, although in this case, dedicated exclusively to the fight against the trafficking of African slaves. This society was directed by evangelical politician William Wilberforce who, during the following twenty years, made great efforts in the British Parliament to suspend such human trade, finally happening in 1807.

Revolutionary France was also influenced by this anti-slavery effervescence; proof of this is the foundation of an anti-slavery society for purposes similar to the British one in 1788 by Girondist politician, Jacques-Pierre Brissot. Unlike the United States, in France the anti-slavery debate was mixed with the debates on citizenship, representation and the rights of man, which led to measures in favor of the Afro-descendants of the colonies, including the abolition of slavery in 1794. These events created resistance on the part of white planters of the French colonies in the Caribbean, which caused important conflicts, perhaps the most important being the one in Saint-Domingue. With around half a million slaves and countless flourishing plantations, the French colony of Saint-Domingue was the most prosperous in the world at the time. In a little

less than 15 years, between 1790 and 1804, this territory suffered the attacks of a series of armed conflicts, sometimes racially motivated, which ended the plantation economy, decimated the population (both European and Afro-descendant) and culminated with the independence of a nation led exclusively by mulattos and blacks: the Republic of Haiti. This event deeply marked anti-slavery ideology, especially British, whose exponents, convinced that the destruction of the “pearl of the Antilles” had derived from French Jacobinism and the sudden abolition of slavery, thereafter took a more “gradual” stand regarding the abolition of slavery.

This attitude was shared, with some honorable exceptions, by the Spanish liberals in the *Cortes de Cádiz* (Cadiz Courts 1810-1814) and also by many Spanish-American revolutionaries. It is not by chance that most of the new autonomous governments proclaimed in Spanish America since 1810 -many of which suppressed slave trade and even introduced mechanisms of freedom of wombs- did not propose an immediate abolition of slavery. This happened in the next decade, when, once their independence from Spain was declared, some of the new nations decided to take that transcendental step. This generated the first abolitionist wave, beginning with Chile in 1822, continuing with the United Provinces of Central America in 1823 (places where slavery was not essential for local economies) and, finally, Mexico in 1829 (seeking to curb the immigration of Anglo-Saxon slavers in Texas). The rest of Latin American countries would have to wait until the middle of the century when the servile institution, reduced due to the many individuals born of free wombs and emancipations made within the framework of civil wars, was finally abolished. A separate case is Santo Domingo (the Dominican Republic today), in which case abolition was imposed after the occupation of its territory by Haiti in 1822.

The gradual paradigm was depleted towards the end of the 1830s, when new massive revolts (such as the one in Demerara, in British Guiana, in 1823 and especially in Jamaica in December 1831) caused a new generation of anti-slaves to resume the immediate abolition of slavery. Finally, the British parliament abolished slavery in 1833, granting a millionaire compensation to masters and a “learning” period of 6 years to, in theory, prepare former slaves for civilian life. In the United States there was also a radicalization of

anti-slavery, which influenced the incorporation of many blacks into anti-slavery movements in the Northern States. This new generation of radicals confronted southern slavers in a more determined way, even encouraging Southern slaves to rebel against their masters, which would contribute to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.

With the definitive abolition of slavery in the United States by President Abraham Lincoln in 1865 and British diplomatic pressure on the countries that carried on trafficking, it was very difficult for Spain and the Empire of Brazil to keep the servile institution alive. In fact, one of the reasons why Spanish forces withdrew from the Dominican Republic in 1864 (territory reincorporated to the Spanish empire a few years earlier) was that it was impossible to establish a plantation colony in this territory. That same year, the Spanish Abolitionist Society was founded in Spain by Puerto Rican Julio Vizcarrondo. Many of the liberal politicians who participated in the Glorious Revolution of 1868 -which marked the beginning of the Democratic Sexenio in Spain-, would be part of it. Among them was Segismundo Moret who was the author of the freedom of wombs law for Cuba and Puerto Rico, approved by the Congress of Deputies in 1870. Three years later the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico was decreed. In the case of Cuba, it had to wait more than a decade for the Spanish government, seeking to diminish the arguments of local rebels who had fought for independence in the Ten Years War (1868-1878), decided to abolish slavery in 1880; that is, establishing a period of “patronage” that, as the British did before with the “learning” period, guaranteed Cuban planters several years more of free labor.

5

The Non-Hispanic Antilles: abolition processes and post-slavery societies

In the 17th century, Spain and Portugal were at the head of an immense colonial empire in the Americas, in which the Amerindians had been for the most part eliminated. However, their monopoly on the new world was increasingly challenged by other colonial powers, while the need for labor grew after the eradication of these indigenous peoples.

Indeed, the introduction of sugar plantations and their subsequent rapid growth led to the development of plantation economy, which depended on imported enslaved Africans.

A triangular trading system was thus established in the form of slave transport conducted through trade between Europe, Africa and America. The aim was to ensure the distribution of black slaves to the colonies of the New World (American continent), to supply Europe with the products of these colonies and to supply Africa with European and American products.

For example, between 1662 and 1807, Britain shipped 3.1 million Africans across the Atlantic Ocean in the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Similarly, 1 million slaves were sent to the French Antilles between 1713 and 1781, including 775,000 to Santo Domingo.

Africans were forcibly brought to British and French owned colonies in the Caribbean and sold as slaves to work on plantations. Those engaged in the

trade were driven by the huge financial gain to be made, both in the Caribbean and at home in Britain and France.

Enslaved people constantly rebelled against slavery right up until emancipation in 1834 (England) and 1848 (France).

The resistance of slaves

Although abolitionist ideas emerged among Europeans, it must be acknowledged that Blacks fought for their freedom at the cost of their lives.

The slave resistance was organized from the beginning of the trade, on board slave ships. It also manifested itself in the refusal to integrate the European culture that was trying to be imposed on them. Slaves continued to practice their religious rites as well as their songs and tried to perpetuate the oral traditions. They also resisted through suicide among women and abortion. As for the “Maroons”, they fled the plantations to take refuge in the heights of the colonies. Chased by armed patrols and dogs trained to find them, they gathered in camps. Those who were taken back were tortured, mutilated or killed as provided for by certain official texts, including the Black Code. In northwestern Jamaica, in the Cockpit Country region, and in the eastern Blue Mountains region, large maroon camps would be established.

The slave revolts during the 18th and 19th centuries were most spectacular, including: Tacky’s rebellion in 1760s Jamaica, the Haitian Revolution (1789), Fedon’s 1790s revolution in Grenada, the 1816 Barbados slave revolt led by Bussa, and the major 1831 slave revolt in Jamaica led by Sam Sharpe.

In addition, voices of dissent began emerging in Britain, highlighting the poor conditions of enslaved people. Whilst the Abolition movement was growing, so was the opposition by those with financial interests in the Caribbean.

Abolition Processes

The progressive abolition of slavery across the Caribbean region extended over a whole century, the first abolition being in Haiti in 1793 and the last in Cuba in 1886. In parallel with the slave revolts, the first abolitionist movements emerged at the end of the 18th century. Thus, the struggle of the Quakers—a

Protestant community denouncing slavery in Pennsylvania—spread widely in Britain. New movements appeared as, for example, the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, founded in 1787. It is worth noting the role played by M.P. William Wilberforce, an ardent anti-slavery activist. The British Parliament was forced to examine the fate of slaves.

British slave trade officially ended in 1807, making the buying and selling of slaves from Africa illegal; however, slavery itself had not ended.

For their part, the authorities of the Netherlands signed a peace treaty with the Maroons of Dutch Guiana, many of whom now live in French Guiana and are known as the Bushinengues.

In France, the events of the French Revolution are closely linked to the history of the colonies. Opposition to the monarchy included the Society of the Friends of the Blacks, founded in 1788, based on the British model. It was later presided over by Abbé Grégoire. After the storming of the Bastille, feudal rights were abolished and The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was adopted. The revolts were getting organized.

In Haiti, the cruelty towards slaves and the intransigence of the colonists who refused the integration of the newly freed coloreds as part of a more open regime, and their participation in the assemblies born of the French Revolution, would culminate in the great insurrection of 1791. Faced with this delicate situation and the threats of both British and Spanish invasions, the commissioners of the Convention Assembly, Santhonax and Polverel proclaim the general abolition of black slavery in 1793. The national Convention confirms and applies this decision to all French colonies in 1794. However, this decree would not be applied to Martinique, then occupied by the British.

[<http://atlas-caraiibe.certic.unicaen.fr/en/>]

In the French colonies, however, slavery was re-established by Napoleon Bonaparte, who became consul in 1802. In Guadeloupe, Delgrès and his 300 men, faithful to their motto “live free or die,” explode rather than fall into the hands of Napoleon’s soldiers. In Santo Domingo, Toussaint Louverture was taken prisoner and the fight was resumed by Jean-Jacques Dessalines. After the defeat of the Napoleonic army, the colony became the first black republic in 1804.

The abolition of the slave trade and slavery

Denmark abolished the slave trade in 1803. Under the pressure of the abolitionists, British slave trade officially ended in 1807, making the buying and selling of slaves from Africa illegal. In 1813, Sweden did the same, followed by the Netherlands the following year. France abolished the trade in 1815, after the fall of Napoleon. The monarchy was restored, giving the planters hope of returning to the old regime.

Therefore, we are still far from the disappearance of the slavery system. Even more so because, despite abolition, illegal trade continues and the lives of slaves do not improve. It was only in 1831, with the establishment of the July Monarchy (1830–1848) in France, that England and France took real steps to combat illegal trafficking.

In 1833, Britain abolished slavery in its colonies. However, slavery itself had not ended. It was not until August 1st in 1834 that slavery ended in the British Caribbean following legislation passed the previous year. This was followed by a period of apprenticeship with freedom coming in 1838.

In France, it was not until 1848, under the 2nd republic, that the abolition of slavery was decreed under the combined effect of the action of Victor Schœlcher and the revolts that were multiplying in the Caribbean colonies. The decree of abolition was signed on April 27, 1848. The decree stipulated that the abolition would become applicable in 2 months' time. This led to a slave insurrection in Martinique on May 22, 1848, calling for the law to be enforced immediately. To prevent any further incidents, the abolition was proclaimed the following day. On May 27, the same proclamation was made in Guadeloupe, and on December 20, 1848, in French Guiana. In accordance with the decree, planters received a lump sum compensation payment for the resulting loss of the workforce.

In the end, the abolition of slavery corresponds to a long, chaotic and complex process, the sequences of which vary according to the territories and the metropolitan areas concerned, as illustrated in the chronological table (see *infra*).

The Post-Slavery Period

Even after the end of slavery and apprenticeship, the Caribbean was not totally free. Former enslaved people received no compensation and had limited representation in the legislatures. Indentured labor from India and China was introduced after slavery. This system resulted in much abuse and was not abolished until the early part of the 20th century. After indenture, Indians and Africans struggled to own land and create their own communities.

In most societies in the Caribbean, the effects of colonization and slavery continue to be present. This is particularly the case through the reproduction of socio-racial hierarchies inherited from the slave system. The arrival, from the second half of the 20th century, of populations from Africa, China and India, intended to replace the former slaves contributed to the complexity of social structures. Anthropologist Colin Clarke has established a typology of societies in the Caribbean that illustrates this situation. He distinguishes four main categories:

Plural-stratified societies. This includes former British colonies that are now independent, such as Jamaica and the small states of the eastern Caribbean, non-independent territories like the French Antilles and the Netherlands Antilles, and the “failed” state of Haiti.

Plural-segmented societies. This includes Trinidad and Tobago and Belize, Guyana and Suriname,

Class-stratified societies. This in Cuba, in Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic.

“Folk” societies. This includes a scattering of individual islands characterized by highly personalized politics and a dependent relationship with a larger political jurisdiction, including Saba (Netherlands Antilles), Desirade (Guadeloupe), Barbuda (Antigua) and Anguilla (British Overseas Territory).

In many of these territories, socio-racial polarization influences relations within societies, as revealed by social conflicts in Guadeloupe and Martinique. There is a historical concordance between the conflicts observed in the French and British colonies during the 1930s. Whether it was troubles in the sugar industry in Belize, Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica from 1934, sometimes until 1937 in the entire English-speaking area, or the march against hunger staged

by sugar industry workers in Martinique in 1935, the workers were involved in a struggle against the perpetuation and replication of political, economic and social hierarchies in a wider context of economic crisis. In all cases, these conflicts were underpinned by racialized social relations that were a legacy of colonization and slavery.

In countries like Guyana or Trinidad and Tobago, political leaders have manipulated ethnic affiliations. They have revived forms and methods of racial segregation to different degrees, while racial tension between Whites and Blacks persist elsewhere.

We understand why the issue of slavery remains at the heart of current concerns throughout the Caribbean. Hence the importance of commemorating slavery, the only way to reconcile the Caribbean people with their history and the actors of that history in order to contribute to the well-being of future generations.

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Chronology of the abolition of slavery in the Non-Hispanic Caribbean

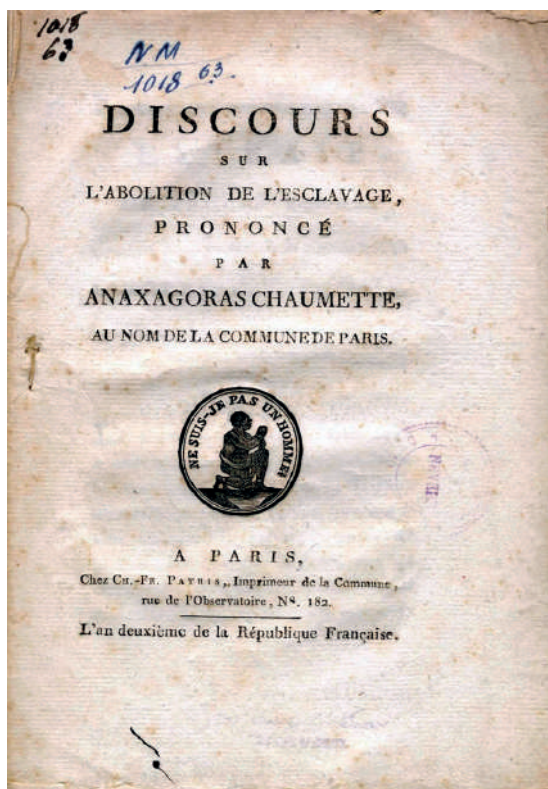
	First abolition	Final abolition of slavery	Date of independence
British West Indies			
Anguilla		1833–1838	
Antigua and Barbuda		1833–1834	1981
Bahamas		1833–1838	1973
Barbados		1833–1838	1966
Belize		1833–1838	1981
Cayman Islands		1833–1838	
Dominica		1833–1838	1978
Grenada		1833–1838	1974
Guyana		1833–1838	1966
Virgin Islands		1833–1838	
Jamaica		1833–1838	1962
Montserrat		1833–1838	
Turks and Caicos Islands		1833–1838	
Saint Kitts and Nevis		1833–1838	1983
Saint Lucia		1833–1838	1979
St. Vincent and Grenadines		1833–1834	1979
Trinidad and Tobago		1833–1838	1962
Danish Virgin Islands			
Saint John		1846–1848	
Saint Thomas		1846–1848	
Saint Croix		1846–1848	
Swedish Antilles			
Saint Barthélemy		1847	
French Antilles	1794		
Guadeloupe		1848	
Guiana		1848	
Martinique		1848	
Saint-Martin (French zone)		1848	
Netherlands Antilles			
Aruba		1863	
Curacao		1863	
Bonaire		1863	
Saba		1863	
Sint Eustatius		1863	
Suriname		1863	1975
St. Martin (Netherlands zone)		1863	

Source: Atlas Caraïbe: <http://atlas-caraibe.certic.unicaen.fr/en/>

NB: Names of national boundaries and states are those in use today. At the time of abolition, Belize was part of British Honduras.

Speech on the abolition of slavery by Anaxagoras Chaumette.

ILLUSTRATIONS



François-Auguste Biard: Proclamation of the abolition of slavery in the French colonies on April 27, 1848.

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The Ark of return. The Ark of return is a Permanent Memorial to Honour the Victims of Slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade at the United Nations. © Photo ONU.



Memorial Act in Guadeloupe: a Caribbean Center of Expression and Memory of Slavery & The Slave Trade in Guadeloupe.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Jack Mansong “Three Fingered Jack” memorial plaque, Jamaica National Trust Commission, St. Thomas, Jamaica. Justin Daniel (personal archive).



Statue of Victor Schoelcher in Fort-de-France. Justin Daniel (personal archive).



International Slavery Museum (Liverpool). Justin Daniel (personal archive).

Statue of Empress Josephine in Fort-de-France, beheaded after protests over her alleged responsibility for reestablishing slavery. Justin Daniel (personal archive).



IV RACISM YESTERDAY AND TODAY



1. “Race” and racism
2. What is racism?
3. Racism today and slavery remembrance
4. Afro-Caribbean women and intersectional oppressions

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I

“Race” y racism

Everyone knows that humans are different. Since we are small we notice that some are brown and others blond, some tall and others short, etc. Also, the fact that people who used to live far away and are among us now have another skin color, a different eye shape, etc.

For a long time, scientific advances have demonstrated that these differences are caused, as in the rest of animals, by EVOLUTION. Many millions of years ago, from a first few cells, the different animal and plant species were formed, which gradually changed through very small, sometimes negligible, body shape modifications.

Evolution works very simply: if a species produces a potentially beneficial change, due to mutation or other processes, it will become fixed in the end and will be inheritable by its descendants. In order for the change to be inherited, it has to be incorporated into the genes, which are structures composed of DNA that all cells have in their nucleus and that make them be and act in one way or another. An environmental change may cause natural selection to favor certain individuals who carry a beneficial gene in that ecological scenario. Let's see how this worked in a well-known case, the color of human skin.

If we compare that color with the position of each human group with respect to the equator, it is clear that the closer they are to it, the darker the skin, and the farther, the lighter. Then there must be a relationship between dark skin

and heat, and between light skin and cold. Rather than the temperature, what matters are the sun's ultra-violet rays, which are harmful to our genes and our health in general (it can cause skin cancer), and darker skin protects us better against them. It is not good either for skin to be dark where the sun does not heat much, because we need that light to produce the vitamin D our bones need.

Over hundreds of thousands of years, as the humans who emerged in Africa (and therefore at first were probably all "black") moved north, occupying Europe and Africa, their skin color progressively lightened until it reached the completely white skin tone of the Nordics or the Eskimos. Therefore, people in the north have white skin genes and those in the south dark skin genes, and when they mix and have children, the skin may result in a combined color.

Although there are differences we still do not know what they are due to for sure (in fact, the vast majority), there are other changes that do seem easier to understand: Eskimos are adapted to the cold and meat consumption (there are very few vegetables there), many peoples cannot drink milk because they are lactose intolerant (according to their historical relationship with domestic animals that produce milk), Tibetans and the Andean population have blood with more red blood cells so as to adapt to the high altitudes in which they live where the available oxygen is lower, etc.

During the last four or five centuries, biologists have dedicated themselves to studying animals and plants, and the first thing they thought of to clarify themselves within such a variety was to "classify", that is, define groups and place each living being in one. Thus, first they divided them in plants and animals, then the latter in mammals, birds, reptiles, etc. Logically, they also wanted to do the same with human beings, and so they began to define the different "races": Caucasians (Europeans), Mongoloids (Asians), Negroids, etc. Since back then Europe began to dominate the entire planet, it was natural for early scientists to think that their race was superior to the others, and that was when the modern form of RACISM emerged.

Of course, this idea of inequality existed long before and has been known since at least ancient times when, for instance, one of the most important philosophers in history, Aristotle from Greece, said that Greeks were superior to the "barbarians" who lived outside Greece, surprisingly because they were

"free" while foreigners did not rebel against their rulers. Surely, the fear of the unknown, the distrust of a language that is not understood, etc., existed in human groups long before. This would lead to despise "others" in general. Now, let us see how these ideas were consolidated until they reached their maximum moral decline in recent times: the contempt of "black race" Africans that led to cruelly enslaving millions of them, and the hatred of a different cultural group, the Jews, which led to the attempt of total genocide by the Nazis in the 20th century.

How did races begin?

In the West it all started with the Bible, with a humanity descending from some first parents, according to this book, whose children gradually degenerated until they became the different "races". This led to the first classification considered scientific, established by Swedish scholar Carl Linnaeus, 250 years ago. This determined differences between European whites, Asians and African blacks, to whom he also attributed moral characteristics such as intelligence and seriousness in whites, melancholy in yellows -who were also governed by opinion and not by law, as whites were-, and the laziness, impatience and carelessness in Africans, who were also guided by caprice. Today, obviously, no scientist or serious person considers the description above true.

After Linnaeus there were many attempts at racial classification, from Buffon's in 1749 to Garn's in 1971, always based on simple and visible morphological characters. There was a wide discussion between the so-called monogenists who believed in a single human origin -like notorious Charles Darwin- who also admitted gradations in the human species, and the polygenists, who thought of different creations for each of the human groups. A racist thought emerged from this that considered that they were actually different species, as in the American anthropological school led by Doctor Samuel Morton. This racism considered "scientific" continued its journey through the eugenics of Galton (which aspired to improve human races as was done with domestic animals) until reaching the monstrosity of national-socialist (Nazi) thinking that led to the death of millions of people due to racial prejudice, the well-known Holocaust.

Do human races exist from a biological point of view?

Contemporary biological science has long since ruled out this concept of “human races”, especially after World War II and the appearance of emblematic works such as those of Juan Comas and Dobzhansky, which annihilated this concept with impeccable scientific argumentation. As influential French historian Michel Foucault later said, the ancient concept of race had not only led to true horrors but in itself was already marked by a certain irrationality that only intended to maintain the metaphysics of power (“white”, of course).

Several recent works (by Blackburn, for example) report how, until that moment of change, purely morphological factors such as skin pigmentation, size and shape of the nose, hair color and qualities, etc., were analyzed and have an irrelevant evolutionary significance. Today, attention is given to more important criteria such as the resistance to certain diseases, greater longevity and, of course, the much more direct method of cell genetic analysis, which clearly shows how human populations have been continuously in movement and exchanging their genes, which makes many of them who seem physically different actually related in a direct way.

But people will say that there is variation in humans and that we have to study it in some way. Nowadays, closed groups (the old “races”) are no longer studied but concrete human characters that vary differently throughout geography, establishing lines that indicate equal values (*clinas* such as those that mark atmospheric pressure on time maps) and that indicate a continuous variation in which borders cannot be placed anywhere. When there are human groups well-adapted to a specific environment, showing a certain homogeneity, they have been referred to as “ecotypes” to indicate that these are isolated and rather rare cases which have nothing to do with the old general idea of “race.”

Another example, from all of those we could mention, is the work of P. Ossorio, published in 2009, which shows that once any two people are randomly chosen, they are always genetically identical at 99.8% or even more. It might even be possible that, according to the genetic characters we analyze, two individuals of the same “race” have less similarities than they could have with individuals of other races, all of which demonstrates the absurdity of establishing genetic boundaries among human beings.

Finally, when J. Craig Venter and his team at *Celera Genomics Corporation* announced in 2000 that they had read the complete sequence of human genes, they could express it clearly on an irrefutable basis: there is only one human species we call *Homo sapiens* and the concept of "race" makes no sense from the scientific point of view. Its making and use throughout history was due to economic, cultural and social factors that helped maintain the boundaries between groups of different backgrounds, as well as the exclusion of the weakest by the most powerful.

Why is there racism if there are no races?

But then, how have we come to this? How could millions of people be enslaved because they had a dark skin color, or many millions be killed because they belonged to a made-up Jewish "race"?

This did not depend on race, but is a product of racism.

Let us look at how our language academy defines this word: "Racism: Exacerbation of the racial sense of an ethnic group that usually motivates discrimination or persecution of another or others with whom it lives."

It doesn't seem like a good definition. We just agreed there are no races. If that was clear, then how can someone's racial sense be exacerbated? Well yes, by power, like everything else, it can. One may think that a person with darker skin, curlier hair, wider mouth, more slanted or rounded eyes, a flatter or more crooked nose than another, is inferior, less intelligent, has less skills, more social behavior problems; in conclusion, is different and, therefore, dangerous. Dangerous for who? Obviously for us. Dangerous why? Because they are worse than us, we assume that it is not that we are different, but that we are superior; that is, we have better characters and abilities, we are more beautiful, intelligent, and good and, therefore, lastly, we have more rights as people and as a group. This apparent superiority of white population immorally justifies that we can abuse, expel, exploit, even deprive the lives of other human beings considered inferior that threaten us with their different appearance. We grant them a difference in humanity compared with us, by their mere physical difference considered genetic, that is natural, hereditary, immutable and therefore essential and impossible to transform (as happens, on the other hand, with ours and everyone's).

Thus, the problem with applying the word race to humans is not in that there are different skin colors, or that we have genes and inheritance, and are mestizos, which we all are. It is in racism, which is a prejudice and an idea built to divide people and used in classifications that depend on moral (good-bad), emotional (fear-love), intellectual (unable to learn-intelligent) and economic criteria (rich-poor). Westerners, called “whites,” created this scale and evidently placed themselves at the highest place.

This type of racism has only increased in the present time, and even shaped a political state system, Apartheid in South Africa, according to which a minority of white-skinned people condemned the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country, due to their dark skin, to a life of absolute segregation and exploitation in a regime of dehumanization and denial of rights. Racism continues to exist because it helps legitimize the inequality and dominance of some people over others. “They”, the “others” are not only different from us, but, above all, worse and inferior to us, according to racist ideology; they are worth less and therefore we have the right to impose on them; to impose our ideas about themselves and maintain our privileges as superiors. But, in addition, this higher or lower value is given by birth, it is “natural”, and consequently the privileges and social inequality that may exist are also “natural”; they are at the origin of things and there is no need to change them. Ultimately, we are not responsible for that difference or inequality, and hence, as a matter of fact, it is very normal to calmly say “I am not racist but ...”

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MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

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- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v_glUOwywMpkQ
- https://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/razas-humanas-existen_0_902210052.html
- <http://www.museedelhomme.fr/fr/media-video/4270>
- <https://nmaahc.si.edu/>
- <http://memorial.nantes.fr>

2

What is racism?

Racism is a social practice that arbitrarily states that certain physical and cultural characteristics of people, peoples or societies are inferior. These are extended beliefs that enable those who possess economic, political and social power to exclude, in different ways, people and peoples who possess such characteristics. It is important to highlight the concepts of “beliefs” and social “practices” when we talk about racism because, although the current state of scientific knowledge does not allow us to sustain the existence of “races” as human species diametrically different from each other, racism does exist as a social phenomenon, historically constructed and that retains full validity.

The existence of these practices has serious consequences for broad sectors of the world population, especially those who live or come from African, American and Asian continents. This unfair situation is manifested in economic and social violence (greater poverty and fewer opportunities for individual and collective development), political violence (when citizenship has been denied or when granted citizenship does not recognize that these are groups with different historical trajectories and their own cultural practices), symbolic violence (when certain cultures and phenotypic traits are considered inferior) and in the form of direct violence (aggressions and crimes of racial hatred, including genocides).

Due to the seriousness of racism and its nature contrary to human rights, it has been a central concern of the United Nations, an international body that in 1965 promulgated the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, an international treaty that in Article 1 defines racial discrimination as

... any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on reasons of race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

(<https://www.ohchr.org/SP/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx>).

In addition to the Convention, the United Nations has convened three world conferences dealing with racism, xenophobia and related intolerance: 1978 (Geneva, Switzerland), 1983 (Geneva, Switzerland) and 2001 (Durban, South Africa).

Historical origins of racism

Racism is a historical phenomenon that refers to the identification of physical characteristics (phenotype) that are used as an excuse to accuse some human groups of inferiority. In addition to physical traits, racism refers to interlinked cultural and psychological characteristics (an example in this regard is the type of racism that has affected Jewish people).

Although the inferiorization of those who are different is an element that has been present in the power relations that have been built between different peoples throughout history, it is with the 15th century voyages of discovery and the corresponding worldwide expansion of European economy that this phenomenon reaches greater economic, social and ideological scope. For this reason, the conquest and colonization of non-European peoples and territories is part of any diagnosis that wishes to historically explain the phenomenon of racism, thus contributing to distort its arguments. The conquest of America meant the subordination of the surviving indigenous population in a colonial economic regime, as well as the loss of their

territories and political autonomy. In the case of Africa, in addition to the above, there was also one of the most despicable practices known to human history: the kidnapping and enslavement of people who were transferred from the African continent to the American colonies to constitute the labor of colonial economy based on the monoculture of different natural resources (mainly sugarcane, cotton and tobacco).

The Durban Conference (2001) recognizes this historical origin as well as the perpetuation of the colonial phenomenon in racist practices today. In its article 14, the Declaration of that world conference states “We recognize that colonialism has led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that Africans and Afro-descendants, people of Asian origin and Indigenous peoples were victims of colonialism and continue to be victims of its consequences. We recognize the sufferings caused by colonialism and affirm that, wherever and whenever they occurred, they should be condemned and prevented from happening again. We also regret that the effects and persistence of these structures and practices are among the factors that contribute to lasting social and economic inequalities in many parts of the world today.” (https://www.un.org/es/events/pastevents/cmcr/durban_sp.pdf)

This finding gives rise to the identification of different types of racism throughout history, ranging from legal regimes that enshrined racial hierarchy (from diverse colonial regimes to *apartheid* South Africa that concluded in 1992, through the laws of segregation existing in the United States several years after the end of slavery), to the current period, when the paradox of the existence of commitments by countries to combat racism is verified, but whose display in society continues.

Struggles against racism

The history of struggles against racism is as old as racism. This is demonstrated by the resistance of the original populations of America and those who were kidnapped from Africa, which was reflected in a variety of practices, ranging from escape to rebellion against the colonialists. The social and political

movements that have questioned and fought racism since the 20th century until now, are recognized in that history of resistance.

Between the 50s and 80s of the last century, that history of resistance reached its peak with the national liberation movements that arose in what was then known as the Third World (Africa, Asia and America), with the anti-racist movements and due to the civil rights that arose in the United States. From that moment, emblematic figures of resistance to colonialism and racism emerge, such as Aimé Césaire (Martinique), Léopold Sédar Senghor (Senegal), Frantz Fanon (Martinique-Algeria), Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Angela Davis and Audre Lorde, among other figures of the fight against racism in the United States.

These movements directly report racism as an ideology of white supremacy destined to justify the barbarism of colonialism. A very powerful anti-racist thought emerged that would fight racism in the field of ideas and culture. Milestones in this regard are the essay published by poet Aimé Césaire in 1950, entitled *Discurso sobre el colonialismo* - where he points out that barbarism is not in the colonized subject but in who colonizes -, and the book *Piel negra, máscaras blancas*, published by psychiatrist Frantz Fanon in 1952, before belonging to the movement for the liberation of Algeria, a study where the author maintains that it is the racist who builds the “inferior black” to erect himself as the “superior white.” Other equally important references are added, such as Bolivian thinker and indigenous activist Fausto Reinaga, whose vast bibliographic production constantly addresses the fight against racism, or Angela Davis and her book *Mujeres, raza y clase*, in 1981.

As a result of these struggles, including those that still take place in a global context where we witness the political rise of different expressions of white supremacy, there is a language that draws attention to these practices that are often reproduced on a daily basis. For example, instead of the derogatory word “blacks” we speak of “Afro-descendants” to highlight the geographical and historical origin of Africa. Or instead of “slaves” the word “enslaved” is preferred, because it indicates that the situation of slavery is not natural but was caused by individuals and societies that are historically and politically responsible for the loss of their freedom.

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International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, United Nations General Assembly, 21 December 1965: <https://www.ohchr.org/SP/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx>

Declaration of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. At: https://www.un.org/es/events/pastevents/cmcr/durban_sp.pdf

3

Racism today and slavery remembrance

Today's racism against people of African descent originates in the slavery of Africans in the Americas. According to the database on transatlantic slave trade, approximately 5 million Africans arrived to the Caribbean and Circum-Caribbean, 2.3 million to the English Caribbean, 1.1 million to the French West Indies (773,000 to Saint-Domingue), 1.07 million to the Hispanic Caribbean (778,000 to Cuba), 444,000 to the Dutch Caribbean, and 109,000 to the Danish Islands. In Cuba the figures for the legal period (until 1819) and illegal traffic are underestimated. Enslaved Africans were exploited in sugar mills, coffee plantations, tobacco plains, in cattle raising, mines, port works and fortifications, urban crafts and domestic service. More enslaved were always killed than there were born, so the slave plantation economy needed the constant introduction of Africans, captured in their homeland and taken to the West Indies in subhuman conditions. The status of the slave, legally a commodity with a price, was linked -although differently in the different colonial empires- with the status of blacks. The alleged inferiority of the latter served to justify the crimes of trafficking and slavery. The link between slavery and blackness caused Africans/Afro-descendants, who got their freedom through manumission or self-purchase, to carry the stigma of being slave descendants. The enslaved defended themselves against their dehumanization and exploitation through different forms of daily resistance, maroonage and armed rebellions. They self-emancipated in the Saint-

Domingue/Haiti Revolution (1791-1804), accelerated the abolition process, for example with the *Christmas Rebellion* in Jamaica (1831) that moved up the emancipation in the English Caribbean (1834-1838) and the uprisings in Martinique and the Danish Caribbean, which also moved up the liberation of 1848 in both regions. Slavery ended in 1863 in the Dutch islands and in 1873 in Puerto Rico. In Cuba, slavery was abolished during the period of 1880-1886, in the context of the independence wars of the island in which Afro-Cubans participated extensively.

The legal status of the newly emancipated was and remains very different in the Caribbean. In Haiti they achieved full citizen and political rights since 1804. Those released in the French Antilles had civil and political rights as French citizens between 1848 and 1852, and again from 1870. In the English Caribbean only some wealthy Afro-Jamaicans could vote among 1838 and 1865, and, later, their political rights were suspended between 1865 and the Independence. Black and white Cubans obtained full citizen rights in the Republic of Cuba since 1901. The dwellers of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, semi-colonies of the United States, do not have the same rights as American citizens to this day. No island fulfilled the former slaves' dreams. They could not be free independent peasants because they did not have access to land, nor well-paid free workers because of the introduction of forced labor in the French and English Caribbean for the newly emancipated and the introduction of cheaper workers from India and China in the English, French and Dutch Antilles; and from Spain, Haiti and Jamaica on the island of Cuba. The owners of those enslaved in the English, French, Dutch and Danish Caribbean were rewarded for the loss of their property, but not those enslaved for their stolen freedom and unpaid work. A series of insurrections against forced labor and racial discrimination (Jamaica, 1865; Martinique, 1870; Barbados, 1876; Danish St. Croix, 1878; Cuba, 1912) ended in massacre against Afro-Caribbean people.

Haiti, since its creation, had many problems to sustain its population due to the ecological destruction that colonial and post-colonial agriculture entailed, and the payment of compensation to France for its independence. Today, Haiti and Afro-American activists demand the collection of this "colonial debt". The Anglo-Caribbean states that are organized in CARICOM

demand reparations from the United Kingdom for slavery and for the “other one hundred years of racial apartheid imposed on the emancipated” with the aim of overcoming the deficiencies in health, education and infrastructure inherited from colonialism. The identity of Caribbean Afro-descendants is approached today from the rebelliousness of the enslaved. Many monuments honor enslaved rebels and maroons (Bridgetown, Barbados; Kingston, Jamaica; Hamilton, Bermuda; Port-au-Prince, Haiti; St. Esprit, Trois-Ilets, Lamentin, Diamant, Fort-de-France, Martinique; Abymes, Sainte-Anne, Guadeloupe, Rémire-Montjoly, French Guiana; Ponce, Puerto Rico; Paramaribo, Suriname; Willemstad, Curaçao; Frederiksted, St Croix; El Cobre, near Santiago de Cuba, Triunvirato, near Matanzas, etc.). This pride in ancestors’ resistance coexists with the perception of the past as enslaved, as a stigma that must be silenced. Maroon/rebel identity does not automatically extinguish racism as a legacy of slavery, not even on the islands that are now inhabited mostly by descendants of the enslaved. In the English Caribbean, many women bleach their skin and straighten their hair because “brown” women have better opportunities to find work and have a partner than “black” women. The situation gets complicated if many European descendants live on an island. For example, Cuban socialism abolished the racial segregation of the neo-colony (1901-1959) and gave access to health and education to Afro-descendants, but dissolved independent Afro-Cuban associations and did not extinguish racist stereotypes against black Cubans who are underrepresented in leading positions and in the emerging currency economy.

Alongside socio-economic disadvantages and racial discrimination in the Antilles there is racism against Afro-descendants in the places where they emigrate. Because of the poverty of the Caribbean - the result of the described post-slave processes - Anglophone Antilleans emigrated to Cuba, Panama or Central America from the end of the 19th century and to the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada to the present day. Many people moved from the French West Indies to France, as well as from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, the United States or France. Cuba is an exception because before the Afro-Cubans left the country (since 1980), the elite and middle class whites had already emigrated to the United States, Spain and Latin America. At reception sites, Afro-West Indians are discriminated against as newly arrived African emigrants/refugees to North America and Europe. That is why the

United Nations felt obliged to proclaim the Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024) that “focuses on the protection of the rights of people of African descent, recognizing their contributions and the preservation of their rich cultural heritage.”

New historical research reinforces Eric Williams’ thesis that, in his work *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), pointed out that the trafficking of Africans and slavery in the Caribbean and North America co-financed the Industrial Revolution in England and gave impetus to several branches of its economy. Recent studies on the benefits of slavery in the United Kingdom from its own colonies, such as those of Brazil and Cuba in the 17th to 19th centuries and the compensation paid to the owners for the loss of the enslaved, enables the verification of the following: the traffic-slavery-plantation network contributed to the economic boom of Europe in general and England in particular; goods industries grew to supply African markets (and buy slaves), the Caribbean and the slaveholding Southern United States; finally, textile industries based on cotton and coffee and sugar processing industries, cultivated by slaves, were born. By the work of several specialists, we know that the flows of slave capital moved from Cuba to Madrid and several Spanish port cities, in addition to England, France, the United States and even Germany. Also that Barcelona was “the capital of return” of the profit from Hispanic-Caribbean traffic and slavery, particularly of the second industrialized slavery of the 19th century in Cuba. There is also no doubt that the port cities of African traffic benefited from this economic network (Lisbon, Porto, Lagos, Liverpool, London, Bristol, Lancaster, Glasgow, Nantes, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Le Havre, Saint-Malo, Barcelona, Cádiz, Santander, Bilbao, Valencia, Amsterdam, Flushing, Middleburg, Rotterdam, Copenhagen, Flensburg -first Danish, today German-, Hamburg, Bremen and Altona). African traffickers and slavers acquired luxurious residences that even today mark urban heritage and sponsored educational, charitable and cultural institutions.

In the field of education there are three ways to address the past of slavery and its legacies on racism and socio-economic inequality in the Caribbean and European responsibility in the trafficking of Africans and slavery:

1) Link the topic with local history. Whenever this possibility exists, educators should visit sites connected with this past.

In Cuba, for example, it is recommended to visit the House of Africa in Havana or the Slave Route Museum in Matanzas, the *Mémorial ACTe* in Guadeloupe, *La Savane des Esclaves* or the *Musée de la canne* in Martinique, in Curaçao the Kura Hulanda Museum in Willemstad or the Tula Museum in Kenepa, the *Pompey Museum of Slavery* in Nassau, the *Social History Gallery* in the *Barbados Museum and Historical Society* in Barbados, in Jamaica the *Slavery, Emancipation and Plantation Life Collection* in the *National Museum Jamaica*, and the *Musée Ogier-Fombrun* in Haiti. Not all of these places pay enough attention to the enslaved as actors in history. It is recommended to combine visits with listening to family stories about slavery or reading enslaved autobiographies as well as published requests by slaves (García for Cuba). We must be aware that many tourist places in the Caribbean idealize the luxurious life of the 19th century slave elite and deny or marginalize slavery and the resistance of the enslaved ones such as the Rum Museum, the *habitation Pécoul*, the *habitation La Pagerie* in Martinique, *Plantation La Grivilière*, Guadeloupe, *Sunbury Plantation House*, Barbados, *Good Hope Estate*, *Rose Hall Great House* in Jamaica, the Romantic Museum, La Dionisia coffee plantation or Manaca sugar mill in Cuba.

In France and Great Britain you can visit the museums and monuments created thanks to the struggle for the rights of Afro-Caribbean communities and other civil society groups, especially since 1998 (150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in French territories) and 2007 (bicentennial of the prohibition of slave trade by Great Britain). Among them are the Galleries on slavery in the *Musée d'Histoire* (Nantes), *Musée d'Aquitaine* (Bordeaux), *Musée du Nouveau Monde* (La Rochelle) and for example, monuments *Le cri, l'écrit, Fers, Solitude, La Gardienne de la Vie* (Paris and suburbs), the *Mémorial de l'abolition de l'esclavage* (Nantes), and statues dedicated to Modeste Testas in Bordeaux and to Toussaint Louverture in La Rochelle (France). In the United Kingdom there are the *International Museum of Slavery* in Liverpool, Galleries on slavery in the *Docklands Museum* (London) and the *National Maritime Museum* (Greenwich), as well as the memorials *Gilt of Cain* (London), *Pero Bridge* (Bristol), and *Captured Africans* (Lancaster).

It is also possible to take walks through different cities, following the footsteps of slavery, organized visits as tours by NGOs or historians in places like Nantes,

Bordeaux, Liverpool, London, Bristol and Glasgow. In Spain there is only such a travel offer in Barcelona. In general, in Spain there is a lack of museums that adequately address African trafficking and slavery. There are no monuments dedicated to the enslaved as victims or rebels. Therefore, Spanish educators must develop memory walks with the help of experts or based on specialized books. For example, a critical analysis with advanced students could be made on the limited exposure of trafficking or casta paintings and its racist content in the Museum of America of Madrid.

2) Use documentaries about slavery and its racist legacy and/or African roots of society: for example, *Mary Prince, Les routes de l'esclavage* (France, 2016, 2018); *Unfinished Business, Britain's Slave Trade Documentary* (2017), *Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners* (2015); *Price of Memory* (Jamaica, 2014); "Gente de pelo duro" (People with hard hair), "Gurumbé" (Spain, 2014, 2016); "1912. Breaking the silence", "Reembarque" (Cuba 2010, 2012, 2014), movies/TV series (The Last Supper, Maluala, Cuba, 1976, 1979; *Tropiques amers*, France, 2006), slave narratives (Mary Prince, Francisco Manzano), poetry (Derek Walcott, Lorna Goodison, Aimé Césaire, Édouard Glissant, Marisé Condé, Nancy Morejón, Georgina Herrera) and music (from Bob Marley to Afro-Cuban rappers).

It is important to watch movies with great care, because many times they trivialize slavery and show racist images such as in "Cecilia", "Roble de Olor" (Cuba, 1981, 2003) and *Amazing Grace* (United Kingdom, 2006).

3) Interview members of NGOs that are active in the field of slavery remembrance, such as the *Conseil Représentatif des Associations des Noires de France*, *Comité Marche du 23 Mai 1998* (Paris), *Anneaux de la Mémoire*, *Mémoire d'Outre-Mer* (Nantes), *Mémoires et Partages* (Bordeaux); *Comités Dévoir du Mémoire*, *Mouvement International pour les Réparations* (Fort-de-France, Martinique); South Foundation, Pan-African Center, Afro-awareness Festival (Madrid); Pan-African Federation of Catalonia, Euro Africa Center, (Barcelona); Aponte Commission, Neighborhood Network of Afro-descendants, Yoruba Association (Havana), Afro-Athens (Matanzas); *Black History Month*, *Black History Studies* (London); members of the *CARICOM Reparation Commission*, all British Caribbean States, etc.

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Estimates on African trade:

<https://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates> (TSTD)

Historical images (free usage for education)

<http://www.slaveryimages.org/>

Sites of memory

Slave route-UNESCO: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/slave-route/spotlight/preservation-of-memorial-sites-and-places/> http://www.lacult.unesco.org/sitios_memoria/Relatoria.php?lan=es

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/slave-route/right-box/volume-collectif/>

International: <http://slaveryandremembrance.org/partners/search/>

UK: <https://historicensland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/>

https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building_britain_gallery.shtml

France/ French West Indies: www.esclavage-memoire.com; <http://www.cnmhe.fr/>

Netherlands: <https://mappingslavery.nl/en/community/publicaties/gids-slavemijverleden-nederland/>

United Nations: Decade for People of African Descent <https://www.un.org/es/events/africandescentdecade/>

Reparations

<http://caricomreparations.org/caricom/caricoms-10-point-reparation-plan/>

Urban or rural tours on the traces of slavery

Liverpool: <https://blackhistorystudies.com/event/museum-tour-the-maafa-tour-liverpool/>

Bristol: <https://geographical.co.uk/uk/discovering-britain/item/3000-walking-bristol-s-slave-trade>

Nantes: <http://memorial.nantes.fr/le-memorial-dans-la-ville/>

Barcelona: <https://www.ccoo.cat/aspnet/noticia.aspx?id=215744#.XRzFVv7grcs> http://memoriabcn.cat/llegats_esclavatge/cat

Guadeloupe: search on google: La Route de l'esclave - Traces-Mémoires en Guadeloupe

4

Afro-Caribbean women and intersectional oppressions

Race, class and gender: a matrix of domination

The history of Afro-Caribbean women must be understood within the specific context of black women's historical lack of voice and invisibility. From enslavement to the earliest colonial times, African Caribbean women's issues were represented by hegemonic discourses, whether produced by colonial, patriarchal or imperial powers. These discourses enhanced an essentialist view excluding all women who did not share the white middle-class experience. In order to achieve self-representation, African Caribbean women must invalidate the continuing historical misrepresentations that have defined them as voiceless and passive. Whether they are Africans, African-Americans or African-Caribbeans, black women are continuously affected by the myths perpetuated through patriarchal and imperial systems of domination. These misrepresentations have forged the way Western societies would systematically draw on stereotypical constructions of the black female as subaltern. Patricia Hill Collins, in *Black Feminist Thought* (2002), develops an extensive analysis of the construction of the "controlling images" that feed race, class and gender stereotypes and also constitute the "matrix of domination" that black women have to face on a daily basis in North America. "These controlling images are designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life".

In fact, the black feminist ideology is part of a desire to invalidate all these stereotyped representations and destabilize this matrix of domination, which is characterized by a set of social practices generated by intersectional oppressions. Notion invented by American feminist sociologist Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality is central to black feminist terminology; it designates the situation of people simultaneously undergoing multiple forms of domination or of discrimination in a society. In the case of Afro-Caribbean women, the intersectional oppressions are based on gender, race and class.

Mythical constructions of black womanhood

Restricting the black woman to her status of 'other', western hegemonic societies have perpetually encouraged binary thinking, and thus provided long-term justifications for racial categorization of people and things and physical segregation. In fact, a number of mythical Eurocentric constructions of Black womanhood appeared from slavery onward and thereafter contributed to feeding an ethnocentric master discourse in American and Caribbean societies. Black women were historically represented as 'breast swingers', "the 'mammyist' drawings and etchings of English satirist William Hogarth (1697-1764), British caricaturist George Cruikshank (1792-1878), and social satirist James Gillray (1757-1815), and others tell the same subliminal story: "Black women's breast bulge". English soldier Richard Ligon (1589-1662) described enslaved African women as "having breasts so long that it seemed from a distance as if they had six legs. These women colloquially named 'Long Bubbies' were drawn into the mythology of the plantations", they were dehumanized and associated with bestiality as Beryl Gilroy pointed out. The plantation was in fact a dual space for African women as they labored the fields while breastfeeding their children, being mothers and workers at the same time. Former plantation owner Edward Long's depiction of "the negro" as "incapable" of civilization in *The History of Jamaica* is a significant example, particularly as he demonizes black women and depicts the black female body as threatening for the white family and as an exotic sexual object. In European imagination, the enslaved African woman was therefore constructed as an ambivalent figure while she was seen as menacing through her physical resistance, her black female body was seen as an exotic object of pleasure under constant patriarchal covetousness. The case

of South African woman Saartjie Baartman, named Hottentot Venus, must be mentioned here as a very significant example of these unlawful representations of the black female body. In 1810, she was exposed and stared at, particularly for her shapely bottom.

Major Black feminist theorist Patricia Hill Collins identifies four main stereotypical representations of the black woman that are applicable to the Caribbean context: the mammy, the matriarch, the welfare mother/queen and the Jezebel. The most common myth is certainly the representation of the black woman as a docile and servile mammy, which is reminiscent of Caribbean women traveling to North America under immigration Domestic Schemes in the 1950s-1960s; Hilary Beckles (1999) extends the myth of the mammy to the Caribbean context and argues that black women were defeminized:

The black woman was ideologically constructed as essentially “non-feminine” in so far as primacy was placed upon her alleged muscular capabilities, physical strength, aggressive carriage, and sturdiness. Pro-slavery writers presented her as devoid of the feminine tenderness and graciousness in which the white woman was tightly wrapped.

The other well-known representations of the black woman, which developed later in the Americas, is the myth of the ‘welfare queen’. The representation of the black woman as a ‘welfare mother’ or ‘welfare queen’ first appeared when black families eventually gained the rights to social welfare benefits, unemployment compensation and social security in the 1980s USA. In some Caribbean societies, there is a certain reflection of this stereotype of the Welfare Queen through the popular stereotypical image of stay-at-home single mothers living on state allowances, hence a form of class discrimination in popular considerations (in Martinique for example).

The jezebel is another mythical construction portraying black women as sexually promiscuous and lascivious by nature and this is a persisting stereotype. The name Jezebel has biblical origins as it refers to the Phoenician princess who married Achab, king of Israel, infamous for her disrespect for Jewish traditions and her immoral actions as she would use her royal power to lead servants to sexual immorality. During slavery, this myth of the jezebel was often used as an excuse for masters who would abuse enslaved women. The

jezebel has turned into the black figure of nakedness and hypersexualization. Whether African, African American or Afro-Caribbean, the black woman is constantly affected by this myth which is perpetuated through systems of patriarchal and imperial domination. Black feminist ideology is precisely about invalidating these misrepresentations and mythological constructions. Black feminist thought truly strives to “resist the forces that have not only exploited mute geographies but have also proscribed the voiced and inscribed utterances of gendered, raced, and/or classed selves. They are the figurative foreign bodies who defy easy definition and struggle, each in her own way toward autonomy from imperial pasts and discourses”, as M. Adjarian pointed out. Afro-Caribbean women had to construct their identities against these mythical constructions of Black womanhood which appeared from slavery onward and thereafter contributed to feed an ethnocentric master discourse in the Caribbean as well as in Western societies.

Maroonage and matrifocality

During enslavement times, as African families were fragmented and children sometimes left to the responsibility of mothers, Afro-Caribbean societies have historically embraced this matrifocal dimension that is to say that



Statue of Manman Feray, which means Mother Iron, Port of Prince, Haiti.

mothers play a central role. In Creole language, “Manman” is very strongly connoted and goes beyond the word mother as it underlines the centrality of motherhood in Caribbean societies.

In Caribbean societies, women are central to the home and are depicted as “Poto Mitan” women. This Haitian Creole term designates the central role, the pillar of the family, the woman responsible for the preparation of meals, menus, maintenance of the house, children’s education, and emotional contribution to her children and her husband. The notion of poto mitan should not be confused with that of a housewife. A working woman can also be the poto mitan of her family. The poto mitan concept refers only to her role at home, in the domestic sphere. However, in the Caribbean, a considerable number of women remain confined to the woman’s role at home when the role of man is to be the main source of household income. The poto mitan has turned into a myth enhanced by a strong matriarchal society but women are still striving to find a space in power spheres, such as politics, businesses or top administrations. In fact, a number of studies and statistics have demonstrated that Caribbean women are still very vulnerable with a high rate of domestic violence.

From a historical point of view, Caribbean societies still cherish the memory of their female figures of past rebellions who have led struggles for freedom. In



Statue of Lumina Sophie, Rivière Pilote, Martinique.

Jamaica, Nanny of the Maroons has become a myth and is still famous for her historical fight against enslavers in the Jamaican Mountains. Solitude, better known as « La Mulatresse Solitude » is praised for her resilience as a survivor of the battle of May 8, 1802, when she was executed, pregnant, by hanging on November 29 of the same year, the day after her delivery. Her statue is displayed in public space in Guadeloupe. As for Lumina Sophie, she is also known to have been, while pregnant, one of the leaders of the southern rebellion in Martinique in September 1870, during which a thousand farmers rose up to put an end to racism and to the omnipotence of the békés, the descendants of white colonizers.

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V
**CULTURAL HERITAGE, PEOPLES, IDENTITIES
AND LANGUAGES IN THE CARIBBEAN**



1. Indigenous civilizations at the time of the Conquest
2. Continental Caribbean and its ethnic difference
3. Indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants and cultural identity
4. Afro-descendants in the Caribbean
5. Afro-Caribbean religiosities
6. Caribbean literatures across the world
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I

Indigenous civilizations at the time of the Conquest

At the time of the Conquest, the indigenous civilizations in the Caribbean and Central America were much diversified but could be grouped in separate cultural areas: Mesoamerica, the intermediate area and the intertropical zone or the Antilles.

Mesoamerica extends within the continent from the center of Mexico to northern Costa Rica, and corresponds to advanced cultures based on corn cultivation, important ceremonial centers, many of them urban, dense populations and a political organization of kingdoms and *cacicazgos* (chiefdoms), dominated by the rapid expansion of the Aztec Empire in the 16th century. The intermediate area comprised the southeast of the Central American Isthmus and all the northeast of South America and was politically organized in *cacicazgos*; its agriculture was based on tubers (cassava, sweet potato, etc.), and corn was combined with fishing, hunting and collecting. They were less dense populations than the Mesoamericans, there were relatively few stone buildings and a very low level of development. In the Antilles, indigenous lifestyles were similar to those of the intermediate area and there were three large cultural and linguistic groups: the Tainos or Arawak, the Siboney and the Caribs.

Before the arrival of Europeans in 1492, the Greater Antilles, like Cuba, Puerto Rico or Santo Domingo, were populated by different aboriginal groups that

came in different waves of immigration from the basins of the Orinoco River in Venezuela and the Xingú and Tapajós Rivers in the Guianas. The most advanced and largest aboriginal ethnic grouping was the Tainos. The highest authority in its social-political structure was the *cacique* (chief), and, following in hierarchical order, the Nitainos and Behiques. According to Chroniclers of the Indies, when Spaniards arrived to the first island of the Antilles, Hispaniola – today the Dominican Republic- the Tainos were assembled in five large cacicazgos: that of Xaragua, headed by Bohechío, Maguá headed by Guarionex; Maguana headed by Caonabo, Higüey by Cayacoa and Marién by Guacanagaríx.



Caribbean population upon the arrival of Europeans and artistic, ceramic and agricultural manifestations of the aborigines of Cuba

Sources: The settlement of America: http://www.proyectosalohogar.com/salones/historia/4-6/poblamiento_america/poblamiento_america.htm (map); Aborigines of Cuba. Ecured: https://www.ecured.cu/Abor-%C3%ADgenes_de_Cuba (dibujos); Archeological Cuba: <http://www.cubaarqueologica.org/index.php?-q=node/617> (ceramics). Reference July 2019.

The archeological heritage of the Caribbean: the Taino culture

The daily work of archaeology and its role in the investigation of history are issues that generally arouse much interest. However, archaeology, like history,

does not seem relevant in most contemporary societies. In many cases its “usefulness” is questioned; on the other hand, there is great ignorance about this discipline, intertwined with numerous myths and half-truths that feed images such as that of the erudite archaeologist, far removed from the problems of today’s society.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Archaeology today focuses on the systematic recovery, description and study of the material culture of the past, with the aim of gaining access to the societies that built it. Archaeology and history, therefore, are not differentiated by their purpose but by the object they research about. Thus, archaeology in the face of history tries to know aspects of the past through its preserved material remains. These material remains are of diverse character and include different objects (objects made of stone, fragments of ceramics), monumental remains (a house, a temple, an entire city), areas of human activity (fields of cultivation, ritual areas), and also environmental elements. Our environment, landscapes and archaeological sites, as well as the remains exhibited and safeguarded in museums, are the tangible and visible past, our memory. Archaeology has an enormous responsibility for their protection and conservation.

The archaeological heritage of the Caribbean: a complex reality

In the academic field, until very recently, a discourse has been reproduced that has simplified pre-Columbian history by reducing it to the category of “taíno”, the best known thanks to the stories of the Spanish chroniclers, who described it as the population that inhabited the island of Hispaniola during the period of conquest and colonization.

However, the most recent archaeological research shows that the cultural and social composition of the insular Caribbean was characterized by being a multicultural context from the first human occupations. Many archaeological works show a complexity of cultural manifestations that are the result of the diverse macro-regional relations of the insular Caribbean with the Isthmo-Colombian area and the continental regions adjacent to the Caribbean Sea.

The Taino culture

Bearing in mind this complexity, when speaking of the archaeology of the pre-Columbian cultures of the Caribbean, it is necessary to highlight the Taino culture, which was the first to be found by Christopher Columbus in the New World. Within the chrono-cultural sequence (or periodization) of the Antilles, the Taino culture is situated in the last period or period IV (1200 AD - 1500 AD), in a sequence articulated as follows: period I (archaic) from 4000 BC to 400 BC; period II (saladoid) divided into II a (400 BC-200 AD) and II b (200-600); and period III (pre-taino) divided into III a (600-900) and III b (900-1200).

Taino culture stretched from western Cuba to the island of Guadeloupe in the Lesser Antilles. The first mestizos of America were born from this culture, when Spaniards mixed with the Taino women. DNA analysis, as we will see later, has acquired certain relevance in recent years, among other issues, because of the interest of indigenous groups in claiming specific rights over some territories.

The strongest Taino presence in the Antilles is in Puerto Rico, where two major ceremonial centers stand out: Caguana, near the Tanama River (ca. 1200 AD) and Tibes, with nine ceremonial ball courts and the largest pre-Columbian



Photo of petroglyphs in the stones of the largest *batey* in the Caguana Indigenous Ceremonial Park. Source: By Monti 102 - Own work, CC BY 3.0

cemetery on the island. The archaeologists who have studied it consider that it is the oldest astronomical observatory in the Antilles.

Taino society was hierarchical, organized through a system of chiefdoms. The social groups settled in a large territory following a settlement structure based on villages. These villages comprised rectangular huts (bohios) made of wood, cane and straw, with roofs made of yagua leaves (royal palm) that could house up to fifteen families. The houses were distributed around a central plaza. In this group, the chief's house stood out, the only round and single-family house in the village.



House of straw, known locally as 'bohío'. The 'bohíos' are considered the legacy of Taino natives, and were the typical residence of most Dominicans before the arrival of Hurricane San Zenon in 1930. Source: USMC, 1922, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic 20 of 26. Author: Richard from USA [CC BY 2.0]

Taino economy was based on agriculture, as well as livestock, hunting and fishing. The study of agricultural techniques is very interesting, and can be traced today in the Caribbean landscapes where relics of these practices have been preserved. Cultivation techniques stand out, such as the pile (montón) that consisted of piling up the earth to form large mounds. To irrigate them, water flowed from the top of the pile to the base by the force of gravity. In addition to this method, complex agricultural terrace systems were used for which they developed irrigation systems for corn and tubers such as yautia, sweet potato and yucca.

Today, various Taino sites can be visited on the spot, thanks to the efforts made by public archaeology in countries such as the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico. In the latter, for example, the so-called ‘Sacred’ route in the Land of the Tainos (or Taino Route) stands out, created by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture with the help of archaeologists and various organizations. This route covers twenty places of interest located in the towns of Arecibo, Utuado, Jayuya, Adjuntas and Ponce, and includes the visit to petroglyphs, caves, indigenous trails, royal indigenous tombs and sacred mountains. A detailed explanation of this route can be found at <http://www.placerespr.com/turismo-hasta-nuestras-raices/>

The role of archaeology in today’s Caribbean society

Archaeologists and historians from various Caribbean institutions have dealt with the narration and communication of stories produced by archaeological research, from levels of equality and respect. In addition to the abovementioned route, the works of Frank Moya Pons and Manuel García Arévalo in the Dominican Republic are highlighted.

The work of Caribbean archaeology plays a key role in critically monitoring how that knowledge is used within the framework of our society. Among the usages of the past, perhaps the most striking is the legitimate idea that descendants of a particular culture have a greater right than others to investigate and interpret their remains. This is the case of the neo-Taino groups that have re-emerged today, with special intensity on the island of Puerto Rico and somewhat less in the Dominican Republic. These are voices that claim the Taino origin of their population, which is supported by archaeological DNA studies of inhabitants of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica and Puerto Rico, which determine that Taino maternal DNA is more prominent in the former Spanish colonies (61.3%-22%), while it is non-existent in the French ex-colony of Haiti (0.0%) and in the English ex-colony of Jamaica (0.5%), where maternal DNA from Africa is predominant (98.2% and 98.5%, respectively).

These aspects influence the management, for example, of the National Archaeological Parks Pre-colonial Puerto Rico. The ethnic construction of the “neo-Taínos” groups on the results of ethno-archaeological research has

led them to make demands on the archaeological sites, among which the use of monuments stands out, for example, in the preparation of their ethnic discourse and the affirmation of their indigenous identity.

These individuals have shown, in recent decades, interest in heritage management, with the aim of recovering the pre-colonial past of the island, which has led to clashes between academia and these groups.



Saliente River, Jayuya, Puerto Rico.

Source: By Geoff Gallice from Gainesville, FL, USA - Taino reenactment, CC BY 2.0

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Visit the Museums:

Museum of the Americas, Madrid, Spain

Museum of the Dominican Man, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

Altos de Chavón Regional Archaeological Museum, Dominican Republic

Cemi Museum, Jayuya, Puerto Rico

Visit archaeological sites:

Caguana Indigenous Ceremonial Park (Puerto Rico)

Tibes Indigenous Ceremonial Center, Ponce (Puerto Rico)

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The indigenous people of Costa Rica

Nowadays Costa Rica is a diverse country, socially and culturally. It is a product of its rich history during which peoples of diverse origins arrived to the land that is their country today. Of all the different inhabitants in Costa Rica, a percentage of the population recognizes itself as one that belongs to various indigenous ethnicities. The name of indigenous societies is given to the groups or peoples descending from the inhabitants that populated the American continent before the European conquest at the beginning of the 16th century. Since they were the first dwellers of the continent, other terms are commonly used such as originary peoples, natives, aborigines or naturals.

Although the arrival date of the first residents to the American continent is still the subject of intense debate, it may be determined that the first inhabitants of Central America reached the area at least 12,000 years ago or probably earlier.

Due to its strategic location between North and South America, the Costa Rican territory has acted as a cultural bridge between both regions throughout history. Thus their dwellers had migrations and cultural and linguistic influences from different sources: Mesoamerican, Andean, Caribbean, etc. To know about the past indigenous societies of Costa Rica we must resort to the physical remains left in the territory and studied from an architectural perspective. Thanks to registered and analyzed archeological sites, the lifestyles of the first residents of the Isthmus are known: hunters, fishermen and collectors who, later on, would gradually include the first crops, settle in permanent villages and develop complex social-political organizations.

From the 9th century B.C. and until the landing of Spanish conquerors, the indigenous societies of the region lived through a process of social hierarchy, organizing in political structures called cacicazgos, which acquired different degrees of complexity according to the zone. There was a leader or cacique at the head of these cacicazgos that would, among other things, guide the community, build public works, lead military conflicts with other cacicazgos or produce and exchange sumptuous or luxury goods. Among these, gold objects of great artistic value made by the indigenous societies of the area are important. These circulated through extensive exchange networks and, in spite of the centuries of spoliation, we can still admire them at the Pre-Columbian Gold Museum of the Central Bank of Costa Rica.

After the Spanish Conquest in the 16th century, the amount of people in the indigenous societies of the region decreased considerably due to diseases brought by the conquerors, wars of conquest and a very difficult work system imposed in the colonial period. Starting with the mistake of Christopher Columbus, who believed he had arrived to India, the conquerors used the word *indian* to refer to the multiple and diverse American societies, therefore creating a social and legal category that generally relegated native populations to an inferior condition within society. The number of indigenous people continued to decrease over the centuries and, along with other social groups, they started to suffer from social, economic and educational marginalization in Costa Rica to this day.

Nowadays, according to the last census in 2011, only 104,000 Costa Ricans are considered indigenous, which represents approximately 2.4% of the country's population. Many of them maintain their culture, traditional lifestyle and

language as identifying signs, according to which they are divided in eight different ethnicities. These eight groups are spread mainly in twenty-four indigenous territories officially recognized by the State of Costa Rica, by the Indigenous Law of 1977. However, despite this official recognition, their territories are often illegally occupied and their land usurped. Sadly, the native peoples and their leaders are violently attacked, in most cases, when they demand their rights and the defense of their territories.

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MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5I34C4mmHXM>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xpyl0MbOHHo>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1TWqY73xmJg>
- <http://www.consultaindigena.go.cr/pueblos/>
- <https://www.forestpeoples.org/es/topics/el-derecho-la-tierra-y-los-recursos-naturales/news/2013/02/costa-rica-los-pueblos-indigenas-s>

GRAPHIC MATERIAL

Costa Rican Indigenous groups
The Cabecar
The Bribri
The Ngäbe
The Térrabas or Teribe
The Boruca or Brunca
The Huetares
The Maleku
The Chorotega

2

Continental Caribbean and its ethnic difference

In the Continental Caribbean there are countries such as Colombia, Venezuela and Panama that give shape to an ancient multi-ethnic area in which indigenous traditional peoples inhabit, and still preserve their native languages, customs and traditions as a fundamental part of their identity and cultural heritage.

In the case of Colombia, specifically in the Caribbean region, there is a total of 11 ethnicities: Koguis, Arhuacos, Wiwas, Kankuamos, Ette Ennaka, Wayuu, Yuko Yukpa, Zenú, Embera and Mokana settled in indigenous reservations. Likewise, Panama is a country that has 6 recognized ethnic groups: the Ngöbe-Buglé, Emberá-Wounaan, Naso (Teribe), Guna (Kuna), Bri Bri, and Bokata, spread over Panamanian coasts, jungles and mountains. For its part, Venezuela has 3 large ethnicities settled in Caribbean states such as: Wayuu, Yuko Yukpa and Añu, located in the northeast of the country, therefore they share borders with Colombia.

While each of these ethnic groupings share a linguistic family associated with the Chibchas and Arawak macro-families, however they possess multiple cosmovisions, traditions, languages, uses and customs connected with their territories and identities.

Indigenous Communities of the Colombian Caribbean

In the Colombian Caribbean region, there are currently a total of 12 indigenous groups distributed among the departments of La Guajira (Wayu, Cariachiles), Magdalena (Kogui, Wiwa, Arhuaco and Ette Ennaka), Cesar (Kogui, Wiwa, Arhuaco, Kankuamo and Yukpa), Atlántico (Mokana and Katmaju), Córdoba (Embera and Zenu) and Sucre (Zenu) who have resisted the impacts of colonization and globalization by preserving their traditions. Below are some specific geographical and cultural characteristics of these native groups.

Wayuu: La Guajira is the main territory of the Wayuu community, where they have historically settled by taking advantage of the semi-desert environment as their main source of livelihood. It is important to mention that they retain their mother tongue (Wayunaiky) and their processes of organization and social regulation are based on the Wayuu normative system. Currently, its main economic forms are goat grazing, coastal fishing, salt exploitation and the sale of handicrafts. Likewise, its social organization is based on clans that configure strategic relationships between its members, through memory and ancestor worship. Presently, communities resist the socio-environmental effects generated by coal extraction and State forgetfulness.



Wayuu Alta Guajira indigenous people: Source Danny Martinez

Cariachiles Guajira indigenous people. Source:

https://www.google.com/search?cariachiles+indigenas&source=Inms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjjgpz60YrjAhWVCmVkkKHWfkAUUQ_AUIECgB&biw=1600&bih=789#imgsrc=uTCqgvK7l-134M



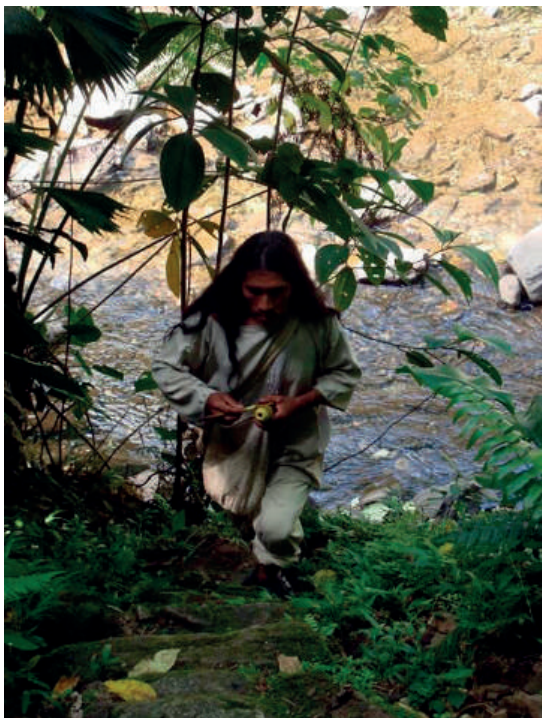
Cariachiles: This indigenous community is located in the south of the department of La Guajira, in the municipality of Molino between territories of the Serranía del Perijá and the Sierra Norte of Santa Marta or SNSM. However, this town was recently recognized as an ethnic group, since it was believed extinct since the early 20th century. They do not have a mother tongue and are currently engaged in agriculture and handicrafts with bitter palm. They continue to be in their processes of cultural strengthening.

Ette Nakka: The Ette community is located mainly in the municipality of Sabanas de San Ángel in the department of Magdalena; however, because of the internal armed conflict that the country suffered for a long time, part of its population emigrated to Santa Marta and the department of Cesar. The mother tongue of this community is Ette Tara, they have cultural traditions such as the interpretation of dreams, crafts and fabrics that strengthen their identity. Currently, its economy is based on agriculture, horticulture, hunting, fishing and animal husbandry.

Kogui: The Kogui people inhabit the Kogui-Malayo-Arhuaco reservation that is located in the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, specifically in the north and south



Ette Nakka Magdalena indigenous people. Source Oraloteca



Kogui SNSM aborigine. Source Oraloteca

between the departments of Magdalena and Guajira. They are characterized by their mother tongue called Koggian, a rich oral tradition, law of nature, visions about nature and spiritual practices. Its social organization is based on the family as an organizing process for local practices; Mama is a spiritual authority that guides the social relations among the community. At the moment, they are engaged in agriculture and the planting and marketing of coffee.

Arhuaco: The Arhuaca community is a town originating from SNSM and that is located in its high, middle and lower parts, in the departments of Cesar (mainly), Magdalena and Guajira, especially in the Kogui-Malayo-Arhuaco reservations and in the Arhuaco of the Sierra, so they share their territory with the Kogui and

Wiwas. Its mother tongue is Ikun, through which knowledge and traditions related to the world and nature are transmitted. Their social organization is structured in a patrilineal and matrilineal manner, in which both fathers and mothers transfer knowledge to their children. Like the Kogui, Mama plays a fundamental role in the

Arhuacos SNSM natives.



social structure and organization of the peoples. Currently, they are engaged in agriculture and planting and marketing of cocoa.

Wiwa: The Wiwas indigenous people inhabit the southeastern and northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, mainly in the Kogui-Malayo-Arhuaco Reserve, but settlements are also found in the department of La Guajira and Cesar. Its language is called Damana and belongs to the Chibcha language family. Nowadays, its economic activities are agriculture, animal husbandry, coffee cultivation, in addition to the growth of ethno-tourism projects.

Kankuamos: The Kankuamos indigenous people inhabit the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, in the Kankuamo Indigenous Reservation, located in the department of Cesar, although there are some others in Valledupar and Santa Marta. They do not retain their language and historically they have been enormously affected not only by the colonization processes but also by the internal armed conflict, although they are in the process of ethnic demand.

Yukpa: The Yukpa live in the northeast of the Cesar department, near the Venezuelan border, in the Serranía de Perijá, as well as in Venezuela, where most of its population is concentrated. Their language belongs to the Arawak linguistic family and they currently live in the Socorpa, Iroka, Menkue-Misaya La Pista, Caño Padilla, El Rosario, Bellavista and Yucatán reservations. Their cultural traditions are mainly related to the hunting of wild animals and they currently practice agriculture especially coffee production.



Wiwa SNSM natives



Kankuamos SNSM aborigines.
Source Oraloteca



Yukpa SNSM natives. Source Oraloteca



Mokana Atlántico aborigines

Its social organization is governed by the Cacique as the main authority of the communities.

Mokana: These indigenous people are located in the municipality of Tubara, Atlántico. Currently, they are in the process of revitalization and cultural strengthening since they do not have a mother tongue, however there are some traditions, such as traditional medicine, as cultural references. The Mokana subsist by means of agriculture and animal husbandry. They organize themselves through councils.



Zenú Córdoba natives. Source Oraloteca

Zenú: The Zenú population is specifically located in the department of Córdoba in the Tuchin and San Andrés de Sotavento reservations, although it has some settlements in Sucre and Bolívar. This community does not have a mother tongue, however it is culturally characterized by its strong relationship with caña fleche crafts, especially the production of the Sombrero Vueltaio hat, which is an icon of its ethnic identity. Currently, they subsist from agriculture, animal husbandry and the sale of handicrafts. Its social organization is governed by the council authority in settlements. The Zenú follow processes of cultural and territorial recovery.



Embera Katio Córdoba natives.
Source Oraloteca

Embera Katio: The Emberas are located in the department of Córdoba, especially on the middle and upper basin of the Sinú river, they preserve the Katio as their mother tongue and are characterized by the construction models of their homes called Tambos. They also have cultural traditions associated with hunting, agriculture and handicrafts, highlighting the figure of Jaivana as the main spiritual leader of the community.

Currently, they subsist on the cultivation of corn and hunting, while some women sell handicrafts. Likewise, its socio-political organization is governed by major and minor councils.

Indigenous Communities in the Venezuelan Caribbean

The Venezuelan Caribbean is a multicultural territory, in which a total of 6 indigenous peoples inhabit Kariña, Wayuu, Yukpa, Los Barí, Waikerí and the Añu, which, for the most part, are settled in the south of the country. Each of these ethnic groups is characterized by its own languages and traditions that shape its cultural heritage.

Kariña: Also known as Karibe, Cariña, Galibí, Kali'na, Kalihna, Kalinya, Caribe Galibí, Maraworno or Marworno, they are direct descendants of the Caribs. It is a nomadic community that inhabits much of the center of elevations called mesas in the Anzoátegui state, with centers in the north and south of the Orinoco River, in the Bolívar, Monagas and Sucre states. They also live in the Esequibo, Republics of Guaraná, Suriname and French Guiana. They have a population of 33,824 indigenous people, according to a census conducted



Kariña peoples. Source https://www.google.com.co/search?q=los+kari%C3%B1a&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiI18yIsorjAhUQyFkKHQPkBBcQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=625#imgrc=XZnhrrYxKyMgJM:

in 2011; despite this, the Kariña language, related to the Pemon language, is spoken by approximately 11,000 people.

They currently live like peasants in small houses with adobe walls and moriche palm or zinc roofs. They operate autonomously by village or community by a captain or “dopooto” governor who is elected by the elders and governs for a three-year term accompanied by an indigenous council (conika) that fights for the interests of all communities in the country. Among their activities it is common to see the burning and chopping down of trees for their crops of corn, banana, beans, auyama, yams, ocumo, sweet potatoes, cassava and the collection of wild berries, although they have a hunting-based diet, while fishing remains in the background. They carry out ceramic work, basketry and weave cotton and moriche fiber. They still retain their most representative traditional rite, the Akaatempo, along with its Maremare dance, although its traditional dress, characterized by typical skirts, seems to be disappearing due to the use of Western clothing.

Wayuu: The Wayuu communities are located in the north of the Venezuelan territory, specifically in the Zulia state, where the Guajira peninsula, the Caribbean Sea and the desert are configured in the ancestral and political territory of the great Wayuu nation, which has no boundaries between Colombia



Wayúú natives. Source Oraloteca

and Venezuela. These communities are organized in clans represented by traditional leaders as the highest authorities of the communities.

Wayuu families are organized around rancherías, in which the members of a family group that make up a clan live. The rancherías are hamlets located in the desert, isolated from each other and their communication is carried out by tertiary roads and trails that cross the trupillo and cactus forests, typical in the region. The main economic activities are goat grazing and artisanal maritime fishing.

Yukpa: They are located in two municipalities of the Zulia State: Rosario de Perijá and Machiques de Perijá, bordered to the north by the Tinacoa River, to the south with the territory of the Barí indigenous people, to the east with the boundaries of the farms among the Sierra de Perijá foothills and to the west with Colombian borders. The bulk of its communities are located in the Machiques de Perijá municipality between the Apón, Negro, Yaza and Tukuko rivers. Three quarters of its population live in the Tukuko river basin. A 2001 census estimates that the population has 10,424 people. The Yukpa language belongs to the Caribbean family and currently has three variants: the atapshis (rionegrinos-macoitas), pariris and irapas (chaparro, viakshi).



Yukpa indigenous peoples. Source Oraloteca

However, there is a high rate of culture and language loss in the pilot sites of Tukuko and Toromo, partly because there is the largest bilingual population of the Yukpa in this country who are accustomed to direct contact with non-Yukpas, and have a more urban lifestyle than the Colombian yukpas.

The contact of the Yukpa with Creole society has produced profound changes in their material culture. The emergence of large settlements, made up of rural housing, is a visible expression of this change. However, the Yukpa have managed to preserve a strong cultural identity with their language, religious beliefs and a social and economic organization based on slash-and-burn agriculture as the main subsistence activity, complemented by hunting, fishing, collecting and incipient livestock. Corn is the main crop and food of the yukpa, combined with sweet yucca, bananas and *cambures*.

The Barí: Also known as Motilones, they are Amerindian people who live in the jungles of Catatumbo, on both sides of the border between Venezuela and Colombia and their language is Bari, a language of the Chibcha language family. Each group is made up of approximately 50 people, who own up to three “malokas” or communal houses, in which several nuclear families live.



Bari peoples. Source https://www.google.com.co/search?q=los+bar%C3%AD&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwie9byzsYrjAhUMxIkKHUtxCzQQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=625#imgrc=jWoOGqTnnYO7FM:

The head of each is known as ñatubai, the main one, the second one is the abiyibai, the third one the ibaibaibai and they are organized from the left of the entrance door. They settle for about ten years in a place near rivers of abundant fishing and in non-flooding areas. In the center of the maloka are the stoves, the bedrooms of each family are on the sides.

They practice slash-and-burn agriculture, fishing and hunting. They grow cassava, sweet potatoes, bananas, squash, corn, yams, pineapples, sugar cane, cocoa, cotton, achiote and chili around the communal houses; they hunt birds, monkeys, peccary, tapir and rodents. They use the bow and arrow as a hunting and fishing weapon. Fishing is a very important source of their food and to multiply it they build temporary dams and use mullein.

Waikerí: Also Guaiqueries, is an indigenous group from the Guarao family that inhabited some parts of the current territory of Venezuela. It is said that they migrated to the island of Margarita (Paraguachoa), Coche (Cochen) and Cubagua (CuaHua), although vestiges of their culture have also been found in the Araya peninsula, north of the current Sucre State, and are currently almost extinct. They inhabit the wide Orinoco River and its fertile delta composed



Waikiri family. Source: https://www.google.com.co/search?q=los+Waiker%C3%AD&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjqxqGqtlrjAhXJlVvkKHxOnCWsQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=576#imgrc=tSd6UJ9oGjtjM:

of islands and marshes. The inaccessibility to the lands of Guaiquerías makes it difficult to access medical care for the treatment of tuberculosis that is very common among them as well as the alarming growth of HIV-infected people (some communities report 35% of those infected with the virus).

The Guaiquerías residents inhabit thatched huts built on stilts on the highest terrains to avoid annual flooding. Sometimes, a group of houses is built on a single large tree platform. In each cabin there is a kiln in the center, sleeping hammocks surrounding it and wooden stools, sometimes carved in animal shapes.

Añu: The Añu community, established on the marine-coastal strip of the State of Zulia, has taken advantage of this territory for the development of its usage, their lifestyles, customs and cultural traditions. Its native language is called *Agnou*. Its main cultural practices are related to the production of handicrafts such as canes or wooden *anthropomorphic* figures and house elements such as the *tifos* that contribute to the construction of house roofs and walls. Because they are coastal towns, their homes are located on the shores of bays and mangrove areas, so the homes are shaped like stilt houses, using black mangrove wooden sticks that rise two meters above sea level.



Añu family. Source: https://www.google.com.co/search?q=los+a%C3%Blu&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwizv8OltYrjAhUtlkKHXSqDAcQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=576#imgrc=eYnyDAkwTgLNtM:

Indigenous communities of the Panamanian Caribbean

Panama is home to six indigenous groups - the Ngöbe-Buglé, Emberá-Wounaan, Naso (Teribe), Guna (Kuna), Bri Bri, and Bokata. According to the 2000 census, these groups had a total population that reached 285,231 Indians, making up 10.1% of all Panamanian population. Despite the progressive influence of modern society, many of these groups continue to rely heavily on their traditional culture and language.

Ngöbe-Buglé: It is the largest indigenous group in Panama with a population of 188,000 inhabitants. They were known as the Guaymí but today this name is hardly used. Most of its members live in the mountains in the west of the country and form two different groups (although culturally similar): the Ngöbe and the Buglé. There are slight ethno-linguistic differences between them. They have resisted external influences for a long time and have done a great job preserving their culture. This is due, in part, to the fact that communities are scattered throughout enormous dimensions of unexploited land. They have also enjoyed political autonomy and at the same time representation by Panama's legislation.



Ngöbe-Buglé women. Source: https://www.google.com.co/search?q=los+Ng%C3%B6be-Bugl%C3%A9&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjPs8aPtorjAhVSmVkkHRBFAV0Q_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=576#imgrc=zORmRwkjfDDemM:

They survive through subsistence agriculture. Men use slash-and-burn techniques to produce corn, rice, bananas, plantains and cassava. During the coffee season, many men travel to the plantations near Boquete to help with the harvest and bring some income to their families. Women raise children and make handicrafts. Two of the most common handicrafts are the *naguas* (a traditional hand-woven dress made with appliqué) and the *chacara* (a bag woven from plant fibers). These crafts can often be found at markets and stores throughout the province of Chiriquí.

Emberá-Wounaan: Emberá-Wounaan: Similar to the Ngöbe-Buglé, the Emberá-Wounaan are composed of two groups that are culturally similar but speak different languages. Though they are currently grouped into one, they were originally different populations with different languages; some group members still prefer to be referred to as separate populations. Their populations reach 29,000 inhabitants and live mainly in regions along the Pacific and Caribbean slopes of Darién. They survive with agriculture and subsistence fishing.

The Emberá-Wounaan have strong political autonomy in Panama, although lately they are beginning to feel the force of external influences especially because of the pressure to finish the Inter-American Highway to Colombia.



Embera-Wounaan

Many of its communities welcome tourists (particularly the Parara Puru). People who still inhabit this place cling to their traditional customs such as decorating themselves with temporary tattoos made from the black ink of the *jagua* -liquid from the pulp of this fruit- which they use to paint geometric patterns on the skin from the waist up. Today, most Emberá-Wounaan only use *jagua* tattoos for special events and offer them to tourists and visitors. They are also recognized for their artistic skills, particularly for their sculpted baskets and statues. Higher quality baskets are woven with such tightness that they are said to hold water. Both the nuts of tagua (tropical palm seed) and cocobolo (a type of rosewood) are carved to make statues that represent forest animals.

Naso (Teribe): They inhabit the northeastern extremes of Panama, in the Bocas del Toro region, are spread in eleven communities along the Teribe River and are one of the last indigenous groups in the Americas that have a traditional monarchy. It is estimated that there are a few thousand remaining Naso in Panama. The Naso have remained isolated and relatively autonomous for decades, but these days their culture has been threatened by the migration of young people. Unlike other indigenous groups in Panama, the Naso have not been guaranteed their own *comarca* (region), an issue that can make their situation worse by a gigantic hydroelectric project, missionary activities and tourism interference.



Naso (Teribe).

Source: [https://www.google.com.co/search?q=Naso+\(Teribe\):&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwui8NWWulrjAhXPuVvKHfHfHWB2cQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=576#imgrc=Cot9puQd_xttKM:](https://www.google.com.co/search?q=Naso+(Teribe):&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwui8NWWulrjAhXPuVvKHfHfHWB2cQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=576#imgrc=Cot9puQd_xttKM:)

Their homes are built on stilts and have thatched roofs. Families often share a house or a set of houses and cook simple meals based on rice, beans, and some type of vegetable. Most of the Naso natives are bilingual, speak Naso and Spanish, and wear Western-style clothes. Although many elders strongly cling to traditional beliefs, today most practice some type of Christianity.

Bri Bri: They live in the Bocas del Toro region next to the Naso, however, many Bri Bri still live in Costa Rica, their place of origin. Only a few thousand live in Panama, and speak both Bri Bri and Spanish. Most do not have drinking water or electricity, and they survive thanks to a mixture of subsistence agriculture, hunting and fishing. Their relative isolation has allowed them to maintain their cultural identity, which results in reduced access to education and medical care.

They live in clans composed of extended families. The clans are matrilineal, which means that a child's clan is determined by the one his mother belongs to. In Bri Bri society, women play an extremely important role, and are the only ones that can inherit land or prepare cocoa, a sacred drink used in rituals and ceremonies that makes it clear that the cocoa tree occupies a special place in the Bri Bri culture. Apart from ceremonial practices, Bri Bri women also use cocoa to make organic chocolate, forming an additional source of income.



Bri Bri.

Source: https://www.google.com.co/search?q=Bri+Bri&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjvrNDUuYrjAhWJylkKHehFB_YQ_AUIECgB&biw=1366&bih=576#imgrc=F38LAMMpDbzT6M



Bokata. Source: https://www.google.com/search?q=vestidos+de+los+bokotas+en+panama&source=Inms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiQv-j40IrlAhXQzlkKHbR2AqkQ_AUIECgB&biw=1600&bih=789#imgrc=YeYppZPYKcrzUM

Bokata: It is the smallest indigenous group in Panama. There are a little under a thousand individuals which inhabit the eastern part of Bocas del Toro and the northwest of Veraguas. The Bokata maintain their own language and culture, and until the late 1970s, there were virtually no streets through the Bokata territory. However, the pressure of “modern society” is increasingly complicating the preservation of cultural traditions and customs for the Bokata. Each year they are increasingly incorporated to the local mestizo population.

Los Kunas: Since 1925, due to the Kuna Revolution against the exploitation of banana and mining companies, this group enjoys broad political and administrative autonomy. The fundamental political institution of the Kuna people is the Great Council House that works in each community. Even though each of these houses has a *saila* or chief, he only presides but does not hold power because this institution is advisory, deliberative and enforceable at the same time, and its decisions must be made among all attendees. At present, women are acquiring greater participation in communal political life where there already are some *Saila* women. Thanks to traditional political organization, the Kuna has been strengthened through their local (communities) and General (regional) Councils, maintaining the cohesion of each group and decision-making power over the activities of their territories, in addition to exercising the control over natural resources and environmental care.

Its economy is mainly based on agriculture, poultry, hunting, fishing and commerce. Although they live on the islands, farmland is on the mainland and they travel there every day in canoes to work on them. The women make beautiful bright-colored dresses and also obtain significant income from their sales to visitors.

Conclusion: These ethnic peoples are vulnerable due to the exponential loss of their traditions when they collide with modernity, a process understood as new dynamics of western colonization that constantly harass their customs. In this way it is essential to generate safeguarding processes because the Caribbean is a continental territory that is built through its cultural difference, taking into account that the cultural manifestations of each community is not an object that can be extracted from each community to be exhibited in a museum. The community representative, physical samples (traditional dresses, ceramics, fabrics, among others) and immaterial ones (dances, narratives, traditional knowledge and practices, etc.) are inherent categories of a whole that forms what we know as culture, for this reason, when separated, create an imbalance that can lead to the loss of a community.



The Kuna. Source: https://www.google.com.co/search?biw=1366&bih=576&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=wiAVXYedJ8uZ5gKRubdQ&q=Los+Kunas%3A&oq=Los+Kunas%3A&gs_l=img.3..0110.441.2532..3514...0.0..0.420.2090.0j6j1j1j1.....0.....l.gws-wiz-img.....35i39j0i7i30.rujkr2y80-8

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Aborígenes de Venezuela: los kariñas, una etnia cuya danza es el fundamento de su identidad: (Indigenous Communities of the Colombian Caribbean Venezuelan aborigines: the Kariñas, an ethnic group whose dance is the foundation of their identity)

<https://notiindigena.wordpress.com/2015/11/06/aborigenes-de-venezuela-los-karnas-una-etnia-cuya-danza-es-el-fundamento-de-su-identidad/>

¿Conoces a los Guaiqueríes? (Do you know The Guaiqueríes?)

<http://etniasdelmundo.com/c-venezuela/guaiqueries/>

Guaiqueries o Waikerí. <https://www.encaribe.org/es/article/guaiqueries-o-waikeri>

Mincultura- Yukpa (Mini-culture-Yukpa)

<https://www.mincultura.gov.co/prensa/noticias/Documents/Poblaciones/Yukpa%20ywonku%E2%80%93.pdf>

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3

Indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants and cultural identity

In the case of indigenous communities in the Caribbean, native languages are the main representation of their cultural system. Also the traditional knowledge system and the Black Line are the most representative manifestations for the Kogui, Wiwa, Arhuaco and Kankuamo, the interpretation of dreams for the Ette Ennaka, the cañaflecha fabric for the Zenú, the traditional regulatory system of justice for the Wayuu, hunting with bow and arrow for the Yuko Yukpa, and the constructive Tambo models for the Embera. For the Mokanas, Iraca palm crafts are cultural manifestations that respond to ancestral cosmogony and wisdom as a structuring element of their ways of life.



Paletillas and traditional indigenous houses. By Danny Martínez

Moreover, Afro-descendant peoples have shaped their own codes and symbologies associated with their uses and traditions vindicating their historical presence in the region, through the construction models of homes, ways of occupying space -palenques-, native languages such as Palenquero, traditional medicine, dances and songs such as Mapale, Bullerengue, Paloteo, Lumbalú. The most recognized Afro-descendant town in the Caribbean is Palenque de San Basilio, recognized as a World Heritage Site by Unesco. Meanwhile, the Raizal towns of San Andrés and Providencia have cultural expressions associated with language such as Creole, music such as Reggae, Ska and knowledge associated with traditional medicine, which characterize the identities of these ethnic groups who have inhabited the most representative islands from the Caribbean region.



Afro-descendant musicians. By Danny Martínez. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_RdmlFpKfaU

Coastal identity and amphibious culture

Large rivers and large bodies of continental water, in addition to being strategic ecosystems, are cultural scenarios full of meanings, memories and productive relationships that in direct connection with water and the coastal world have generated a resilient amphibious culture resistant to the environmental dynamics of their territories.

Thus, amphibious peoples, those populations settled on marshes, wetlands, depressions and rivers have built riparian spaces according to their lifestyles, characterized by inhabiting the space during intense winters and long droughts.

Riverside populations are agricultural, practice fishing and are dedicated to the cultivation of cassava, plantain, yam and artisan fishing with cast nets and canoes using different fishing techniques and ways such as pens, *boliche*, and handline, knowledge developed according to the environmental conditions of the territory. Similarly, they are characterized by cultural expressions such as drum music and *cantaos* dances such as Chandé, Cumbia, Son de Pajarito, Son de Negro and Tambora, among other musical aspects. They also have their own narratives related to legends such as the Mohán, the Cayman Man and the Ghostly Atrarrayero associated with the territory and the ways of inhabiting it.



Port with Chalupas and a boy fisherman. By Danny Martínez

The inhabitant of fresh water has constituted a riparian or amphibious world, the world of water people, from swamps, from Moján or *riano* and, therefore, they are intrinsically water-natured. Rivers or swamps are ties that unite all their inhabitants because they all have much in common: housing, food, landscape (geographical space). This is what should be understood as a social formation.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q0hinXRWIMk>

Peasants and cultural diversity

Peasant populations in the Caribbean region are diverse, since they are scattered from mountains, savannas and riverbanks, consolidating a heterogeneous population that has particular populating histories. In this sense, the reality

of peasantry can be understood from two specific spaces: *Serrano* (highlands) and *Sabanero* (pastureman territory).

Popular culture practices of mountain peoples are expressed through the processes of peasant colonization carried out in the high and middle parts of Caribbean mountain ranges, specifically the SNSM, the Montes de María and the Serranía de Perijá, consolidating a mestizo culture in the middle of mountains and forests. For this reason, peasants who work as farmers and day laborers do not possess sumptuous goods, since their ways of life are articulated around the use of countryside resources such as coffee plantation (at present) and animal husbandry that help self-consumption and household economy.

In this regard, highland peasant populations have shaped rural economies, myths and legends such as Madre Monte and autochthonous festivities such as the Festival of the Colonies and of the Peasant that represents the identity of the highland individual and that is lived through agriculture, animal husbandry and hunting.

The mountaineer's everyday life is characterized by being very simple and uncomplicated. They are men who live in houses made of natural materials: cane, *guadua*, palm: they sleep in *trojas*, mats or hammocks: their chairs are simple trunks of immense centennial trees they knock over to live. Their diet is based on forest fauna: *zainos*, *ponche*, *guartinaja*, deer and rabbit. Their daily life, as Corpes indicates, is reduced to sowing, riding, and knocking trees down, and from time to time, on a Saturday or a Sunday, going to the village to get some basic things, sell the harvest and wood that is extracted, and possibly the skin of some animal.



Country homes. By Danny Martínez

In turn, the popular culture of Sabanero peasantry is structured in the low and flat areas of the region due to the consolidation of herds of cattle ranchers who have taken advantage of the mineral wealth of soil and savannahs for the consolidation of a livestock culture and economy. In this respect, cattle ranching as a social, cultural and economic activity has built the sabanero individual, positioning peasant families that through Cowboy songs, *Décimas* (ten-line stanzas), *Zafras* and *Porros* consolidated a representative identity of their strength and individual and collective memory.

The way of life of the sabanero is developed in relation to dairy activity and agriculture on small properties (Government of Magdalena. 2018). Thus, the Sabanero individual shaped his own identity, reflected in his way of living at home and in the way he used land. It should be noted that one of the cultural practices, representative of the department's savannahs, is related to local cuisines, specifically to the production of cheese and "atolla guey" whey, in addition to corn and yucca buns as typical community foods that represent their identity and traditions.

The man of the savanna develops great potency as a bearer of cowboy songs and, at night, offers *décimas* and verses of their daily lives to their wife and children. Although the land where he lives is not his, which he cultivates through a spatial relationship of sharecropping and smallholdings (*minifundio*), he feels as much of an owner as the proprietor, being a man who produces many of the elements he consumes.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3adgLBSXqI>



Sabanero peasant and Cheese Manufacturing. By Danny Martínez

Litorality and coastal identities

The coastline or the marine-coastal zone of the region is a space that has historically and ancestrally been inhabited by human populations, which over time consolidated an identity related to the sea, this ecosystem being the generator of a culture rooted in fishing and navigation.

In this sense, coastlines witnessed the configuration of the families of artisan fishermen who -through forms of fishing such as harpoon, longline, and handline fishing, *chinchorro*, trolling, and the construction of bongos and paddles- have understood and modified sea dynamics for their use and enjoyment, given that the sea is a catalyst for their lifestyles. Furthermore, the religious festivities associated with the Virgin of Carmen, the construction of fishing instruments and traditional games, such as domino with earrings, are typical expressions of Caribbean fishing villages.

Thereby, the forms of occupation of the coastline as historical spaces for artisan fisheries, orality, knowledge associated with environmental and astronomical conditions and food diet are distinctive elements of a maritime culture; that is, articulated to coastal populations.



Coastline fishermen and Chinchorro nets. By Danny Martínez

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<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONsbqv84zSQ>

4

Afro-descendants in the Caribbean

The first settlers arrived to the Caribbean millennia before the Europeans, who colonized the region only from the fifteenth century. After the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans, maintained for nearly 400 years, the Caribbean became a very lucrative source of production of goods for European consumption. The region assisted in the creation of brutal social systems based on the exploitation of forced labor and extreme forms of social stratification.

The gradual abolition of slavery throughout the 19th century halted the transatlantic trafficking of Africa, but was accompanied by the arrival of hundreds of thousands of workers from places like China, India, Europe or the Middle East, as well as intraregional migration. None of this was associated, however, with measures to ensure their social inclusion. The processes described are not only a part of world history, but still have repercussions on current reality. They explain the great cultural wealth of the Caribbean, but they also form the basis of many of the social problems that are plaguing the inhabitants of the region today and that are reflected, with particular force, in the lives of Afro-descendants.

Who are Afro-descendants?

Before venturing into Caribbean reality, we have to answer a fundamental question: who is an Afro-descendant? We will demonstrate in this section that

words and terms with apparently obvious meaning frequently cease to be so clear when we begin to reflect on their definition.

It should be emphatically pointed out that, in biological terms, races among human beings do not exist. Then how can it be that today, in many contexts, racial categories are still used? In order to answer this question, it is important to recall the words of W. I. Thomas and D. S. Thomas, who argued that “if people define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.” In other words, it does not matter if something exists or not -if people think so, mere belief is usually embodied in very tangible realities. Thus, the belief in races, despite the lack of scientific support, has served to defend that there is a natural hierarchy among human beings.

The fact that racial categories are a creation of our own mind makes it so complex to define who an Afro-descendant is. In Latin America and the Caribbean, depending on the context, someone’s assignment to this category may have to do with their ancestry, phenotype, social status, occupation of certain territories or cultural practices. For example, in the case of ancestry, if no one else in my family other than my great-great grandfather’s great-great grandmother was born in Africa, am I an Afro-descendant? Or, if we focus on cultural practices, imagine that I do not differ from you at all, the reader of this text: if I speak the same language, like the same subjects at school and listen to the same music as you, do it make any sense for me to identify myself as a member of a group different from yours?

All these kinds of questions make racial categories deeply ambiguous. If we cannot define exactly who an Afro-descendant is, we cannot know how many Afro-descendants there are either. To be aware of the consequences of this ambiguity, one must think about that, for example, in Colombia different sources provide very different figures on Afro-descendants, which vary from 1.5% to 26% of the total population of the country.

Colonial legacy

As a result of Caribbean colonization by Spain, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands, it is estimated that, between 1500 and 1870, about 5.75 million enslaved Africans were brought to the region. This figure is

equivalent to the entire population of Denmark today. By forcing so many people to do very hard work, denying them not only all their rights, but their humanity, agglutinated societies emerged, especially because of the use of violence and fear.

But what motivated those involved in trafficking to capture millions of Africans, move them thousands of kilometers away and then invest in their constant monitoring and coercion? Although the causes of social processes are often complex, we may point to two key factors. On the one hand, the creation of economies based on the export of agricultural products and raw materials in the conquered territories generated the need for intensive labor. On the other hand, the violence of the colonizers and, above all, the diseases they brought with them produced a true demographic catastrophe that decimated the indigenous populations. In this situation there was a high demand for workers together with the desire to enrich themselves at the lowest cost possible. Slavery was thus based on the brutal exploitation of some human beings by others. It should also be noted that what was produced was not necessary for survival, but, to a large extent, were luxury products such as sugar, tobacco or coffee.

Slavery was gradually abolished throughout the 19th century. Nevertheless, in the meantime, the enslaved did not wait for liberation and stand by and do nothing, but many actively resisted the oppressive system. Resistance acquired many different forms, including intentional reductions in work pace, destruction of tools or even uprisings and escapes. The latter could lead to the creation of free communities called, depending on the area, maroons, palenques or quilombos. Resistance could also be of cultural nature when they resorted to their own traditions, beliefs or rites.

But, perhaps, the most amazing event in the struggle with the slave system was the revolution in Haiti. The French colony of Saint-Domingue, in its period of greatest splendor, was the most beneficial of Caribbean societies based on plantations. However, at the end of the 18th century, a revolution broke out that would lead to the creation of a new Nation-State: Haiti. It was the first independent state in the Caribbean and the first that abolished slavery in the Western Hemisphere. Those who undertook the struggle, although they were inspired by the French Revolution, took their ideas beyond what French and



Haitian Revolution, 1793

American revolutionaries did. It was in Haiti where they fought for the real implementation of the idea that all human beings, regardless of skin color or origin, have the right to freedom and dignity.

The image, made by an unknown author, represents, the escape of the white population of Cap Français in Saint-Domingue during the intensification of the rebellion, based on a pro-colonial vision. Source: www.slaveryimages.org (License: Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 4.0 International).

It should be emphasized that the activism of the enslaved in the Caribbean not only sought freedom but also citizenship and equal rights. This, in some cases, would lead them to take part in the struggle for independence, for instance in Colombia, and to the demands for citizenship when new republics emerged.

The abolition of slavery did not erase existing inequalities. It did guarantee formal freedom but was not supported by the creation of mechanisms that would reduce social gaps. Moreover, laws were created in multiple places whose aim was to limit ex-slaves' political options and possibilities of economic development.

Social reality of Afro-descendants today

The analysis of the current reality of Afro-descendants is complex, since the sources that collect data on their situation are scarce. In most Latin American countries, the existence of racism and discrimination was questioned, so no information was collected about it. This began to change in recent decades due, in large part, to the activism of Afro-descendant organizations. This text is based, above all, on the latest reports of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC 2017) and the World Bank (2018), which collect data throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

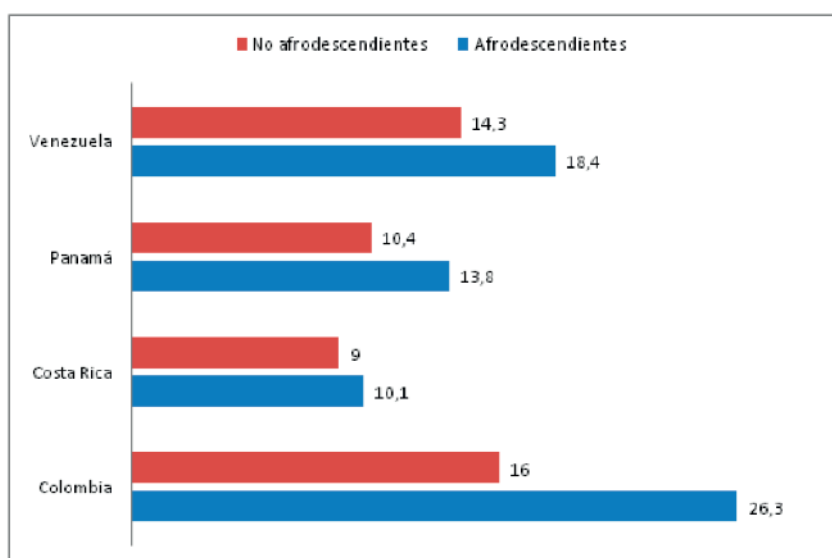
Afro-descendant populations continue to be affected by significant socio-economic and political inequalities. Indicators concerning access to the labor market, health, education and political power show a picture of structural disadvantage. Extreme poverty, referring to the lack of a basic standard of living, is much higher among Afro-descendants than in the rest of the population. It should be noted that the inequalities suffered are aggravated in the case of Afro-descendant women who, despite the significant improvements in



“II C.N.O.A. Meeting of Afro-Colombian, black, Palenque and Raizal women. Paths of peace” carried out in Palmira in 2015. Source: National Conference of Afro-Colombian Organizations (C.N.O.A.)

their education levels, receive lower wages. Training is one of the main paths in accessing opportunities, but we also observe unclosed gaps in this field. These are even more pronounced when accessing tertiary studies according to World Bank reports (2018).

But perhaps the indicator that most strongly demonstrates the disadvantage suffered is infant mortality, which refers to the deaths of children under one year of age. Imagine that the youngest among us already suffer the influence of ethno-racial inequalities before being able to make any decision about their life. In most countries, infant mortality is higher among Afro-descendants than among the rest of the population.



Estimate of infant mortality among Afro-descendants and non-Afro-descendants in several Caribbean countries: Colombia (2005), Costa Rica (2011), Panamá (2010) and Venezuela (2011). Infant mortality refers to the number of deaths before reaching one year of age per thousand live births. Source: own development based on ECLAC data (2017).

Despite the fact that laws that protect Afro-descendants' rights have been enacted in different countries of Latin America and the Caribbean over the last decades, racism and discrimination remain a serious problem. Prejudices, which can be both conscious and unconscious, permeate everyday life. Ethnic-racial criteria influence decisions such as: who am I going to hire? Or what salary will I offer? In addition, they have an impact on how different groups are represented in the media or in schoolbooks. Racism acquires an

institutional side when educational, legal or health systems, among others, systematically harm Afro-descendants. All these factors show how there is still a long way to go in achieving equal opportunities.

Finally, actions related to equality and social recognition, produced as a result of the contributions of different groups -including Afro-descendants-, should not overlook Caribbean cultural, economic and linguistic diversity. Terms such as miscegenation, transculturation or syncretism, with different nuances, have been used to address the relevance of cultural blends, innovations, continuities and discontinuities in the region. One of the most powerful expressions of these processes is embodied in the linguistic richness of the Caribbean. Apart from the presence of the languages of the colonial empires, a multitude of Creole languages are used, which arose as a result of the contact between the different African languages and colonizers' languages. An example is Haitian Creole, spoken today by 12 million people; the Creole from San Andrés, based on English; or Papiamentu, used in Aruba, Curacao and Bonaire.

Today the processes of cultural transformation remain intense. The network of interconnections, formed as a result of the globalization process and international migration, unites populations with Afro-Caribbean roots settled in cities such as New York, Montreal, London or Paris with their place of origin, the Caribbean.



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5

Afro-Caribbean religiosities

Afro-Caribbean religions are a vital aspect of Caribbean popular culture. These religious expressions have their genesis in the African legacy that began to take shape with enslaved human beings of African origin taken to the “New World” in times of the European conquest and colonization. As a result of this colonial history, Afro-Caribbean populations that represent one of the most important human groups in the Caribbean arise, both for their population size and for their significant cultural presence. This is the result of practices aimed at preserving cultural elements of their African ancestors through oral tradition, understood as an activity that transmits knowledge, habits and stories through tales from generation to generation.

We can define Afro-Caribbean religiosities as a set of religious expressions strongly influenced by cosmovisions, ways of looking at the world and the divine from different ethnicities of West Africa. Among the most important are: Voodoo in Haiti, Osha Ifa Rules also known as Santería, Palo Monte in Cuba, and Candomblé in Brazil. These religiosities have gone beyond their places of origin and can be found in other countries as a result of the migration of their practitioners. A feature shared by these religions is that they do not have a central spiritual authority such as the Pope for Catholicism or the Dalai Lama for Buddhism. They are popular religions, without great temples or grandeur, created from the experiences and cultural resources of ordinary people who were able to preserve their spiritual traditions to survive spiritually and

physically, while appropriating elements of the Catholic religion imposed by colonizers. This amazing synthesis, product of the articulation of two totally different religious traditions, is known as syncretism.

The Rule of Ocha (Cuban Santería)

The *Rule of Ocha* or Cuban *Santería* has its origin in Africa. It specifically comes from the Yoruba ethno-linguistic family, located in what Nigeria and Benin in West Africa are today. The Rule of Ocha is the cult of the Orishas, who are characters that represent forces, qualities and properties of nature. According to this religious practice, Olodumare is the supreme god and the manifestation of everything that exists thanks to a creative force called Aché. Olodumare is the father of all the Orishas, who generally has a human form, and with the contribution of the Catholic religion as the materiality of the syncretic act, they take on the shapes of saints and virgins. For this reason the orishas are also called saints. Among the most important orishas of the Yoruba pantheon are: *Orunmila* is the orisha of divination and is syncretized with St. Francis of Assisi. *Elegua*: the orisha that opens and closes all roads and is syncretized with St. Anthony of Padua and in the Holy Child of Atocha and is materially symbolized by rocks. *Oshun*: represents spirituality, feelings and is syncretized with Our Lady of Charity of el Cobre, patroness of Cuba. *Yemoja*: is the mother, represents fertility and motherhood, symbolizes the waves of the sea, hence her relationship with rhythm and dance; she syncretizes with Saint Barbara. *Shango*: is the warrior orisha, represents justice, thunder, fire, drums, music, the intensity of living with joy, syncretized with Saint Barbara and St. Mark.

Palo Monte

Palo Monte is a religious practice that originated in the Congo and Bantu ethnic groups of central and western Africa. Its main trait focuses on the interaction between people and nature and their dead (ancestors), as well as the worship of the *mpungu*, which are the forces found in nature. The branches of Palo Monte, Palo-mayombe, Briyumba and Kimbisa, are usually seen as esoteric practices or simple witchcraft. Perhaps because, for Palo Monte, every element of nature with its mpungus (forces) can be used to foresee, heal, protect or

harm. Unlike the Rule of Ocha, Palo has no orishas or deities. Its God and Creator is called *Zambi* who has other ancestral spirits and natural forces, which fulfill the religion's primary function: to do the will of its practitioner, who is known as *palero*. A *palero* manages to communicate with *Zambi* and the spirits through the *nganga* (cauldron or religious receptacle) which is filled with *nkisi* (sacred objects), *funza* (ancestral medicines), *fula* (gunpowder), *ndungui* (a coconut), *firmas* (magic symbols); *prenda* (a divination receipt); *viti mensú* (a small mirror), *makuto* (safeguard) and *miyumba* (a human skull), among other elements. The *nganga* is where the power and magic from the spirits gathered there are concentrated by the *palero*, who has the power to dominate *miyumba* who, in turn, dominates the plant and animal spirits that are trapped in the *nganga*. Each circle of Palo monte practitioners has its sages, known as *Tata* (dad) or *yaya* (mom) *Nganga*, who fulfill the function of safeguarding tradition and guiding new believers.

Voodoo

Voodoo comes from West Africa, specifically from the countries of Togo and Benin today. However, with the arrival of enslaved ethnicities from these areas to the Caribbean, Voodoo acquires other characteristics when in contact with the Catholic religion. As a result of this syncretism, Voodoo develops on the island currently shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic. It is a *theistic* religion, that is, it believes in the existence of a God Creator and animistic-polytheistic God too, because it believes in the existence of spirits found in the natural world and in objects, which are revered because they have the power to influence our lives. *Bondye* is the supreme god, also known as the *good god*, who can only be accessed through intermediaries known as *Loa*. The main characteristic of voodoo is precisely the relationship with the *Loa*, forces that help live in difficult times.

Candomblé

Candomblé or cult of the Orishas, is the most important African-based religion in Brazil, forged by runaway slaves, known as Maroons. In Candomblé, *Olodumaré* is the God Creator of everything that exists and the land he

called Ile-Ife. Olodumaré is in a higher dimension away from world affairs, but he divided his power among the Orishas, who help human beings face the adversities of life. Among the main Orishas are: Obbatalá, Nana Burukú, Yemoja, Oshun, Shango, Oya, Ogun, Oba, Oshosi, Oshunmare, Omolu, Yewa, Logun Ode, Osanyin, Ibeji and Iroko (Tempo) and Eshu.

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VI

CARIBBEAN HISTORICAL PROCESSES



1. Continental Caribbean during independence processes
2. Peace processes in the Circum-Caribbean region: revolution, civil war and peace in Central America
3. History of Cuba
4. History of the Dominican Republic
5. History of Puerto Rico
6. Political history of the French and British Antilles
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I

Continental Caribbean during independence processes

Historical processes derived in the shaping of the Caribbean and its boundaries as a small politically fragmented region characterized by an enormous cultural diversity. A mosaic of cultures distinguished by mixtures. Therefore, to imagine the Caribbean population as a homogeneous social group is to have a reductionist view of the social and cultural complexity of the region that responds to the different changes its territory has gone through due to modernity, and political, social, economic and environmental factors that have revitalized its territorial history and processes of Caribbean occupation. This has structured different cultural territories through appropriation, experiential and affective links. Asian components, that is, Chinese people and Indians (Hindus), are included in the 19th century through migration driven by plantation economy. During the 20th century, the Caribbean, Mexico and Central America became a region that “expels” people towards the United States and Europe.

With the rise of the United States as an economic and military power in the 19th century, things changed for the Caribbean. Following the continental expansion that led the thirteen colonies towards the west, American ambitions extended towards the Pacific (Alaska and Hawaii). At the end of the 19th century, these ambitions spread to the Caribbean, visualized as an “American lake.”

The Panama Canal, built by the United States between 1903 and 1914, is the pivot of these interests in the Caribbean and Central America. The Canal is



a strategic hub of international trade and interests of the United States Navy. This importance is confirmed during WWI and WWII and remains until almost the end of the 20th century, decreasing only with the development of nuclear-headed missiles.

Caribbean independence

The processes of American and Caribbean independence have had different perspectives: Latin American revolutions, anti-colonial liberation movements, caste conflicts and even civil wars. As independence, in this case, we refer to the process of liberation or dependence rupture between European possessions - mostly Spanish - and their American and Caribbean dominions. This process took place between 1810 and 1823, starting from several cries of independence

until the final battles which put an end to European domination over territories that countries such as Venezuela, Colombia or Mexico occupy today. Its study should be done in a comparative or connected way to understand the multifaceted meaning of becoming Latin American or Caribbean. This might contribute to developing a *vision of the other and of others* by studying history, culture and identities in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In the colonial period, the great challenge for Creole intellectuality -engaged in the independence process of, for example, the Viceroyalty of New Granada- was to make a modern nation conceivable and desirable in an “Old Regime” society, fragmented, state-owned, multi-ethnic, scattered over a vast territory of diffuse borders crossed by intricate administrative divisions and difficult to assimilate. The inhabitants of these viceroyalties and general captainships had to pay taxes to Spain and submit to their policies, therefore, after several centuries of domination they rebelled (both indigenous and mestizos, mulattos and Creoles) and obtained economic autonomy and freedom to govern themselves, giving rise to the formation of the nation-states we know today; a process in which constitutions, laws and a sense of nationhood were developed, with a language, history and some foundational myths.

In the process of independence, texts in the shape of brochures, books, proclamations, newspapers and gazettes arrived to America from the Peninsula that, paradoxically, encouraged the internal struggle against the domination of Spain. In American cities and towns they were reprinted and fueled the insurrection among their inhabitants in their claim for the right to representation –as well as the peninsular ones– in the first organized liberal courts that proclaimed the constitution of Cádiz. A Mexican leaflet from 1809 illustrates this idea very well: “The time for disputing over the sovereignty of the peoples is over. The veil that covered them has already broken; nobody ignores that in current circumstances, sovereignty resides in villages. The infinite printouts that come to us from the Peninsula show it.”

It is important to note that not all peoples were simultaneously supporters of independence. For example, British Canada did not follow the path of its immediate neighbors, as Cuba and Puerto Rico did, who unconditionally supported the so-called *realistas* in their struggle against mainland independence groups. The French Antilles also homogenously felt the impact of the revolutionary

events that took place in Paris in 1789 but only Haiti carried out its own revolution since 1791. Nor did the British Antilles, nor the Dutch, nor the Danish territories embrace independence yet (that is, the Virgin Islands, much less the island of St. Bartholomew, better known as St. Barthelemy, since its definitive transfer to France in 1877), even when these possessions were deeply affected by the independence movements of other colonies.

Once independence in America was obtained, historical stories were elaborated for the building of the new nations in which a sense of permanence, continuity and transcendence over time prevailed. Through narratives, metaphors and representations, the map of a new identity was designed through the use of new vocabulary, another political language with different symbols and emblems in order to persuade the need and inevitability of the modern nation.

Naturally, the way in which Latin American and Caribbean countries are geographically distributed - and limited - is very different from 200 years ago. A very clear case is how much of the Mexican territory became part of the United States in 1848 after a military occupation, giving rise to the current states of California, Nevada, Utah, part of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming, Oklahoma and Kansas. Equally, Panama was part of Colombia until its separation in 1903.

The United States and Caribbean Independence

Simón Bolívar, liberator of Venezuela and other nations of South America, fought by all means to support the independence processes in Cuba and Puerto Rico, a complex goal until the independence of continental lands was achieved. To do this, he formed an alliance with the Mexican government in March 1826 in order to fight against Spain both in the Antilles and on the continent's own coasts through joint naval operations. However, the operation for the liberation of Cuba and Puerto Rico was unsuccessful due to a lack of resources, financing and sufficient men. Likewise, the persistent opposition of the United States to advance in the plans to free Cuba and Puerto Rico delayed them until the end of the 19th century.

Since the time of the occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the armies of Napoleon in 1808, the United States government decided to take the opportunity

to occupy the contiguous Spanish-American territories, a claim warned by the Spanish *chargé d'affaires* in Washington by pointing out the existence of a North American project to achieve “the meeting of the kingdom of Mexico and the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico under these United States.” From then on, the United States interest in the Spanish Antilles would grow to the same extent as its trade with the rebel colonies of Latin America declined. However, because the naval force of England prevented them from taking these islands in, Washington preferred that they remain in the hands of a decadent power such as Spain at that time, and wait for better conditions to annex them.

The use of Cuban territory against South American insurgents was one of the factors that prompted several projects for the liberation of the continent, which were supported or promoted by a sector of the island’s Creole population. These plans reached their greatest virulence after the creation of the Republic of Colombia (1819) when its president, Simón Bolívar, unsuccessfully tried to achieve the emancipation of Cuba and Puerto Rico, territories that he considered essential to consolidate Spanish-American independence.

Not all independences took place at the same time

We must also bear in mind that, for example, in the territory known today as Colombia, there were several independences, each in a context and with a unique dynamic. Therefore, when undertaking the task of commemorating *independence* (which celebrated its 200th anniversary between 2010 and 2019) we should also analyze *the independences*. Thus, at the end of 1811 and beginning of 1812, in the Viceroyalty of New Granada (Colombia today) several political positions could be identified: some agreed with absolute independence, others did not resign breaking ties with the metropolis and decided to stay true to Spain like Barbacoas, Santa Marta, Riohacha, San Andrés and Pasto. But there were conflicts even within both sides because there was no unanimous regarding the best possible future for the provinces.

The independence period began in 1791 in the Caribbean that would lead to the slave revolution and the proclamation of the independent republic of Haiti in 1804, an event that enabled the French expulsion from this island. Likewise, the first autonomous government meetings of the Hispanic

colonies arose precisely in Caracas -capital of Venezuela- and Cartagena - the main *neogranadino* (of New Granada) port of the Caribbean- where Latin American independence proclamations began during 1811.

There were similarities in the dynamics of Latin American independence and the Haitian case due to the important weight of slavery in the economy, like what happened in Brazil. Also, the weakening of the ties between American colonies and the metropolis was among the factors that accelerated the outbreak of the independence struggle, both in Haiti and in the Spanish possessions in America and Brazil.

It is important to note that the discourse of the abolition of slavery was instrumentalized during the time of independence by both the *realistas* and the Creoles in order to swell the ranks of the realista and patriotic squads. This is how a realist was the first to raise the rhetoric of abolition. Miguel Tacón's speech was adopted by black Patias in the south of New Granada (Patia Valley), who, in defense of religion and the king, took up arms and organized guerrillas who tenaciously and effectively opposed the patriotic armies until after the proclaimed independence. The same would happen in the north with Tomás Boves, who produced a deeply racial discourse that attracted the inquisition of the popular sectors against the arbitrariness of the Venezuelan elite. Boves established the budgets for a political strategy that would ultimately lead Bolivar to victory.

According to historian Gustavo Bell, "Freemasonry was the main vehicle of dissemination of the Anglo-Saxon culture in the Caribbean. Jamaica was a large Masonic center under whose jurisdiction eighteen Masonic lodges operated with activities on and off the island. The first lodge was founded in Kingston on April 14, 1739, and others were founded in Port Royal and Spanish Town in the years thereafter. On their trips to Jamaica, the Creole merchants of our ports made contact with these lodges through which the liberal ideals and principles of representative democracy were disclosed. The first lodge founded in the Viceroyalty of New Granada was that of the *Tres Virtudes Teologales* based in Cartagena in 1808 (with a letters patent issued in Kingston). Through newspapers printed in Jamaica, such as the *Jamaica Courier* and *The Royal Gazzette*, the people of Cartagena also learned about the political and military events that occurred in Europe and that were of great

importance for independence (...) “Cartagena’s close contact with Jamaica was yet another example that the power of the Spanish crown was rapidly weakening and that the metropolis was no longer the center towards which Creoles were heading. The influence that England had, through Jamaica, was increasingly strong and widespread, and its consequences could not be counteracted by the colonial authorities.”

To sum up, it is essential to know the history of Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America and their ties in order to better understand the historical links that bind us to the past and work.

In the political life of the Caribbean and Central America in the 20th century there were two events that had a strong international impact. The Cuban revolution in 1959 soon evolved into a confrontation with the United States and, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, the island became a communist country, a strong ally of the Soviet Union, from 1961. Che Guevara, fellow guerrilla of Fidel Castro, proclaimed a continental revolution and undertook guerrilla adventures, first in Angola and finally in Bolivia. In Bolivia the guerrilla was a failure and Che was murdered in October 1967; thus what appeared to be a revolutionary impulse of continental scopes concluded.

In 1979, Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza lost power in the midst of a popular insurrection led by the Sandinista Front. For more than ten years, until 1990, the Sandinistas tried to consolidate a regime they called Sandinista, close to the Cuban communist model but also with Socialist and Christian elements. Harassed by the United States, and at the center of a civil war that also involved El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, the planned Sandinista revolution eventually also failed.

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2

Peace processes in the Circum-Caribbean region: revolution, civil war and peace in Central America

Origins of the wars in the Circum-Caribbean area in the 20th century

The period considered here is that of the Cold War in the Circum-Caribbean region integrated by the Central American countries and the island of Cuba, and the dictatorships, revolutions, civil wars and peace processes that have occurred are addressed. The Cold War arises after WWII in which two power blocks in the world clashed politically, economically, socially and culturally: The western block was led by the United States, characterized by a capitalist economic system (market economy) and liberal democracies, while the Eastern block, led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), was characterized by socialist economy systems (planned economies) and popular democracies. Each of the two superpowers wished to extend *their* government model throughout the world.

The origin of the Cold War is usually situated between 1945 and 1947, during post-war tensions and lasted until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Neither of the two superpowers took direct action against the other, which is why the era was called the Cold War. However, these limited confrontations with European politics and ideologies, in the United States or in the Soviet Union itself, became hot wars in other latitudes of Africa, Asia and Latin America between the allies of the superpowers. This happened in the Circum-Caribbean

region, especially in Central America. One of the reasons for the violent clashes was that the Soviet Union financed and supported revolutions, guerrillas and socialist governments, while the United States gave open support to military dictatorships and authoritarian governments and spread destabilization and coups - especially in Latin America and Africa, all accompanied by serious human rights violations.

Within this scenario, the Circum-Caribbean region had two important features: first, that it was an area already dominated by the United States during the 20th century with frequent military interventions and, second, because the decolonization process was mixed up with the Cold War and lasted until the eighties until finally the independence of the British colonies of St. Kitts and Nevis ended in 1983.

The Cold War and the Cuban Revolution

One of the worldwide highlights of the Cold War was the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Particularly in Latin America, this revolution aroused high hopes that the fundamental problems of the continent -underdevelopment, social inequality or lack of citizen participation- could be overcome. Thus, following the model of Cuba, revolutionary movements were formed in Latin America (and other parts of the world) and the armed struggle was organized through guerrilla movements, whose existence justified the actions of the US government to support authoritarian regimes and military dictatorships with the argument of fighting communism. The island of Cuba - located in the heart of the western hemisphere, an area of influence claimed by the US, and backed by the Soviet Union - was the site of one of the most acute fights of the Cold War that brought the planet to the edge of an atomic war: in 1962 it was detected that the USSR had established nuclear weapons in Cuba, capable of destroying Washington, the capital of the country. On the other hand, Cubans provoked the Western world with an internationalist policy in order to export their revolution and actively support revolutionary, anti-colonial or national liberation movements in Latin America and other parts of the world.

Revolution and civil war in Central America

Emulating the example of Cuba, in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala –as in others countries in Latin America– guerrilla armies were formed with the aim of overthrowing authoritarian regimes and establishing a fairer social order. They only succeeded in Nicaragua and in 1979 the Sandinista Revolution ended the dictatorship of the Somoza family that had subdued the country for over four decades, acquiring one of the continent's greatest fortunes. The Sandinistas promised a more equal distribution of the country's wealth to combat severe social inequality through agrarian reform, democratization, literacy and medical coverage, among other measures. The Cuban government provided vigorous support to Nicaragua by sending thousands of civilian cooperators in the medical field in order to organize the new education system.

The success of this second revolution in the Circum-Caribbean area –considered by the United States as its “backyard”– caused strong reactions against it. The United States government and intelligence agency (CIA) began a “low intensity war” against the Sandinistas. That war involved the financing of “Contras” troops or opponents of the Revolution, acts of sabotage (bombing and infrastructure destruction) and - as in the case of Cuba - an economic blockade and political sanctions - all accompanied by a strong international defamation campaign. The motto was to avoid “another Cuba” in the western hemisphere. This policy was adjusted to the ideology of the Cold War that became a hot war in that Circum-Caribbean region. On the other hand, the war (not formally declared) of the United States against the Sandinistas and other revolutionary guerrilla movements implied prodigious military and financial support for the military dictatorships of the neighboring countries of El Salvador and Guatemala. Honduras was equipped with an American military base and also collected hundreds of thousands of refugees from the three countries at war. In El Salvador and Guatemala, the military governments unleashed a fierce war not only against the guerrillas but against the civilian population suspected of cooperating with them. To carry out their objectives, they were not afraid to apply widespread repression, including all forms of violence: torture, enforced disappearance, massacres, death squads, etc. The bloody balance is appalling: more than 350,000 dead throughout Central

America, 200,000 dead in Guatemala alone -the most affected country and where military governments fought the guerrillas with the “scorched earth” policy that affected the indigenous population above all. Guatemala also has 20,000 missing and more than one million refugees.

The peace process

The end of the Cold War and military attrition of the wars in the three Central American countries indicated that the defeat of the guerrillas was impossible, which made a peace negotiation possible. In fact, it was one of the few wars in history that concluded through negotiation when, with the initiative of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias and his country’s relative neutrality, the Central American presidents began negotiations to establish peace in Central America, still against the will of the United States. Costa Rica’s foreign policy was successful despite pressure from the US. President Arias’ efforts gave continuity to those previously carried out by the so-called Contadora group - the governments of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama - which, since 1983, had promoted dialogue, reconciliation and democracy in Central America. In 1986 the crucial meeting of Esquipulas I took place and the following year peace was signed in the Act of Esquipulas or Esquipulas II. The most important points of the agreement were ceasefire, democratization, respecting and guaranteeing the exercise of human, political, civil, economic, social, religious and cultural rights, free elections, national reconciliation actions, ceasing to aid irregular forces or insurgent movements, not using territory to attack other states, negotiating security matters, control and limitation of weapons, helping refugees and displaced people, cooperating for peace and the economic and social development of the region and international monitoring. To control the execution of the commitments, an international verification mechanism was established through UN institutions.

The peace process in Central America was completed with the signing of Peace agreements in El Salvador in 1992 and in Guatemala in 1996. In both countries, national reconciliation measures were instituted as truth commissions to clarify massive human rights violations and to create a context of justice and reconciliation. At present, more than three decades later we can confirm that, despite the peace process, violence prevails in the region, although changed into



US presence in Central America and the Caribbean 1937-1990.

Source: Héctor Pérez Brignoli, *Breve historia de Centroamérica*. Madrid 1990, p. 150.

“privatized” and criminal violence. Nor have the origins of civil wars, poverty, social inequality and lack of democracy been overcome, all of which are factors of the current massive migration to the United States.

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3

History of Cuba

Cuba was populated between 8000 BC and the 14th century from the Americas and West Indies in successive waves that coexisted in its space, occupying different areas and not without friction. The first inhabitants were hunter-gatherers, and the last ones, Taino and Caribs, practiced agriculture and pottery, had tribal matrilineal organization, animistic and ancestral cults and the Arhuaco language. They mostly consumed cassava, made from yucca, used the *coa* (stick to deposit seeds in land) and lived in guano and wooden huts arranged in circular villages. They had varied instruments of mud, bone, stone, wood and shell, for work-related, domestic, musical and weapon use. The original inhabitants left pictorial remains in caves, the ones later in earthenware, firewood or rock.

This was the panorama that Spaniards found in Cuba. Christopher Columbus visited it on his first trip to America (1492) and in 1510 its conquest was entrusted to Diego Velázquez in Hispaniola, already colonized. In 1512 Baracoa was founded in the northeast and, until 1515, six more villas from there to the west, including Havana and Santiago, which would be the main ones. The Europeans sought gold, found it in the rivers, and based their settlements and agricultural-livestock activity on the subjugation of the Indians, granted to messengers for working, who also had to Christianize them.

Gold ran out quickly and natives disappeared from all the West Indies, victims of epidemics brought by the Europeans, and of their exploitation and conquest (very bloody when they resisted the Spaniards who also took advantage of the clashes between tribes). However, indigenous heritage remained in miscegenation. It has been proven that the Caribbean population has mostly aboriginal mitochondrial DNA.

Demographic hardship worsened at the beginning of the Mexican conquest in 1519. From then on Spaniards used to reach the Antilles, acclimatize for a while and then go to other places where silver was found. In 1518, they began to take slaves from Africa to America to replace the Indians, and in Cuba the few settlers there dedicated themselves to livestock and tropical crops. Since the island had an unparalleled port, when Spain established trade monopoly in its empire (it could only be exercised by licensed Castilians) and ordered, in 1524, that it be carried out in annual armed fleets in order to protect it from climatic contingencies, pirates and enemies, Havana was the meeting place for ships. They anchored and stocked there before returning to Seville.

Cuba was part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain until its independence in 1821, and until 1774 (when the island was established as General Captaincy) its government, Audience and Church depended on the Dominicans. It was always under the command of a member of the military and included Jamaica (between 1494 and 1655), Florida (1567-1821) and upper Louisiana (1764-1803) while they were Hispanic colonies. The municipal system included few councils due to the small island population. The most important ones were Santiago and Havana, which comprised almost the entire western half of the territory and had among its powers the concession of royal lands to individuals for their exploitation.

The Cuban government and defense were paid for by the viceregal capital with the so-called *situado*. The population of Havana was responsible for meeting the port's demands, which allowed the development of services, handicrafts industries and crops in its surrounding areas.

Livestock, tannery, logging, distilling spirits and subsistence agriculture prevailed in the rest of Cuba along with smuggling. Through it, goods were exchanged with nearby colonies evading the colonial monopoly ban. In addition, tobacco immediately became the main island export and, due to

its benefits, in 1717 its *estanco* (exclusive royal sale) was ordered. A factory acquired the harvest with the *situado* and sent it to the factory in Seville, which caused complaints that ended up in rebellions of the *vegueros* (cultivators) and merchants until 1723, when they were allowed to freely dispose of the surplus not purchased by the metropolis.

The Bourbons, kings of Spain after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), set out to draw more income from America and centralize power, in which the Creoles had climbed positions. To achieve this, they implemented changes that ended in dismantling inefficient trade monopoly, starting with the West Indies. Thus began a process that progressively liberalized land, trade and trafficking in Cuba. In other Caribbean colonies, since 1640, sugar production for exporting developed, employing massive slave labor, and the measures applied on the Hispanic island sought to emulate them, which would finance themselves and generate tax revenues for the metropolis.

The reforms responded to changes in the situation that favored the agricultural progress of Cuba. In 1762 the British took Havana. The island had always been a target for pirates, but over time European states became powerful and in the continuous wars between them, transferred to America, national navies were used, not buccaneers with letters of marque. When the city was recovered, changes in the administration and economy began, and in the most populated area, the northwest, the extension of modern sugar mills was quickly achieved. In 1783 the United States became independent from Great Britain, in 1791 a rebellion of slaves and black population from French Santo Domingo (Haiti since 1804) broke out, which would end its emancipation and with which the largest sugar producer in the world disappeared from the market. Between 1808 and 1825, all of Spain's American continental empire separated from them and between 1808 and 1838 slavery was abolished in the United Kingdom and then in the rest of the non-Hispanic Caribbean.

The aforementioned events allowed Cuba to become the main sugar producer in the world since the 1840s. Its mills applied the best available technology and expanded throughout the island thanks to the opening of railways from 1837 (eight years earlier than in Spain), then spread throughout its western half, and the population grew with the contribution of thousands of slaves brought from Africa.

Spain lacked a market for Cuba's supply, so its 19th century colonial system was different from the English one. It was based on allowing free trade, extracting income through tariffs, which also protected their exports on island markets and in business relations between Creoles and metropolitans. They also took advantage of the fact that the British-American dispute over hegemony in the Caribbean ensured Hispanic dominance on the island and the government in London was permissive with the continuation of trafficking, despite the fact that in 1817 they signed a treaty with the one from Madrid to abolish it. Finally, the Spanish army secured order in the slave society of the Greater Antilles, whose population was already dominated by blacks and mulattos in 1840, which is why the local elite accepted to be governed by special laws and under the all-embracing faculty of a general captain.

Because of its sugar supply, which grew to 1,100,000 tons in 1894, Cuba was the richest colony in the world, but this was inconvenient. It was based on slave work (in 1817 there were 200,000 on the island and 379,000 in 1867), it monopolized resources (the only other important export was tobacco) and, although it allowed to populate the territory, mills and railways were concentrated in the West. The eastern half remained sparsely populated (20% of the inhabitants) and exploited. In addition, due to its specialization, the economy was heavily dependent on changes in trade and sugar price. With Spain lacking sufficient demand and the emergence of an industry in other European countries that produced it from beets and protected by tariffs, sugar sales from the Greater Antilles turned increasingly to the United States due to its geographical proximity and the marked rise in its consumption (since 1850 it bought more than 50% and from 1880 more than 70%). This gave a nation other than the metropolis great decision-making power over Cuban economic progress.

For the reasons set out above, the bases of colonial rule in Cuba were weakening. Creoles, apart from having less rights than metropolitan people, suffered from the privileges that these had on the island which allowed them to control trade, banking and good part of the productive activity. In addition, due to trafficking difficulties and the subsequent increase in slave costs from 1845, some 150,000 Chinese individuals were transferred to the Greater Antilles under unconscionable contracts and the aim was to promote Hispanic immigration to Hispanicize their population.

While there was slavery, Spaniards were reluctant to move to a territory where that institution prevailed in labor relations. Despite this, some 35,000 Canarians arrived to Cuba attracted by better wages than in their land. After the abolition process began, there was a massive flow of immigrants also from other Spanish regions, which amounted to more than 500,000 people between 1882 and 1898, 100,000 of whom remained in the Caribbean country.

The problems of colonialism in Cuba provoked a war of independence between 1868 and 1878. The elite remained faithful to Spain and the island was able to bring peace to itself, but then the abolition began. The rebels declared it and the government responded by freeing the older slaves and those born since then. The process ended in 1886 and, without slavery to justify it, they did not create enough reforms to equate Creole and metropolitan rights and solve the inconvenience of island trade concentration in the United States. This country had initiated a policy, called reciprocity that granted tariff reductions to places that also granted them to its exports, which harmed Cuban sugar, since Spanish imports were protected in the Greater Antilles market.

The government of Spain signed agreements to facilitate Cuban exports, but in 1895 the United States did not renew them and the effect it had on the island economy, together with the weakness of the colonial bond, caused another independence war, led by José Martí. The struggles were devastating and, since none of the parties managed to prevail and due to the impact they had on foreign investments and property, the American president decided to intervene and, after his army defeated the Spaniards, occupy the island with the commitment to retreat once it was possible to deliver power to an elected president.

Indeed, the occupation of Cuba ceased in 1902 and a republic was established, although limited in its Constitution by the Platt Amendment, which granted the United States the right to supervise its finances and intervene militarily in it -which occurred between 1906 and 1909-, after a rebellion against the reelection of the first insular president. In addition, after post-war reconstruction, the country remained sparsely populated and the immigration of Spaniards was encouraged, who, with their children, equalled 1,500,000 of the island's 4,000,000 inhabitants by 1930. Although initially prohibited, the arrival of Antilleans was also allowed since 1913, especially during the harvest months of sugarcane (*zafra*), as the economy of the island still specialized in

sugar production. On the other hand, territorial integration improved with the opening of a railroad in 1902 that crossed Cuban territory from west to east and the laying of other lines in its eastern half until the 1930s.

Cuba's economy maintained its specialization because it manufactured sugar with the lowest costs in the world and because of a treaty that, since 1903, reduced the tariff to export to the United States, which exacerbated its vulnerability in the face of market changes and retail prices. This defect increased when, due to WWI, the European supply of sugar was reduced by 50%, which allowed the island to grow to 5,200,000 tons in 1925 thanks to foreign investments. Since its independence, the Greater Antilles received American and British capital, however cane industry remained in the hands of national and Spanish capital. During the international conflict and a crisis that followed later, the US became a major investor. The recession also caused main sugar importers to raise their tariffs to protect their domestic production, which aggravated Cuban economic problems.

The postwar crises worsened during the 1930s depression. Cuba's political system was dominated by national and foreign owners and leaders of the independence army, but economic progress allowed the emergence of urban and rural middle classes and the labor movement, which were the most adversely affected by recessions, causing conflicts in favor of better living and working conditions and more representation in power. The oligarchy responded by uniting around President Gerardo Machado, who in 1928 illegally extended his mandate and provoked a popular reaction that succeeded in overthrowing him and forming a leftist government in 1933. Finally there was an understanding that allowed the elites to preserve their *status quo* with the formulation of more equitable income distribution policies. The United States repealed the Platt amendment and helped stabilize the island by including it in a system of supply quotas for its sugar market with lower tariffs and higher prices than international ones, which guaranteed public revenues to finance these policies.

Cuba's productive specialization, therefore, survived the crisis of 1930. 60% of its economy depended directly or indirectly on the income generated by sugar, which reinforced its vulnerability concerning its market and prices. This caused a succession of prosperous times and recession that, together with the demographic increase, without immigration, hindered the financing of social

policies and raised unemployment and social exclusion. Such a situation, along with the corruption of governments, the presence of American mafias on the island, the influence on it of the United States and foreign capital, as well as the deterioration in living conditions - although in 1959 it was the most equitable Latin American country with 60% of its GDP generated by wages - can explain the conditions that allowed the triumph of the revolution led by Fidel Castro.

Fulgencio Batista controlled Cuban politics since 1934, when he assumed army leadership after the overthrow of Machado. Faced with the worsening socio-economic situation, he carried out a coup in 1952 and caused the appearance of opposition movements. Fidel Castro managed to lead them by directing a guerrilla in the island's eastern highlands, in which his brother Raúl and Ernesto *Che* Guevara also took part, among others. After seizing power in 1959, the revolutionaries implemented a program of political regeneration and social justice, but their first agrarian reform and nationalization of land and business measures caused US sanctions. In the Cold War scenario, the new Cuban regime replied by declaring itself Marxist-Leninist and aligning with the USSR and socialist Europe, countries that began acquiring sugar from the Greater Antilles that could no longer be sold on the North American market and that supported the island with financial aid and cheap oil.

The US-Cuba confrontation endured. The embargo on the island was reinforced. In 1961 the CIA supported a frustrated invasion by groups of exiles and in 1962 the Soviet plan to install nuclear weapons in the Greater Antilles could have caused a world war.

The Castro revolution collaborated with guerrilla movements in America and Africa and sent troops to support the communist governments of Angola and Ethiopia between 1975 and 1991. No small country with limited resources had ever had so much worldwide influence as socialist Cuba.

Internally, the revolutionary government applied continuous policies of egalitarianism, universal health and education in Cuba, which have been its greatest achievements, but financing them depended on the help of the USSR. Thus, central planning, non-material work incentives and the strengthening of specialization (in 1970 the country and its production factors were mobilized to, at the expense of other activities, attempt a 10,000,000-ton harvest of sugar)

caused constant problems of low economic growth, deficits in labor productivity and reduced supply of goods and services.

Since 1959 many have left Cuba for political reasons or looking for better living conditions. The best known exoduses are those of Mariel in 1980 (125,000 individuals) and the rafters in the 1990s (35,000). In the United States, the main destination, these immigrants and their descendants exceed 1,500,000 people. Most Cubans live in Florida, where they have achieved an economic and political position that has allowed them to influence US policies towards the island.

For the reasons stated, the end of the USSR in 1991 caused an economic and food crisis in Cuba (GDP fell 30%) called the Special Period in Time of Peace. Since then insular supply of sugar has not stopped decreasing and, in order to improve the situation, they began reforms that authorized some private productive activity and foreign investments, in partnership with the state, in fields such as tourism, biotechnology or mining. The drawback is that these initiatives have not been supported by political changes, they were thought of as momentarily harmful and were reversed several times when income increased. The United States, under pressure from the Cuban American citizen community, reinforced the embargo against the island with the Torricelli's and Helms-Burton laws in 1992 and 1996, but the Castro regime survived. In 1999 Hugo Chávez assumed power in Venezuela and began to send financial aid and cheap oil to *la Gran Antilla* (Cuba) for even more than the Soviet aid of yesteryear. In return, the South American country receives services from the Caribbean island. Some 40,000 doctors, teachers and island technicians have gone to work in the Andean nation.

The crisis that Venezuela has gone through since 2010, the death of Chávez in 2013, the growing social and international opposition to his successor, Nicolás Maduro, the replacement of Fidel Castro in the government of Cuba in 2008, his death in 2016, and the replacement of his brother Raúl by Miguel Díaz-Canel in 2018 (first island president who had not been born when the revolution triumphed) have led to a strengthening of the economic reforms that the world situation seems to prevent from reversing. In addition, in 2014 Barack Obama promoted the re-establishment of relations between the United States and the island and the easing of the embargo. The respective embassies in Havana and Washington were reopened, the Greater Antilles was excluded from the list of

terrorist countries, on which it had been listed since 1982, and travel restrictions and the remittances from US citizens to the Caribbean nation were relaxed.

The position of Cuban immigrants and exiles in the United States has been losing impetus. New generations, American-born, have long manifested themselves in favor of re-establishing relations between the two countries and eliminating the embargo. Additionally, the UN pronounces against it every year. However, the arrival of Donald Trump to the White House in 2017 and his alignment with the most uncompromising positions towards the island have reversed Obama's policies.

Although Obama could not remove the embargo laws on Cuba, he used the available resources in order to ease it, which caused the mistrust of the insular leadership, afraid, perhaps, that the changes would affect its hold on power and because the failure of US strategy against the revolutionary regime in Havana, since 1960, was used to justify its policies of strong social control and absence of changes. That has been used as an excuse for Trump to reactivate all sanctions against the island and even activate extraterritorial regulations in 2019 that allow US citizens to report foreign companies that negotiate with assets expropriated by the Cuban government.

In 2002 it was decided to dismantle most of the sugar producing infrastructure in Cuba. Foreign investments, remittances and tourism are the main sources of resources of the country and the non-state sector of its economy. Despite international protests against this and the effect they have on strengthening ties with China or Russia, US policies continue to decisively influence the life of the island, so that the consequences of the measures taken are unpredictable. Those who formulate them cannot intend that the situation will result in conflicts that are difficult to control or increase the influence of the governments of Beijing and Moscow in Latin America. However, the willingness to dialogue of a large part of Cuban-Americans and the possibility that Trump loses the next elections are the best allies and scenarios that current Havana executives can expect. However the economic and social situation will surely worsen greatly before they take effect (GDP has been growing slowly since 2015 and an increase of 1% is expected in 2019). White House sources have also pointed out that circumstances could vary if Díaz-Canel stops supporting President Maduro in Venezuela, an option that the island leader has rejected.

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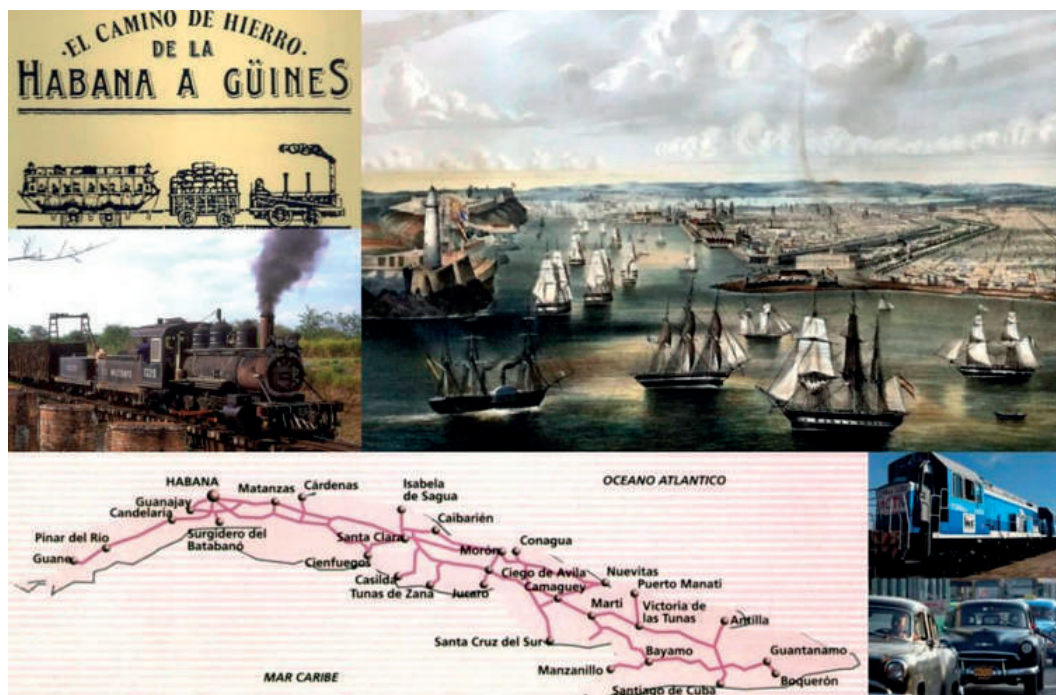
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Population of Cuba in census years, growth, percentage of slaves and color, 1774-2017

Years	Population	Annual growth (%)	Slaves (%)	Colored population (%)
1774	171.620			
1792	273.979	3,3	30,8	51,2
1817	553.033	4,1	35,7	54,0
1827	704.487	2,7	40,7	55,8
1841	1.007.624	3,1	43,3	58,5
1861	1.366.232	1,8	26,5	43,2
1877	1.509.291	0,7	13,9	32,8
1887	1.609.075	0,7		32,0
1899	1.572.797	-0,2		33,0
1907	2.048.980	3,8		
1919	2.889.004	3,4		
1931	3.962.344	3,1		
1943	4.778.583	1,7		
1953	5.829.029	2,2		
1970	8.569.121	2,8		
1981	9.723.605	1,2		
2002	11.177.743	0,7		
2017	11.221.060	0,0		

Sources: National Office of Statistics: <http://www.one.cu/>, consultation July 2019.

ILLUSTRATIONS



COMMUNICATIONS IN CUBA, 1850-2018

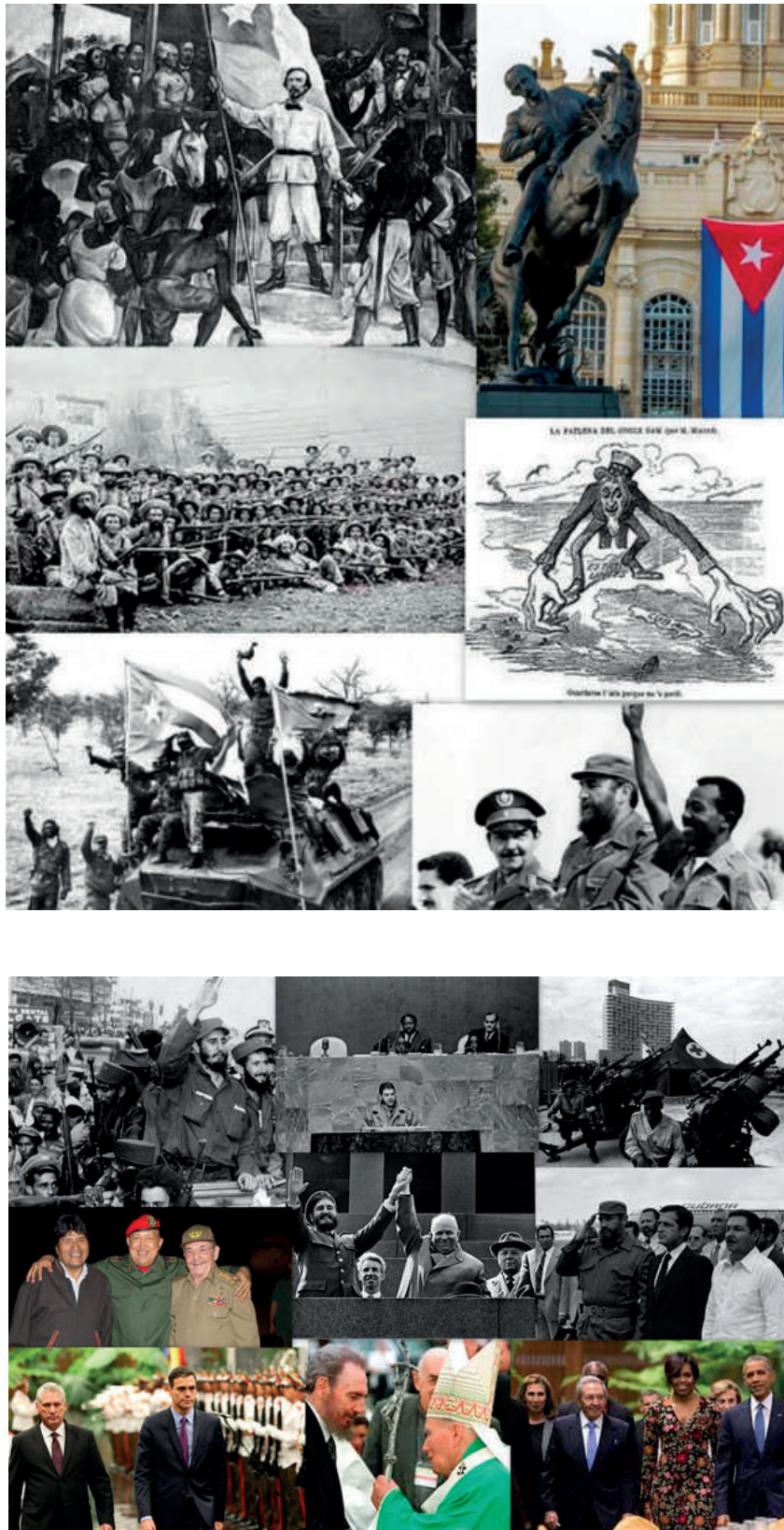
From left to right and from top to bottom: Illustration of the first railway built in Cuba (1837), train for the transport of sugar cane (2014), port of Havana around 1850, railway map of the island (2015), Russian locomotive for Cuban railways (2018), almendrones (old cars) circulating in Havana (2018). Sources: photos taken from Ecured (https://www.ecured.cu/EcuRed:Eniclo-pedia_cubana). Last accessed July 2019).

CUBA'S WARS AND INTERVENTION OVERSEAS, 1868-1980

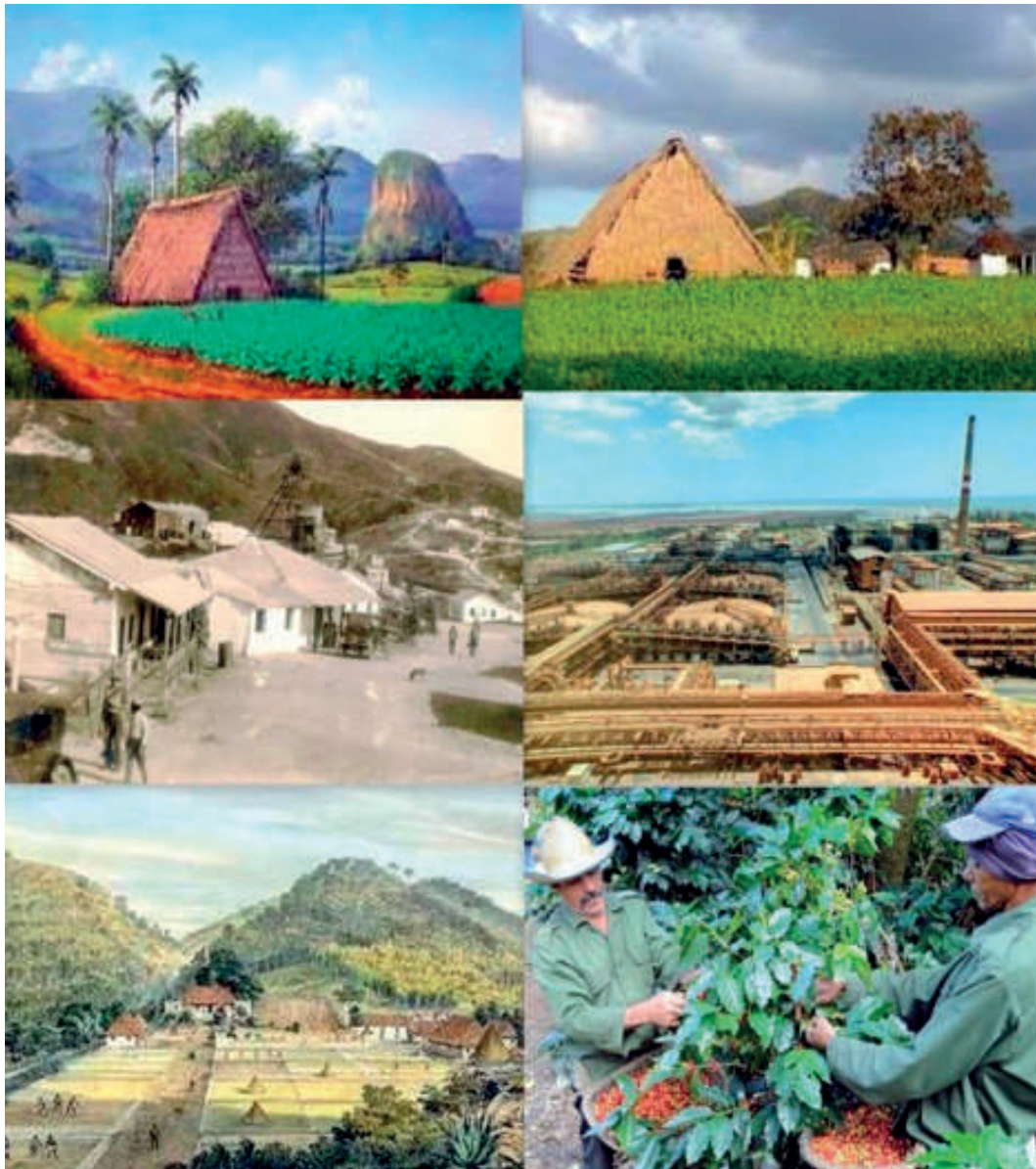
From left to right and from top to bottom: Carlos Manuel de Céspedes in the uprising of Cuba against Spain (1868), statue of José Martí commemorating his death in the war of independence (1895), Spanish soldiers in the Cuban war (1896), illustrative vignette of the United States intervention in Cuba (1898), participation of the Cuban army in the African conflicts of Angola and Ethiopia (1975-1991). Photographs taken from Ecured (https://www.ecured.cu/EcuRed:Eniclopedia_cubana). Last accessed July 2019).

IMAGES OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND ITS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1960-2019

From left to right and from top to bottom. Fidel Castro entering Havana in 1959, Che at the United Nations (1964), defenses in Havana during the missile crisis (1962), Fidel Castro and Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow (1963), Evo Morales, Hugo Chávez and Raúl Castro in Havana (2011), Fidel Castro and Adolfo Suárez in Havana (1978), Miguel Díaz Canel and Pedro Sánchez in Havana (2018), Juan Pablo II and Fidel Castro in Cuba (1998), Michelle and Barack Obama and Raúl Castro in Cuba (2016). Sources: photos taken from Ecured (https://www.ecured.cu/EcuRed:Eniclopedia_cubana). Last accessed July 2019)

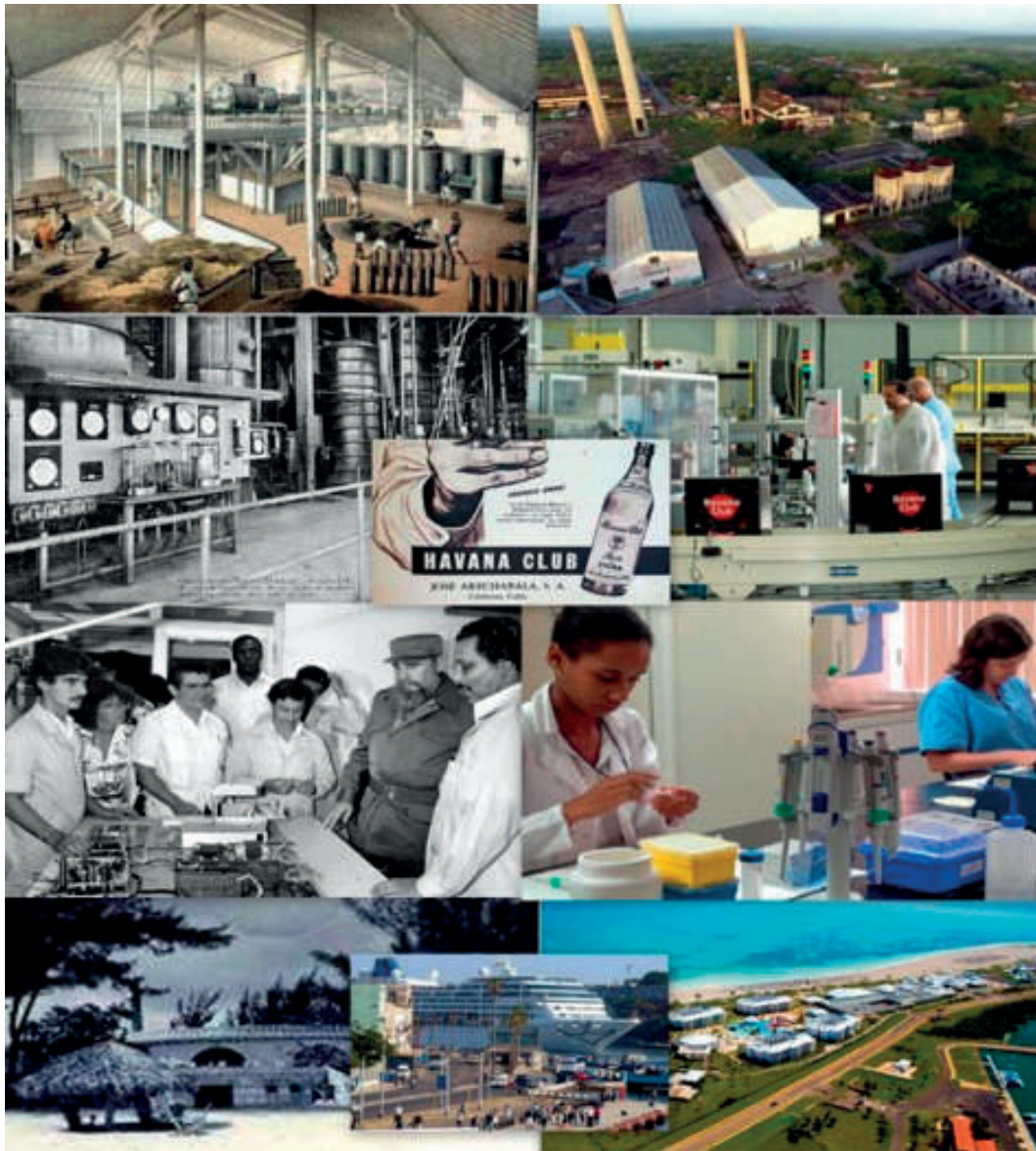


ILLUSTRATIONS



CUBAN ECONOMY YESTERDAY AND TODAY

From left to right and from top to bottom: Vega and tobacco house in Pinar del Río in the 19th century and today, sugar mill and power plant in 1857 and 2018, Cuban mines at the beginning of the 20th century and in 2014, rum distilleries around 1912 and in 2016 and advertisement of the Habana Club brand from 1920, Castro visiting a Cuban pharmaceutical laboratory in the 1980s and Havana biotechnology laboratory in 2017, coffee plantation in eastern Cuba in the early 19th



century and coffee collection on the island in 2012, Varadero tourist facilities in the 1980s and in 2010 and ocean-liner entering the port of Havana in 2018. Ecured (https://www.ecured.cu/EcuRed:Eniclopedia_cubana. July 2019). Sources: photos taken from Ecured (https://www.ecured.cu/EcuRed:Eniclopedia_cubana. Consulta julio 2019).

4

History of the Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is part of the island of Santo Domingo or Hispaniola and is located in the geographic center of the American continent. It occupies a little over two thirds of the east of the island. The western third of the island is occupied by Haiti. The island of Santo Domingo was the first Spanish colony in America. On December 5, 1492, Christopher Columbus arrived to the island he called La Española. The following year on his second trip he founded the first European settlement in the New World, the city of La Isabela. The conquest and colonization of the island began in 1494. During the first two decades of the 16th century, Hispaniola was the political center of the entire American continent and the laboratory where many of the legal and institutional regimes, applied later in the other territories, were experienced, such as *encomiendas* or *Reales Audiencias*. At the beginning of the 17th century, piracy and smuggling caused the Spanish crown to apply the so-called depopulations of Osorio whereby the populations of Bayajá, La Yaguana, Monte Cristi and Puerto Plata, were moved to the immediate vicinity of the city of Santo Domingo to found the towns of Monte Plata and Bayaguana.

Towards 1630, the French, Dutch and English seized La Tortuga Island, from which the Gauls invaded the western part of Hispaniola. In 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick, France assumed the sovereignty of the western part of the island and officially began to increase colonization efforts. Thus, during the 18th century in Hispaniola there were two colonies with two different models. In

the western part the French colony of Saint-Domingue, under a plantation and intensive slavery regime, became the richest in the Caribbean, and the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo in the eastern region.

In 1789 the French Revolution began and had great influence on the development, in 1791, of the Haitian Revolution in the colony of Saint-Domingue that culminated in the defeat of the army sent by Napoleon and the proclamation of the independence of Haiti in 1804. For its part, in 1795, France and Spain signed the Basel Treaty whereby the colony located in the eastern part of the island of Santo Domingo was ceded to France. The French occupied the eastern part of the island until 1809 when it returned to Spain until 1821. During this period Spain did not pay the required attention to Santo Domingo due to the importance of responding to the situation generated by the emancipation processes of its colonies in continental America.

Independent Spanish Haitian State and Haitian occupation, 1822

Coinciding with the Latin American independence movements, José Núñez de Cáceres proclaims the independence of the eastern part of the island on December 1, 1821, creating the Independent State of Spanish Haiti with the intention of allying with Gran Colombia. The new State was only in force for three months as Haitian General Boyer invaded Santo Domingo unifying the entire island on February 9, 1822. During the period of Haitian occupation, Juan Pablo Duarte founded La Trinitaria society in 1838 aiming to achieve Dominican independence.

First Republic 1844-1861

On February 27, 1844 the independence of the Dominican Republic was proclaimed. The first government of the nascent Republic was constituted by the Central Government Board, chaired first by Francisco del Rosario Sánchez and then by Tomás Bobadilla. After the Central Government Board, the congress meeting in San Cristóbal enacted the first Dominican constitution on November 6, 1844 and elected Pedro Santana as the first constitutional president of the Republic. The first republic was characterized by the struggle for the consolidation of national independence against the invasions of Haiti, the political struggle between Pedro Santana and Buenaventura Báez who became

the two main political figures of the time and the attempt to search for the annexation or protectorate of a foreign power on the part of the conservative groups. Santana achieved the latter in 1861 when he proclaimed the annexation of the Dominican Republic to Spain. The Restoration War began from 1863 and acquired a character of popular war and strengthened the identity of the Dominican people, ending the Spanish rule of the country in 1865.

Second Republic 1865-1916

During the second republic from 1865 until the military occupation of the United States in 1916, the Dominican Republic was characterized by political instability and *caudillismo*. At this stage two great political sides were formed, the red one headed by Buenaventura Báez, who ruled for several periods and tried to annex the Dominican Republic to the United States, and the blue side led by General Gregorio Luperón who was Provisional President in 1879, initiating the blue liberal governments. Blue governments had an impact on education, economy and the development of democracy. The distortion of the principles that encouraged blue governments began with the dictatorship of Ulysses Heureaux “Lilís”, which lasted 13 years. In this period a process of indebtedness commenced that would ultimately compromise national sovereignty at the beginning of the 20th century. After the death of Lilís, caudillismo reappeared, indebtedness was growing and political sides consisted of The Tailless (bolos) and The Tailed Ones (coludos) represented by Horacio Vásquez and Juan Isidro Jiménez, respectively. In the first decades of the 20th century, the United States progressively intervened in the internal affairs of the country. After the death of Ramón Cáceres, who had signed the 1907 American Dominican Convention through which the Dominican Republic lost its financial sovereignty, a political process developed that culminated in the military occupation by the United States in 1916.

United States Military Occupation 1916-1924

On November 29, 1916, Captain H. S. Knapp made public the proclamation under which the United States declared the military occupation of the Dominican Republic. Although these reasons were geopolitical in nature,

the occupation was justified under the violation of Article III of the 1907 Convention, which established that the country could not increase its external debt without the consent of the American nation. During the eight years of occupation, the country lost its national sovereignty, strong censorship measures and a structural transformation program were imposed in areas such as economy, communications, education and health. In 1922 the agreement that ended the first military occupation of the United States in Santo Domingo was signed, which would be titled the Hughes Peynado Plan and Juan Bautista Vicini Burgos was appointed provisional president in order to organize the elections in which President Horacio Vásquez was elected.

Third Republic, from 1924 to 2019

With the departure of US troops and the rise to power of Vásquez in 1924, the so-called Third Republic began. One of his first measures was to negotiate with the US government a new Dominican-American convention that slightly modified the loan of 1907. In 1930 Rafael Leónidas Trujillo ascended to power, who would rule in a dictatorial manner until 1961. During his regime he tried to crush the opposition and imposed an almost absolute control of the population that lived in a state of fear in the face of any arbitrariness of Trujillo himself, his relatives or the officials in power. Finally, on May 30, 1961 Trujillo was killed, sending the country into a new political turmoil.

In 1962 the first free elections were held after the death of Trujillo in which Professor Juan Bosch was elected, who took office on February 27, 1963, establishing a constitutional reform considered as one of the most progressive and advanced that the country had ever had due to its high liberal, social and human content. Seven months after taking office, Bosch was overthrown by a military coup that plunged the country into a political process that led to the revolt of April 24, 1965, which sought the return to the constitutional path and Bosch's return to power. Four days after the start of that revolt, the United States invaded the Dominican Republic accusing the revolution of communism. On September 3, 1965, the Act of Dominican Reconciliation and Institutional Act were signed, ending the April revolution. This also gave way to the formation of a provisional government led by Héctor García Godoy that organized the elections in which Joaquín Balaguer was elected in 1966.

During his twelve years as president he ruled in an authoritarian manner and with US support in the framework of the Cold War.

In 1978, Balaguer was defeated by Antonio Guzmán of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) with which the wave of political openings began, which spread throughout Latin America during the 1980s. The two governments of the PRD (1978-1982 and 1982-1986) contributed to create an environment of protection of basic political rights and to deepen the demilitarization of Dominican politics. However, the economic crisis at the beginning of that decade obstructed the redistribution of wealth -highly promised by the PRD. The loss of this party's electoral support during its two terms in office contributed to Balaguer's triumph in the 1986 elections, who remained at the head of the country until 1996. From that year on, with the rise to power of Leonel Fernández of the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD), a political process began, marked by the absence of the three leaders who had dominated the political arena of the last forty years of the 20th century. In 2000, the PRD returned to power with Hipólito Mejía who was defeated in the 2004 elections by Leonel Fernández of the PLD. Since then the PLD has remained in power uninterruptedly with Leonel Fernández 2004-2008, 2008-2012 and Danilo Medina 2012-2016 and 2016-2019.

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5

History of Puerto Rico

Spanish sovereignty

Like all Spanish colonies in the Americas, Puerto Rico was under the authority of metropolis government structures, regulated from Spain. In the colony's territory the maximum authority was the Captain General or Governor. The colonization of Puerto Rico was initiated in 1508 by Juan Ponce de León who became the first Spanish governor of the island. Ponce de León founded Caparra as Puerto Rico's first town and seat of government, but in 1521 he had to move the facilities to San Juan since it had the best geographical conditions for the conquest and development of territory colonization. Ponce de León began a long tradition of Spanish governors appointed by the king that lasted until the end of the 19th century. Puerto Rico never had a Creole governor during all the years of Spanish rule.

The powers of the Captain Generals in Puerto Rico were very broad although they were limited in the exercise of power by the Audiencias, organisms superior to Captain Generals in judicial affairs that could even supervise administrative matters. Some governors like Prim in 1867 and Palacio in 1887 were suspended from their duties for trying to surpass the Audiencia's authority.

The intervention of Puerto Ricans in the island's government was always limited. Their greatest aspiration used to be to belong to the *Cabildos*, institutions in

charge of the administrative affairs of towns or cities headed by the mayor. The greatest achievement of Puerto Rican Creoles in terms of political representation is the appointment of Ramón Power y Giralt as the first representative of Puerto Rico in the Cortes of Cádiz in 1810, who also reached the vice presidency of the first liberal assembly in the history of Spain.

An important aspect of the evolution of Puerto Rico during the long 19th century was the founding of the first political parties. The first was the Liberal Reformist Party created in 1870 and composed mainly of Creoles with the aim of achieving greater administrative and political powers. The second party was founded on March 11, 1871 with the name of the Conservative Party; it was composed mostly of Spaniards residing on the island and aspired to limit reforms and keep everything under Spanish political control in order to continue enjoying greater privileges. From that moment on, the reform and conservative trends dominated the political arena of the island; on the other hand, independence supporters had to act in hiding since, obviously, Spain did not allow a party with such a cause to exist.

In 1887, the Liberal Party became the Puerto Rican Autonomist Party under the leadership of Luis Muñoz Rivera, who would negotiate the 1897 granting of Puerto Rico's Autonomy with Spanish Prime Minister Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. This new system of government was much more liberal and included different amendments that benefited the island both administratively and politically.

Change of sovereignty

As a result of the Hispanic-Cuban-American war of 1898, Puerto Rico's sovereignty was taken over by the United States. With the U.S. invasion, the autonomous government of Puerto Rico came to an end. The North Americans immediately established a military-style government where an army officer assumed power to manage the island.

This type of military government ended in 1900 when the United States gave Puerto Rico a civilian government under the Foraker Act. The new government, despite its civilian nature, was not a breakthrough because it was even less liberal than the autonomous government given by Spain in 1897. Puerto Ricans reacted indignantly to this new system of government that virtually left the

entire administration of the country in North American hands. Later, in 1917, the United States changed the Foraker Act to the Jones Act even though the government continued to be headed by an American, although it allowed some Puerto Ricans to serve in the legislature and other government agencies. The most significant thing about this law, however, was that it granted American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. Since then, every citizen born in Puerto Rico is a U.S. citizen. Another significant change in the political and electoral process under U.S. sovereignty was that it allowed literate women to vote for the first time in 1929 and extended universal unrestricted suffrage in 1935.

The issue of political status

The situation surrounding the country's political status continued to be an important factor during U.S. sovereignty. Puerto Rico's preferences regarding its relationship with the United States have focused on three ideologies: autonomy, independence and annexation, and have historically been represented by different political parties. Independence has been the preference of the Nationalist Party that was founded in 1922. The top leader of this party was Pedro Albizu Campos. The nationalists have carried out the most radical actions in the country's political history in the 1940s and 1950s. Examples include the Rio Piedras Massacre, the Ponce Massacre, the 1950 Jayuya Revolution, the attack on Blair House, home of President Harry S. Truman, and the 1954 attack on the U.S. Congress. Another party, the Puerto Rican Independence Party founded in 1946, has also defended the right of Puerto Ricans to their sovereignty, but in a less radical way and through the election process.

The autonomists, on the other hand, have had several parties defend their cause. The most prominent is the Popular Democratic Party (P.P.D.), founded by Luis Muñoz Marín in 1938. This party was in power in Puerto Rico, uninterrupted, from its founding until 1968. Its greatest achievement was the establishment of the Free Associated State (E.L.A.).

The name of Free Associated State was adopted by the Constituent Assembly in 1952 to name the type of organization that would identify Puerto Rico's political community. It constitutes a government with autonomous powers, especially in its administrative phase, but linked to the powers of the U.S. federal government.

Its identity arises from the theory that both Puerto Rico and the United States freely agreed to associate as peoples seeking a relationship of convenience for both countries. Its name was translated into English as Commonwealth, taking the type of political relationship that England maintained with its overseas territories as a reference. This avoided translating it literally as “associated free state” because the meaning of “state” could be misinterpreted in terms of the political relationship between each federated state and the central government of the nation. It became evident that Puerto Rico would not form part of the federal union like the continental states and would be a territory associated with the United States, with the power to name its own government but always under the hegemony of Congress.

Free Associated State (E.L.A.) is the current status of the island, which achieved a government of considerable autonomy with its own constitution, approved by the United States in 1952. This type of government allows the country to have certain powers of its own such as a governor, the judiciary, with Puerto Rican judges, and the legislative power with a senate and chamber of representatives made up of Puerto Rican citizens.

However, even before the creation of the Free Associated State itself, this political status had received strong criticism from various political sectors that consider it a colonial-type relationship.

Puerto Rico’s opportunity to have a Puerto Rican governor went through different stages. The first was Jesus T. Piñero, who was in power from 1946 to 1948. Piñero, however, was appointed by the President of the United States. On August 5, 1947, the Elective Governor Act was signed, allowing Puerto Ricans to elect their own highest representative. Thus, Luis Muñoz Marín, president of the Popular Democratic Party, became the first Puerto Rican governor elected by the people in 1949 as a result of the previous year’s elections. Consequently, since the establishment of the E.L.A. in 1952, Puerto Ricans have continued to elect their governors in elections held every four years.

The United States has defended the autonomy of the E.L.A. at international level with the idea that with this type of government Puerto Rico ceased to be a colony. However, the situation of Puerto Rico’s political status has been discussed many times at the United Nations. The decolonization committee has prosecuted this case but after almost 40 resolutions, the United States has

managed to defend the status of the island under the premise that between Puerto Rico and the United States there is a bilateral relationship that recognizes the authority of both countries to agree. In this way they stipulate that the situation is the product of an agreement that recognizes the authority and autonomy of the people of Puerto Rico to establish agreements.

Puerto Rico's status continues to be the most debated political issue in the country. For years there have been different plebiscites where the E.L.A. has benefited, but the tendency to favor annexation or statehood with the United States acquires more supporters every day. Statehood is the ideology defended by the New Progressive Party founded by Luis A. Ferré in 1967, who managed to become governor in 1968 and what is known as the bipartisan era on the island began then. This means that from that moment on, both the Popular Democratic Party and the New Progressive Party alternated in power without either of them being able to establish a government that would last more than two consecutive four-year terms. Both communities are the political forces that dominate the country. However, discussion about the future of the island's status continues to be increasingly ebullient on the island.

The Puerto Rican political scenario has been recently impacted by several major events. The first one is the establishment of the Financial Oversight and Management Board for Puerto Rico known as the Fiscal Control Board. This Board was created under the Puerto Rico Oversight, Management and Economic Stability Act of 2016 (PROMESA) and is composed of seven members appointed by the President of the United States and one ex-officio member appointed by the Governor of Puerto Rico. The Board's mission must be to work to help create a sustainable economic upswing in order to restore Puerto Rico. It is put into perspective that Puerto Rico is under the plenipotentiary powers of Congress and, therefore, its autonomy depends absolutely on the United States. This circumstance highlights the island's vulnerability to the powers of the US.

Secondly, the political arena was complicated by the crisis caused by the passing of Hurricane Maria through Puerto Rico on September 20, 2017 and its slow recovery. This has revealed the political difference between Puerto Rico and the United States in the face of the federal government's response. For example, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) is a U.S.

government agency that must respond to hurricanes, earthquakes, floods and other natural disasters. The delay in economic aid for Puerto Rico evidences the unequal treatment before the United States.

To this, we add another important event in recent political history. The Puerto Rican people demonstrated in favor of the resignation of Governor Ricardo Rossello in July 2019. The detonating factor in the people's indignation was the comments expressed by the governor and a group of his closest collaborators in an internet *chat*. His expressions were classified as offensive for sectors such as feminism, the most disadvantaged classes and groups of the LGBT community (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender), among others. In response to these statements, marches and other mass demonstrations were organized, which succeeded in exerting enough pressure for the governor to resign.

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Free Associated State

https://www.ecured.cu/Estado_Libre_Asociado#Estado_Libre_Asociado_de_Puerto_Rico

6

Political History of the French and British Antilles

The Caribbean is characterized above all by its immense diversity. It mainly consists of a set of islands that correspond to a natural geographical unit, while being politically fragmented. It should be added, especially when talking about the Caribbean Basin, that different territories are surrounded by the sea of the same name. It is also considered that the three Guianas—Belize, Guyana and Suriname—are part of the Caribbean, not because of their geographical location, but rather because they share a common past with the islands, as well as Bermuda and the Bahamas located in the Atlantic Ocean.

Clearly, the Caribbean is defined both by geography and by a shared past, resulting in a collective identity of the region, in spite of a great diversity on the political level. The example of the two linguistic areas that are, on the one hand, the English-speaking Caribbean, and on the other hand, the French-speaking Caribbean, illustrates this fact. Both come from the same mold—the plantation society—and are strongly marked by the experiences of enslavement and colonization. However, they have evolved in a differentiated way: while most of the English-speaking territories have gained independence, the French West Indies have become members of the French Republic.

A Common Past

To fully understand these differences, history must be used. Certainly, the weight of the latter is decisive in the constitution of Caribbean societies. In

many aspects, the colonial past, which is largely traced in today's societies, overlaps with present reality. It must not be forgotten that Columbus' first footfall in America took place in the Caribbean.

While Spain settled in Cuba and Hispaniola in the 16th century, the English entered Barbados and Saint Kitts in the 17th century and the French in Guadeloupe and Martinique. Today, parts of the Caribbean remain linked to Europe. As an example, Bermuda has been a British colony since 1609 and Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana—all former French colonies over hundreds of years—were, since 1946, constitutionally declared departments of France. Independent countries such as Barbados (1966) and St. Kitts-Nevis (1983) were ruled by Britain for more than 300 years.

The imprint of colonial powers strongly remains in the Caribbean. It had two main consequences:

—On the one hand, it has helped to forge the socio-economic unity of the region through the introduction of sugar plantations. It was a real revolution: the physiognomy of the territories was modified as well as their social system. The import of a massive workforce from Africa, reduced to slavery, radically changed the racial composition and social structure of the territories. It confers, at the same time, a form of unity to the territories;

—On the other hand, this socio-economic unity was constantly undermined by the rivalries between European powers that instilled divisions within the region. The contrast is therefore striking between economic standardization and political diversity. Because the consolidation of the different colonial systems tended to reinforce the divisions introduced in the initial phase of colonization.

Few efforts were made by colonial powers to create the slightest sense of belonging to the Caribbean space. Rivalries were sometimes maintained between islands belonging to the same metropolis, as is the case of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Similarly, the British experience was marked by occasional attempts to link possessions. However, these attempts were primarily driven by economic reasons and by the desire to rationalize the management of the colonial empire. As a result, all the territories of the region developed a kind of localism, even if the distance between the islands was insufficient to completely abolish the feeling of belonging to the same area.

Each possession was administered according to the requirements of the colonial power on which it depended. Hence, the Caribbean witnessed the multiplication of government systems based on different languages and cultures.

Diverse Government Systems

These models had a common characteristic in the shape of an autocracy supported by the dominant figure of the governor, assisted if necessary by legislatures dominated by settlers but with limited powers, and dependent on the motherland. However, they differ strongly according to what the colonial powers considered.

For the English model, the distinction between two phases of implementation should be noted:

- that of the Old Representative System of Government that operated in the British colonies until the Morant Bay rebellion, which shook Jamaica in 1865;
- the Crown Colony Government system, which gradually took over from 1865.

The Old Representative System of Government is based on the British parliamentary system. It allows colonies to enjoy a number of rights and privileges, a strong local government, but limited legislative autonomy. It did not cause any problems as long as Whites constituted the majority of the free population. Only a rich white minority could designate representatives to the Assembly, excluding all colored people. It was not until 1820–1831 that the color barrier was removed with the recognition of civil equality to free Mulattoes and Blacks. With the abolition of slavery in 1833, the black and mulatto population became the majority in the islands. Nevertheless, the metropolis tried to avoid it controlling political life.

Following the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865, the Crown Colony Government system was established. Under this type of administration, colonies were administered by a legislature composed of the following: an official majority controlled by the Governor, responsible to the Secretary of State, and an unofficial nominated by the Governor.

This system would remain in force until independence, when it began to be criticized in the 1930s, because of the economic crisis and the persistence of the inequalities inherited from the colonial period.

Although the French model took up the autocratic mold characteristic of colonial regimes, it differs from its British counterpart. From the outset, it was characterized by the attempt of assimilating the colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique to France. This desire was affirmed during the French Revolution. There were many arguments in favor of this position, starting with the old link between the motherland and the concerned territories. Besides, as of the 18th century, these colonies would send delegates to Paris or to Versailles to defend their interests with public authorities.

After the second abolition of slavery in 1848, the revolutionary heritage, which weighed decisively on the destiny of the French colonies of the Caribbean, was reactivated in the form of a claim in favor of equality of rights. This reactivation thus followed the alignment of the local political and administrative institutions with those of the motherland.

The demand for assimilation led, in 1946, to the transformation of the French colonies of the Caribbean, like La Réunion in the Indian Ocean, into overseas departments.

Differentiated political paths

The growing challenge for the Crown Colony Government system resulted in the establishment of the West Indies Federation on April 22, 1958. The latter comprised ten territories that were colonies of the United Kingdom, including Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Jamaica, and those on the Leeward and Windward Islands, which joined to form the Federation, with its capital in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago.

The expressed intention of the Federation was to create a political unit that would become independent from Britain as a single state—possibly similar to the Canadian Confederation, the Commonwealth of Australia, or the Central African Federation. However, before that could happen, the Federation collapsed due to internal political conflicts over how the Federation itself would be governed or how it would viably function.

Jamaica, the most populous and prosperous member, voted to leave the federation in 1961, fearing that it would have to carry the burdens of economically underdeveloped members; Trinidad and Tobago followed, and

the federation was dissolved in May, 1962. From then, several Caribbean states progressively gained their independence until 1983 (Saint-Kitts Nevis).

The English-speaking territories of the Caribbean, whether they are independent or not, operate under democratic rules. Elections are held regularly since the first vote under universal suffrage was held in Jamaica in 1944. Every Commonwealth country in the region has experienced a change of government as a result of elections. Such elections have generally been free and fair, and the elected government has been given a high degree of legitimacy. The result in most countries has been the institutionalization of democratic politics in which political rights and political participation are secured, and in which political issues are widely discussed. This is also the case when political and socioracial tension persists in territories such as Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago.

The evolution of the French Antilles is different. On 17 January 1946, Aimé Césaire and Léopold Bissol, both communist representatives of Martinique, introduced a bill into the constituent national assembly that aimed to transform the Antilles colonies into French departments. Taken over by the communist elected officials of La Reunion (Raymond Verges and Léon Lepervenche), then by Gaston Monnerville, self-appointed representative of Guiana, this bill led to vote for the famous law of assimilation of March 19th, 1946, transforming the “four old” colonies into overseas departments.

Fully integrated into the Franco-European unit, the French Antilles thus shared a unique relationship with Paris: they were declared French overseas departments (Départements d’outre mer or DOM) in 1946, and given the same institutions as their French counterparts; they are therefore governed by the same laws and regulations, while their emigrants formally enjoy the same rights as any other French citizen.

A variety of political situations

Political life and political systems in the Caribbean provide each country with a seal of authenticity that renders it unique, while, at the same time, there exists an intangible sense of a wider Caribbean “community” that is often evoked.

Political Status of the French and English-speaking Caribbean



Political map of the Caribbean.

Source: Nations online project [<https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/Caribbean-political-map.htm>]



Independent English territories	Date of independence	English and French overseas Territories
Antigua and Barbuda	1981	English-speaking territories
Bahamas	1973	Anguilla
Barbados	1966	Cayman
Belize	1981	Virgin Islands
Dominica	1978	Montserrat
Grenada	1974	Turks and Caicos Islands
Guyana	1966	
Jamaica	1962	French territories
Saint Kitts and Nevis	1983	Guadeloupe
Saint Lucia	1979	French Guiana
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1979	Martinique
Trinidad and Tobago	1962	Saint-Martin
		Saint-Barthélemy

Government Systems in the English-speaking and French Caribbean

Country	Multiple parties	Two parties	Government System	Party System
English-speaking Caribbean				
Anguilla	X		Parliamentary	Unicameral
Antigua and Barbuda		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
Bahamas		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
Barbados		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
Bermuda	X		Parliamentary	Bicameral
Belize		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
British Virgin Islands		X		Unicameral
Cayman Islands		X	Parliamentary	Unicameral
Dominica		X	Presidential	Unicameral
Grenada		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
Guyana			Presidential	Unicameral
Jamaica		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
Montserrat			-	-
Saint-Lucia		X	Parliamentary	Bicameral
Saint-Vincent and Grenadines		X	Parliamentary	Unicameral
Trinidad and Tobago		X	Presidential	Bicameral
Turks and Caicos island		X		Unicameral
French Caribbean				
Guadeloupe	X		Local assemblies	
French Guiana	X		Local assemblies	
Martinique	X		Local assemblies	

Political status in the Caribbean: an overview	
Anguilla	Territory of the UK
Antigua and Barbuda	Commonwealth Territory
Aruba	Territory of the Netherlands
Bahamas	Commonwealth Territory
Barbados	Commonwealth Territory
British Virgin Islands	Territory of the UK
Cayman Islands	Territory of the UK
Cuba	Independent country
Dominica	Independent country
Dominican Republic	Commonwealth Territory
Grenada	Territory of France
Guadeloupe	Independent country
Haiti	Commonwealth Territory
Jamaica	Territory of France
Martinique	Territory of the UK
Montserrat	Territory of the Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao, Bonaire, Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius)	Commonwealth USA
Puerto Rico	Commonwealth Territory
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Commonwealth Territory
Saint Lucia	Commonwealth Territory
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Commonwealth Territory
Trinidad and Tobago	Territory of the USA
Turks and Caicos Islands	
United States Virgin Islands	

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Prefecture of Martinique, Governor's palace and symbol of the French presence.
Justin Daniel (personal archive).



General Council in Martinique. Justin Daniel (personal archive).

ILLUSTRATIONS



A “bwa bwa”, during Carnival, mocking the expression “Our ancestors the Gauls”, which was shown in the French Antilles for a long time. Justin Daniel (personal archive).

7

Economy of the Antilles

The Antilles are a diverse space, composed of multiple islands of unequal size, colonized by different countries. In general, their economies have been similar historically speaking and had similar effects on local societies, which has reinforced both their analogies and their specificities.

The first Antillean dwellers came from Florida and South America. They arrived to Cuba from Bahamas around 8000 BC and *circa* 5000 to Trinidad. The rest of the islands were populated from them and the mainland through various waves. The last ones, of Tainos and Caribs, decimated or subjugated the former, although they also lived with them in many territories. The oldest cultures were hunters and gatherers, the most recent had tribal organization and practiced agriculture and pottery. This panorama was found by Europeans in 1492 when they arrived to the area, the first colonized area of the New World.

Spaniards only occupied the great Antilles because it was difficult to control so many islands and they focused on continental American areas where there was silver. Their economies were based on extracting gold from rivers (about 10,000,000 tons were sent to Europe) but that metal was quickly depleted. In addition, the diseases carried by settlers and the harshness of their dominion caused a demographic collapse, even greater once their migration took place after the conquest of Mexico began in 1519. Those who remained devoted themselves to cattle ranching and to agriculture for export and subsistence

with aboriginal work in encomienda regime (in exchange for evangelization). In order to compensate for its decline, the population was brought from other islands and, from 1515, African slave import began.

Spain established trade monopoly with America so that only licensed Castilians could exercise it. Since 1520 it was carried out in annual armed fleets that met in Havana before returning to Europe. The Antilles were included in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which allocated a quantity (*situado*) to sustain them, and their economies were linked to imperial defense and the provision of goods and services required by settlers, troops and ships in and around ports. In the rest, the few existing dwellers cultivated their livelihood, raised cattle, tanned leather and exchanged their surpluses with neighboring colonies from other countries by smuggling, despite being prohibited.

The early proliferation of piracy was the reason for fleets, linked to marketing and smuggling, and the fact that several European countries founded colonies in the Antilles not colonized by Spain in order to gain access to the trade and wealth of their empire. From bases established from 1620 on the Virgin and St. Christopher Islands, the British, Dutch and French occupied other islands. Business activities, looting, and the cutting and exploitation of salt mines allowed to maintain settlements, until the so-called sugar revolution began in Barbados in 1640, sugar production destined for export to Europe with the best available technologies and massive use of slaves.

Sugar cane was brought to America by Columbus and from 1530 it was cultivated and processed in Hispaniola and Brazil, but its extensive development took place in the British, Dutch, and French Antilles, and other European countries.

The main export in the Spanish Antilles was tobacco and the sugar industry spread in other countries. With the latter began the so-called triangular trade. European ships exchanged goods for slaves in Africa for their transfer to America and returned from there with sugar and other tropical products. Since the 1620s the business was granted by states to semi-public companies that, in addition, tended to pillage against Hispanic positions.

A fairly integrated economic system was thus consolidated in the Caribbean. The islands producing exportable goods were supplied from Europe, from others where the physical environment made it difficult to grow cash crop,

and from the Spanish islands which, through smuggling, sold them tobacco or livestock and bought goods from neighboring colonies in Great Britain, France or the Netherlands. Slave trade was at the heart of the system. It was carried out by the Portuguese, English or Dutch, who enjoyed contracts to bring slaves to Hispanic lands, and together with this activity exchanged all kinds of goods in the Antillean circuit and between it and the old continent.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the positions of the different European countries in the Caribbean were quite consolidated, as well as their economic activity. The sugar industry had expanded in search of new and larger spaces that became the largest producers of sugar since 1655: Jamaica, which Great Britain then conquered from Spain, and the northwest of Santo Domingo, depopulated by the Spanish because it was a refuge and supply area for pirates, who were protected by France and with whom that nation began to colonize the territory.

Antillean economies were articulated around the supply and export of sugar and slavery, Spanish empire trade, the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco on their islands and mercantile circulation to supply the main centers of production and services. Apart from European imports, local agricultural, livestock and handicraft goods were traded throughout the Caribbean area either licitly or by smuggling. It is estimated that smuggling accounted for between 25 and 40 per cent of the territories' product. The plantations, in addition, standardized the physical environment. Located in the richest and most accessible lands, they relegated farms and slave *conucos* (small farm) to their periphery, and cut down the forests of their boundaries to feed on fuel. Relatively large urban centers, Havana, Port Royal, Port-au-Prince, completed this landscape with agricultural hinterlands, service activities, protoindustrial and financial activities linked to ports and defenses, as the continuous conflicts between the European metropolises moved to the area.

The demographic transformation was as intense as that of the landscape. Small early populations of settlers were progressively replaced in almost all the islands by large numbers of slaves and free colored people resulting from the liberation of some of the former and miscegenation. It is estimated that at least 9,500,000 Africans arrived to America between 1500 and 1870 and perhaps 20% more died on the journey. Until the mid-17th century, Brazil had been the world's largest sugar producer and offered some 35,000 tons. Since then it was surpassed by

Barbados, with about 50,000 in 1730. And sugar production would later grow in larger territories, Jamaica and Haiti, along with some other tropical crops for export: cotton, coffee or species. In 1795, the first island was populated by 13,000 whites and 200,000 slaves, and throughout the British Caribbean 470,000 were counted, compared to 100,000 in 1700. In France, there were more than 575,000 in 1790 and in Saint-Domingue they increased from 240,000 in 1777 to 450,000 in 1789, 85% of its inhabitants.

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, several transcendental events for Antillean economies took place. The United States gained independence from Great Britain in 1783 and stopped buying sugar in the English Caribbean. The French Caribbean was the main beneficiary and also increased the production of the Spanish, favored by reforms that encouraged and transformed their colonies to adapt them to the progress of slave plantations, which were also reinforced by the independence of the rest of Latin America between 1810 and 1825. In 1791 a revolution of slaves, blacks and free mulattos began the emancipation of Haiti from France, which eliminated the main supplier of sugar and coffee from the market and left its slave trade available to third parties. Jamaica and the dominions of England and Spain supplied the markets that had ceased to supply the French territory. Finally, in the former ones, slave trade was abolished in 1808 and slavery in 1845. Although it was profitable, abolitionist pressures and socio-economic changes of the industrial revolution were the cause.

Abolition in Britain was followed by other European countries, but not by Spain and, thanks to this, plenty of space and the construction of railways, Cuba became the world's leading sugar exporter since the 1840s. Before the Haitian revolution, the Caribbean sugar supply exceeded 250,000 tons and 80%, in equal parts, came from French and English territories. A similar quantity was manufactured on the Hispanic island, 800,000 tons, around 1850 and in 1887, when slavery was abolished. In it slave plantations reached their zenith, although with a strong incorporation of technology to make up for the scarcity and lack of work. In the domains of the other European states, labor began to be obtained by importing Asians in leonine conditions (*indectured labours*). The British Antilles received 310,000 from their empire in India between 1840 and 1910, Guianas 240,000 and Cuba 125,000 Chinese individuals in 1840-1873.

Sugar remained the main product of Antillean economies during the 19th century and the slavery crisis was the determining element in them, albeit in different ways. They also lost their quasi-monopoly in the manufacture of sugar. In Europe it began to be elaborated with beets from the Napoleonic wars and its supply increased until surpassing that obtained from cane at the end of the century. Then, on the other hand, the so-called varietal revolution made it possible to improve seeds and plants, which favored the growth of plantations and mills in Asia and Oceania. Coinciding with this and with the second industrial revolution, sugar manufacturing, which had been characterized by the adoption of the best available technologies, completed its mechanization, which gave rise to a process of horizontal concentration called centralization. Old grinding plants were replaced by large fully technical plants that had just purged honeys from evaporating sugar cane juices by centrifugation.

Cuba led the transformation process of sugar production and centrifugation was imposed on world consumption. The sugar elaborated by the most rudimentary means was destined for domestic markets, although in the British Caribbean, except in Trinidad, they continued to do so and its refining was carried out in the metropolis. The French Antilles also added to the centralization process of sugar manufacturing as well as southern Dominican Republic. This country's economy was characterized by its regionalization and in the center and north coffee plantations, tobacco plantations, livestock and subsistence agriculture continued to predominate. In Puerto Rico since the 1840s slaves were no longer imported, mills were modernized little and coffee started to replace sugar as the main export. The rest of the islands experienced a slight diversification of their offerings. The banana, which had begun to be sold on the international market in Cuba at the beginning of the century, spread throughout its second half by Jamaica and other territories. In many of them, fruit growing and the exploitation of its mineral resources expanded, and in Trinidad, the exploitation of oil.

The 20th century began with the disappearance of Spanish colonialism in America. The United States intervened in the war waged against it in Cuba and in 1898 it occupied Cuba and Puerto Rico, although in the first it ceded power in 1902 to an independent government with which it established strong economic and political ties by treaty. That same year, in addition, an international

agreement was signed by which the countries of Europe stopped subsidizing their export of sugar, which favored the one produced in the Caribbean.

U.S. investments developed the cultivation and manufacture of sugar in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Cuba, where they led to its expansion in the eastern half of the island immediately before WWI (previously limited to the west). This conflict caused a sharp increase in the price of sugar and an expansion of its supply, but at the end the prices were reduced, which gave rise to a crisis that, in addition, was similar in other agricultural exports and was subsequently aggravated with the depression of 1930. The second international conflagration had a similar effect. The relative diversification operated in the economies of the Lesser Antilles was reinforced in that period, but was insufficient to alleviate the recessive impacts of foreign trade.

After WWII, with the international decolonization process, in the British, French and Dutch Antilles, a process of revision of their status with respect to the metropolises began, which would lead to the independence of some of them and to greater autonomy in the rest. In addition, in general, European countries allocated resources to these territories, especially investing in infrastructure which, together with the boom in trade in the period and mining, and market agreements, which would later be extended to the entire European Community (today the European Union), led to an expansion of their economies. Industry and agricultural supply also grew, although harmed by the smallness of local demand. Cuba, however, reinforced its sugar specialization during the years between wars thanks to the maintenance of privileged export agreements to the United States, which gave rise to strong oscillations in its economic performance as a result of market fluctuations and sugar prices. In Puerto Rico the same problem caused a strong recession that was alleviated with a diversification and industrialization plan since the 1940s. In the Dominican Republic, the dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo institutionalized the country in the 1930s, integrating it spatially and propitiated the emergence and expansion of its productive structure.

The economic configuration of Antillean space today dates back to the 1960s. In Cuba, the triumph of the revolution meant its rupture with the United States and its integration into the Soviet bloc. Although initially a productive diversification was projected, the island maintained its sugar specialization,

changing the North American market for that of the USSR and Eastern Europe. As a consequence, the end of real socialism in the 1990s provoked an enormous recession from which *La Gran Antilla* has only partially recovered thanks to the help of Venezuela since the arrival in power of Hugo Chávez, the promotion of services, pharmaceutical and biotechnological industries, tourism and foreign investment. Growth is harmed by a highly centralized decision-making system, the low productivity associated with it and the lack of incentives to work, and the blockade that the government in Washington has maintained since 1959. Some reforms in recent years have improved the country's external opening, but without political changes, and the attempt to re-establish Cuban-American relations carried out by Barack Obama has reverted with his successor, Donald Trump, with serious consequences for the economy, in addition to the current Venezuelan crisis.

The Dominican Republic is the largest Antillean economy, one of the fastest growing and the main recipient of foreign capital thanks to its strategic position and relatively high development of its infrastructure. Like the whole region, it suffered the consequences of the oil and external debt crisis in the 1980s, although it recovered quite quickly. Despite the emergence of telecommunications, construction, mining and tourism industries, it is overly dependent on exports and suffers from a very unequal distribution of income.

Puerto Rico has benefited from its association with the United States. The crisis in sugar production led to a diversification of production since the 1960s with major foreign investment and the promotion of textile, pharmaceutical, petrochemical, service and tourism industries. Its economy is the most balanced in the Caribbean area, 45% of its GDP is provided by manufacturing and 55% by the tertiary sector. Hurricane Maria caused severe damage in 2017. Traditionally, natural disasters in all the Antilles have been frequent from time to time and throughout their history. It is estimated that in Puerto Rico alone the aforementioned hurricane caused losses of 600,000,000 dollars and that the earthquake in Haiti in 2010 caused almost 8,000,000,000 in damages and 50,000 deaths. For example, in 1902 the eruption of Mount Pelée killed 30,000 people and virtually destroyed Martinique. Storm Mitch in 1998 caused 22,000 casualties in the Antilles, San Ciriaco in 1899 devastated Puerto Rico for 22 days and Wilma's material cost in 2005 is estimated at 29,000,000,000.

Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, sold to the United States by Denmark in 1916 out of fear of a German invasion, are the most equitable economies in the West Indies. Tourism, oil refining and banking services are their main source of income. In the rest, although more in the territories that are or were British, inequality is one of the main problems, if not the greatest, and especially in Haiti, country with the greatest poverty of America (it affects 70% of the population). Coffee, cocoa, fruits and textile and tourism industries are its main products.

The large Antillean islands generally have more complex and diversified economies although, as in the small islands, tourism has been the most stable and growing source of income since the 1960s and accounts for over 60% of regional aggregate output. Even Cuba has joined the development of this sector since the late 1990s. Along with it, almost all territories benefit from its linkage or preferential agreements with the United States, whose influence in the area has been increasing since the beginning of the 20th century, or with its European metropolises or ex-metropolises. In general, this has benefited certain offers, especially agricultural ones, and mitigated their historical vulnerability to market and price fluctuations, but it has also limited them to assigned quotas, depriving them of potential for economic growth. In relation to this, the Antillean nations and colonies promoted integration projects from 1965 onwards. The Caribbean Free Trade Association was then created and replaced in 1973 by CARICOM, which includes 15 British states and dependencies, as well as other associates and observers. Its goal is cooperation through a common market and the free mobility of productive factors <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba> and it has a Development Bank, founded in 1969.

Other regional integration projects included the British Caribbean single currency, called the dollar, or the Caribbean Basin Initiative, launched by the United States to boost the growth of economies in the area during the crisis of the 1980s through franchises and tariff reductions on local products. In general, moreover, all the Antillean territories have faced their problems with migration to that country and to Europe, which has become a source of remittances. Currently, the most important in the area are those received by Cuba from its population residing in North American territory for economic or political reasons.

In Jamaica, another island of the great Antilles, bananas, coffee, tobacco, cattle and their derivatives replaced the old predominance of sugar in trade along

with mining and a small textile and chemical industry, but since the 1960s tourism is also the main productive line. It is one of the territories that gained independence from Britain in that decade and the following one. In all of them, Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Saint Lucia, tourism and associated sectors are the main source of income along with *offshore* banking and business services. Barbadian economy is one of the most important in the area thanks to this and its agricultural supply and Light industry, and the same is true for Trinidad and Tobago, although this is due to hydrocarbons and steel.

These islands have remained linked to Great Britain through its *Commonwealth*, while Turks and Caicos, Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Cayman and Anguilla continue to be the territory of that country, although, like the former ones, their main sources of income are tourism and *offshore* services. Like the French Antilles, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Saint-Barthélemy and part of Saint-Martin they benefit from EU funds for less favored areas, and can therefore be expected to suffer from Brexit. In Gallic dependencies, sugar and other tropical crops were the main traditional offer until their replacement in the 1970s by tourism, although in the former oil refining is also important.

Finally, in the Netherlands Antilles, something similar happens, Curaçao, Bonaire, Saba, Sint Eustatius, the other half of the island of Sint Maarten, and Aruba are dependencies of that country and relatively small. Their economies are fueled by EU funds, tourism and oil refining. *Offshore* services have also been developed in them, especially in the third one.

In general, therefore, the economies of the Antilles suffered a similar initial development after the arrival of the Europeans. Spanish trade with America and the expansion of sugar production were the core elements of these, together with the slave trade, slavery and associated smuggling. The larger ones are also more complex and diversified in their historical evolution and composition, but over time, especially since the 1960s - and in the case of Cuba since 1990 - they have all been characterized by a growth in tourism and that sector and associated activities have become their main source of income. Traditional industries and crops, derived from sugar, such as rum, tobacco, coffee, species, crafts, cultural goods that can be displayed and exported, such as music and art, have also benefited from this and from the universalization

of their consumption driven by their knowledge through travelers. Some territories, those that belong to the United States or European countries or have preferential links with them, enjoy funds from abroad or privileged trade treaties, others have significant mineral wealth, oil, gold, bauxite, nickel (Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Trinidad or Cuba) and in the smallest *offshore* banking and financial services have proliferated.

The small size of many Antillean economies, the weakness of their internal markets and the scarce externalities of the tourism and services sector, which hinder their growth -in some cases until they are considered unviable-, their dependence on exports and imports of inputs that require such services, and, finally, the social inequality characteristic of many Caribbean territories, are their main structural problems. In addition, its recent development model presents many difficulties that need to be resolved. *Offshore* banking, finance and business are at least illegal. Since the 2000s, the antitrust provisions of the world's richest countries have damaged this source of income. Tourism, on the other hand, has been affected by competition and flaws such as their sun and beach concentration, in addition to an associated growth in the resources generated by travelers, inferior to that of other international destinations. The solution of such inconveniences and of the environmental impact that the exploitation of the resources -including the tourist ones- has had and has in the Antilles are challenges that currently need urgent solution.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Basic data of Antillean economies, 2019

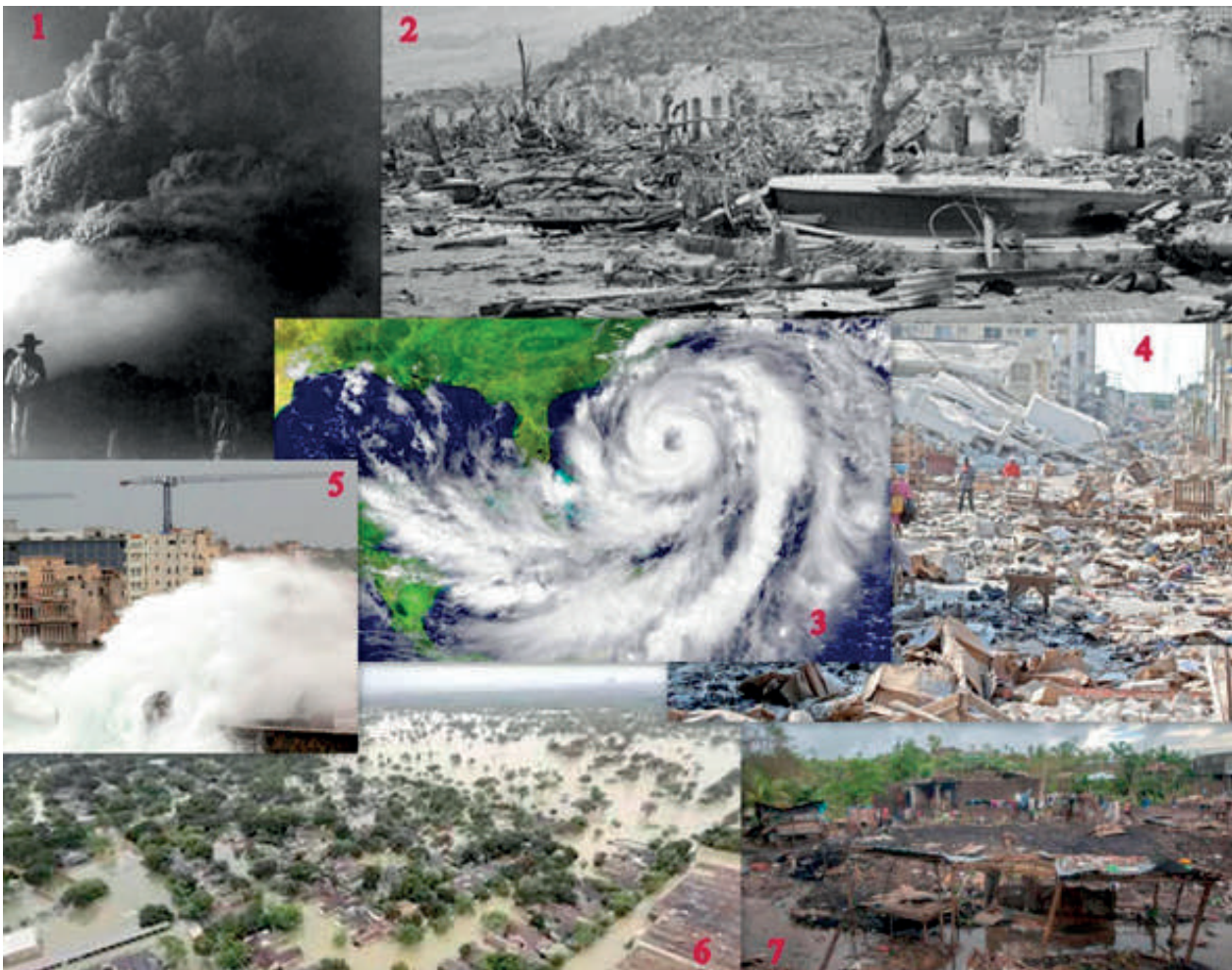
	Fecha independencia o país del que depende	Km ² su- perficie	Población	Total (mil)	PIB (\$ PPA) Per capita (\$)	Mayor apor- tación (%)	IHD
Cuba	1898 (España)	109.884	11.220.000	142.625	12.360	Terciario 75%	0,78
República Dominicana	1844 (Haití)	48.442	11.090.000	200.640	8.325	Terciario 67%	0,74
Puerto Rico	Estado asociado USA	9.104	3.620.000	103.140	32.060	Terciario 54%	0,85
Islas Vírgenes	Estados Unidos	346	106.800	107.710	34.955	Terciario 80%	0,86
Haití	1804 (Francia)	27.570	6.995.000	19.360	1.785	Terciario 59%	0,50
Guadalupe	Francia	1.628	398.000	11.010	27.300	Terciario 68%	0,84
Martinica	Francia	1.128	380.900	11.510	29.400	Terciario 72%	0,88
San Bartolomé	Francia	24	9.630	200	20.800	Terciario 85%	0,88
San Martín	Francia	53	35.690	550	15.400	Terciario 84%	0,82
Trinidad y Tobago	1967 (RU)	5.128	1.380.100	44.650	32.520	Terciario 47%	0,78
Jamaica	1962 (RU). Commonwealth	10.991	2.890.300	26.450	10.000	Terciario 71%	0,73
Antigua y Barbuda	1981 (RU). Commonwealth	443	92.440	2.160	23.920	Terciario 67%	0,79
Barbados	1966 (RU). Commonwealth	430	279.900	4.660	16.670	Terciario 74%	0,80
Dominica	1967 (RU). Commonwealth	751	73.130	670	9.730	Terciario 57%	0,72
Granada	1981 (RU). Commonwealth	344	109.600	1.701	15.750	Terciario 75%	0,77
San Cristóbal y Nieves	1983 (RU). Commonwealth	261	54.970	1.460	25.915	Terciario 77%	0,78
San Vicente y Granadinas	1979 (RU). Commonwealth	387	109.650	1.245	11.290	Terciario 68%	0,72
Santa Lucía	1979 (RU). Commonwealth	616	178.020	2.690	15.225	Terciario 77%	0,75
Bahamas	1973 (RU). Commonwealth	13.880	392.720	9.070	24.629	Terciario 76%	0,81
Anguila	RU	228	16.090	3.100	21.500	Terciario 78%	0,80
Bermudas	RU	54	65.000	57.000	84.265	Terciario 90%	0,89
Islas Caimán	RU	264	54.440	1.905	35.000	Terciario 95%	0,79
Turcas y Caicos	RU	948	33.100	23.000	24.260	Terciario 80%	0,75
Isla Vírgenes	RU	153	31.760	550	17.350	Terciario 88%	0,77
Montserrat	RU	102	5.880	500	7.650	Terciario 76%	0,73
Aruba	Países Bajos	180	102.910	2.400	35.500	Terciario 66%	0,86
Esnaire	Países Bajos	288	14.900	380	21.600	Terciario 90%	0,74
San Eustaquio	Países Bajos	21	3.200	80	25.300	Terciario 90%	0,84
Saba	Países Bajos	13	2.000	50	25.100	Terciario 90%	0,83
San Martín	Países Bajos	34	36.130	400	11.400	Terciario 81%	0,72
Curazao	Países Bajos	444	160.340	3.260	21.000	Terciario 84%	0,83

Notes: PPP: Purchasing Power Parities; HDI: Human Development Index.

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Devastation caused by volcanoes, earthquakes and cyclones in the Antilles, 1902-2019

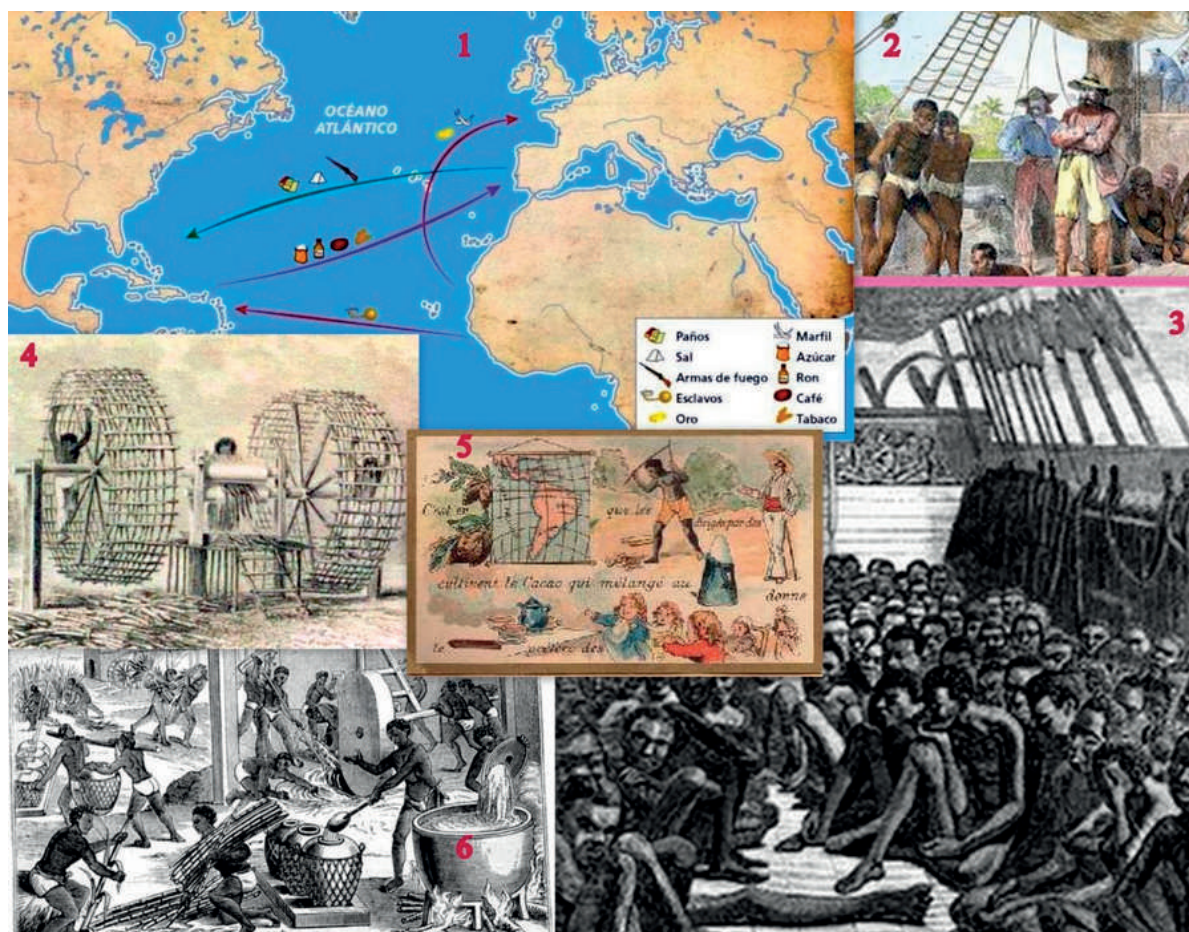
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VII

SUGAR IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD



1. Sugar cultivation, production and trade
2. Sugar production and markets in the 20th century

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I

Sugar cultivation, production and trade

Sugar is the common name for sucrose, a chemical component that was initially extracted from cane –a grass-, although later on it would be produced from other plants as well, mainly from beets.

Originally from New Guinea, sugar cane was disseminated on other Oceania islands and was then taken to India where it was first used to produce sugar. This production would extend to other Asian zones until it was in the hands of Persians and Arabs in Mediterranean. In the Middle Ages, sugar was already produced in Sicily and the Iberian Peninsula from where its production left for the Atlantic Ocean, Canary Islands and, above all, to Madeira and other Portuguese islands where its manufacture acquired its definitive shape. Sugar's main market back then was in the Netherlands but its consumption was still very limited, recommended mainly as medicine and for perfuming or decorating certain dishes on the tables of nobles.

Taken to America by Columbus on his second journey, sugar cane and its production found an exceptionally appropriate scenario on the Caribbean islands. Before the middle of the 16th century, sugar processing had taken root in Hispaniola (Santo Domingo) and Puerto Rico, islands on which sugar production, following Portuguese standards, took place on plantations where sugar cane was cultivated and then ground to extract its juice –*guarapo*- which was cooked until it turned into a dense mass from which, by decanting, sugar

crystals were obtained. All these tasks, both cultivating and manufacturing, were done by slaves brought from Africa.

At the end of the 16th century, Spanish trade faced difficulties which caused the decline of sugar production in the Hispanic Caribbean. Its center was transferred to Brazil where the Dutch took the Pernambuco colony and other northeastern regions away from the Portuguese for some decades. After the Dutch were expelled from Brazil, sugar production returned to the Caribbean, not to Spanish possessions but rather to the small “useless islands” of the Antilles which were occupied by Great Britain, France and other European states, not colonized by Spain. From 1640 sugar agro-manufacturing in the British colony of Barbados reached unusual dimensions, using a massive amount of slaves, extending towards other West Indies islands, as in a sort of relay race, always aiming towards exporting it to Europe. There were already 776 sugar mills in Barbados by 1667, from where settlers migrated to Jamaica to develop them so that in 1795, 450 plantations –much older- operated there and 13,000 whites and 200,000 slaves populated the island. Throughout the British Caribbean, African slaves, who added up to 100,000 in 1700, would reach a total of almost half a million a century later, while the sugar supply grew from 25,000 to 110,000 tons. Towards 1740 French Caribbean sugar production equaled the British one. In 1700 its Lesser Antilles –Martinique and Guadeloupe- already offered 13,500 tons; therefore the dominion was established on the extensive lands of Saint-Domingue, current Haiti. In 1740 more sugar was produced in Saint-Domingue than in Jamaica (26,000 tons) and its sugar mills were also more efficient; its enslaved population was larger as well with a total of 450,000 individuals in 1789 (85% of this French colony’s inhabitants).

The sugar revolution modified spaces and societies; the most important event was the arrival and slavery of about 10,000,000 Africans brought to America between 1500 and 1870. Slave trade initiated triangular trade: European boats exchanged goods for people in Africa to take them to the Indies as slaves and then returned to Europe loaded with sugar, finally turning back to Africa with different products and trinkets.

The expansion of sugar plantations brought about the transformation of the physical environment covered with vast areas of sugar cane, the creation

and extension of trans-imperial financial and mercantile networks and the emergence of marginal and resilient cultures. Once the islands were colonized, plantations devoured natural environment suitable for agriculture and standardized the landscape. Sugar mills took over the best and most accessible land, relegating pasture, subsistence crops and local flora to the peripheries and plundering the forest. Remote landscapes sheltered surviving Indians and runaway slaves (maroons) who did not cease in their resistance, they traded and, eventually, allied with whites before foreign attacks. Maroon palenques emerged in Brazil in the 16th century and multiplied wherever Africans were enslaved in large numbers. In Jamaica they were particularly important; in 1683 an expedition against them failed and in 1690 a revolt on the plantations increased its population. A similar one took place in Dutch Guiana in 1669.

The remoteness of the metropolises and continuous conflicts between powers granted slave societies in the French, British and Dutch Antilles a certain autonomy. The Creoles created assemblies in Barbados, Jamaica and other British islands, while in Guadeloupe and Martinique they obtained a self-government system from France in 1772. The African revolts continued along with these processes, linked to the expansion of sugar in their search for increasingly larger spaces that would allow them to boost their production.

With the independence from the US (1783), sugar production rose in the French Caribbean, as that new nation of the British Antilles ceased to stock up. This circumstance also boosted Cuban sugar production, limited until then by Spanish monopoly. Changes in the administration, as well as the liberalization of trafficking and trade, allowed Cuba to begin its expansion, reinforced after the Haitian revolution (1791) that removed the world's leading sugar exporter from the market. Towards 1790 the Caribbean supplied 250,000 tons of sugar, 40% in the British Caribbean and 45% in the French Caribbean. The first to benefit from Haiti's cease of production, due to the anti-slavery revolution, was Jamaica, but in 1808 Great Britain abolished trafficking and slavery in 1838, which benefited Cuba -and also Puerto Rico-, has since outperformed the rest of its competitors. Cuba's size allowed an unparalleled productive expansion and in it plantations reached their productive-organizational zenith thanks to technological resources to face the lack of slaves after the abolition in the rest of the Caribbean, especially with the laying of railways

from 1837 onwards, transport means that would connect all Western Islands a few decades later.

Sugar was the first product of international trade in the 19th century, as its consumption extended through towns. It was already considered a strategic product because of its caloric intake, higher than other available foods, both due to its cost and its flavor, as well as its usefulness as a preservative when food was stored without the help of chemical or refrigerating technology. Easy to transport and store, sugar would be adequate food for the poor in numerous populations or with high energy consumption. Additionally, it is a commodity of appropriate value in relation to its volume and relative weight. Producing sugar requires a lot of capital and labor but its profitability was provided by African trafficking and other migrations. Plantation economies, since they were agricultural exporters, could supply themselves or import, which made them an ideal instrument of colonization and imperial extension. This is why sugar has been a creator of spaces, societies and cultures.

The mechanization of sugar mills was a long process although since the 1840s it picked up speed once it was added to the lack of labor caused by the slave trade ban, the need to compete with the growing supply of beet sugar. The production of this new saccharin commodity, initiated during Napoleonic Wars, was quickly protected in European markets. Beet production, industrialized earlier, gave rise to technological exchanges; while machines were produced in Europe and the US, because the sugar process produced continuously, innovations advanced in the order of the productive chain and later flowed in both directions.

Sugar supply growth in Cuba transformed its society and landscape as well. In 1840 the black population outnumbered the white one, when railroads and sugarcane spread over its western half, but the redefinition of the colonial system regarding slave sugar mills was different. Spain lacked a market to capture the growing supply of its Cuban dominion, whose sugar exports were gradually concentrated in the US where there was an increasing demand. The colonial link was based on business relations between elites on both sides of the Atlantic and the extraction of colonial income by tariff means. During the 19th century Cuban sugar supply rose up to 1,000,000 tons. It grew moderately in the British and French Caribbean (200,000 and 85,000) and

up to 175,000 tons in Brazil. Sugar development in that century continued to involve population flows. Aside from slaves, Cuba also received Canarian and Chinese immigrants, the latter hired as laborers in semi-servile conditions, a practice also spread after slavery abolition in English, Gaul and Dutch dominions. Over 600,000 Asians –mainly Chinese and Indians- arrived to America between 1840 and 1910.

The fate of slavery in America was sealed when the Union defeated the slaveholding South in the U.S. Civil War (1865). In Cuba, abolition started after their first independence war failed (1868-1878) ending in 1886 and in Brazil in 1888. This coincided with a restructuring of the sugar industry during the second industrial revolution, called centralization. The complete mechanization of mills involved the concentration of sugar development in greater and more efficient factories. In Cuba, due to its smaller population, the lack of jobs entailed the parallel decentralization of sugarcane supply, taken up by relatively independent growers (settlers). This was an unusual process in the Caribbean which enriched its demographic and social-cultural heritage. At the beginning of the 20th century, the largest of the Antilles, already independent, became a massive immigration destination for Spaniards, Haitians and other Antilleans who arrived to the island for the first time on a non-compulsory basis.. Of its 4,000,000 inhabitants in 1930, when that human flow ceased in Cuba, 1,500,000 of its residents were from Spain or descendants from them, and over 100,000 came from neighboring islands.

Technification also standardized sugar finishing and from the 1880s centrifugation prevailed in World Trade. This enabled the developing of factories in importing countries that completed its refining, therefore sugarcane producers specialized in raw processing, tendency that reinforced in Cuba the concentration of their exports to the US. This country's refineries were protected by a tariff in 1891. Apart from new technology at sugar mills, the varietal revolution in agriculture was added; it was discovered that cane could be planted with seeds and that it was feasible to improve its strains and resistance to pests.

Improvements in sugar manufacturing enabled its supply to rise and new producers appeared (Argentina 135,000 tons in 1895), and those who had been left behind were revived (Dominican Republic 53,000, Mexico 50,000, Brazil 320,000), even beet producers in the US (77,000 in 1900). Protectionism

towards local producers gradually increased in international markets; in this way Europeans preserved their internal demand for their beet factories and subsidized the export of stocks, while in the North American market tariffs were risen to those countries that did not offer customs advantages to US products. In this context, sugar industries that were not technologically advanced were limited to supplying internal markets.

2

Sugar production and markets in the 20th century

Cuba was erected as a country around the supply of sugar with peculiar features. The US intervened in its independence process against Spain, occupied the island in 1898 and in 1902 the republic was established as a virtual protectorate. In 1903, the North American government signed a treaty with Cuba that reduced the sugar tariff in exchange to granting major benefits to their merchandise; directed towards that market, Cuban production increased to 2,500,000 tons in 1913.

European subsidies for beet sugar affected the prices and consumption of sugar to such an extent that, in 1902, the conclusion of a first international sugar agreement was imposed, which limited such practices and boosted demand. The worldwide supply of sugar, due to a growing demand, rose in a decade from 10,700,000 to 14,800,000 tons, and sugarcane manufacture, resulting from the 1902 agreement, moved up positions (from 49 to 54% of consumption).

WWI altered the sugar market. European supply decreased 50% and was compensated by sugarcane that took advantage of the rise in prices. In Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic increased investments in plants, and extended through the east of the island. After peace, starting from 1920, the quotation was reduced and for this reason and due to the recovery of European production, a crisis began which would worsen with the Great Depression of 1929 and the increase of protectionism of sugar import markets.

The post-depression economic adjustment entailed the regulation of sugar markets. In the US market, quotas were assigned to its suppliers and, with a new trade agreement between the US and Cuba, two quotations for sugar appeared – those of the North American market and the world market. To regulate the latter, an agreement was signed in London in 1937; the purpose of both instruments was to stabilize supply, demand and prices had effects on producers.

The increase in state interference in economies and the distribution of market shares led to a regulation of the sugar agroindustry that reached all latitudes, including work, where social movements were greater. In Cuba, harvests were limited in order to adapt them to quotas established in markets and these were prorated among plants and settlers. At the same time minimum wages and other improvements in working conditions were established. With the aforementioned measures, Cuba sustained its sugar economic specialization and lessened social conflicts derived from world crises. Brazil or Mexico protected their internal sugar markets as well as all the national production to promote industrialization. Under such circumstances, world sugar supply grew from 15,000,000 to 29,000,000 tons in the period of 1920-1940 but experienced a geographic redistribution. *La Gran Antilla* reduced theirs from 5,300,000 to 3,500,000 tons. Meanwhile, thanks to protectionism, production increased in countries with large domestic or insured markets (Argentina to 500,000 tons, Brazil to 1,200,000, Mexico to 320,000, the French and British Caribbean to 120,000 and 613,000, Puerto Rico to 830,000).

Few goods have been as externally determined as sugar. WWII relegated plans to stabilize markets but, afterwards, these plans were resumed. The Cold War conflicts had a similar effect. As exports from Atlantic producers were mainly dealt with in the Pacific, they tended to increase, but then had to adjust. As exports from Atlantic producers were mainly dealt with in the Pacific, they tended to increase, but then had to adjust. Between 1940 and 1959 international supply went from 29,000,000 to 51,000,000 tons.

The end of the World War and African decolonization led to claiming processes by black populations over the world, reinforced by the civil rights movement in the US and linked to the ideological alignment of the Cold War. The colonial Caribbean therefore experienced an emergence of its identity-based thought and actions, independences or redefinition of its status facing

European countries. The 1959 Cuban revolution notably influenced all of this and significantly altered the sugar market. Among its causes were the social effects of an economic structure articulated around sugarcane industry, the concentration of its trade in the US and the interference of this country in the island. The government in Washington responded to the nationalizing measures of the Cuban government with an embargo and the halt of sugar imports. The US redistributed the Cuban sugar quota to other countries, which favored production in Mexico, Colombia or Brazil that, as a whole, rose from 1.170.000 to 5.300.000 tons between 1940 and 1980. However the main beneficiary was the Dominican Republic whose production rose from 400,000 to 1,050,000 tons. Dictator Rafael L. Trujillo was one of the major landowners.

Cuba found an alternative for exporting its sugar to the USSR and Eastern Europe, where it made new political allies. Although sugar specialization was one of the causes of the revolution, it subsisted when the revolt was consolidated because the socialist market and its high prices were available to sell sugar. In the rest of the Caribbean, independent or still colonial, sugar stopped being the main product, even though it is still produced in many places and left a primordial imprint on all of them, above all for its cultural heritage, especially because of slavery. Many of these territories, most of them independent, have been integrated into preferential trade agreements with the European Union, which protects their exports and offer higher prices to international ones.

After the oil crisis and debt in the 1970s and 1980s, and due to the subsequent adjustment of Latin America economies and the reduction of state interference and regulations, the situation in sugar markets varied markedly. Attempts to stabilize them failed and deregulation increased, creating situations which caused notable effects: for example, Puerto Rico stopped producing sugar. There was a need to find more ecological alternatives that provoked a new revolution in the sugarcane industry. Sugar mills, especially in Brazil and Colombia, began to produce ethanol, used instead of fossil fuels or in their oxygenation; opening then a sugar market which was very important for them. Another event caused important changes: since the disappearance of the USSR in 1991, Cuban plants had no more customers and their supply

decreased from 8,000,000 tons to under 1,500,000 tons, so in 2002 over half of Cuba's sugar industrial plants closed. Today only 50 factories are operational. In 2019, sugar supply, led by Brazil and Atlantic producers, continues to compete in highly regulated and fragmented markets. Additionally, due to its effect on health and the competition of natural and artificial substitutes, sugar has suffered from anti-campaigns, although its production has continued to rise, powered by the growing consumption of emerging economies and its use in the production of food and beverages. In tune with this mercantile structure, sugar mill production has diversified. Different sweeteners, rum, cachaça, liquor, soft drinks, cellulose or bagasse paper or fertilizers, manufactured there and at associated industries, have a long business history, and bioethanol enjoys and upward demand.

With 170,000,000 tons in 2018, world sugar supply doubles that of 1980, 78% is from sugarcane. Consumption exceeds 174,000,000 tons thanks to the low price since 2015 and to the demand from emerging countries. Brazil (37,500,000 tons), India (25,000,000), EU (20,100,000), Thailand (12,000,000), China (10,500,000) and USA (7,500,000) are the main producers.

At present, more sugar is produced in America (20% of world supply). Brazil is in the lead but sugar is also produced in Mexico (3,000,000 tons), Colombia (2,400,000) and other countries such as Venezuela, Argentina, Central America –especially Guatemala (2,700,000) - and on some Antillean islands, including Cuba, despite the reduction of their harvests. Many great producers like the US are also importers. In India, the Far East, Equatorial and Southern Africa and Oceania domestic consumption is supplied although some is also exported. Sugar is imported especially in Eastern Europe, Russia and Southern Africa, 16,000,000 tons/year. Sugar producers that enjoy preferential trade agreements savored its advantages and suffered its inconveniences. For instance, in Jamaica and Guyana the ACP European Union Convention has done with the historical fluctuations of its sugar supply but has also diminished its growth potential, constrained to low-variable fees because of stagnant consumption in Europe and the regulation and fragmentation of other markets.

In the American Atlantic, sugar production is still high and growing at the moment in spite of the complex market conditions and the fact that the market is controlled by large international groups with the ability to set prices.

However, that leadership in some cases is due to competition and in others to the endowment of factors and regulations. The exploitation of sugar cane by-products also plays a growing role. The main traditional derivative of sugar production is distilled alcohol such as rum or spirits (*cachaça* in Brazil). The market of the former moves 1,300 million liters a year, 20% of them of high quality. Apart from Bacardi, the most famous brand is Havana Club from Cuba, but others in Venezuela, Colombia, Central America and non-Hispanic Antilles stand out.

The trace of sugar and its history is not limited to its production and trade. Slavery and the subsequent compulsive work of millions of beings, the environmental transformation and deterioration, the colonial subjugation of the territories that cultivate it and its inheritance in social hierarchies in which Europeanism prevails, the ideal of whiteness and racism are the most negative consequences. On the other hand the positive ones are the multi-cultural aspects and diverse manifestations. Colonization, sugar and slavery have given rise to uniformities and cultural differences in Atlantic America. In the Caribbean, European languages are spoken and others born from the mixture of Africans and Asians, such as Creole or Papiamentu. The universal culinary legacy of sugar may be compared to few goods and has also left urban, architectural imprints in plantations, *bateyes* (Cuban Valley of the Sugar Mills, windmills in the British or Dutch Antilles), *palenques*, cities and ports, whose buildings were conceived according to storage and sugar marketing needs. Sugar imprint is also appreciated in art, music (salsa and its derivatives, blues, reggae, samba); a black, European and Asian mixture in painting; rites, dances (*tumba francesa* from Eastern Cuba) in festivities; and in African-based syncretized creeds, *candombe* (Brazil), Santería (Cuba) and Voodoo (Haiti).

Projects sponsored by national and international organisms for the valorization and democratization of knowledge search to show and spread this legacy to places where sugar is no longer produced, and particularly create awareness about the horrors of their history, like on the “Slave Route” by UNESCO. Where there are or were mills, museums, agro-industrial, urban and landscape spaces have been opened; in Colombia (Pidechincle), Venezuela (Bolívar sugar mill), Cuba (Morón, Caibairén), Mexico, Haiti, Barbados, Guadeloupe, Brazil (Museum of the Northeastern Man). With interpretative plans and the

participation of local communities –without which they are meaningless- seek to rescue the inheritance that sugarcane cultivation and manufacture or the slavery that sustained it has in the shaping of countries, regions, societies and cultures in order to preserve its memory and give it a tourist use. Many of them are material or intangible World Heritage such as the centers of Bahía, Paramaribo, Santo Domingo, Havana, Trinidad (Cuba) with its Valley of the Sugar Mills, the shipyard of Antigua, Parliament of Barbados, National historical parks in Haiti, *Morne Trios Pitons* (Dominica), Blue and John Crow Mountains (Jamaica), *Pitons-Soufrière* (Santa Lucía), *Garifuna* language and dance, the samba of *Recóncao* and the *Yoruba* ritual (Brasil), Black and Whites Carnival (Colombia), the *tumba francesa* and *rumba* (Cuba), reggae (Jamaica), etc.

Manuel Justo Rubalcaba sang around 1790: “Don’t get tired, oh numen! of illuminating species, because in favour of Cibeles sugarcanes produce honey”; a century and a half later José Lezama wrote about sugar and its process: “it is more a geological period than an industry, a measure that can be related between vegetables, man and fire, a game of possibilities”. Few quotations illustrate and better understand the historical journey of sugar through the Atlantic.

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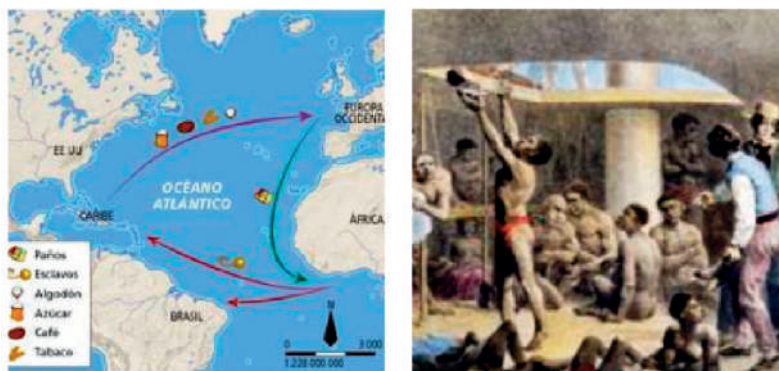
Sugar plantations in Brazil and the colonial Caribbean (16th – 19th centuries)



Sources: 3. From left to right and from top to bottom: colonial plantation in Pernambuco, Brazil (Stuart B. Schwartz. *Sugar plantations in the formation of Brazilian society. Bahia, 1550-1835*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); disposition of sugarcane farms in Nieves (Liverpool Museums: <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/slavery/archaeo-logy/caribbean/slave-villages/caribbean42.aspx>); sugar mill in Antigua, illustration from 1823 ([https://commons.wi-kimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Mill_Yard_-_Ten_Views_in_the_Island_of_Antigua_\(1823\),_plate_V_-_BL.jpg](https://commons.wi-kimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Mill_Yard_-_Ten_Views_in_the_Island_of_Antigua_(1823),_plate_V_-_BL.jpg)) illustration from 1823; the Acana, next to the railroad (Justo G. Cantero. *Los ingenios. Colección de vistas a los principales ingenios de azúcar de la isla de Cuba*. Madrid. Doce Calles, COHOPU, Fundación Mapfre, CSIC, 2005. Edición de Luis Miguel García Mora y Antonio Santamaría).

Triangular trade and slave ship hold (19th century)

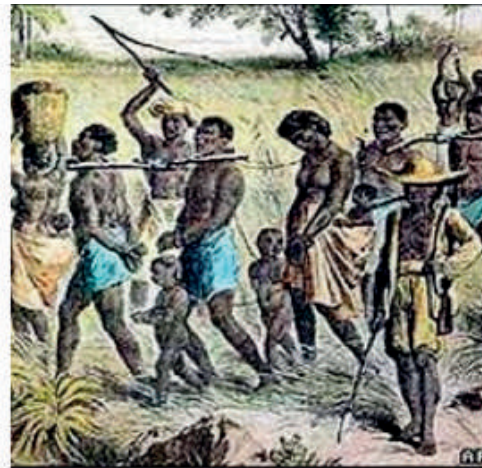
Sources: Economy and finances: <https://www.economiafinanzas.com/comercio-triangular/>; Vicente Fernández. “Encuentran los restos del último barco negrero que llegó a Estados Unidos” (They find the



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African slaves, maroons and indentured hindu laborers in the Caribbean

Sources: From left to right and from top to bottom: pacification of the maroons in Jamaica, 1796, painting by Agostino Bruinas. Wahooart (<https://es.wahoo-art.com/@/9CWB34-Agostino-Brunias-Pacificaci%C3%B3n-con-el-Marr%C3%B3n-Negros-en-el-isla-de-Jamaica>); treatment received by slaves in Haiti and the fight against the French (Haitian Revolution: <https://www.timetoast.com/timelines/revolucion-haitiana>); Iván Giménez. *Un sangriento camino hacia la libertad*” (A bloody road to freedom): <https://ivangimenez.com/2015/07/29/un-sangriento-camino-a-la-libertad-la-rebelion-de-esclavos-en-haiti/>; Hindu laborers in Trinidad: “Indian indentured labourers”. British National Archives: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/indian-indentured-labourers/>).



ILLUSTRATIONS

Cuban Sugar Plants (1914). Sugar Hacienda, Atlihuyan, Morelos, México (1900)



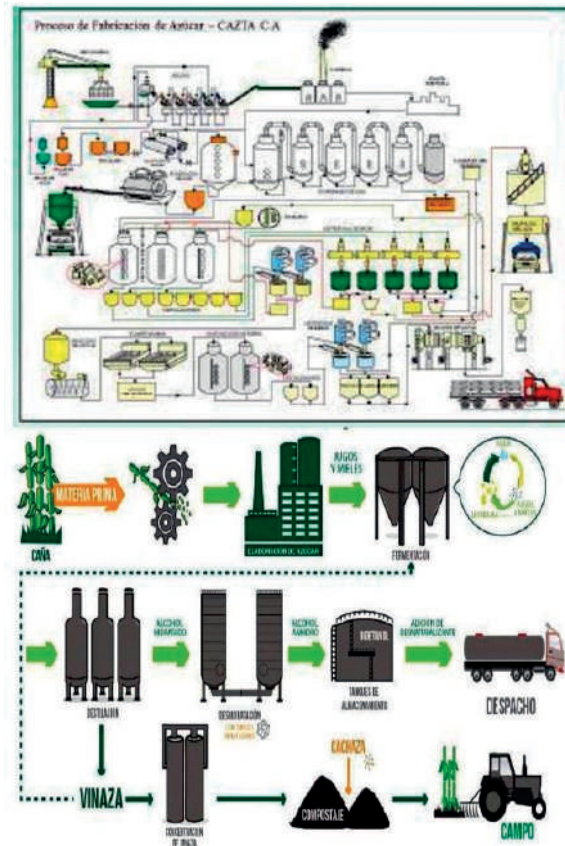
Sources: Antonio Santamaría. “The progress of sugar is the progress of Cuba. The sugar industry and the Cuban economy at the beginning of the 19th century through a source: Sugar. *Industrial Técnico-Práctica* magazine”. *Caribbean Studies* 42, 2015 (<http://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/121884>); Carolina Cervantes. “The agro-industrial repercussion on the railway system during the Porfirian era in Morelos” (<http://practicacomplementaria.blogspot.com/2012/05/la-repercusion-agroindustrial-en-el.html>).

Sugarcane cutting and pulling, Tucumán, Argentina (1940) and Fidel Castro cutting sugarcane, Cuba (1979)

Sources: General Archive of Tucumán (<https://www.twipu.com/AGNArgentina/tweet/1156279813407158273>); Panama America (<https://m.panamaamerica.com.pa/fotos-del-recuerdo-de-la-vida-de-fidelcastro>). Current sugar and sugarcane bioethanol production process.



Sources: CENICAÑA: <https://www.cenicana.org/>.



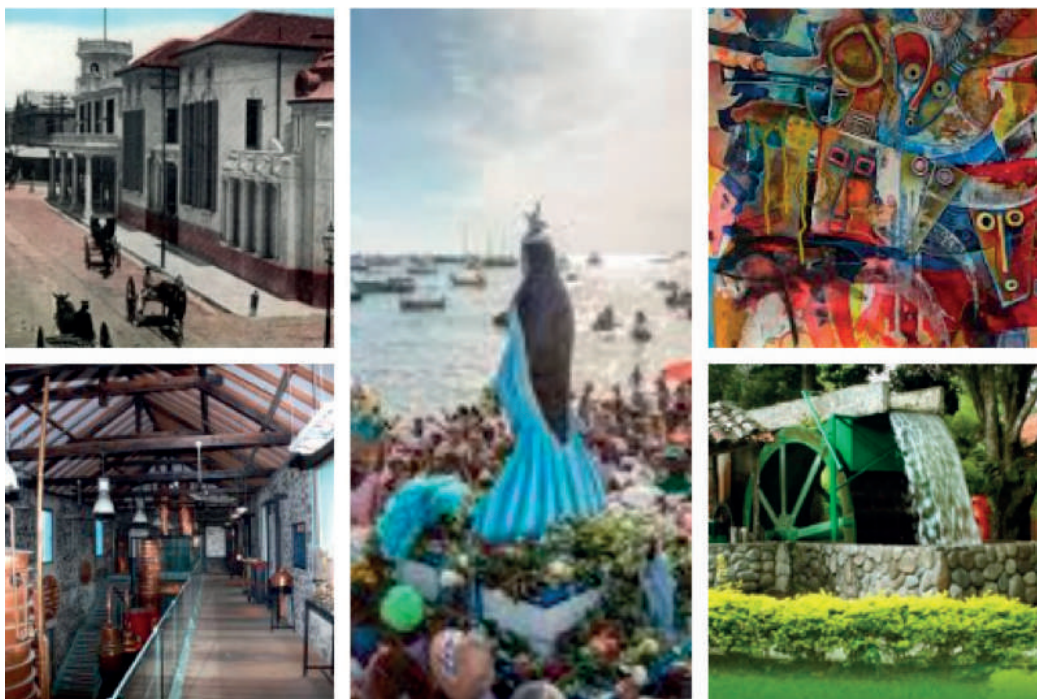
Sugar industry in Guatemala, Colombia and Brazil (2018)

Sources: From left to right: Sugar in Guatemala (<https://www.azucar.com.gt/>); Environmental deterioration due to cane burning (<http://quemacanaazucar.blogspot.com/p/descripcion.html>); “Brasil. Trabajadores caña azúcar” (“Brazil. Sugar cane workers”). La Tinta (<https://latinta.com.ar/2018/07/brasil-la-superexplotacion-del-trabajo-en-el-siglo-xx/brasil-trabajadores-cana-de-azucar-la-tinta/>).



ILLUSTRATIONS

Legacy of the Sugar Industry and Slavery in the Caribbean



Sources: From left to right and from top to bottom: Calle del Puerto (Port Street), Kingston, Jamaica (<https://www.todocoleccion.net/postales-america/postal-kingston-jamaica~x5128816>); Yemayá ritual. Latin Reports (<http://www.latinreporters.com/noelnouvelan25122014jves.html>); painting by Tugo Bastein, Haiti. Drawing and painting in the Caribbean: <https://enciclopediapr.org/encyclopedia/dibujo-y-pintura-en-el-caribe/>); St James Distillery, Martinique (<https://www.france-voyage.com/francia-fotos/destileria-saint-james-4249.htm>); Sugarcane Museum, Colombia (<http://www.museocanade-azucar.com/>).

VIII

LITERATURES OF THE CARIBS



1. Introduction: the cultural diversity of the Caribbean
2. State-political organization
3. Literary tendencies and movements
4. Topics and figures
5. Publishers, magazines and reading audiences
6. Caribbean literatures across the world

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I

Introduction: The cultural diversity of the Caribbean

For centuries - in fact, throughout all of its known or studied history - the geographical region that is known today as the Greater Caribbean has been characterized by multiple processes of social, cultural and religious overlapping, exchange, interrelation and intercrossing. These processes are concentrated here in a particular manner and in an extraordinarily dense and complex way on account of its spatial narrowness, its “mare nostrum” status, group of islands/archipelago and strips of mainland, a “turntable” of communication, transit and migration, and in the case of Central America as a bridge between two (sub) continents, and also an isthmus between two oceans and macro regions of the world.

THE “GREATER CARIBBEAN”

When you talk about the Caribbean you commonly think of the numerous islands of the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles, which reduces it to the island world. However, several proposals in Social Sciences and Humanities have been developed to understand the Caribbean world as a whole. The concept of the “Caribbean basin” comprises, besides the Caribbean island world, the strips of land adjacent to the Caribbean of Mexico, Central America and the neighboring states of the Caribbean Sea in the South American continent. It has been proposed to add to this expanded concept of the “major” Caribbean or “Greater Caribbean”, the Caribbean

transnational and transmigratory communities that live in countries outside the geographic region of the Caribbean but maintain ties with their Caribbean countries of origin. Finally, the Caribbean has been thought of not only as a geographic dimension but in cultural terms, as “a feeling, a way of being.” “There is always Caribbean where Africa is, and there is a Caribbean culture where there were slaves,” writes Nicaraguan writer Sergio Ramírez in his book *Tambor olvidado* (2007), which continues: “In this sense, the Caribbean is also Bahia and is Rio de Janeiro, on the open Atlantic coast of Brazil, samba, bosanova, forro, pagode; and the same for Guayaquil, on the Pacific coast of Ecuador; and Lima and Callao, and going even further, the Río de la Plata, where slaves took the candombe, which resulted in the milonga and then the tango.” (52-53)

The enormous diversity of human groups that inhabited this territory increased with the arrival of Europeans, Africans and Asians. It has been a privileged space of encounter and confrontation between local populations and shifting colonizers. While in the Caribbean islands the aboriginal populations were decimated in the first decades of the Conquest, indigenous peoples survived in the Central American and South American Caribbean (the Guianas, Venezuela, and Colombia). Colonialism created societies marked by vast and multiple social and racial differences, in which extremely diverse languages, cultures and socio-political systems coexist. For these reasons it is pertinent to speak of this region in plural, not singular: the Caribs.

In his book *Tambor olvidado*, Sergio Ramírez sustains: “Inhabited before the discovery by a variety of Aboriginal ethnic groups -Caribs, Taínos, Waraos, Guajiros, Arawaks, Mayas, Toltecs, Pipiles, Nahuas- this magical arc that opens from the south of Florida throughout the Gulf of Mexico to the edge of Colombia, passing through the Yucatan Peninsula and the Central American isthmus, and containing the varied cluster of islands of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, multiplied its cultural variety with the Spanish conquest and colonization and the additional successive colonizations undertaken by England, France and Holland, to which the immigration of Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, Chinese, Ottoman Empire Arabs, mainly Syrians, Lebanese and Palestinians, and also Hindus were added. And, primarily in all that bubbling mixture, the diaspora of multiple African tribes forced into slavery from the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese set foot on that continent.” (51)

Cultural diversity is also expressed in its enormous linguistic variety. Numerous languages coexist along with the dominant languages (which arrived with Europeans: Spanish, French, English, Dutch), as seen in the Creole/Créoles/Creoles language map:



http://www.proel.org/img/mundo/caribe_criollo.gif

ANTILLES - WEST INDIES - CARIBBEAN / CARIBE / CARAÏBE

The cultural diversity of the region is also reflected in the different names with which it has been called along its history. There is a mysterious land on European maps of the Middle Ages: Antillia, an archipelago or large land between the Canary Islands and India, hence the name of the Antilles or *les Antilles*, that is still used in the French-speaking Caribbean. In the English-speaking Caribbean, the name of *The West Indies* has prevailed until today, dating back to the *logbook* of Christopher Columbus, who thought, until the end of his life, he had discovered the sea route to India. The Caribbean/*el Caribe*/*Caraĩbe* denomination was coined within the framework of the independence movements on the islands (18th and 19th centuries), in reference to the people (according to Christopher Columbus, belligerent) of the Caribs, who lived in some of the small peripheral islands, according to his *logbook*.

2

State-political organization

At present, the region is comprised of 28 states and administrative units where each political-legal autonomy status is very different. It includes territories that have had historical development as colonies, as well as “associated” states and “overseas departments”:

1) Independent states (independence dates in brackets): Antigua and Barbuda (1981), Commonwealth of The Bahamas (1973), Barbados (1966), Belize (1981), Republic of Cuba (1902), Commonwealth of Dominica (1978), Grenada (1974), Cooperative Republic of Guyana (1966), République d’Haïti / Repiblik d’Ayiti (1804), Jamaica (1962), Dominican Republic (separation from Haiti in 1844, definitely from Spain in 1865), St. Kitts and Nevis (or Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis, 1983), St. Lucia (1979), St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1979), Republiek Suriname (1975), Republic of Trinidad and Tobago (1962).

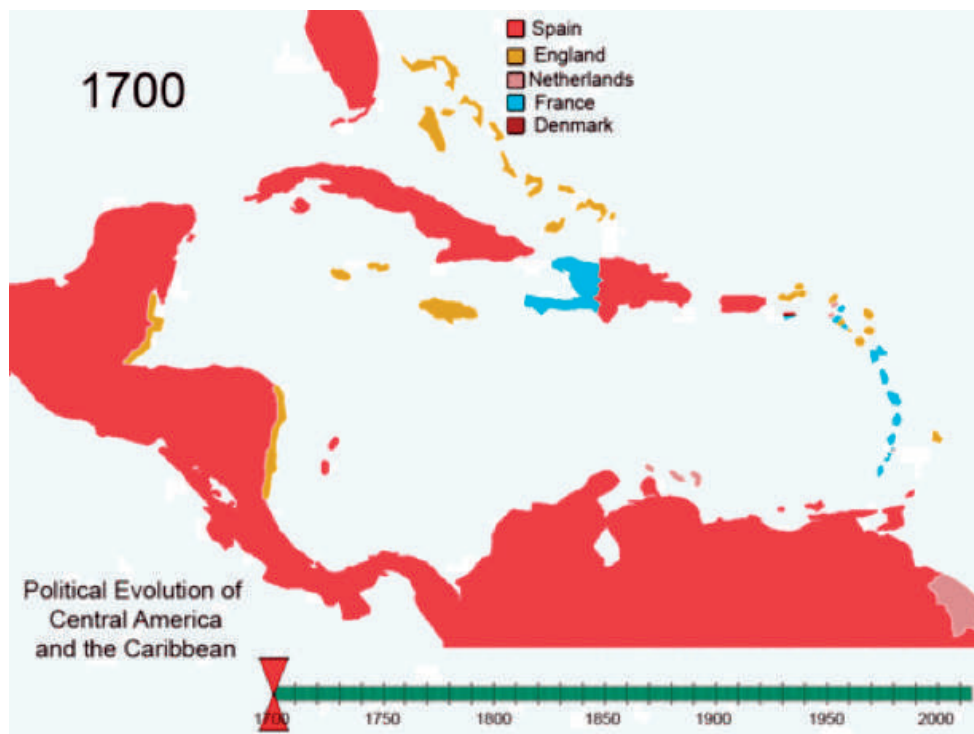
2) Dependent territories: a) Anguilla, Montserrat, Cayman Islands, British Virgin Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands (Great Britain, Overseas Territories); b) Guadeloupe (with Marie-Galante, Îles des Saintes, La Désirade, Saint-Barthélemy and northern Saint-Martin/Sint Maarten), Martinique, Guyane Française (France, Départements d’Outre-Mer); c) Aruba, Nederlandse Antillen (Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, Sint Eustatius and the south of Sint Maarten/Saint-Martin) (autonomous territories that are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands); d) Puerto Rico (USA, Free Associated State/Commonwealth of Puerto Rico), United States Virgin Islands (USA, unincorporated territory).

3) To these political formations we must add some states that either have Caribbean territories at their limits or share cultural and population traits with the Caribs (independence dates in brackets): a) Central America: Guatemala (1821), Honduras (1821), Nicaragua (1821), Costa Rica (1821), Panama (1903), El Salvador (1821); b) Colombia (1810/1819/1831), Venezuela (1811/1821/1830); c) Mexico (1810/1821), Brazil (1822/1889).

4) Finally, the Caribs also exist in their diasporic and transmigratory communities, especially in North America and some European countries, with an important presence in the artistic and literary field.

THE LONG DECOLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE PROCESS

The region has been marked by a long process of decolonization and independence from Europe and the United States that lasted until the end of the 20th century, and the state-political organization of the region has been changing rapidly during its history, as you may observe in the following map which covers its political evolution between 1700 and the end of the 20th century:



<http://www.zonu.com/fullsize/2009-11-16-11114/Evolucion-politica-de-America-Central-y-el-Caribe-desde-1700.html>

3

Literary tendencies and movements

So far, many structures of economic dependence and of political consequence in Caribbean societies persist, even after having achieved formal independence. Nevertheless, there are many examples of overcoming cultural dependence and defining and constructing national or “Caribbean” identities: from the first literary documents of a patriotic or *creole/créole* consciousness in the 19th century, through the African-American movements of Afro-Cubanism, of Haitian indigenismo and *négritude*, to expressions of an alternative culture or counterculture, from the so-called folklore to the Rasta movement, Carnival, calypso, reggae and Latin rap, among other movements and tendencies.

Haitian indigenism/l’indigénisme haitien

The Haitian indigenous/l’*indigénisme haitien* movement originated among Haitian intellectuals exiled in Paris after the United States occupied their country in 1915. When this group of intellectuals and writers returned to the island between 1927 and 1928 they were opposed to the occupying regime’s policy that discriminated against blacks and mulattos. Simultaneously, they turned to the black rural population to find their own identity, closer to African roots than to French and European influence. They began to collect and gather the oral traditions of the peasants -their folklore, customs and rites, such as voodoo- which became objects of scientific studies and material of an emerging

specifically Haitian literature. The movement crystallized around the *Revue Indigène* magazine (1927) and was programmatically consolidated with the *Les Griots* magazine (1937). One of the most prominent representatives of the movement was doctor, ethnologist, sociologist and politician Jean Price-Mars. His essay book *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (1928) became a founding text of *Africanisants*, as the intellectuals of this tendency were called. They spoke out against the dogma of black and African inferiority and insisted that the construction of their own Haitian identity had to include African/black heritage. Thus, the movement was characterized by a search of self-determination and mixed cultural identity, which would synthesize the “Afro-Latin” traditions of Haitian populations. On the other hand, the defenders of a cultural identity oriented exclusively towards France among Haitian elites -called the *Francisants* - accused the indigenous people of wanting to Africanize their country.

The literary production of the movement was very prolific, especially as of the 30s, and was mainly manifested in novels. Authors such as Frédéric Marcelin, Fernand Hibbert, Justin Lhérisson, Stéphen Alexis and later Jacques Roumain, Jean-Baptiste Cinéas, Milo Rigaud, Philippe Thoby-Marcelin and Pierre Marcelin addressed racial discrimination against blacks and mulattos in their novels, without idealizing them. This literature, characterized by folk realism, was particularly interested in religious-magical practices, but also began to include elements of socio-economic criticism. With the coming to power in 1957 of François Duvalier, defender of a racial and non-cultural conception of national identity, and the proclamation of a conception of *noirisme* as an official ideology, the indigenismo movement came to an end. The authors -all urban population representatives who wrote about rural and black peoples and traditions from an external perspective- shifted their focus towards city and countryside social problems, often under the influence of socialist or Marxist ideas.

Afrocubanism/Afro-Antilleanism/African-Americanism

The context of Cuban artistic avant-gardes of the thirties in the 20th century allowed the emergence of poetry that retrieved the experiences, language and cultural tradition of blacks in the Hispanic Caribbean. Its emblematic figure was writer Nicolás Guillén, whose treatment of rhythm and musicality in the

verses of *Motivos de Son* (1930) and Sóngoro Cosongo (1931) prompted the discussion about the daily and profound contribution of Afro-descendants in miscegenation processes and the building of the nation. Along with Guillen, other writers such as Alejo Carpentier, with his novel *Ecue-Yamba-O* (1927) and Lydia Cabrera, with her *Cuentos negros de Cuba* (1936, all of them in dialogue with ethnologist Fernando Ortiz), become the forerunners of the so-called Afro-Cubanismo. The essay, narrative and poetic production of this group surpasses previous representation attempts loaded with stereotypes and essentialist reductions, such as the alleged black aesthetic of literature and painting of the twenties. As a counterproposal, the group introduces racial discussion as a key theme of the identity and political debates of the nation. Until then, hegemonic cultural thought ignored or hid the contributions of African origin to national identity and kept black population in a marginal place. Racial discussions in literature, as a space for cultural celebration and at the same time for denouncing the exclusion criteria of black populations, will become apparent in the rest of the Caribbean islands in different ways, as in the case of Afro-Antilleanism. The term refers to the development of literature published primarily in English and in local variations or *creole* languages of the British colonies. Its texts assess the weight of relations with an empire in decline, its racial domination mechanisms, the creation of local elites within a hierarchy defined by color and migration complexity, both towards Great Britain and along the so-called Circum-Caribbean; the latter, in addition to other Spanish-speaking islands, includes the Central American (as far as Venezuela) and American coasts. Nobel Prize winner Derek Walcott, a native of St. Lucia Island, Barbadian poet Edward Kamau Brathwaite and Jamaican Sylvia Wynter are counted among the characteristic figures of this movement. Journalist and novelist C.L.R. James and also journalist and poet Claudia Jones, both of Trinidadian origin, stand out amid its founders. Afro-Antilleanism, along with these names and giving account of other complex colonial and racial relations, in addition to offering an overview of the Caribbean diaspora, may include insular Francophone literature. There the work of novelists and storytellers Edwidge Danticat (Haiti 1969) or Marysé Condé (Guadeloupe 1937) or the precursors of negritude themselves should be noted.

Finally, the identification of an African-American production field is associated with other literary manifestations throughout the Americas and the Caribbean,

which incorporate the racial theme from an appreciation of the African diaspora experience and correspond to an authorship that identifies itself as black. This body includes, on the one hand, African-American texts and within them, the Afro-Latin ensemble, where Caribbean migrations play a fundamental role; on the other hand, productions identified as “black” are rescued from the Caribbean, Central America and South America.

The list of names and genres in the African-Americanism field is robust and growing as distribution formats diversify and academic dialogue is strengthened between African-American and Afro-Latin American literature studies. Within this group and among those who reflect a greater link with the Afro-Caribbean experience, the proliferation of authors is striking: Nancy Morejón (Cuba 1944), Anjelamaría Dávila (Puerto Rico 1944-2003), Yolanda Arroyo Pizarro (Puerto Rico 1970), Mayra Santos-Febres (Puerto Rico 1966), Josefina Baez (Dominican Republic 1960), Eulalia Bernard (Costa Rica 1935), Shirley Campbell (Costa Rica 1965), Melanie Taylor (Panama 1972), Yolanda Rossman (Nicaragua 1961). The list of Afro and Caribbean writers equally includes long-standing names such as Manuel Zapata Olivella (Colombia, 1920-2004), Quince Duncan (Costa Rica 1940) and Carlos Guillermo Wilson (Cubena) (Panama, 1941), in addition to Pulitzer Award winner Junot Diaz (Dominican Republic, 1968).

Harlem Renaissance and Garveyism (UNIA)

During the first decades of the 20th century, two cultural and political movements, originated in the United States and led by (or with the active participation of) Afro-Antillean immigrants, transformed the experience, exchange relations and artistic productions of Afro-descendant communities throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Harlem Renaissance, initially identified with a kind of literary awakening in which figures such as Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston are noted, is understood from the demographic transformations of New York City, particularly in the Harlem neighborhood, and by the presence of a population quota originating in the Anglophone Caribbean; among them, Jamaican poet Claude McKay. The appearance of these and other writers whose themes rescue the particular (and common) culture of the different groups that

share this space and the experience of racial discrimination, which make it a peripheral region, is articulated with the production and creation of literary magazine audiences, Broadway theater productions, music, orchestras and dance halls identified as “black”. Reaching worldwide fame, Harlem stands as the first metropolis or “Black Mecca” of the United States and its place in the imaginary of the Jazz era and the mobilization of Afro organizations persists, though with variations, to this day.

During the twenties, Marcus Garvey himself (Jamaica, 1887- United Kingdom, 1940), founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), used the Harlem cultural and political environment for the launching of his pan-Africanist movement. Garveyism is the name assigned to the mobilization of black pride and physical and spiritual return to Africa, promoted by the creator of the UNIA. By the early thirties of the last century, its political and cultural organization achieves the opening of thousands of bases in America (United States, Latin America and the Caribbean), Africa, Asia and Oceania; many of these continue to operate to this day, particularly in the insular and Central American Caribbean.

The UNIA becomes both a racial pride dynamizer and a catalyst for the political and economic demands of Afro-descendant communities. Its operating nuclei, the so-called Liberty Halls, also function as cultural platforms. This same movement allows the creation of literary societies, lodges, sports and social clubs and religious congregations where the circulation of hymns, characterized by their high aesthetic value and political content, is noticed, such as Ethiopia and its verses “With the force of red, black and green”. Similarly, and since the creation of The Negro World newspaper (1918), the movement is connected with the international circuits of a black press that nourishes thought and leads the political action of generations of Antilleans and their descendants in the Caribbean and in the rest of the continent.

The relationship between Garveyism and the Harlem Renaissance and their discourses of black identity affirmation influence the construction of a diasporic cultural sphere: the African-American and Afro-Caribbean. The impact of its forms: literary, such as poetry, hymns and journalistic chronicles; performative, particularly with Blues, Soul, Reggae and Calypso; and spiritual, like Rastafarianism, can be traced to the present.

The négritude movement

Négritude is a literary movement, mostly poetic, that claimed the history and culture of black people. It was started in Paris by three literature students from the French colonies in Africa and the Caribbean: Aimé Césaire (1913-2008) from Martinique, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001) from Senegal and Léon Gontram Damas (1912-1978) from French Guiana. In 1934 these students founded, in an avant-garde gesture, the *L'Étudiant Noir* magazine, a literary space, but also for the criticism of the French cultural assimilation policy which, for its founders and collaborators, prevented full development of the colonies. Through this publication, they aimed to promote the creative freedom of all blacks, and the recognition and appreciation of their African origins. The magazine stopped publishing in 1940 due to war. Its founders returned to their own countries, where they continued to develop their ideas that had great impact amongst African and Antillean intellectuals.

Senghor, upon his return to Senegal, published several poem books and in 1947 participated in the creation of the *Présence Africaine* magazine, together with other intellectuals, supporters of Blackness. In 1948, and on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of slavery abolition in the French colonies, Senghor, on behalf of UNESCO, compiled the *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache de langue française*, which brings together the most prominent black poets and has a preface written by Jean Paul Sartre (“Orphée noir”). This text consecrated Blackness as a poetic movement. From the Caribbean, Damas published *Retour de Guyane* in 1938, testimony in which he denounces the situation of oblivion and misery of his country, and his *Anthologie* in 1947, dedicated to overseas poets. Meanwhile Césaire, in 1939, published his *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, participated in the founding of the *Tropiques* magazine in Martinique, and wrote numerous poetry books, some plays and various essays, all related to the struggle of Blackness and criticism of colonialism.

At the end of World War II, Its three founders were linked to politics, specifically to the French Communist Party, and were representatives of their territories in the National Assembly of France. Senghor came to be the leader of Senegal's decolonization process, becoming its president in 1960. These shared paths caused Blackness to be closely associated with decolonization movements. It declined as a literary movement towards the sixties hand in hand with the

criticism of Black exaltation as the ultimate purpose of this poetry. However, its intellectual legacy in the Caribbean and Africa is undeniable, especially in terms of its contributions to the fight against racism and colonial rule.

Transmigratory literatures

Migratory movements towards, in, by and from the Caribbean have undergone a significant change during the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century. While Caribbean history was characterized since the Conquest by abundant and multiple immigration movements towards the region, since the middle of the last century emigration movements from the Caribbean to the former colonial and neo-colonial metropolises in North America and Europe have become the dominant phenomenon. Currently, large Caribbean populations live in communities outside the geographical-political boundaries of the region. These movements differ from previous emigrations that were understood as an irreversible process of acculturation in receiving societies. In fact, the new migratory movements have resulted in the creation of transmigratory communities that, through personal and family networks, as well as cultural and artistic ones, maintain their references to and relations with the countries of their origin or those of their parents and grandparents. These transnational, cross-border and transmigratory communities have created various “mobile” lifestyles and a fruitful artistic production that go beyond the traditional search for national and/or territorial identities towards concepts of dynamic, dialogical, plural and intercultural identities. Along with music and cinema, literature is the privileged space for the exploration and representation of these “in-between” experiences.

Among the most notable trends and movements of this phenomenon are the *Cuban Americans, Nuyoricans, AmeRicans, West Indians and Black Britons, Antillais and négropolitains*. While the United States was a receiving country, since the 19th century, for Cuban exiles (among them José Martí), their exile there became massive after the 1959 revolution and derived in many literary and artistic works that are part of Cuban cultural heritage, though they were created outside the island. As of the 1970s there is a change: the “sons and daughters of exile” are who begin to publish texts (mostly in English) that continue to deal with their hybrid and intercultural identity issues. They are

consciously part of the ethnic minorities known as *Hispanics* or *Latinos* and their production has been understood as ethnic literature, no longer as exile literature. Mainly as of the nineties, the emigration of Cuban authors to Europe is also part of this phenomenon, where they write from a diasporic standpoint. Puerto Rican transmigratory communities in the United States (half of the Puerto Rican population is estimated to live there) occupy a special place among *Hispanics* or *Latinos* due to their U.S. citizenship. Since the mid-twentieth century, important literary works emerged from this artistic community concentrated in New York, also called *Nuyoricans*. From the eighties on, the phenomenon spread beyond the Latin ghettos of the American capital, resulting in literature which was self-named *AmeRicans* (written mostly in English with a strong presence of Spanish in texts). *West Indians* is understood as the immigration of former British colonies in the Caribbean towards Great Britain in the context of decolonization since the forties of the 20th century and particularly after WWII due to the need for labor to rebuild the country. While the literature that developed in that context complicated being foreign in what was known as the “Motherland,” second-generation authors are no longer known as *West Indians* but as members of transmigratory communities within British society, hence their name of *Black Caribbeans* or *Black Britons*. The traditional presence of Caribbean intellectuals in France is strengthened, especially in Paris, after the incorporation of former French colonies in the Caribbean as *Départements d’Outre-Mer*, resulting in outstanding literary works of the *Antillais* or *Négropolitains* (derived from “métropolitain”) which gradually occupy a prominent place in literature written in French.

ORALITY AND WRITING / ORALITURE

One of the dominating features of Caribbean literature until now (as of Latin American literature in general) is the tension between orality and writing. The field of symbolic-literary creation is characterized by the coexistence of two different and opposed systems: the lettered system of colonizers and that of indigenous cultures and descendants of Africa based on oral tradition. The mixture of these systems created a literary-artistic heterogeneity that brought myths and legends of these diverse cultures together. Nonetheless, the colonizing languages have prevailed in literary productions; thus, native voices were reduced to traces in the European aesthetic-linguistic system.

The *oraliture* movement in the former French colonies was one of the most relevant attempts to overcome this situation of dominance and cultural-linguistic determination. Martinique writers Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant claimed, in their essay-manifesto *Éloge de la créolité* (1989), an Antillean culture of its own, for which recourse to the oral traditions of indigenous peoples and black slaves developed on plantations was foundational. Within the framework of the political-aesthetic movement of *oraliture*, numerous texts emerged from the 1980s that either incorporated *créole* into the French linguistic system by modifying it, or were written entirely in *créole*, especially in Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana. Nevertheless, many authors re-published in the colonizing language that continues to overpower literary field institutions (publishing houses, education systems, audiences, awards etc.)

4

Topics and figures

The different aspects of Caribbean history, its relationship with cultures of diverse origins and the persistence of problems associated with colonialism and racism are expressed in a diversity of themes addressed in their literatures and other artistic manifestations. The following are the most recurrent symbolic cores, themes and figures in the 19th century and especially throughout the 20th century.

Aboriginal people, Europeans and Africans

English-Jamaican critic Stuart Hall borrows the metaphors of Aimé Césaire and Leopold Senghor related to the “presences” that populate the Caribbean, to refer to the different elements that engage in the shaping of cultural identities in the region. In his proposal, the most significant presences in the Caribbean are the “African presence”, the “European presence” and the “American presence”. The confluence of these presences -to which we would have to add those of individuals and groups from India, China and other Asian countries, which further complicate the Caribbean cultural landscape- is due to the history of the Caribbean conquest and colonization, to the centrality of plantation economy and the institution of slavery in most of its territories.

Since the indigenous population in the Caribbean islands was decimated during the first decades of colonization, its presence in literature is usually associated

to the efforts of rebuilding local roots in nations made up of populations from other territories. In *Sab* (1840) by Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (Cuba), the slave character is adopted by a Camagüey *cacique* (chief) descendant, thus establishing a symbolic heritage between indigenous people and blacks. On the other hand, in the novel *Enriquillo* (1882) by Dominican Manuel de Jesús Galván, national identity is conceived as a product of the cross between indigenous people and Spanish, excluding African contribution.

Moreover, African presence appears in literature written by white authors especially in association with abolitionist struggles developed throughout the 19th century. The only narrative of a slave written in Spanish -the *Autobiografía de un esclavo* by Juan Francisco Manzano- arises from the initiative of a group of Cuban intellectuals and writers committed to the anti-slavery cause. A set of abolitionist novels that expose Cuban slave exploitation is also published in this framework, showing them as passive, subjected, mistreated beings that require the help of white benefactors to break away from that condition.

Literature written by Afro-descendant authors arises in the first decades of the 20th century. This not only sought to represent the lived experience of blacks in thematic terms, but also to find languages and forms that account for the rhythms, orality and symbolic universes creolized in the Caribbean. One of the representative authors in this sense is Nicolás Guillén from Cuba, who incorporated forms of speech and music of African origin into his poetry. Both he and other Afro-descendant authors contested, in their writings, the discourses on national identity that excluded and conceived African contributions as inferior. The recovery of the memories of slavery and the resistance against it will be an important symbolic core of Afro-Caribbean literary production throughout the 20th century.

European presence, meanwhile, has historically played a hegemonic role in the configuration of value and prestige systems in the symbolic production area. Forms and languages closer to European models constituted a standard that many authors have sought to expand and transform throughout the 20th century. Even though only European languages were used for a long time -English, French, Spanish, Dutch-, texts written in *creol/creole/créole* languages began to emerge in the last decades of the 20th century, and in many cases recover important oral narrative traditions of Caribbean societies.

Independence movements and revolutions

The Caribbean independence and revolutions can be comprehended within the framework of the decolonization processes of American territories, although their development in the insular area is much more discontinuous and heterogeneous than in the rest of the continent.

In the 19th century, Haiti became the first independent territory of the Caribbean (and the second in America) with the culmination of a long revolutionary process in 1804 that separated it from France. Throughout that century it was supported only by the Dominican Republic, which in 1844 became independent from Haiti that occupied the western part of the island from 1822. Afraid of new Haitian presence, the most conservative sector in the Dominican Republic requested to become a colony of Spain again. The new presence of the metropolis lasted between 1863 and 1865, year in which the alleged War of Restoration terminated and definitely put an end to Spanish rule.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the war between the United States and Spain in 1898 brought about the end of the Spanish empire. The crown had to give its last colonial domains to the United States. Puerto Rico, which had a very modest independence movement throughout the 19th century, became a colony of the United States. In 1952 it was transformed into a Free Associated State, an exceptional political status valid only for the island. Cuba, at the same time, was militarily occupied by the United States between 1898 and 1902. That year the Marines left the island with a constitution that confirmed it as a Republic but that was subjected to US control through the so-called Platt Amendment. In the war between Spain and the United States, unlike what happened in Puerto Rico, the Cuban independence movement held a very relevant place and militarily confronted Spanish domain between 1868 and 1878 (the Ten Years' War) and between 1895 and 1898.

In this way, the insular Caribbean entered the 20th century counting on only three independent countries, a very different situation from that of the rest of the continent, which by then had almost consolidated a century of republican life.

The main political changes in the insular Caribbean began in the second half of the 20th century and occurred as a result of a new decolonizing cycle driven by Asian and African territories that began to gain independence from Europe

after World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. In 1946, the territories that France had in the Caribbean (Martinique, French Guiana and Guadeloupe, which groups the small islands of Saint Barthélemy, the northern part of Sint Maarten, Marie-Galante, Îles des Saintes and La Désirade), while not becoming independent, change their political status, ceasing to be colonies to transform into Overseas Territories, currently known as DROM. What happens in Cuba a decade later is a very different situation. In January 1959, the triumph of the second revolution in the region took place on the largest Caribbean island. This overthrew Fulgencio Batista after several years of armed struggle, and began a process that expelled the United States from the island in order to join the USSR. With Fidel Castro in the lead, Cuba embraces a socialist project that continues until today and that has been a great political milestone, the most important of the 20th century, just as the Haitian Revolution was in the 19th century.

A few years after the Cuban Revolution and under very different conditions, British territories in the Caribbean would begin a decolonization cycle from 1962 to the 80s. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were the first territories to become independent (from a total of over 10 islands, including Guyana that becomes independent in 1966) in a non-war process agreed with the British Empire, which made them part of the Commonwealth of Nations, maintaining economic and political ties. Some islands, the smallest ones (Anguilla, Bermuda, Montserrat, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, Virgin Islands) choose not to become independent, so they keep the status of British Overseas Territories until today. Territories belonging to the Kingdom of the Netherlands follow a similar process: in 1975 Suriname becomes independent, but islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Sint Maarten, Saba and Sint Eustatius) maintain linkage with the Kingdom through various political statutes.

All these movements and processes have had a strong impact on innumerable literary and artistic works, such as the Haitian revolution in the novel *El reino de este mundo* (1949) by Cuban Alejo Carpentier.

The perennial search for identity(ies)

Identity has been one of the dominant topics in Caribbean literature since its beginning and particularly since the independence movements of the late

18th century. Regional collective identities had an important development throughout the 20th century in the Caribbean. Amongst the blackness movement at the end of the thirties and extending to the *creolité* movement at the end of the eighties, we can visualize a long-term cultural process, still inconclusive, for which Africa is an indisputable, although at times, problematic reference. Garveyism, Negrismo, Rastafari, Haitian indigenism, Afrocubanismo and *Antillanité* are added as examples of a series of social and cultural movements that have made black people and African origins become the center of the debate on Caribbean identities.

Driven by groups of black intellectuals coming from the educated middle classes of their countries, the movements that emerged in the first decades of the 20th century rose against colonialism and its inheritance. In turn, they were a response to specific national situations marked by US invasions, cultural assimilation policies, lack of social, political and labor rights, or racial discrimination. In spite of the fact that they unfolded in different periods and had different durations and emphasis (Garveyism and Rastafari are social movements, while the others are literary and cultural movements), they shared at least three core topics: the assertion of black individuals, understood as individuals with a history, fundamental actors in Caribbean societies; the recognition and appreciation of African origins, in some cases associated with a return to Africa discourse; and a criticism of racial and colonial oppression.

During the second half of the 20th century and in the context of important political changes, such as the decolonization and independence of several territories, cultural and identity movements began to question the centrality granted to black individuals and African cultural elements in the conceptualization of Caribbean cultural identities. Proposals such as *Antillanité* and *creolité*, although they recognize these previous movements and argue with them without denying their importance, postulated the need to recognize the contributions of other social groups, such as Asians, not only to make the diversity of the Caribbean region visible, but above all to entangle the multiple and complex social, cultural and racial relations that arose from that diversity. As Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau and Raphaël Confiant point out in their manifesto *Éloge de la créolité* (1989): “Neither Europeans, nor Africans, nor Asians, we declare ourselves Creoles.” In this text, which allowed the development of *creolité*, they

argue that Caribbean identities and cultures are the original result of a mixture of all these contributions, without one prevailing over the other, embodying one of the criticisms of the dominant negrocentrism among social and cultural movements of the first half of the 20th century. This change also affected how the link with Africa is understood. Caribbean intellectuals and cultural and identity movements of the second half of the 20th century have promoted a reflection that seeks to understand the Caribbean from what is proper to it, from its particular heterogeneity, in which Africa is a relevant component, but not unique. Some literary texts that problematize the relationship with Africa are the novel *Hérémakhonon* (1980) by Maryse Condé from Guadeloupe, the novel *Calypso* (1996) by Chilean-Costa Rican Tatiana Lobo, the novel *Limón blues* (2002) by Costa Rican Anacristina Rossi, the set of tales *La llegada de la mujer serpiente* (1989) by Jamaican Olive Senior and the book of essays *Los placeres del exilio* (1960) by Barbadian George Lamming.

Migrant and moving literature

The Caribbean is a region that, in many of its territories, was depopulated from its original inhabitants and then populated by people from different parts of the world. To this migrant origin of its inhabitants, the importance of its past migratory movements in history, inside and outside the region, is added. The precarious economic situations of colonies and countries entirely dependent on the international prices of their plantation products drove their inhabitants to look for job opportunities in other territories. Additionally, the poor development of local education systems led members of elites and a few students from popular sectors to migrate to metropolitan centers in order to continue their formation. Many Caribbeans have also had to leave their countries as political exiles.

It is not surprising, against this background, that the development of literatures in different Caribbean regions is closely linked to migration processes. Throughout the 19th century, colonial repression in the Hispanic Caribbean forced many of its writers and intellectuals to exile in the United States, Europe or countries already independent in Latin America. In the 20th century, exiles were committed to the various dictatorships that were installed in Cuba (Machado, Batista), and the Dominican Republic (Trujillo) and the

US interventions in those countries and in Puerto Rico. The appearance of literary systems in the Francophone and Anglophone Caribbean is closely tied to the migration to the corresponding metropolises of students, writers and intellectuals. In the 1920s and 1930s, students from different French African and Caribbean colonies converged in Paris. This meeting enabled the emergence of Pan-African literary and cultural projects which critically faced European racism and colonialism. Within the most outstanding Caribbean figures of the Négritude movement are Aimé Césaire, Paulette Nardal and Leon Gontran Damas. On the other hand, after World War II, the English government summoned the inhabitants of its Antillean colonies to work on the reconstruction of the bombed city of London. In the English capital, Jamaicans, Barbadians, Guyanese, among others, discovered a common regional identity, acknowledging themselves, in many cases, as Antilleans for the first time. What is known as the first literary generation of the English-speaking Caribbean arises in this context, made up of writers such as George Lamming, Kamau Brathwaite, Samuel Selvon, among others. The struggle for the decolonization of the Anglophone Caribbean plays a fundamental role in its literary, intellectual and political projects.

From the 1980s, in the deepening globalization processes, the United States became the main destination for Caribbean migrants. Caribbean writers who write and publish in that country usually come from lower classes and are part of racialized ghettos in the United States. In their books, they represent their stories of migration and the processes of de- and reterritorialization they face as individuals and groups. They contribute to the formation of new spaces for a sense of belonging and identification by means of their literature.

Women: from invisibility to presence

In the Caribbean, the dimension of sexual gender is deeply interwoven with racial and class issues. Slavery regimes introduced deep divisions between white, mulatto and black women, who, while sharing a subordinate role in patriarchal society, had very different lives according to the color of their skin and their status as slaves or free women. Access to written work -as readers and later as writers- was a privilege reserved for few white women of the upper classes, who, until the late 19th century, used to study in their homes with

private teachers. These women were also restricted and controlled in terms of the readings they could access and in many cases were criticized for writing. To legitimize their position as authors and be admitted to the literary world, they had to deploy various discursive strategies and build alliances with men and women supportive of female enlightenment. In many cases they created their own magazines and newspapers to have spots for publishing their texts. The most recognized female Caribbean writer of the 19th century is Cuban Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, who, unlike most of her trade colleagues, was able to take up literature as a career.

During the first half of the 20th century, Caribbean women -especially white ones and from affluent sectors- organized into feminist movements that fought for the right to vote. They also demanded the expansion of educational opportunities for women from different social and racial sectors. During this period, many women joined the world of work as teachers, seamstresses, nurses, in other words, in typically female occupations. There is also a significant increase in the number of women participating in the literary domain hand in hand with political mobilization and a greater presence in the world of work. Poets, novelists, essayists, literary critics, as well as publishers, magazine editors, translators and chroniclers become increasingly visible and begin to professionalize their dedication to literature. Some major figures of this period are Cubans Dulce María Loynaz, Lydia Cabrera, Ofelia Rodríguez Acosta, Mariblanca Sabas Alomá; Puerto Ricans Julia de Burgos and Nilita Vientós Gastón; Dominican-Cuban Camila Henríquez Ureña; Martinicans Suzanne Césaire and Paulette Nardal and Dominican writer, Jean Rhys.

In literary stories of the Anglophone and Francophone Caribbean, the 1980s is considered an important moment in the formation of a group of female authorships, in which, unlike previous periods, there is a notable presence of Afro-Caribbean women. Many of the Afro-Caribbean women writers develop their work in the countries they reach as economic migrants, especially in the United States. Sociologists speak of a migration “feminization” in the last decades of the 20th century and, in the case of the Caribbean, this is expressed in the fact that many more women leave their countries to work in the United States, mainly in the services sector. The work of authors living in North America, such as Jamaica Kincaid (Antigua), Edwidge Danticat (Haiti), Katya D. Ulysse

(Haiti), Michelle Cliff (Jamaica), Dionne Brand (Trinidad-Canada), among others, highlights the presence of topics related to the status of black women in Caribbean and North American societies, their migratory experiences and the historical memory of trafficking and slavery in the Caribbean.

Landscapes and cities

In European literatures -and partly in Caribbean and Latin American ones- Caribbean space was represented, for a long time, as a landscape of abundant nature that was both wonderful and threatening. Caribbean nature, characteristically tropical, was a fertile ground for the articulation of stories based on the exoticism of unknown landscapes. *La peregrinación de Bayoán* (1863), by Eugenio María de Hostos, for instance, stands as a symbolic account of the shared Caribbean, privileging the tropical Eden-landscape over Antillean cities.

Additionally, the construction of Caribbean urban centers was based on models of European metropolises, which somehow changed Caribbean space. These merges would be central to Caribbean literature concerning cities and landscapes. The texts of Aimé Césaire and V. S. Naipaul account for these discontinuities as part of colonialism in the Caribbean.

Caribbean cities are marked by great diversity, not only because of the historical, social and political changes of each one, but due to the variety of the Caribbean environment itself. Nevertheless, Caribbean urban spaces share a series of common characteristics that, in addition, have been expressed in literature from very particular perspectives in terms of their forms and contents. Colonial and postcolonial processes have been key to the creation of a common imaginary about Caribbean landscapes and the building of cities. Antillean cities are progressively perceived as a non-place, a space of violence, non-communication and alienation or, in the words of Puerto Rican writer Edgardo Rodríguez Juliá, a “contorted map”.

Some common themes in Caribbean urban literature are colonialism (conquest/colonization/postcoloniality), slavery (race/blackness/hybridity), Caribbean nationality in transit (diaspora/return), urban spaces (centers/peripheries) and political and social violence. The seventies linked three Caribbean writers of great significance in the Americas -Gabriel García Márquez, Alejo Carpentier

and René Depestre- through a single theme: the Latin American dictator who exercises his power from the city. Then, in the eighties, the aftermath of dictatorship in a city disjunct by oppression is shown in texts such as *Solo cenizas hallarás* (1980), by Pedro Vergés.

The city also speaks from its architecture. The repeated presence of columns in the city, which form the central axis of Havana by Carpentier, combines cultured and popular traits. Characters go on a round-trip journey, which we can also call a remembrance tour of certain places that protect and forsake the harassed. The Havana in *Antes de que anochezca* (1992), by Reinaldo Arenas, is daring, transgressive and violent in its search for freedom, similar to the Havana of Leonardo Padura and his detective novels from the late nineties until now.

Within every city lies a city waiting for writing to rediscover it and make it flourish. Therefore, a city is made of delusions and nightmares, of desire and memory, rather than building materials. The Caribbean literary city is, in fact, the representation of fears and desires, and not only the frame or scenery in which lives unfold, not only in the center, but in the outskirts. The alternate city, its orality -noise, static, voices-, forms a heterogeneous periphery that reveals Caribbeanism in novels such as *La guaracha del Macho Camacho* (1976) by Luis Rafael Sánchez, short stories by José Alcántara Almánzar, or poetry by Nicolás Guillén. Finally, run-down urban centers are mutant spaces that house deprived and residual beings that arrive to Caribbean cities marked by poverty, violence and hopelessness. Stories by Luis Negrón (*Mundo cruel*, 2010) and Rita Indiana, for example, bring the resistance of the “others” to light, just as Martinican Patrick Chamoiseau rescues neighborhoods or suburbs in his novel *Texaco* (1992). Caribbean literary cities are, in short, an indecipherable amalgam of dissimilar and complementary materials that seek to be seen while being narrated by unifying indelible inks.

5

Publishers, magazines and reading audiences

The Caribbean publishing industry began with the arrival of the printing press, during the first half of the 18th century, to territories under Spanish, English and French domination, and, in the case of Dutch possessions, towards the end of the same century. At that time, printed documents and pamphlets were generally controlled by colonial administrations and were for practical purposes, related to metropolitan or religious interests. Between the 18th and 19th centuries, a set of laws that expanded freedom of expression and enabled the modernization of printing presses, boosted the publication of newspapers, journals, pasquinades and magazines that became essential means in the formation of various reading audiences. At first the readers belonged mainly to the elite composed of Creoles and Europeans.

Within the region, Cuba has been one of the intellectual production centers due largely to its sugar industry -its boom in the 19th century facilitated material and cultural development at the expense of slave labor. This intellectual activity is reflected in illustrated publications, as for example the influential *Revista Bimestre* (Bimonthly Magazine) founded in 1831, and journalistic releases, such as *Diario de la Marina*, published until 1960. The first half of the 20th century saw the birth of literary magazines like *La Espuela de Plata* (1931), *Ciclón* (1955) and *Orígenes* (1941), one of the most important publications for Cuban and Latin American avant-garde.

The issue of literary magazines throughout the region increased dramatically during the forties. In Puerto Rico, *Asomante* emerged, which, from the 1970s to the 1980s, continued as *Sin Nombre*, one of the most important publishing projects in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Latin America. Important debates were developed around the topic of political, cultural and linguistic sovereignty of the island in these magazines. In 1943 *La Poesía Sorprendida* magazine, from the Dominican Republic, initiated resistance activities against the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. For its part, in the Francophone Caribbean, *Tropiques* (1941) was founded in Martinica, which represents the strengthening of the Blackness movement in the region, and subsequently, in Haiti, *La Ruche* (1945), a short-lived magazine that interwove its literary quest with the resistance to the political oppression at the time.

In the Anglophone area of the Caribbean, due to the shortage of publishing houses, literary magazines played a central role in the foundation of literary tradition. Specifically, those that began to circulate from the thirties and forties, such as *Trinidad* and *The Beacon* in Trinidad, *BIM* in Barbados, *Kyk-Over-Al* in Guyana and the periodic anthology *Focus* in Jamaica, articulate a constellation of editorial projects that laid the foundations for the formation of the Anglo-Caribbean literary canon. Speaking of those from Trinidad, they were born around a group of young intellectuals and artists who questioned the cultural conservatism of the island and cultivated essays and social realistic narratives. Although *BIM* and *Kyk-Over-Al* had a more literary approach, both were concerned with affirming a national and Caribbean identity. *BIM*, which began publishing again biannually in 2007 with a new editorial team, is perhaps the most important magazine in the Anglophone Caribbean. The literary careers of authors like Derek Walcott, George Lamming and Kamau Brathwaite, began there.

In 1959, Casa de las Américas was founded in Cuba, association responsible for promoting the cultural policy of the revolutionary government. A year later, the *Casa de las Américas* magazine began to circulate, which has been a cornerstone for the articulation of Latin American and Caribbean intellectuals. During its long life, which continues to this day on a quarterly basis and with a circulation of 3,000 copies, the *Casa* magazine has hosted discussions ranging from new Latin American novels to issues of the committed writer. Towards the 1970s this

institution initiated a Caribbean integration policy by translating authors from other linguistic areas, strengthened by annual Literary Awards that introduced categories for English-speaking and French-speaking Caribbean literature. The winning entries are published on the Casa de las Américas backlist, being the first and only Spanish translations of many non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean authors.

It must not be forgotten that the Caribbean reading audience is highly diverse and has different interests. In regard to Cuba, in the thirties, a series of newspapers and magazines appeared, directed by and for Afro-descendants, such as *Adelante* and *Minerva*, the latter specifically focused towards a female audience. In Trinidad, almost a dozen newspapers and magazines from the community of Indian origin circulated between the twenties and forties. In turn, Jamaican magazine *The Cosmopolitan* (1933) pointed to the intellectual training of young and professional women, mainly black, being an early record of the struggle for racial and sex-generic equality on that island.

A cross-cutting feature of all 20th century cultural magazines in the Caribbean is the search for their own identity, whether national or regional. These means have acted as platforms for intellectual and artistic projects that set cultural development standards in the region. A problem that still affects the Caribbean is that a great deal of its literature is edited and read outside the region, especially in the “metropolises” of former colonizing countries which does not help strengthen local publishers. However, there are currently multiple publishing houses dedicated to publicizing Caribbean culture among Caribbean readers, such as Casa de las Américas and Editorial Oriente in Cuba, House of Nehesi in Sint Maarten, Ian Randle Publishers in Jamaica and Éditions Desnel in Martinique, among others.

6

Caribbean literatures across the world

Without a doubt, the Caribbean is one of the most productive cultural and literary regions in the world. Particularly since the thirties of the 20th century, they have become a fertile ground for the development of cultural theories that are not only European construction and projection material, but also foster a personal theoretical production that has strong continental and transcontinental repercussions. The most recent theoretical essays propose understanding the insular worlds and the “world-islands” of the Caribbean in their relationality and as paradigms of a “tout-monde” (thus Martinique writer Édouard Glissant), as examples of intercultural processes throughout the world. Caribbean literatures are simultaneously a sounding board and experimental field of these theories.

While from the independence movements well into the 20th century, the topic of identity dominated in Caribbean literature, a radical transformation takes place from the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st. In most recent literary productions the questioning of fixed and essentialist identities prevails, they are rather thought of in terms of relationality, heterogeneity, hybridity, difference and diversity. Thereby, Caribbean literatures have become artistic productions that display the processes of and in Caribbean worlds as paradigms of world processes. Consequently, they are literatures in the world and of the world. In this sense, they have been referred to, not as exile, migration or diaspora literature, but as literature “without fixed abode”

(according to German academic Ottmar Ette). The statement made by the character of the novel *Le goût des jeunes filles* (1992), by Haitian writer Dany Laferrière, who lived in Canada and France, may be seen as a symbol of this phenomenon: “Je n’avais pas quitté Haiti pour tomber chez les Haitiens de la diaspora [...] Grâce à cette voiture, je commençais doucement à sortir de Montréal [...] pour devenir un voyageur. Si l’immigrant est immobile, le voyageur, lui, bouge sans cesse.”(17,31) (“I did not leave Haiti to fall among the Haitians of the diaspora. [...] Thanks to this car, I have begun to slowly leave Montreal. If the immigrant is still, the traveler moves continuously.”)

7

Thinking the Caribbean from the perspective of literature

The busy waters of the Caribbean Sea, which should be more accurately called Sea of the Caribs because its inhabitants lent it their name, have idly been assimilated into the Mediterranean Sea. Like the sea that gave birth to Greeks and Romans, the Caribbean is the portentous origin of incessant material traffic as well as of symbolic transits: history and legend are barely distinguishable, and imaginary and real monsters draw their waters of ancient cartography, like tubby and harmless manatees, animated animals imagined as mermaids due to sea fever; or the marvelous deception of the axolotl, a miniature human reflection, a deformed toy, a minimal incarnation of what we were. There is a famous Caribbean that is reflected in novels, poetry and various arts: the Caribbean of Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico; that of small islands with curious, pirate-like names: Barbados, Cayman, Antigua and Martinique; and the splendid Colombian Caribbean, whose emblem, Cartagena de Indias, features a clay statuette set in the emerald color of the still sea.

Perhaps it wouldn't be bad to start from a lesser-known Caribbean, the one seen from *Tierra Adentro*, the Central American Caribbean, who no one thinks of when thinking the Caribbean. In Miguel Angel Asturias' final chapter of *Hombres de maíz* (Men of Maize) after traveling through the mountains of Guatemala, the protagonists end up in the north of the country, near Puerto

Barrios and Livingston, and there are two key places in that fragment: the Hotel King, supposedly located in the surroundings of Barrios, and the prison located in the *Castillo del Puerto* (Harbor Castle) (a transposition of what, in reality, is the Castle of San Felipe, on the banks of the Dulce River and Lake Izabal). The description of the Caribbean port is made from a *Tierra Fría* viewpoint:

[Nicho Aquino] turned up in a town, which looked as if it were built on garbage. The truth, you could see it, was that it was built on tops of lumps of old iron and planks, and columns of cement and tree trunks stuck in the water of the sea, all briny and sticky, and stinking of malarial fever. Waterlogged shacks which you reached along rickety boardwalks and porches of rotting wood, some with glass windows which fell closed like guillotines, all with wire netting, and some other built right down on the bare hot earth, earth which stank of fish, with straw roofs and empty doorways like one-eyed men. Inside the houses a feeling of cats with catarrh. Mr. Nicho Aquino's point of view is clear. Used to the highland mountains, the sensation of salty rotteness invades him, since he does not know the place. But, as he arrives as a fugitive from justice, he has no choice but to get used to it and his job will be to serve the owner of the Hotel King, for whom he carries goods and other contraband to the Castillo del Puerto, which serves as a prison and a Caribbean microcosm. Prisoners there spend their time on vague conversations and entertaining crafts while they wait for their sentences to be served.

The prisoners. A hundred and twenty of them brutalized by eating and sleeping, and not doing anything. The sun dried out the atmosphere and the salt air they breathed kept them thirsty all the time. Fish without scales, smooth, moist, full. Those who went mad threw themselves into the sea from the towers. The water swallowed them up, followed by the sharks, and in the prison records a casualty was entered without a date. The date would be fixed when the dead man stopped eating, the day before some local bigwig came up from the town. Meanwhile the dead man went on eating for the benefit of the governor's pocket.

The two favorite amusements of the incarcerated are remarkable. On clear days they climb one of the towers since one of the guards told them that an island

called “Egropa” can be seen. They squint their eyes in a painful effort to make out something on the horizontal line that separates sky and sea. Someone thinks he sees a spot on the horizon and declares that he has certainly seen this island they speak of. And if it is not Europe, he conforms: perhaps it is another island, called “Cuba”. On other days, since the sea that hits the prison foundations with its waves is full of sharks, some black prisoners dive into the sea to fight the voracious fish, in a deadly dance highly similar to a bullfight. The only difference is that the shark hunter is naked and his suit of lights is ebony skin that glistens under water.

The Central American Caribbean is one of the least notorious and, therefore, one of the least literary. The fragment of Asturias is a jewel in the midst of a silence that turns its back on a sea rich in culture and suggestions. One may assume that there will be a great deal of orality in these sites, especially on the northern coast of Guatemala and Honduras, where the Garifuna culture reigns, which mixes English, Spanish, Hindi and Q’eqchí. So many stories and legends yet to be discovered! Some writers have dedicated works of the highest literary level to the Caribbean coast, like Alfonso Enrique Barrientos, with his *Cuentos de Belice*, or Roberto Quesada, with *Los barcos* (The Ships) and in Costa Rica, Anacristina Rossi stands out with her diptych about Port of Limón, or Tatiana Lobo, who creates magical realism with *Asalto al paraíso*. Although the works aforementioned are noteworthy, there is still much to be heard, much to be written (the case of *Got seif de Cuin* by Belizean David Ruiz, practically the only novel in Spanish in literature in that country, is interesting).

The literature emerging from the Caribbean Sea, on the other hand, is vast. Vast and polyglot. In the British language, in the Creole of the islands, in the language of the French and Dutch colonizers, great writers have exposed, to the world, that other world that is nourished by old uncontaminated roots and all the western culture, assimilated with anthropophagic voracity decanted by Oswald de Andrade. From tiny Saint Lucia comes Derek Walcott, who with his poem *Omeros* creates a Caribbean odyssey, with an epic power intensely resembling its Greek model. The Nobel Prize awarded to him in 1992 only confirmed his worldwide resonance. Edouard Glissant, a native of Santa Maria, is another key voice of Caribbean literature, with poetry that proudly vindicates *negritude*, the African slave roots of those voices that denounce

and rebel against colonization. Outside the realm of literature, but also within, Martinican Frantz Fanon's powerful voice called for decolonization, for the liberation of the human being in all its integrity and cannot be alien to literature. His *Los condenados de la tierra* (The wretched of the Earth) shocked the world and changed the vision of those born outside colonial empires forever, and intellectually encouraged many generations of young people from all continents who, by reading his work, became aware of the need to be free.

From a literary point of view the Spanish-speaking Caribbean is no less important. Actually, the Caribbean is a different universe from that of continental America, where political divisions, while artificial and manufactured, have led to differences, separations and even wars between brother countries. The Caribbean is an enormous maritime transaction. As at the night market of Tenochtitlan, merchant canoes negotiate their precious goods, bargain, talk, laugh and understand each other, rocked by the relentless and numbing surf. Mother is the sea, which belongs to everyone and to no one, which separates and communicates, which has the same salty taste everywhere, the same night heat tides. Father is Africa, the original continent of the grandparents and great-grandparents that dreams an unconscious of dark forests and extensive deserts. Africa, father and mother of all mankind.

Alejo Carpentier declared that everything in the Caribbean is both real and wonderful at the same time. Years later, García Márquez proved him right: the writer invents nothing, it's enough for him to transcribe reality to produce fantastic literature. An epigraph by Miguel Ángel Asturias recalls it: "Don't you see the things that happen? Better to call them novels!" Isn't it wonderful that Christopher Columbus believed all his life that he had discovered the West Indies and not that he had stumbled upon an entire continent? Doesn't it seem like a novel that a priest who started out as an *encomendero* in Santo Domingo has become, on seeing the atrocities against the Indians, their greatest defender, with the protection of the King of Spain himself? Aren't the vicissitudes of a mischievous man novel-like, who seduces women, seeks asylum in the Cathedral of Santiago de Cuba persecuted by justice, escapes and, crossing the sea, conquers the territory of the Aztecs until he becomes

the Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca? And the bloody fights between Pizarro and Almagro, rivers of blood at the dawn of Peru?

It is written, figuratively, by a coastal writer who confesses to having returned to Cartagena de Indias so as not to feel bad within a suffocating Europe: his Aureliano Buendías multiply in the caliginous solitude of marshes and tropical miasmas, while Melquiades writes those never-ending stories; it is written, as a chronicle, by Germán Arciniegas, with the rich prose of Bogota's Hispanic and scholarly tradition. His works are specular and tell the same story in two ways, whose title is the same: the masterful *Biografía del Caribe* (Caribbean, Sea of the New World), an exemplary confirmation of Carpentier's theses. From that *Biografía* we know that pirate Drake, terror of Caribbean gulfs, coves and ports, was a renowned knight in England with the title of "Sir", which evidences history's relativity; that Florentine Amerigo Vespucci had a sister who was a beauty queen and Botticelli's model, and that it was not he who gave the name to America, but some German monks who read his cartography of the continent; and that Amerigo was as imaginative and fanciful as Columbus: one saw cyclops and men with tails on explored lands; the other located the exact site of heaven on Earth in the Venezuelan Caribbean.

Agree with Carpentier? Could such fantastic reality give rise to nothing but fantastic literature? Who knows? Because marvelous reality is something you have to go and find. There is also a painful reality, made of flesh and blood, of profound human wickedness and insensitivity, of harshness and pain, which literature also captures in certain works. African slavery does not give rise to hyperbole or charming rhythms: it is horrendous and it is crude. Seeing the pattern of overcrowding on slave ships is enough for us to take a step back out of fright. Bloody dictatorships, permeated with ignorance and cruelty, which knew how to draw the worst from the human condition, may seem picturesque to those who did not experience it. Vast American imperialism, expressed in the United Fruit Company, arrogant, crushing and hateful, which subdued lands and men and disrespected entire nations, could only generate disgust and rebellion, repudiation and rebellion, hatred and rebellion.

Grand literature in Spanish is matched with the expressions of authors in other languages. Just the listing of some writers is breathtaking: Alejo Carpentier, Lydia Cabrera, Luis Palés Matos, Mayra Montero, José Lezama Lima, Dulce

Loynaz, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, Ana Lidia Vega, Esmeralda Santiago, Luis Rafael Sánchez, Eliseo Diego, Roberto Fernández Retamar... There is a Caribbean sea of literature fraught with quality, refinement, tradition. It's impossible to talk about each one without making a catalogue of several volumes. Better to choose, almost randomly, a couple of them.

Those who wish to know the Caribbean in depth, with wise and aristocratic Spanish prose, read Alejo Carpentier's novels. In them there is, above all, a dense exploration of human nature, of its highs and lows, seen in its passage through capital history, which is collected in books learned at school. The first great American revolution, the Haitian slave revolt of 1791, collects, in *El reino de este mundo* (The Kingdom of this World) the paradoxical story of Henri-Christophe, who eradicates one injustice to create another. And with even greater encouragement and patience, the adventures of Victor Hughes in *El siglo de las luces* (Explosion in a cathedral) raise the great question about revolutions: so much struggle, so much intrigue, so much blood and sacrifice so that, after a few years, nations will find themselves as they were before? Carpentier's underlying pessimism plunges in *El recurso del método* (Reasons of state), an unholy portrait of an enlightened liberal dictator, a kind of summary of many Latin American dictators. One of his last works, *La consagración de la primavera* (The Rite of Spring), gives an account of the adherence to the Cuban Revolution, and is the most optimistic of all. Carpentier is a legitimate Caribbean writer not only because he travels through the history of the area with a literary lens, attentive to the search for the furies and sorrows of human beings. He is a legitimate Caribbean writer because of the extreme care he takes in his use of the Spanish language, a direct heir to the Spanish Golden Age and the telluric roots of the Antillean islands.

In poetry, Nicolás Guillén delves into what great Cuban thinker Fernando Ortiz called "transculturation". He has no qualms about turning the way of speaking of mulatto people into poetry: "*Bito Manué, tú no sabe inglés,/ tú no sabe inglés,/ tú no sabe inglés*", ("Bito Manué, you don't know English,/ you don't know English,/ you don't know English,") he scoffs, and goes on: "*lamericana te busca,/ y tú le tiene que huí/ tu inglés era de etrái guan/ de etrái guan y de guan, tu, tri...*" ("lamericana looks for you, /and you have to flee from her/ your English was of *etrái* one/ of *etrái* one and of one, two,

three...”). Parallel to many of the avant-garde experiments, in particular the incessant work on metaphor (which his generation will turn into *jitanjáfora*), in a certain sense Guillén is the Lorca of the Antilles (the Andalusian poet’s passing through Cuba, before facing his tragic destiny, is triumphal). In Guillén, poetry is form, language, a lexical and phonetic discovery. And it is the pride of African descent. With a rhythmic jolt, the poetry of Guillén gets rid of the colonial complex, and presents with solidity and boldness the brilliant form of a Caribbean Spanish, full of music, rhythm, joy and mastery of the language. Also, in melancholic verses, the search for identity that the hybridity of origins entails, and which are told in “*El apellido*” (My last name): “From some fiery country, pierced/ by the great equatorial arrow,/ I know that distant cousins will come, / remote anguish of mine shot in the wind; [...] Will I be Yelofe? /Nicholas Yelofe, perhaps? / Or Nicolas Bakongo? / Maybe Guillen Banguila? / Or Kumbá?/ Maybe Guillen Kumbá?/ Or Kongué?/ Could it be Guillen Kongué?/ Oh, who knows!/ What an enigma among the waters!” Guillén’s search involves an immersion in Spanish-African origins and a particularly brilliant linguistic experimentation. With other Caribbean authors, by adhering to “negritude”, Guillén proudly displays and proclaims his origins and also claims for his slave ancestors.

Spanish-language literature owes the Caribbean the discovery and rise of a genre that lies on the border between literature and history: testimony. Testimonial literature is not an autobiography, because in most cases the narrator tells his life to an intellectual, who has the tools to turn oral discourse into written discourse. Nor is it history, because the narrated facts are based on a personal memory, and we all know that our memory is compassionate and protective, so we refer not the facts, but the memory of the facts, often drawn by the unconscious. And it is not fiction either, because it refers what Bernal called “the seen and the lived”. This hybrid genre is inaugurated with *Biografía de un cimarrón* (Biography of a Runaway Slave), by Miguel Barnet, who gathers the testimony of Esteban Montejo, a slave who fled from a sugar mill. With Barnet, the testimonial canon that will culminate in the impressive *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú* is created. The important thing about this note is that we owe the Caribbean area the invention of a literary genre that dominated the Hispanic American literary scene for a couple of decades. The testimony was literature and was also history; it was literature and also a weapon of combat

in the intellectual struggle for the liberation of peoples. For the first time since colonial times, the defeated took the floor to tell the world their version of the story, which was often at odds with the official version.

And we cannot end this brief presentation of Caribbean literature with what we might call, paraphrasing a famous expression, the Pilgrim Caribbean. Caribbean artists, away from their land due to different reasons, have found ways to express themselves from abroad, in any of their languages. Esmeralda Santiago, who immigrated to the United States from Puerto Rico, has a solid North American academic background and has written three autobiographical volumes, in English, which critics have celebrated for their power and novelty. Junot Díaz, from the Dominican Republic, is also successful with works written in English, but whose themes have roots in the place of origin.

A vast round region populated by islands that dispute the sea for their territory, a bubble in perpetual and creative turmoil, the Caribbean is literary even in its famous confusions. We all know that “cannibal” is a distortion, since someone’s bad hearing transformed the name of the “Caribs” into a word that later became a synonym of anthropophagy. We know now that the only anthropophagy we can speak seriously about, regarding the region, is that hunger for knowledge and culture that characterizes its inhabitants: “he cannibalized Spanish literature first and then French literature. In doing so, he acquired the qualities of the devoured,” says José Emilio Pacheco about Rubén Darío. And Shakespeare’s Calibán is adopted by Fernández Retamar to vindicate the specificity of our literature, produced in a region that we increasingly call “Our America”, following the lesson of another great essential Caribbean, José Martí. It is true that the Caribbean has always thought of itself as unique. And it has always thought of itself through literature.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Man with accordion in Viejo San Juan plaza, Puerto Rico
<https://pxhere.com/en/photo/1443515>

ILLUSTRATIONS



Hamel Alley, Havana, Cuba. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Callejon_de_Hamel._Centro_Habana,_La_Habana,_Cuba._Agosto_de_2016_07.jpg



Old Havana, Cuba. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Street_3_La_Habana_Vieja.JPG



Aerial view of Queen's Park Savannah, Trinidad and Tobago. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:QPS-picfromhilton23.jpg>

Caribbean writers

JULIA ÁLVAREZ

Julia was born in New York in 1950 but lived in the Dominican Republic until she was ten years old, when her family had to go into exile in the United States due to her involvement in the opposition under the dictatorship of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo. There she has written novels, poems and essays in English that address her migratory experience, the challenges associated with life amongst different languages and cultures and also central moments in the history of her country of origin. From among her historical novels, *In the Time of the Butterflies* (1994) and *In the Name of Salomé* (2000) stand out. In the first book, Álvarez narrates the life of the Mirabal sisters, famous opponents of Trujillo who were killed by his henchmen. In the 2000 novel, Álvarez focuses on the figures of Salomé Ureña -consecrated poet of the Dominican Republic- and her daughter Camila Henríquez Ureña, an important literary critic and essayist. In addition to devoting herself to literature, Julia Álvarez is involved in important social and political activity related to the Dominican Republic and especially to the difficult relationship of that country with Haiti.

REINALDO ARENAS FUENTES

The Cuban novelist, playwright and poet was born in Aguas Claras in 1943. Initially collaborating with the revolution, he became one of the most prominent dissidents persecuted for his homosexuality and for his criticism of the government of Fidel Castro. He was only able to publish one book in Cuba, *Celestino antes del Alba* (1967). It is the first of a series of five novels that thematizes and criticizes the revolution: *El palacio de las blanquísimas mofetas* (1980), *Otra vez el mar* (1982), *El asalto* (1988) and *El color del verano o Nuevo Jardín de las Delicias* (1999). His autobiography *Antes que anochezca* (1969), written in the seventies (and published posthumously in 1992) has become one of the most representative literary texts by the Cuban intellectual. His *El mundo alucinante* (1969) is one of the most innovative novels in the Latin American boom and has been considered by critics as one of the founding Neo-Baroque texts. In 1987 he was diagnosed with AIDS and three years later he committed suicide in New York.

EULALIA BERNARD LITTLE

Afro-Costa Rican poet, intellectual, activist and educator. Born in 1935 in Puerto Limón, Costa Rica, of Jamaican parents, Eulalia Bernard Little is part of the second-generation Antillean immigrants who moved to the Central American Caribbean area, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in search of job opportunities that plantation economy and the development of railway infrastructure generated. Her poetic work digs into the significance of being black in Costa Rica, a nation historically imagined as white and which, at the same time, maintains an affective and political bond with Africa and the insular Caribbean. Her black political activism took hold during the seventies, when she published her first recorded poetry book *Negritud* (1976) and proposed

and directed the Puerto Limón Educational Plan. Later, she would also publish poetry books *Ritmohéroe* (1982), *My Black King* (1991), *Ciénaga* (2001) and *Tatuaje* (2011), as well as the philosophical essay *Nuevo ensayo sobre la existencia y la libertad política* (1981). Her writings and political action evidence the circulation of blackness and decolonization discourses, the civil struggles of the sixties, Pan-Africanism and the Afrocentric trend; moreover, they offer a critical view on the possibilities of access for the Afro-descendant population to full citizenship in Costa Rica.

JUAN EMILIO BOSCH GAVIÑO

Dominican storyteller, essayist and politician. He was born in La Vega in 1909, son of Spanish parents. He was elected president of the Dominican Republic in 1962 and overthrown by a coup in 1963. For more than a quarter of a century he was an opposition leader against the dictatorship of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo. Persecuted and imprisoned for his political ideas, he had to go into exile in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Spain. His literary work includes his prolific storytelling, which influenced Latin American *boom* authors, especially Gabriel García Márquez, and his political and historical essays. Among his story books are *Cuentos escritos en el exilio* (1962), *Más cuentos escritos en el exilio* (1962) and *Cuentos escritos antes del exilio* (1962) that became the founding works for Spanish-speaking Caribbean storytelling, literary genre which he also theorized about in several essays. In his political and historical essays he developed an anti-imperialist way of thinking that differed and distanced itself from communist and pro-Castro currents. His noteworthy essays are: *El pentagonismo, sustituto del imperialismo* (1966), *De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro* (1969) and *El Caribe: frontera imperial* (1970). He died in Santo Domingo in 2001.

EDWARD KAMAU BRATHWAITE

He was born in Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados, in 1930. The name Kamau, with which he published his work, was adopted by him in Ghana, where he worked between 1955 and 1962. This name change reflects his project for the recovery of African roots, which informs his poetic production and his research in literary and cultural history. His first poems appeared in the fifties in the influential *BIM* magazine, where George Lamming and Derek Walcott also published. In 1951 he migrated to England to study history at the University of Cambridge. In 1968 Brathwaite obtained a doctorate in History from the University of Sussex, England, with a thesis subsequently published as *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (1971). The following stand out within his vast poetic work: *Rights of Passage* (1967), *Masks* (1968) and *Islands* (1969), which make up the trilogy *The Arrivants* (1973), *Black + Blues* (1976), *Third World Poems* (1983), *X/Self* (1986), *Middle Passages* (1992), *Trenchtown Rock* (1992), *Barbajan Poems* (1994), *Dream Stories* (1994), *Words Need Love Too* (2000), *Ancestors* (2001), *MR (Magical Realism)* (2002), *Elegguas* (2010), *Liviticus* (2017) and *The Lazarus Poems* (2017). His poetry is characterized by mixing elements of Caribbean popular culture with musical rhythms and rescuing the memory of slavery.

GUILLERMO CABRERA INFANTE

Born in 1929 in Cuba, he was a novelist, storyteller, screenwriter, critic and essayist. The son of communist parents, he was persecuted by the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and actively supported the Cuban revolution. He was the Deputy Director of the *Lunes de Revolución* cultural supplement of the official *Revolución* newspaper (today *Granma*). As of 1961, he became one of the most critical intellectuals of the restrictive censorship policy of Fidel Castro's government against intellectuals and artists. Sent as a cultural attaché to the Cuban embassy in Belgium, on his return to Cuba in 1965 he was imprisoned for several months and managed to go into exile, first in Madrid and Barcelona, then in London, where he died in 2005. During his exile in London he published his novel *Tres tristes tigres* (1968), where, with experimental language, he recreates the Havana nightlife on the eve of the revolution. He also published *Vista del amanecer en el trópico* (1964), the autobiographical novel *La Habana para un infante difunto* (1979) and the novel *La ninfa inconstante* (2008), published posthumously, as well as story books, film criticism and film scripts. In 1997 he received the Miguel de Cervantes Spanish Language Literature Prize.

ALEJO CARPENTIER

This Cuban writer was born in Switzerland in 1904 and died in France in 1980. Much of his training took place in Havana, Cuba, settling later in Paris. He was a notable cultural journalist, essayist, musicologist, editorial project manager; but, above all, novelist. His contact with Europe and the Caribbean provided him a broad perspective which influenced what his proposal on Latin American narrative would be: magical realism. Carpentier formulates a narrative style defined by extraordinary elements, but conceived as common and quotidian to American reality. His first novel, *¡Écue-Yamba-Ó!* (1933), anticipates his interest in Afro-Cuban issues, political criticism and colorful language. But it is his next novel, *El reino de este mundo* (1949), in which he reveals what his baroque style and critical perspective on the colonial past of Latin America would be. His next novels, among which we find *Los pasos perdidos* (1953), *El siglo de las luces* (1962), *Concierto barroco* (1974) and *El arpa y la sombra* (1979), as well as his essay work, place him as one of the most influential writers in Hispanic literature. In 1977 he received the Miguel de Cervantes Spanish Language Literature Prize.

AIMÉ CÉSAIRE

Born in Basse-Point, Martinique, in 1913, he was an intellectual, poet and Caribbean politician. At age 18 he obtained a scholarship from the French government that allowed him to study literature at the Normal Superior School in Paris. With Senegalese Léopold Sédar Senghor and Guyanese Léon Gontran Damas, he founded the cultural and literary magazine *L'Étudiant Noir* (1934-1940), aimed at promoting the creative freedom of all blacks and criticizing French assimilation policies. In Paris, Césaire married Martinican professor Suzanne Roussi. In 1939 the couple returned to Martinique, where Aimé Césaire worked as a teacher at the Victor Schœlcher High

School in Fort-de-France. Among his students were intellectuals Frantz Fanon and Édouard Glissant. That same year he published his first poembook, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, starting a life dedicated to writing. In 1941 he founded, together with his wife and other collaborators, the *Tropiques* magazine, which was published until 1945. His work includes seven books of poetry, four dramatic texts and various essays very relevant to anticolonial thought. In 1945, once World War II was over, Césaire joined the French Communist Party and was elected mayor of Fort-de-France and deputy for Martinique in the National Assembly. He was mayor until 2001 and deputy until 1993, positions he held from 1958, linked to the Parti Progressiste Martiniquais. As a politician he was involved in the ending of the colonial period of the island and its transformation into DROM. At age 95 he died (in 2008) in Fort-de-France, Martinique, leaving an important intellectual legacy that situates him in a fundamental place in the history of Caribbean thought.

MARYSE CONDÉ

Born in 1937 in Guadeloupe. In 1953 she moved to Paris where she earned a PhD in Comparative Literature at the University of Sorbonne. She lived and worked for several years as a teacher in Guinea, Ghana and Senegal, France and the United States. She is a novelist, storyteller and essayist. In her novels she deals with racial, gender and cultural issues and with the relations between the Caribbean, Africa, Europe and the Americas. Her novels that stand out include *Heremakhonon* (1976), *Une saison à Rihata* (1981), *Segou* (1984-1985), *Traversée de la mangrove* (1995), *Desirada* (1997) and *Les belles ténébreuses* (2008). She also published plays and literature for young people. In her numerous essays she has dealt with gender matters, cultural identities and the critique of *negritude* and *créolité*. Among her literary studies, her work on female writers in the Francophone Caribbean is noted. In 2018 she won the Alternative Nobel Prize in Literature.

PATRICK CHAMOISEAU

He is one of the main authors in the Francophone Caribbean, born in Fort-de-France, Martinique, in 1953. He studied Law and Social Economy in Paris and returned to his native island deeply interested in *créole* culture. His writing has developed in a wide range of genres: novel, story, essay and film script. His narrative work constitutes a very original reworking of Martinican oral tradition, where he emphasizes his interest in disappearing cultural forms on the island, such as storytellers or the social fabric surrounding popular markets. From his first novel, *Crónica de las siete miserias* (1986), Chamoiseau establishes a new linguistic style that incorporates the dynamism of his mother tongue (the *créole*) into French. He achieves international success with his novel *Texaco*, which receives the Goncourt Prize in 1992. This text chronicles the suffering of three generations of Afro-Caribbeans: the slavery era, the migration of former slaves to the city and the life of popular classes in Fort-de-France in the second half of the 20th century. In 1989 he published, in co-authorship with Raphaël Confiant and Jean Bernabé, *Elogio de la creolidad*, a manifesto that proposes to

consider Caribbean identity from a marginal and minority culture such as the *créole* culture. This essay, which was initially read as a conference, proposes thinking about identity from the violent fracture caused by colonialism and the resistance to the blows of globalization by revealing an open, dynamic, complex and above all diverse culture. He has received the Prix Carbet (Carbet Award, 1993), the Prince Claus Award (1999) and the RFO Book Award (2008).

EDWIDGE DANTICAT

Born in 1969 in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, her parents emigrated to the United States due to economic reasons when she was four years old, therefore she stayed at the house of her uncle, a pastor, who raised both she and her brother. At twelve she reunited with her parents in New York, where she had to learn English and deal with discrimination against Haitians she encountered in society and particularly at school. While in Haiti she spoke *créole* at home and French at school, she has written her work in English, language in which she finished her high school and university studies. The main topics she covers in her novels, essays, memoirs and poems have to do with Haitian reality and history and are nourished by the oral stories she heard during her childhood. She has participated in the translation of some of her own stories to Haitian *créole*, which have been broadcast on the radio in her country. Danticat is currently one of the best known and studied writers of the Haitian diaspora. Among her books, the following novels stand out: *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (1994), *The Farming of Bones* (1998), *The Dew Breaker* (2004) and *Claire of the Seelight* (2014, still without Spanish translation). Among her essay books are *Create Dangerously. The Immigrant Artist at Work* (2010) and *The Art of Death. Writing the Final Story* (2017, also without translation).

RENÉ DEPESTRE

Poet, novelist, essayist and political activist, he was born and spent his childhood in Jacmel, Haiti, and studied high school in Port-au-Prince, city in which he began his literary and political activity. In 1945 he founded *La Ruche* magazine with other intellectuals and published his first poetry book *Étincelles*. A year later he was arrested and had to go into exile as a result of his political activities opposing the government. Between 1946 and 1950 he lived in Paris, where he studied literature and political science at the Sorbonne University. After a life of moving to different countries with his wife, Edith Gombos Sorel, he settled in Cuba, where he participated in the revolution cultural project. In the 70s he distanced himself from the Cuban government and in 1978 he moved to Paris. The literary production of Depestre includes more than fifteen poem books published from 1945 onwards, among which stand out *Minerai noir*, from 1956; *Poète à Cuba*, 1976; *Écrire the «parole de nuit», la nouvelle littéraire antillaise*, from 1994; and *Rage de vivre, œuvres poétiques complètes*, from 2007, for which he was awarded with the Robert Ganzo prize that same year. His work in prose includes over fifteen essays and novels, underscoring the essays *Pour la révolution, pour la poésie*, of 1974; *Bonjour et adieu à la négritude*, 1980; and the novel *Hadriana dans tous mes rêves*, from 1988, for which he was awarded the Renaudot

Prize and the Société des gens de lettres novel Prize in France, and the l'Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature Françaises of Belgium novel Prize.

QUINCE DUNCAN

He is one of the fundamental references of Afro-Costa Rican literature. He was born in San José, Costa Rica, in 1940. The son of Antillean parents, English-speaking, he spent his childhood in the town of Estrada, in the Limón province on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica. At age 16 he moved with his mother to San José where he learned Spanish and completed his first studies. His long literary and humanitarian career is distinguished by a constant struggle in favor of human rights and fundamentally in favor of the recognition of cultural diversity and against segregation and racism. Narrator and essayist, Duncan has published books reworking the Afro-Caribbean oral tradition, apart from various works of literary criticism. His noteworthy essays among which are *El negro en la literatura costarricense* (1975), *El negro en Costa Rica* (1978, with Carlos Meléndez), *Contra el silencio* (2001), *El afrorealismo: una dimensión nueva de la literatura latinoamericana* (2005) and *Génesis y evolución del racismo real y doctrinario* (2009). He published a novel in English, *A Message from Rosa* (2004). Among his novels in Spanish are *Hombres curtidos* (1975), *La paz del pueblo* (1978), *Final de calle* (1979) and *Kimbo* (1989). Duncan's fiction work is set primarily in the Costa Rican Caribbean and represents the life of the country's black communities.

GABRIEL GARCÍA MÁRQUEZ

One of the most excellent narrators of Hispanic literature, who was born in Aracataca, Colombia in 1927 and died in Mexico City in 2014. He was one of the members of the so-called Latin American literature *boom* of the sixties. Additionally, he worked as a screenwriter, editor and journalist. Despite the fact that he never completed a higher education, Columbia University granted him an Honorary Doctorate of Letters. García Márquez was the first Colombian and the fourth Latin American to win the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1982 for his novels and stories, in which fantasy and reality come together in a world of imagination and realism. The author positions Spanish-American narrative at the forefront of world literature with the publishing of his novel *Cien años de soledad* (1967), a masterpiece of the *Magical Realism* literary movement. Other master works such as *El otoño del patriarca* (1975), *Crónica de una muerte anunciada* (1981) and *El amor en los tiempos del cólera* (1985) also marked his literary career. His last published texts are *Memoria de mis putas tristes* (2004) and *Yo no vengo a decir un discurso* (2010).

ÉDOUARD GLISSANT

Novelist, poet, essayist, thinker and politician born in 1928 in Martinique. Beginning in 1946 he studied anthropology and philosophy at the Sorbonne University in Paris. From his foundational essay *Le Discours antillais* (1981) through *Poétique de la Relation* (1990), *Introduction à une poétique du divers* (1995) and *Traité du Tout-Monde* (1997)

to *Philosophie de la relation* (2009), Glissant has immensely influenced Caribbean, European and American thought. Among his novels we may note *La Lézarde* (1958), *Mahagony* (1987), *Tout-Monde* (1993) and *Ormerod* (2003), and among his poetry books *Le Sel Noir* (1960), *La Terre inquiète* (1995) and *Pays rêvé, pays réel* (1985). In his literary and philosophical work, he has dealt with the “Caribbean condition” as a paradigm of *créolisation* processes in the world and with multiple or “rhizomatic” cultural identities, contrasting these relational identities (*identité relation*) to root identity (*identité racins*). He participated in various political movements and engaged in anti-colonial struggle throughout his life. He died in 2011 in Paris.

NICOLÁS GUILLÉN

Known as the national poet of Cuba, he was born in Camaguey in 1902 and died in Havana in 1989. He was a poet, journalist and political activist, and throughout his life he was linked to Latin American and European intellectuals, and to American black poet Langston Hughes, among others. These contacts greatly marked his poetic production, characterized by his treatment of the mulatto mixed-race topic. His literary career is also characterized by political and social commitment, and by the affirmation of Afro-Antillean culture through poetic language of remarkable musical resonance. From his first poems, *Motives de son* (1930), *Songoro cosongo. Poemas mulatos* (1931), *West Indies Ltd.* (1934), and over the next four decades with poem books such as *El son entero* (1947), *La paloma de vuelo popular* (1958), *Tengo* (1964), *Poemas de amor* (1964), *El gran zoológico* (1967), *La rueda dentada* (1972), among others, his poetic voice has had great influence on Caribbean, Latin American and European literature.

C.L.R. JAMES

Writer, journalist and leader of the Pan-Africanist movement, he was one of the most influential Caribbean intellectuals of the 20th century. His work, covering from fiction to political-historiographic essays, is at the core of Pan-African and Marxist thought. He was born, raised and formed in Trinidad and Tobago, where, during his youth, he participated in magazines and literary collectives. His story “Triumph” (1929) and his novel *Minty Alley* (1936) launches the *Barrack Yard* realistic current, name derived from the typical low-income housing construction throughout the Anglophone Caribbean. In 1932 James migrated to England, thus beginning a long life of displacement to Europe, the United States, Latin America, Africa and back to Trinidad, where he briefly collaborated with the first independent government of Eric Williams in the sixties. His intellectual output in English includes several journalistic pieces that analyze, on the one hand, the colonial relations between the Caribbean and England at a cultural and political organization level and, on the other hand, the social struggles of Afro-descendant Antillean workers in Anglo-Saxon capitals. In 1934 he wrote the play *Toussaint Louverture*. This text is a major precedent for *The Black Jacobins* (1938), book that reconstructs Haitian revolution history from a regional perspective and is considered central within the author’s work and studies on the Caribbean. He died in London in 1989 at age 88 and was buried in his hometown Tunapuna, in Trinidad.

CLAUDIA JONES

Writer, political and cultural activist, born in Trinidad and Tobago in 1915, whose life and work have been recently recovered and made visible along with those of other Afro-Caribbean and left-wing intellectual women. She identified these factors as reasons to justify her deportation from the United States in the early fifties, and her subsequent migration to London. Some of her poems have been recovered from that period and their themes vary between individual memory and political commitment; for example, "There are some things one always remembers" (1958) and "For Consuela-Anti-Fascista" (1955). In addition, her influence on the mobilization and assertion of the presence of the Antillean diaspora in the United Kingdom is underscored. This includes her work as founder and editor of the first newspapers directed by and towards black community: *West Indian Gazette* and the *Afro-Asian Caribbean News*, in 1958. For Jones, the clear link between culture and politics influences her decision to create the first Caribbean carnival in 1959, celebrated to this day as Notting Hill Carnival, as well as several of her press essays, such as "A People Art is the Genesis of their Freedom" (1959) and "The Caribbean Community in Britain" (1964). She died in the United Kingdom in 1964.

DANY LAFERRIÈRE

He was born in 1953 in Haiti, a country he had to flee from at the age of twenty-three after a journalist friend he worked with was killed by the guard of Dictator Duvalier. In his exile in Canada, he had to take up various trades to survive until the success of his novel *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer* (1985) enabled him to devote himself to literature. The work of Laferrière highlights the ironic and humorous handling of important issues in Haitian and Caribbean literary production: migratory experience, racist stereotypes regarding black men, and the place of culture and literature in stories of countries in the region. Laferrière writes in French but incorporates Haitian creole words and expressions into his literature. He has received several awards for his novels, including the Medici Award for *El enigma del regreso* (2009). He currently resides in Paris, where he is part of the French Academy.

EDUARDO LALO

Born in Cuba in 1960, but has lived in Puerto Rico since he was two years old. He has studies in higher education at Columbia University in New York and at the Sorbonne University in Paris. He has directed two medium-length films: *Donde* and *La ciudad perdida*. He stands out as a narrator, essayist, university professor, plastic artist and photographer. His literature is difficult to define generically. From his first work, *En el Burger King de la calle San Francisco*, published in 1986, he orchestrates his hybrid and fragmented narrative style in which he bonds essay and fiction. Since then he has emphasized on representing the city of San Juan and Puerto Rico in his literature. In *La inutilidad* (2004), its core is the city, seen from the perspective of the emigrant who is received as a foreigner. In 2006 he received the Juan Gil-Albert City of Valencia

Award for his essay *Los países invisibles*. But it is not until 2013, with the Rómulo Gallegos Prize for his novel *Simone*, that the Hispanic world recognizes his work and his recurring topic: invisibility and writing. In this way, the image that Lalo draws of the city is opposed to another image, imposed by market forces and, in the case of Puerto Rico, by direct colonial domination: that of a cheerful, heavenly, tourist Caribbean. His most recent works are *Intemperie* (2016) and *Intervenciones* (2018).

JESÚS ABRAHAM "TATO" LAVIERA

He is one of the most popular writers of the Puerto Rican diaspora and is part of the so-called *Nuyorican* poet group. Born in Puerto Rico in 1951, he moved to New York City with his family when he was ten years old and lived there until his death in 2013. He studied at Cornell University and Brooklyn University, although never finished his studies. The work of this Puerto Rican author of mulatto origin is greatly influenced by Afro-Caribbean poetry and African cultural symbols and musical rhythms. In his verses, the author uses word games between Spanish and English, which reflect his Puerto Rican culture in contact with the Anglo-Saxon culture, in addition to accentuating his cultural and linguistic hybridity. The author captivated literary criticism with the publication of his first poem book *La Carreta Made a U-Turn* (1979), a work that questions the classic drama *La carreta* (1952), by Puerto Rican author René Marqués. Moreover, *Enclave* (1981) stands out, a poem book that praises the Afro-Caribbean heritage of its author, and his third poem collection, *AmeRican* (1985), a work that celebrates the ethnic diversity of America.

JOSÉ LEZAMA LIMA

He was born in Havana in 1910, where he died in 1976. Poet, novelist, storyteller and essayist. Literary criticism visualizes him as one of the leading representatives of the so-called American Neo-baroque, characterized by the experimental and fruitful use of metaphors, allegories and allusions. His outstanding work in this sense is his only novel published in life *Paradiso* (1966) which, according to Spanish newspaper *El Mundo*, is among the one hundred best novels of the 20th century. He developed his aesthetic-political ideas in a series of essays, among them *Analecta del reloj* (1953), *Tratados en La Habana* (1958), *La cantidad hechizada* (1970) and especially *La expresión americana* (1957), a work in which he develops a complex conception of the "American condition" distinguishing between insular and continental sensitivity, represented by Cuba and Mexico, respectively. He held several cultural positions after the revolution and was especially linked to the Casa de las Américas cultural institute. However, he distanced himself increasingly from the official socialist realism policy of the Cuban government and in the last years of his life he lived in *insile* (internal exile).

PEDRO MIR

He was born as the son of a Cuban father and a Puerto Rican mother in the Dominican Republic in 1913, where he died in 2000. He began publishing poems since the thirties. In 1947 he had to go into exile in Cuba for his social poetry, due to the

persecution conducted by the dictatorship of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo. He lived there until 1962 and from 1968 he worked as a professor at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo. In 1984, the National Congress of the Dominican Republic declared him "National Poet of the Dominican Republic." In his poetry, social criticism and anti-imperialism prevail, as in his best known poem "Contracanto a Walt Whitman" (1952). He also published the novel *Cuando amaban las tierras comuneras* (1978) and the historical-political essay *Las raíces dominicanas de la doctrina Monroe* (1974).

NANCY MOREJÓN

She is one of the most significant poets of contemporary Cuban literature. Born in Havana in 1944, she is part of a generation of writers formed on the eaves of the revolutionary process, which began in 1959. She began her literary career at the mythical publishing house El Puente, which, in the early sixties, brought together several young authors, including poets and playwrights such as Miguel Barnet, Georgina Herrera, Gerardo Fullea León and Nicolás Dorr. The work of Morejón consists of over a dozen volumes of poetry, which contain *Mutismos* (1962), *Amor, ciudad atribuida* (1964), *Richard trajo su flauta y otros argumentos* (1967), *Parajes de una época* (1979), *Elogio de la danza* (1982), *Octubre imprescindible* (1982), *Cuaderno de Granada* (1984), *Piedra pulida* (1986), *Paisaje célebre* (1993), *La Quinta de los Molinos* (2000), *Cántico de la huella* (2002), *Ana Mendieta* (2003), *Pierrot y la luna* (2005), *Carbones silvestres* (2006) and *Peñalver 51* (2010). In his poetic work, Morejón seeks to reconstruct Cuban historical memory incorporating the experience of Afro-descendants and especially of women. This is seen in two of his best-known poems, "Mujer negra" and "Amo a mi amo": the first focuses on black women throughout different stages of Cuban history and the second accounts for the sexual abuse many enslaved women suffered. Morejón also documents the urban life of Havana and, in particular, Afro-Cuban traditions and religions.

VIDIADHAR SURAJPRASAD NAIPAUL

Writer of Indian descent born in 1932 in Trinidad and Tobago (his grandparents were Indian immigrants who worked at cocoa plantations on the island). In 1950 he moved to England where he studied art at the University of Oxford. He wrote novels, travel books and essays, whose main themes are the rescue of forgotten stories and cultures, memory and cultural alienation in the colonized world. Among his best-known works are novels *A House for Mr Biswas* (1961), *In a Free State* (1971), *Guerrillas* (1975) and *A Bend in the River* (1979), as well as the non-fiction books *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Societies - British, French and Dutch in the West Indies and South America* (1962), *An Area of Darkness* (1964), *India: A Wounded Civilization* (1977) and *The Writer and the World: Essays* (2002). In 2001 he won the Nobel Prize in Literature. He died in London in 2018.

JEAN RHYS

Born in 1890 in Dominica, island of the Lesser Antilles, which was then part of the British Empire. At sixteen she moved to London, where she tried to pursue a career as an actress.

She also lived in Paris, where she linked up with avant-garde artists and writers. Stories of marginalized women, subject to situations of patriarchal domination, play a central role in her narrative. Her best-known novel is *Ancho Mar de los Sargazos* (1966), in which she gives life and voice to Bertha Mason, a Jamaican character who embodies the madness of the tropics in *Jane Eyre* by Charlotte Brontë. In this prequel to the Victorian classic, Rhys describes, in an avant-garde language, the nature, religions and racial tensions that Caribbean society went through and which she grew up in. She died in Britain in 1979.

ESMERALDA SANTIAGO

She was born in Puerto Rico in 1948 and moved to the city of Brooklyn, New York at age thirteen, with her mother and ten siblings. She completed her academic training in the United States and graduated from the School of Performing Arts, Harvard University and Sarah Lawrence College. In 1994 she began her literary career with the publishing of *When I was Puerto Rican*. A second memoir, *Almost a Woman* (1999), appears five years later and, in 2004, *The Turkish Lover*. Her autobiographical works narrate her childhood in Puerto Rico, her youth in New York, her feelings of exile, migration experiences and her search for personal identity. Santiago is part of a group of Latino writers who write, in English, about their life experiences in the diaspora. She covers migration, gender, social class and language issues and defends a hybrid Puerto Rican identity.

MAYRA SANTOS-FEBRES

She was born in Carolina, Puerto Rico, in 1966. Her literary career began with the publishing of her poetry book *Unamú y Manigua* in 1990, where she promptly establishes themes and styles that will be central to her following literary work, such as, for example, women, blackness and West-Indian religious syncretism. She has also cultivated the genres of novel, story, and essay, with notable acceptance by Puerto Rican and Latin American critics. Her work, among which the collection of short stories *Pez de vidrio* (1994), novels *Sirena Selena vestida de pena* (2000), *Nuestra Señora de la Noche* (2006), *Fe en disfraz* (2009), *La amante de Gardel* (2015) stand out, and her essay books, in which she has profoundly elaborated on the topics of gender, race, city and identity, have placed her among the most recognized contemporary Puerto Rican writers. In addition, she has been a promoter of Hispanic literature and its contemporary writers through the remarkable executive management of the Festival of the Word, an initiative that has put Puerto Rican literature in contact with that of the rest of Latin America, Spain and the Hispanic diaspora in the United States.

SEVERO SARDUY

Born in Cuba in 1937, he moved to Paris in 1960 to study Art History. There he linked up with the group of intellectuals and writers surrounding the *Tel Quel* magazine and worked as a publisher's reader at the Éditions du Seuil publishing house. He published novels, poems, essays and radio dramas. Criticism has characterized him as a representative of Latin American Neo-Baroque, on which he theorized in his books

Barroco (1974) and *Ensayos generales sobre el barroco* (1987). His novels and poems deal with homosexuality and transvestism and are characterized by their linguistically experimental character. His novels *Gestos* (1963), *De donde son los cantantes* (1967), *Cobra* (1972), *Maitreya* (1978), *Colibrí* (1988) and *Pájaros de la playa* (1993), issued a month after his death in Paris, stand out. He won the Medici Prize in 1972.

SIMONE SCHWARZ-BART

She was born in 1938 in Guadeloupe. She studied in Pointe-à-Pitre, Paris and Dakar. With her husband, writer André Schwarz-Bart, she lived in Senegal, Switzerland, France and Guadeloupe. She published novels *Un plat de pirc aux bananas vertes* (1967) and *La Mulâtresse Solitude* (1972, both written with her husband), *Pluie et vent sur Télumée Miracle* (1972) and *Ti Jean l'horizon* (1979). Cultural traditions of Caribbean populations and male dominant relationships are among the key themes in her literary work. Also, her historical-encyclopedic work in six volumes published in 1989, *Hommage à la femme noire*, is dedicated to the rescue of black women omitted from official stories in various regions of the world.

DEREK WALCOTT

He was a poet, playwright and watercolor painter from Saint Lucia. Born into a middle-class family in Castries in 1930, Walcott published his first poetry book at age 19, *25 Poems* (1948), and then *Epitaph for the Young: XII Cantos* (1949). In 1950 he entered The University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica, to study English, French and Latin. After graduating he moved to Trinidad, where he began his playwright career and in 1959 he founded the *Trinidad Theater Workshop*. He taught literature and creative writing at several universities in the Caribbean, Europe and the United States. In 1992 Walcott was the third Caribbean to receive the Nobel Prize in Literature, after Trinidadian V. S. Naipaul and Guadeloupe-Frenchman Saint-John Perse. The following stand out from over twenty of his published volumes of poetry: *Poems* (1951), *In a Green Night: Poems 1948-60* (1962), *The Castaway and Other Poems* (1965), *The Gulf and Other Poems* (1969), *Another Life* (1973), *Sea Grapes* (1976), *The Star-Apple Kingdom* (1979), *Midsummer* (1984), *The Prodigal* (2004) and *White Egrets* (2010). One of his most important works is the long narrative poem *Omeros* (1990), which constitutes a free rewriting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, set in present-day Saint Lucia. In theater, his most outstanding works include *Henri Christophe* (1950), *Drums and Colours: An Epic Drama* (1958) and *Haitian Earth* (1984), which are part of a trilogy published in 2002 as *The Haitian Trilogy*, and *Dream on Monkey Mountain* (1967), *The Joker of Seville* (1974) and *Pantomime* (1978), among others. He is also the author of multiple essays, some gathered in the volume *What the Twilight Says* (1998). He died in 2017 in St. Lucia.

