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HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY IN CANOUAN,
BRITISH WEST INDIES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By
Bette Emeline Landman, B.S. in Educ., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by

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This dissertation—concerning social relationships on the West Indian island of Canouan—is the result of a preliminary field trip to St. Vincent and Grenada in the summer of 1964 and field work on Canouan and St. Vincent from September 1965 to May 1966. The latter work was supported by a grant (#1920) from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Both during the field work and during the writing of this dissertation, I was patiently guided by Dr. Erika E. Bourguignon. I am especially indebted to Dr. Bourguignon, for without her kind understanding and urging, this dissertation would not have been completed.

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Most of all, I extend my deepest gratitude to the people of Canouan, without whose openness, generosity, and kindness this research could not have been accomplished.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Despite the already rather voluminous literature on West Indian domestic organization, this study presents another variant on what has emerged as a relatively prevalent West Indian lower class Creole (Afro-American) domestic pattern. This variant is found on the small island of Canouan in the southern Caribbean.

This presentation, however, will not be devoted to domestic organization alone. I argue that the West Indian domestic unit cannot be fully understood unless we see how it articulates with the larger society, both at the level of wider contemporary society and, most important, within the island community itself. Last, because the rules of a social system are frequently best derived from observations of the factors that impinge upon enculturative processes, we shall examine how both the domestic unit and the community interact to provide a framework within which children are reared. It is my thesis that variations in child-rearing practices and family/household relations are not only a function of different parental mating patterns (see M. G. Smith, esp. 1962a, 1962b) but also of differential parental participation,
and its social evaluation, within the community in general. To reiterate, then, this study will focus on three aspects of Canouan society: first, it will examine the informal and formal groupings or social relations that act to integrate and define community on Canouan; second, it will examine the nature of Canouan domestic organization, testing the relationship and applicability to Canouan itself of some current hypotheses and generalizations about the West Indian family and household; and third, it will describe Canouan child rearing practices and parent-child relationships and attempt to relate these to the previously examined social units of community and family.

Certain aspects of Canouan culture and society make the island a desirable location for an examination of this sort. First, Canouan incorporates several features of West Indian society that are currently being explored and discussed by anthropologists and sociologists working in the West Indies. At the same time, it has a number of characteristics that have not been discussed before in Caribbean literature.

Typologically, Canouan residents do not fall into any of the contemporary social-rural classifications listed,
for example, by Elena Padilla for the Caribbean (1960).\(^1\)

Although nearly all household groups own and/or rent at least one small parcel of land on which subsistence crops and cash crops are raised, we shall see that few Canouan men engage in cultivation of crops as a dominant economic activity. Thus, unlike the "peasant" communities described for many other parts of the Caribbean (see Elena Padilla [1960: 26]; Michael Horowitz [1967], etc.), Canouan households normally do not operate as a unit of production. In addition, Canouan residents do not hire themselves out as laborers on plantations or on corporation owned enterprises. Rather, Canouan islanders are involved in numerous income producing activities both as a total community and as individuals. For example, a man may consider himself a sailor but may try to be home in time to help his wife clear the fields or harvest the crops. Also, he may become a member of a fishing crew between jobs or during his regular vacation from sailing.

Thus, it becomes difficult to discuss Canouan in

\(^1\)Peasantry—"an organizational type characterized by individual ownership of land or individual rights over the productive unit, family and kin co-operative labour, and the use of a simple technology to raise cash crops in addition to subsistence crops."

Farmers—"agricultural entrepreneurs, individual landowners who hire wage labour, or depend on sharecroppers or tenants for the cultivation of commercial crops."

Plantation Workers—workers associated with "corporation-owned and manager-operated enterprise." Padilla goes on to distinguish various subtypes within each of the larger categories (1960: 25-28).
terms of a uni-occupational typology. It is suggested that Canouan might be classified as characterized by "occupational plurality," a concept first defined by Lambros Comitas (1964) for certain areas of Jamaica and later discussed by Jerome Handler for Chalky Mount in Barbados (1965). Further, it appears that, for Canouan born men, changes in the focus of income producing activities correspond to changes in a man's age and his position of responsibility within the family.

Canouan's geographic location, climatic conditions, and level of technological development limit the types of cash producing activities available to its residents. At the same time, these conditions in conjunction with Canouan's contacts with and awareness of societies outside the community generate needs that cannot be fulfilled through the island resources. Thus, Canouan is almost entirely dependent on cash sources external to the island. Although not all of these cash sources are directly derived from wage-earning activities, the predominant employment pattern of Canouan born males is in occupations which require them to spend varying amounts of time away from the island. This phenomenon is not unique in the Caribbean area as numerous studies of plantation workers and of migratory wage laborers illustrate (e.g., Mintz 1956, González 1961, and Kathleen Wolf 1952; also see Otterbein 1965, Table 1, p. 72 for summary data from twenty other studies).
Canouan is unique in present Caribbean ethnographic literature in that sailing is its major occupational choice—an occupation that regularly keeps men at sea for several months to several years at a time. It is also unique in that sailing, unlike most other types of West Indian migratory wage labor, is an occupation that carries some prestige in the evaluations by the sailors themselves and by others.

This migratory wage earning pattern is combined with another feature often found in West Indian communities (e.g., four of the five societies sampled by M. G. Smith in his *West Indian Family Structure*, [1962]): Canouan has more adult women than men. This unequal sex ratio is due primarily to male emigration, especially during the reproductive years (ages fifteen to forty-four). From an examination of studies of twenty West Indian communities, Keith Otterbein hypothesizes that "the greater the surplus of females, the higher the percentage of female-headed households" (1965:75). If Canouan data follow Otterbein's hypothesis, we should expect to find a substantial number of island households with female heads.

Otterbein goes on to associate a high percentage of female-headed households with a low incidence of consensual unions (co-residential unions in which the mates are not legally married) and with opportunities for men to earn and to save money. He bases his hypothesis on two major premises:
one, that marriage and consensual unions are complementarily related (i.e., together they total 100 per cent of the conjugal unions within a community) and two, that given an adequate economic base, Caribbean mates prefer marriage to consensual union. Since most West Indian communities require that a man build a house of his own before he marries, few men who do not engage in some sort of wage labor to earn the money necessary to buy building materials can afford to marry until relatively late in life, if at all.

Last, Otterbein hypothesizes that given the Caribbean's marital as opposed to consensual union, extra-residential mating (i.e., mating without co-residence) is more likely to be found in greater frequency in communities with a high percentage of marriages (and thus, a high incidence of female-headed households).

Through sailing, most Canouan men have access to substantial cash incomes. Therefore, if we apply Otterbein's latter two hypotheses to Canouan, we should expect the proportion of marriages to consensual unions to be relatively high even for young men (e.g., in the fifteen to thirty age group) and should expect extra-residential mating to be a frequent accompaniment to marriage for the male. It is possible that Canouan might follow the pattern of Carriacou, its neighbor to the south, where M. G. Smith found that consensual unions are not a permissible alternative to marriage.
Thus, patterns of mating differ for males and females with:

The extraresidential union and marriages as alternatives for females only. Marriage is obligatory for men, and the extraresidential relation is normally complementary [supplementary] for men (M. G. Smith 1962b: 246; see also 1962a).

As many students of the Caribbean have noted, the three possible mating alternatives in the West Indies--marriage, consensual union, and extra-residential mating--have important implications for the structure and organization of the domestic units thus formed: i.e., families and/or households. Because only one of these mating forms, marriage, is legal and reasonably stable, the other two forms often result in domestic units in which children are legally defined as illegitimate and in which women are the dominant and permanent members of the household units. Although this type of domestic organization is not confined to the Caribbean, its frequency in this region has led many Caribbeanists to concentrate their research on households with female heads, variously referred to as matrifocal families, (especially R. T. Smith 1956; Kunstadter 1963), mother-centered groups (especially Boyer 1964), or consanguineal households (Solís [de González] 1959: Abstract; 1971). As classificatory devices, probably none of these terms is entirely satisfactory.

"Matrifocality," first used by Raymond T. Smith with reference to his British Guianese material (1956: 22, 221), was never defined by him. Later, Peter Kunstadter (1963)
defined the term by using Solien's definition for her consanguineal household (1959) which she believes to "quite a different thing" from the matrifocal family (Solien de González 1965: 1541). Nancie [Solien de] González feels that "matrifocality" cannot be adequately defined by reference to group composition or structure. "Thus, instead of matricentral cell I suggest we examine the 'mother-child dyad,' which emphasizes the salient bonds between mother and child rather than the group of people" (1970: 233; italics in the original).

Kunstadter, in attempting to develop matrifocality as a cross-cultural family type, includes within the one concept two features which may vary independently: the absence of a regularly-present male in the role of husband-father and the presence of a female as household head. As my data will demonstrate, it is possible for a female to be the head of the household even when a male is present. The reverse is also possible, e.g., a man who is away sailing for several years at a time is still considered the head of his household. As Richard Randolph has pointed out, Peter Kunstadter's definition also:

ignores the social groupings of which the matrifocal family may form a part. Second, it ignores the actual

---

2"The matrifocal family is 'a co-residential kinship group which includes no regularly present male in the role of husband-father. Rather, the effective and enduring relationships within the group are those existing between consanguineal kin' (Solien 1959: Abstract)" (Kunstadter 1963: 56).
composition of the co-residential family membership, and third, it ignores the authority relationships in the types of kinship groups included in the category "matrifocal" (Randolph 1964: 629).

Part of the difficulty encountered by scholars working with West Indian domestic organization is that they have often failed to distinguish conceptually between the family and the household.

As Nancie Solien [de González] has pointed out (1959), such a distinction is especially important for an understanding of the West Indian domestic situation because the family ("a variety of kinship groups that contain both affinal and consanguineal relationships" [Bender 1967: 503]) is frequently not a residential group (household). Bender (1967) has further divided the concept of household into two separate social phenomena: co-residence and domestic functions. Although, as Bender points out, these two variables can and sometimes do occur independently of one another, in the West Indies it is usually the co-residential group (often a group of consanguineal kin and not a family) that carries out the major domestic functions associated with its members. Thus, I will use the term "household" to refer to the combined domestic-residential units discussed in this paper.

I do not mean to imply by this discussion that the West Indian family can not or should not be a valid unit of investigation (for example, see M. G. Smith 1962). As M. G. Smith warns:
Anthropology should recognize that marriage does not exhaust mating; that elementary families may be dispersed as systematically as they are nucleated; and that some societies may base their family structure on alternative sets of mating relations and of parental roles (M. G. Smith 1962b: 265).

Obviously, Smith is employing a concept of "family" that is somewhat different than George P. Murdock's classic 1949 definition.³

Much has been written on the definition of "family" in anthropological literature. Part of the controversy surrounds the significance of the "family" as the minimal social unit from which analyses of kinship terminology and kinship organization are made. If the family is the "fundamental 'atom' in the social 'molecule'" (Adams 1960: 40) as some anthropologists claim, then the family must be a human universal. Ethnographic data from the Caribbean (a brief review of the problem of family in the Caribbean literature follows), the Nayar (especially Gough 1959, 1961), and the Kibbutz (especially Spiro 1954), for example, have rendered the classic definition of the nuclear family by Murdock (see

³"The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults" (Murdock 1949: 1).
footnote 3, above) invalid as a unit to satisfy both of the above characteristics. Recently, a number of theorists have attempted to re-examine this problem. One group has retained a definition of nuclear family personnel much like that given by Murdock. They have, therefore, to search elsewhere for a minimal, universal social unit. Richard H. Adams (1960: 40) and Robin Fox (1967: 39-40), among others, find this unit in the mother-child dyad or tie. For them, then, the nuclear family (defined by Adams [1960: 39] as comprising "three sets of relationships that are identifiable as dyads": the sexual dyad [or the conjugal dyad if the male-female union is recognized as marriage], the maternal dyad [mother-child], and the paternal dyad [father-child]) is not the basic unit from which we begin a study of kinship. Other anthropologists, such as Ward Goodenough, basically agree with this argument, but simply re-define the nuclear family as the "woman and her dependent children . . . When the woman's sexual partner is added to this group in a functionally significant way, the result is an elementary conjugal family (Murdock's nuclear family)" (Goodenough 1970: 18).

I prefer to retain the term "family" for the unit defined here by Adams (above) for I can find no other adequate term to express the set of structural ties that link the mated pair, at least temporarily, in a socially recognized way. As will be explained in Chapters III and IV, although
these ties are few and often weak in comparison with a number of other ties on Canouan (for example, the mother-child tie), I believe that they are significant avenues for certain types of interaction that can be explained satisfactorily in no other way. (M. G. Smith [1962b] makes much the same point above.)

This brief discussion has not begun to explore the difficulties or ramifications of the controversy surrounding an acceptable definition of "family." Should we define it functionally, structurally, residentially, etc.? Must the adult, sexually-mated couple be a conjugal one (based on marriage)? If so, this brings up the whole problem of the definition of marriage (for example, see Gough 1959 and Good-enough 1970), another source of controversy among anthropologists (including Caribbeanists).

The failure of many early students of the West Indies to carefully define the domestic unit under investigation has contributed to some of the present confusion (and perhaps not less to the relative profusion) of literature on the Caribbean.

Since we shall be concerned here with a British West Indian island, it might be profitable for us to now turn to a brief summary of past major research efforts in this area.

Systematic ethnographic research has been a relatively recent phenomenon in the British West Indies. Except
for the well known pre-World War II investigations of Beck- 
with (1929) and Herskovits and Herskovits (1947), most 
anthropological-sociological studies have been conducted 
within the past fifteen years. Many of these studies have 
concentrated on two major islands—Jamaica and Trinidad-- 
and most have been primarily concerned with family or domes- 
tic organization (often erroneously labeled as social organi-
zation) and the prevalent West Indian family features that 
were discussed above: a low incidence of legal marriage and 
a concomitant high illegitimacy rate, a relatively large 
number of households with female heads, and "matrifocality." 
In more recent years, studies of some of the smaller islands 
have been made, but the subject matter has remained much the 
same—the West Indian "family": its origin, its structure, 
and its *raison d' être*. Numerous theories have been advanced, 
criticized, and rephrased as each scholar explored a new re-
gion and found another variation within the above basic 
characteristics. Although these theoretical conflicts have 
not yet been resolved to everyone's satisfaction, there 
is no longer any doubt that common features characterize a 
large proportion of Caribbean family or domestic life.  

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M. G. Smith lists at least twenty common features for 
his five sample West Indian communities (1962b: 244). It is 
important to note here that these common characteristics pri-
marily apply to West Indian "lower class" Negro or "Creole" 
populations and not to such other West Indian population seg-
ments as East Indians, "upper class" individuals, etc. whose 
mating patterns and household structures are frequently mark-
edly different from those being discussed here.
Most theoretical debate on the Caribbean has centered on the problem of explaining the origin and perpetuation of these common characteristics. As an aid to understanding the major arguments involved, we may classify the various theoretical positions into three categories. First is the historical argument. Scholars advocating primarily a historical derivation for present Caribbean domestic features usually propose one of three major sources. Melville Herskovits (1946) saw current features of West Indian social organization as a result of acculturative forces determined by African cultural foci and selective cultural pressures exerted by the dominant European slave owners. Other historians feel the impact of slavery was too strong for basic social institutions, such as the African polygynous family, to have survived. They see present West Indian domestic organization as primarily an outgrowth of the practices of eighteenth century slave plantations. Slave marriage was usually prohibited, and the male role of husband-father was discouraged, thus leaving the mother-child as the basic unit (e.g., Frazier 1939; Henriches 1953; Matthews 1953; Simey 1946). Still other historians (Arensberg 1960; Greenfield 1959) caution:

Till the culture and subculture of the North European pre-industrial and post-medieval class systems and village and family custom are explored, we have no right to derive all Caribbean culture from slavery and Africa alone (Arensberg 1960: 97).
A second approach to Caribbean domestic organization is a structural-functional one. Edith Clarke perhaps best expresses this point of view when she states:

So far as the family is concerned, there are still profound class differences in form, in household structure, in the basis of the union in marriage or concubinage, and in the parental roles. And it is our thesis that these differences are not explicable either by reference to the different inherited cultural patterns or solely by the historical fact of slavery.

The important point for an understanding of the contemporary situation is that conditions which make it possible for men to perform the roles of father and husband as these roles are defined in the society to which they belong, persist in present-day Jamaica [italics in the original] and it is in conditions as we find them today that we shall most profitably look for the explanation of the 'unstable' features of family life to which such prominence is being given (1957: 21).

Structural-functional researchers, however, differ as to what they consider to be the most relevant present-day conditions.

Keith Otterbein (1965: 66) neatly summarizes these different functional approaches:

Functional explanations which seek to find the determinants of family structure in the functioning of the social system emphasize either the lack of economic opportunity for men (Clarke 1957; R. T. Smith 1956), the incidence of male absenteeism (Kunstadter 1963; Solien 1959) or the type of mating system (N. G. Smith 1962a).

A third major approach to Caribbean studies is a social-psychological one. Two well-known investigators in this area are Madeline Kerr (1963) and Yehudi Cohen (especially 1954, 1955a, 1956). Although Kerr's research design shows that she attempted to obtain quantitative data supported by
extensive observations for her three field centers, her analysis appears to be one of generalities applicable to Jamaica as a whole. Cohen, on the other hand, adheres more closely to his field data. As he has suggested, however, the aggressive Rocky Roaders are probably not typical of many other Jamaican communities.

Impressionistic interpretations of general West Indian personality patterns largely based on frustration-aggression theories formulated by John Dollard (1937, 1939) and Hortense Powdermaker (1939, 1943) for Southern Negroes in the United States and on Karen Horney's Neurotic Personality of Our Time (1937) have been made by C. V. D. Hadley (1949) and by T. S. Simey (1946). While both of these men possess extensive knowledge of the Caribbean area, in neither case were these interpretations based on field work.

The only two studies that deal with West Indian (but not British West Indian) childhood have used variants of the social-psychological approach; David Landy's Tropical Childhood (1959) and Kathleen Wolf's "Growing Up and Its Price in Three Puerto Rican Subcultures" (1952). Landy studied a small Puerto Rican, lower class, cane-dependent community and its childrearing practices. He then compared his findings with those of an urban New England community investigated by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University. This study is of special interest here because some of its
conclusions are comparable to some of the findings of the recent study even though Landy dealt with a Spanish-speaking people and the Valle Caña men were resident members of their families unlike the often absent sailing fathers of Canouan.

Only one of Kathleen Wolf's much briefer coverages of three Puerto Rican subcultures is in any way comparable to Canouan data: again, a group of sugar workers. As with David Landy's population, the men are more frequently resident members of their households than are those on Canouan. Her rural farm families, with their authoritarian fathers and households that act as primary units of production and consumption, form a strong contrast to Canouan's sailor fathers and households characterized by occupational plurality. The small rural-town middle class families, however, show some points of similarity to Canouan with their "increase in female autonomy, setting up many strong conflicts between ideal norms and actual behavior" (Wolf 1952: 433).

Three additional studies are of interest to the student of the West Indies because they deviate somewhat from the major approaches summarized above. One is Michael Morowitz' work (again, not British West Indian) on Martinique. (See Morowitz 1959; 1967.) In his examination of a small rural community that he calls Morne Paysan, he attempts to include relatively comprehensive ethnographic data with emphasis on economic and political factors and the forces
working toward change.

A second study by Jerome Handler (1965) analyzes the exploitation of land resources and the related social-economic relationships in a Barbados village.

The third study, Judith Blake's *Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction* (1961), again focuses on domestic organization as does the majority of the works cited above. As the subtitle implies, however, it attempts to present, using data from lengthy interviews and questionnaires, the accompanying attitudinal and situational contexts in which alternative mating patterns and reproduction occur. Both Blake's sampling techniques and her major conclusions, however, have been severely criticized by a number of Caribbeanists, most notably Lloyd Braithwaite (1957) and M. G. Smith (1966).  

This brief summary of some of the major ethnographic studies on the Caribbean has tended to concentrate on those dealing with domestic organization, partly because this has been a prevalent focus of Caribbean research. To a certain

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5M. G. Smith's "Introduction" to the second edition of Edith Clarke's *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (1966) is of particular interest to students of West Indian domestic organization for its rather extensive review (and M. G. Smith's critique) of major studies in the field (M. G. Smith 1966: i-xliv).
extent, this focus derives, in part, from a social welfare attitude, prevalent from the 1930's on, that defined the Afro-American lower class "family" as disorganized, i.e., as a breakdown of the "normal" nuclear family unit seen as the ideal. Social scientists in the 1950's were further stimulated to focus on Caribbean domestic-organization as part of the surge of interest surrounding the question of universality of the family as defined by George P. Murdock in (1949), discussed above. The theoretical controversies that emerged under this stimulus have had the effect of perpetuating this research focus.

I suspect that another factor has helped to focus Caribbean ethnography on domestic organization and that is the lack of the formal structures usually associated with the concept of community so frequently used by social scientists as a basis for study of literate societies. Although it is not clear exactly how Charles Wagley is defining community, he expresses a commonly-held view: "Throughout this sphere [insular Caribbean and British Guiana (Guyana)] there seems to be a weak sense of community cohesion, and local communities are but loosely organized" (Wagley 1960: 8).

Michael Horowitz suggests that West Indian communities can be classified as to degree of integration, a well-integrated community having "a high degree of communal activity, corporateness of household groups, and a wide extension
of extra-household kinship obligation" (1960: 180):

While there appear to be no West Indian communities which approach the degree of integration achieved in the Central American "closed corporate community" reported by Wolf, the data available indicate that the major factor in determining the relative degree of integration in the West Indies is the kind of tenure and exploitation of land. Where land is held in relatively small holdings, exploited by the household group, and sold in local markets, there seems to emerge a community structure which unites the population by bonds of kinship (real and ritual) and mutual assistance (Horowitz 1960: 181).

Using Michael Horowitz' criteria, Canouan would have to be classified as a community of low integration. Most land is not privately owned (but rented) and the family normally is not the unit of co-operative production. Such a classification is consistent with Horowitz' definition of integration: Canouan does not have a well developed kin-obligation network or a high degree of communal activity. But Canouan's insularity and relative isolation give it some indications of a sense of community inconsistent with the Horowitz scheme.

If we define communities as "essentially social units constituted in terms of social relations," as does H. G. Smith (1965: 185), we restructure our examination of, and, thus, our conclusions about, the nature of Caribbean communities. Such an examination of community appears especially fruitful for Canouan since its small size (2.6 square miles), small population (approximately 630 people), relative isolation, and insularity make many of the problems of community definition (e.g., territorial boundaries) irrelevant.
In order to make an examination of the Canouan community as a social system, we will need to explore those categories of "persons" that islanders define as socially significant, and the normative culture patterns associated with those categories. For the first area of analysis—categories of "persons"—I shall use the terms social positions or statuses; for the second—the normative prescriptions—I shall use the term roles.6

As Erving Goffman has noted, it is important to distinguish between role, "the activity the incumbent would engage in were he to act solely in terms of the normative demands upon someone in his position" and role performance, "the actual conduct of a particular individual while on duty in his position" (1961: 85).

In one sense, a role is performed primarily in the presence of relevant others. For any one social identity7

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6 The terms status and role are variously defined by social scientists. I am using the terms much as they are used by Erving Goffman (especially 1961), Neil Gross et al. (1958), etc.; but a number of other scholars define these terms quite differently (see, for example, Ward Goodenough [1965]). Because status is often used as synonymous with social rank by some writers, I shall try to avoid its use in contexts in which it might be confusing.

7 Social identity is used here as roughly synonymous with social status or social position. Ward Goodenough defines social identity as "an aspect of self that makes a difference in how one's rights and duties distribute to specific others" (1965: 3-4).
there is a limited choice of appropriate matching identities. Moreover, rarely does an interaction situation involve but one matching role relationship. The parties to an interaction normally react to a number of the social identities that the individual brings to the occasion, minimally, because certain social identities (as, for example, one's sexual identity in our society) tend to permeate all one's social relationships. We would expect this to be particularly true for Canouan where there are so few people, little privacy, and few formal lines of demarcation to separate actors into bounded social groups. In such a situation as this, the sum of all of an individual's identities (those identities to which he is legitimately entitled and which he chooses to enact) become visible to nearly all others. This may lead to efforts on the part of an individual to try to hide the self that is exposed (Goffman 1955); and/or it may lead to a certain degree of manipulation both in the choice of social situations in which one will enact one's roles, and in the choice of roles one may choose to enact.

On Canouan, we shall see that most interaction takes place on a face-to-face basis in informal rather than formal groups. By formal, I mean a group in "which some or all of the following characteristics are found: elaborate division of labor, explicit status differences with
symbolic expressions of these differences, clear-cut rules for recruitment and advancement, and explicit agreements concerning the boundaries and scheduling of group activities" (Bock 1969: 119-20). In no human society is interaction completely random or unpredictable, and I argue that it is in the general consensus on the major status and role definitions on Canouan and in the overlapping and interlocking of these informal (and formal) groups, that Canouan emerges as a reasonably well-integrated community.

Let us now turn to a more extensive description of Canouan before testing the arguments and hypotheses presented here concerning community, domestic organization, and their inter-relations through child-rearing practices.
CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Running south from Puerto Rico in a great arc are a series of small islands known as the Lesser Antilles. (See Map I.) Only three of this latter group, Trinidad and Tobago (1962), and Barbados (1967), are independent. The rest of the Lesser Antillean islands are still politically affiliated with either the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, or the United States, although the type of affiliation varies considerably from one island to another.

The current political affiliation, however, often does not represent the dominant culture of each colony. Historically, the islands frequently changed hands among the countries listed above with Spain and several of the Scandinavian countries also acting as periodic colonizers. For example, many of the British West Indies, which comprise most of the Leeward and the Windward groups of the eastern Lesser Antilles, have a mixed British-French heritage, a legacy from the extended conflicts between these two powers during the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, although sufficient commonalities emerge to justify designating the
THE LESSER ANTILLES
(from Howard 1952: 3)

MAP I
Caribbean as a single culture area,\(^1\) this varied pattern of colonial experience combined with differing geographic, economic, and ethnic features tend to give each island a characteristic of its own.

A specific example of diversity in the Caribbean is represented by the Grenadines. None of the islands of the Grenadine chain is larger than a few square miles. All have incorporated techniques, ideas, and influences from other areas into their cultures, yet each remains distinctly different from its neighbors. It is one of these Grenadine islands, Cancauan (variously spelled Cannouan), that is the focus of this study. Before turning to this island, however, it might be helpful to take a brief look at the Grenadines to shed some light on the political and cultural setting of the area.

\(^1\)The Caribbean culture area is variously defined and variously designated. Most commonly, it includes the West Indies and the "Rimland": the eastern coast of Central America and the Northern coast of South America, especially the Guianas and Northern Brazil (West and Augelli 1960:11). Charles Wagley incorporates the Caribbean into a larger cultural sphere that he calls "Plantation America". "Briefly, this culture sphere extends spatially from about midway up the coast of Brazil into the Guianas, along the Caribbean coast, throughout the Caribbean itself, and into the United States. It is characteristically coastal" and shares a common history in the seventeenth to nineteenth century New World plantation system (Wagley 1960:5).
The Grenadines

The Grenadines (see Map II) are a 125-island chain located in the southeastern Caribbean approximately 150 miles north of Trinidad. As sub-dependencies of St. Vincent and Grenada, the Grenadines are British West Indian islands of the Windward Island grouping that forms the eastern boundary of the Caribbean.

The three main southermost Grenadines--Isle of Ronde (Rhonde), Petit Martinique, and Carriacou--have formed a separate political unit under Grenada for over 175 years while those from Union Island northward--Union, Mayera (Mayreau), Canouan (Cannouan), Mustique, Balliceaux, and Bequia--have been under the jurisdiction of St. Vincent. This long association with the mother countries has not, as might be expected, made the Grenadines duplicates of their larger administering islands. The underdeveloped nature of the islands has accentuated their individuality. Differing physical, climatic, and demographic features coupled with a general neglect by the mother islands have left the Grenadines to develop a quality all their own. Each island has sought its own method of coping with its particular environment.

Bequia and Carriacou, islands located close to the main islands of St. Vincent and Grenada respectively (see Map II), have the benefit of more direct contact with the
ST. VINCENT

BEQUIA

BATTOWIA

BALLICEAUX

MUSTIQUE

CANNOUAN

MAYERO

TUBAGO GAYS

UNION

PETIT ST. VINCENT

PETIT MARTINIQUE

CARRIACOU

KICK 'EM JENNY

ISLE OF RONDE

GRENADA

THE GRENADES
(from Howard 1952: 4)

MAP II
mother islands (referred to by islanders as "the mainland") and therefore share some of the benefits of their modern conveniences and techniques. For example, motored vehicles and a household supply of electricity are present on both islands.

The more centrally-located Grenadine islands, however, are more spatially and mentally isolated. They have few, if any, modern conveniences and they often retain numerous customs that date back to the time of plantations and slavery. Mayaro, for example, is still a privately-owned estate with most of its residents tied to the island as tenant farmers. Canouan, to some extent, is an exception to the above. Though deprivations result from her central location in the Grenadines, spatial isolation is reduced since her men continually make contacts with the outside world as employees on inter-island and ocean-going freighters.

Canouan

A relatively small island, Canouan is centrally located in the Grenadine chain (12° 41' N. latitude and 61° 20' W. longitude). Canouan is 3.5 miles long and only one-half mile wide at its narrowest point. Mount Royal forms the highest point on the island at 877 feet. (See Map III.)

The tail of Canouan's seahorse-shaped coastline encloses a large bay around which most of the settlement and activities of the island center. The majority of the
MAP III
(Composite map from several sources.)
houses and government buildings are located at or near the southern end of the bay known as Bachelor's Hall. This region is the only portion of the island that was not part of the large Snagg Estate that dominated the island's history from the late 1700's until 1947. From this more densely populated area, houses are scattered northward around the bay ending in a second cluster near the old Snagg Estate settlement.

This present distribution of houses is a recent one for Canouan. Areal photographs of the island over the past twenty years show a gradual shift in settlement patterns from north to south. Even though there are no boundary markers and few clearly demarcated groupings of houses, the people themselves divide the island settlement into eleven villages (see Map III). Many of the village names and locations, e.g., Glen d'or, Comtor, Reanarine, derive from the numerous small estates that briefly flourished during the 19th century on the small section of land that was not part of the Snagg Estate. Because these small estates were broken up and sold to the people in the late 1800's, people living in these villages are likely to own their own house sites and the rights to a few small garden plots. Villagers located on the old Snagg Estate land, however, must rent their house sites from the St. Vincent government, the present owner of the estate.
This varying historic background has also had some influence on the distribution of house types among the villagers.

Houses on Canouan are constructed from three basic materials: wattle and daub, wood, and cement block.

The first type of house usually has a thatched roof and is called a "trash house" by the people. People also call them "joupas" or "ajoupan," supposedly from either the French patois or from the Indian word for "shelter." These houses are considered undesirable by the people. Of 130 occupied houses on Canouan, 27 are wattle and daub. Most of these are located in those villages that were part of the Snagg Estate. People say that such houses are more frequent there because the Snaggs would not permit their tenants to build better houses; however, the only remaining Snagg descendant living on the island denies this. Most of the people who still live in wattle and daub houses hope to or have already started to build cement block structures. Because these people are among the poorest on the island, it may take them many years to be able to afford enough blocks to complete their new homes.

2 These figures and the data following in this chapter come from a complete island census I conducted in 1965-66. (See Appendices A and B.) Census figures were compiled for February, 1966.
Wood houses are divided into two types by the islanders. "Board houses" are small unpainted structures made of ill-fitting, poor-quality wood. Some of these are in worse condition than the wattle and daub houses discussed above. Thus, when a wood house is called a "board house," it is usually a derogatory term. "Frame house" refers to a better constructed wooden house. Both types have corrugated iron roofs. In reality, wooden houses seem to present a continuum of quality, and it is often difficult to distinguish clearly the two types. Large "frame houses" were usually built before World War II and are more likely to be found in the freehold villages. Twenty-nine of the 130 occupied houses on Canouan are made of wood.

Most newer houses are built of cement block and are called "wall houses" by the islanders. Although a well-kept frame house and a cement block house of the same size are probably equally valued by the islanders, cement block construction has several advantages. The cost of wood (mostly imported from Guyana) has constantly risen in the past few years. On the other hand, cement block from Trinidad has become cheaper and more easily accessible. Cement block also permits more gradual construction. Some islanders have had houses under construction for several years; they add blocks when they get enough money to buy them. Cement blocks also provide a more sturdy wall to withstand the hurricanes that
occasionally hit the island. In fact, one of the main reasons for the large number of cement block houses on Canouan today (72 out of 130 occupied houses) is the destruction of many of the wooden houses by Hurricane Janet in 1956.

The average Canouan house is a rectangular structure that has been partitioned into two rooms: a "hall" and a "bedroom." Since Canouan has no household supply of electricity, these rooms are lighted by kerosene hurricane lamps. Only a very few houses possess the brighter pressure lamps. In practice, both rooms usually serve as sleeping rooms. The hall may have a table with several chairs, a glass-fronted cupboard (called a "safe" by the islanders) for storage of glassware, and a slatted single bed in it. On the walls may be religious pictures or figurines, greeting cards, and photographs. In such houses, the bedroom also usually serves as a storage room. In addition to a double bed, the typical Canouan bedroom has a chest of drawers, trunks, and suitcases filled with extra clothing, plus open closets or pegs along the walls. Seventy-eight of the 130 houses are of this two-room type.

Except for four small non-partitioned one-room houses (one is a tar-paper shack which is being used as a temporary shelter until a cement block house can be completed; another is a stone and cement house) the remaining forty-
eight houses range in size from three to six rooms. Additional rooms are usually bedrooms. Larger houses may also have a separate dining room, and, more rarely, a kitchen. Most Canouan islanders, however, have detached kitchens made of wattle and daub. Since most islanders cook with charcoal or wood, a simple, replaceable kitchen appears a practical solution to the black soot and smoke that soon cover and seep through kitchen walls. An attached kitchen nearly always implies that an islander is cooking with the more expensive, but cleaner, kerosene. Many housesites also include an outhouse. These were built in the late 1950's under a joint program sponsored by the St. Vincent Sanitation Department and the World Health Organization. Twenty-two yards also have cement tanks to catch and store rain water that drains off the pyramidal corrugated iron roofs. Other Canouan residents must depend on oil drums or on the government tanks during the annual drought.

Canouan islanders typically own the home in which they are living. Renting of privately owned houses is extremely rare. If the heirs have died or if the original owners have moved away, a house will remain vacant. The St. Vincent government, however, has built ten houses as rental properties for poor families. Six of these are given to the poorest people along with poor relief of $2.00 B.W.I.\(^3\) per

\(^3\) In 1965-66, the British West Indian (B.W.I.) dollar equalled between $0.62 and $0.70 U.S. (average $0.68 U.S.) currency at a variable rate of exchange.
month. The other four are rented to the less poor at $1.50 B.W.I. per month. In addition, the government provides housing for its four officials on the island—the head teacher's house adjoins the school; the Officer in Charge's quarters are the second floor of the now defunct fishery; the policeman's are part of the police headquarters (the only building on the island equipped with a generator and direct communication to the mainland); and the overseer is given residence in an old Snagg Estate building.

Other public buildings are a combination clinic, dispensary, and post office building and a society hall (meeting hall). These buildings: the school, police headquarters and the "government" (as opposed to church or private) cemetery, are scattered over a grassy knoll known as "the Commons." Most of Canouan's community activity occurs here.

Much of the land surrounding the Commons and the residential areas is cultivated. Islanders have some of their gardens (especially corn and pigeon peas) surrounding the swept dirt yards of their housesites. Because of the variety of soils and elevations on the island, most Canouan families also rent land along the sandy, leeward shore, in the "Maho" region (Terre Negresse) or in Friendship (see Map III, p.30). Although actual cultivated land may shift somewhat from year to year, Map IV shows the predominant land utilization patterns for Canouan as a whole.
LAND UTILIZATION MAP OF CANNOUAN

(Re drawn from "Land Utilization Map of Cannouan" n.d., posted Dec. 24, 1935 in St. Vincent Public Library.)

LAND CLASSES

■ Uncultivated Rain Forest
■■ Dry Woodland
■■■■ Swamp
■■■■■ Cultivated or Arable

MAP IV
Crop yields on Canouan are somewhat uncertain from year to year. As one of the centrally-located islands in the Grenadines, Canouan suffers from annual drought. Only 2.6 square miles and 377 feet high, Canouan traps little of the rainfall that keeps St. Vincent lush and green throughout the year. Richard A. Howard lists Canouan as having an eleven-year average of 43.39 inches of rain (1952-10), but recorded yearly rainfall can vary from a 70.03 high quoted by Howard to a low of 27.68 in 1959. While this average appears fairly high, most of Canouan's rainfall is torrential in nature. The short, heavy rains are rapidly evaporated before they can be absorbed into the ground. There is also considerable runoff, due not only to the nature of the soils but also to a general lack of vegetation cover caused by deforestation, poor grazing practices, and improper planting procedures. This is not a new problem for the Grenadines, for as Charles Shephard wrote in 1831:

Since the abandonment of the cultivation of cotton, the interest and importance of these islands has proportionately decreased. Their general characteristic is a great fertility of soil, even with the small quantity of rain that at present falls among them, a failure which is to be attributed to the destruction of the woods, especially the white cedar, which was abundantly cherished as a protection to the cotton plantation; the pureness and salubrity of the air is

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4Annual rainfall for 1959-1964 were: 1959--27.68; 1960--37.12; 1961--31.02; 1962--42.88; 1963--48.89; 1964--45.09; so it appears that Howard's averages may be a little high.
very remarkable, the health and longevity of the inhabitants is proportionate and horned cattle and sheep, which are reared there, are of excellent quality; but in dry seasons great inconveniences are experienced from the want of water, there are no rivers, the few ponds are soon dried up and the tanks or reservoirs of rain water, which are a necessary appendage to every establishment are occasionally exhausted and great mortality among the stock is the consequence. (1831:9).

As with the other Grenadine Islands, Canouan's under-development is perpetuated by relatively infrequent contacts with the mother island. Twice weekly, mail is sent and goods and passengers are transported from St. Vincent to Canouan by an inter-island schooner. Since Canouan lacks a deep-water harbor, all these commodities are brought in by small (8 to 15 foot) rowboats, which make the schooner-to-jetty trips. The only other motorized transport is a privately owned, single-masted schooner. The captain goes to Kingstown (the capital and major port of St. Vincent) once every two weeks to conduct the islanders' business. If an emergency case should require immediate medical attention in St. Vincent, Canouan must depend upon this schooner for transportation. This twenty-five mile trip to the mainland takes approximately five hours.

Despite an apparent deficiency in transportation facilities, Canouan residents manage to maintain numerous contacts with the outside world. Many occasions for visiting are provided by a network of relatives within the larger islands of the Grenadines and on St. Vincent. These
relatives provide free food and shelter for islanders who wish to go shopping or to attend a special festival or holiday.

Small fishing boats are used for inter-island travel and often carry a small group to Mayaro or Carriacou to attend a wedding or a wake of a kinsman.

The inhabitants have little cash for travel to larger islands within the Caribbean. Occasionally, however, a freighter captain or officer who is from Canouan will illegally arrange to pick up a passenger during a scheduled run. Messages and small gift parcels containing staples—sugar, flour, etc.—are also transported duty-free (a minor form of smuggling) in this way. Such contacts are especially prevalent in Canouan, which, unlike the other islands in the Grenadines, has a large proportion of sailors and fishermen, among its people. (See Table 5, pp. 71-72.)

The islanders' most comprehensive views of the modern world come from relatives who have emigrated to the United Kingdom, and, to a lesser extent, to the United States and Canada. Most of this emigration occurred before 1962, the year in which Britain ended large-scale West Indian immigration with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. 5 Separate

Emigration statistics for Canouan or even for the Grenadines are not available, but in my 1965 (see Appendix B) survey Canouan parents reported many of their adult children to be residing off the island: 44 living in England, the United States, or Canada and 65 living either in Trinidad or in Barbados. Additional children were reported to be living in other, less metropolitan, islands. Air-mailed letters from these emigrated relatives form a major part of the knowledge of the outside world for a people who have no newspapers, libraries, television or movies.

The last major source of extra-insular contact is the transistor radio. Most young people on Canouan own a small Japanese-made six or eight transistor radio, and it is not unusual to see them strolling along a dirt road listening to the latest calypso music from Trinidad or to pop tunes from the United States.

BBC news is available to the islanders through Radio Barbados. Although the islanders' knowledge of geography is such that much of the world news has little meaning for them, they avidly followed broadcasts of Queen Elizabeth II's visit to the Caribbean in February of 1966 and also reports of pre-Lenten Carnival celebrations in Trinidad. Most islanders had listened to news about the death of President John F. Kennedy in 1963, and a few even have memorial pictures of him hanging in their homes.
Additional incentives that are constantly drawing many young people away from their Grenadine home are provided by these limited extra-island contacts.

**Population**

The 1966 distribution of Canouan's population is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Reference to Table 2 shows that Canouan is characterized by a trait frequently reported for many other West Indian communities and territories: an excess of adult females over adult males in the 15 to 64 age category. Although the Canouan ratio is somewhat lower than the more than 30% differential estimated by G. W. Roberts for the Windward Islands and Barbados (n.d.; 6) and considerably lower than the three women to one man ratio found by M. G. Smith in the 15 to 44 age group on Carriacou (a Grenadian Grenadine island) (1962a: 20), a closer examination of Table 2, especially when viewed in conjunction with Table 5 (p. 71) and Table 8 (p. 212), reveals some interesting information. While actual adult male-female ratios for persons considering Canouan as their home do not reveal the excessive differentials between the sexes described for some Caribbean islands, the off-island nature of prevalent male employment (involving a total of 71 males during a large part of their adult lives) makes the effective sex differential exceedingly high (58 to 189). Add to this a tendency for a relatively
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>56</td>
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<td>10-14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
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<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
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<td>25-29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
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<td>30-34</td>
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<td>13</td>
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</tr>
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<td>35-39</td>
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</tr>
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<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1b</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL POPULATION 283 340 623

\(^a\)Population figures were calculated from all persons who considered Canouan their home; thus, men who were sailors or otherwise based off the island for long periods of time but maintained a home on the island are included.

\(^b\)One woman was mentally retarded. No one knew her age, and no record of her birth could be located.
### TABLE 2

**POPULATION OF CANOUAN BY AGE CATEGORIES AND SEX, FEBRUARY 1, 1966**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total children (0-14)</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preschool age (0-4)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School age (5-14)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total adults (over 15)</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child-bearing age (15-44)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working age (15-64)(^b)</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>161(^c)</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 65</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL POPULATION</strong></td>
<td>283</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)See Note a on Table 1.

\(^b\)Note: This category includes the one above.

\(^c\)See Note b on Table 1.
large proportion of Canouan women to mate with non-Canouan-born men (approximately one-third of all unions involving residential cohabitation: Table 8, column labeled, "Total Husbands--Non-Canouan-Born"), and an even more striking mobility for Canouan males can be seen.

Table 2 shows a second major characteristic of the Canouan population. Of the 623 people, 305, or nearly half, are under fifteen years of age. This is considerably higher than G. W. Roberts' 1961 estimates of 39 per cent for the British Caribbean in general. The percentage of Canouan people over age 65 also exceeds Roberts' estimates—6.7 per cent for Canouan as opposed to Roberts' 3.8 per cent (n.d.19).

Such population figures suggest that several factors might be involved in contributing to Canouan's relatively high percentage of individuals at both ends of the age continuum.

First, Canouan, like the Grenadines in general, has been an area of relatively recent population growth. Figures for the Grenadines have only just recently approached those of a century ago. As Richard A. Howard states:

A slave population in the Grenadines was reported as 6800 in 1831 and the total population at 9500, but by 1844 the total population of the Grenadines was 5713. During this period, 1831-1844, the old records of St. Vincent and Grenada, adjacent islands to the Grenadines, show an increase in the supply of free labor and of population. By 1854 the population of the Grenadines had climbed to 6394 although it is not clear whether this is due to an increase in the local population or a re-immigration of the former
inhabitants of the area. The population of the Grenadines continued to fall during the last part of the 19th century until 1910 the population was reported as 2500 persons. By 1931 an increase was noticed in the population figures of 3683 and the 1946 census reports 4472 people now living in the area (1952:11-12).

Figures from the 1960 census show a total Grenadines population of 6,958. Table 3 shows that the limited population data available for Canouan alone appear generally to support the pattern of growth observed for the Grenadines as a whole.

Some of this recent increase and imbalance in age distribution seems to be a result of a relatively high birth rate: 4 per cent for the year immediately preceding the February, 1966 census; 3.5 per cent for 1960. This age imbalance is accentuated by the emigration of young men and women to more metropolitan areas. Economic opportunities abroad favor the exodus of young Canouan males much more than females, but the male tendency to select mates from the island carries over to many who leave; and sending for Canouan girls to marry abroad is not uncommon. Chapter IV will show that in many cases these young emigrants leave illegitimate children at home for their mothers, parents, or guardians to raise. This drain on the young or working-age population places a heavy burden of support on those who remain on the island.

History

Examination of areal photographs of Canouan reveals
### TABLE 3

**GRENADINES AND CANOUAN POPULATION AT AVAILABLE CENSUSES, 1871-1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grenadines</th>
<th>Canouan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2311</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>2691</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>3071</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3505</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>4115</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3683</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>4479</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>6958</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

considerable evidence of numerous areas of former cultivation. A hiker who strays from the currently settled areas can see ruins of old stone houses and catchments that are now largely overgrown with brush. Occasionally, a few old grave markers will give the name of the former inhabitants.

Howard's botanical analysis of the vegetation of Canouan confirms the evidence of earlier cultivation. Scattered, previously cultivated trees (e.g., the tamarind, Tamarindus indica; the sour sop, Annona; the mango, Mangifera indica, etc.) are found isolated in shrub growth often near ruins (Howard 1952:60). Only Mount Royal, the volcanic peak which is the highest point on the island, does not show evidence of past cultivation although its slopes were sometimes raided for lumber. It is abundantly clear that in the past the island was more heavily cultivated and had a vastly different settlement pattern.

Caribbean history books say little about Grenadine settlement, and the few references that are made pertain mostly to the two larger islands, Carriacou and Bequia. Even 19th century government records from the area either have been kept sporadically or have been destroyed by early hurricanes, storms, or fires. Consequently, any attempt at reconstructing a history of Canouan must necessarily rely heavily on reports of conditions in other Grenadine islands or, sometimes, on trends reported for the total St. Vincent
Robert C. Kingsbury states that "the Grenadines have been inhabited continuously by Europeans since about 1650" (1960:1). It would seem, however, that, at this early date, Europeans could not have made more than occasional visits to the islands to search for wood. There have also been rumors that, in their early history, the islands may have been used by pirates as a base for planning attacks.

It is known that in 1674 the French Minister of Finance, Jean Colbert, purchased Grenada and the Grenadines along with other Lesser Antillean islands for the French West Indies Company (Carter, Digby, and Murray 1964:10). Ebenezer Duncan reports, however, that "beyond their nominal claim the French did hardly anything but trying [sic] to keep the English from getting timber from the Grenadines where there was a good supply of valuable trees" (1963:55).

A few "Carib markings" or petroglyphs reported as being in the Naho region provide the first real evidence of habitation on Canouan itself. It is not known whether the Caribs actually settled the island or only visited periodically. We do know that this region of the Lesser Antilles was known as the "Caribae Islands" (Daniel 1936:52) and that

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6Although the petroglyphs are referred to as "Carib markings" by the islanders, there is some dispute among archaeologists as to whether these geometric and zoomorphic rock carvings are Carib (Pawkes 1922) or Arawak (Rouse 1953a,b).
before the middle of the eighteenth century:

when the English and French began to give some con-
sistency to their settlements on the Windward Islands,
in 1660, they agreed, that Dominica and St. Vincent's
should be left to the Caribees, as their property.
Some of these savages, who till then had been dispersed,
retired into the former; but the greater part into the
latter (Abbe Reynal quoted in Coke 1810:179).

This agreement, confirmed in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle
in 1748, was soon broken by the French who began to estab-
lish settlements in this area to grow cotton (Daniel 1936:61).
In the ensuing war between Great Britain and France, England
captured Grenada and the Grenadines and gained these as well
as St. Vincent, Tobago, and Dominica in the Peace of Paris
of 1763 (Carter et al. 1964:15).

During this period of English ownership, sugar cane
was introduced into the Grenadines. At the time the French
repossessed the Grenadines during the American Revolutionary
War, the Abbe Reynal reported that the cultivation of sugar
cane was remarkably successful in Bequia (Sequia) (in Coke
1810:63). It is doubtful, however, whether sugar was of
major importance in the central Grenadines, for, even at
this early date, Coke mentions their "want of fresh water,
not a single spring being found in any of them" (1810:62).
In addition, a single reference to Canouan in MSS._W._IND._
K.A reporting on the "State of Carriacou and other Grenadine
Islands," 1776, does not list any sugar cane crop or any rum
production (both of which are included, for instance, in the
Bequia report). This manuscript shows Canouan in 1776 to be held by twenty-one French owners, having a total of 152 slaves and producing 21,566 pounds of cotton. 7

Sugar may have flourished from the time the islands were restored to Britain in the Peace of 1783 until the drop in the sugar cane market and the local sugar crisis in the late 1830's. From early Registrar's records, remains of family graveyards, and the variety of current place names, early British Canouan must have continued to be divided into a number of small estates and properties, but, in 1827, Charles Shephard reported only one estate and proprietor—Carenage under Mrs. Snagg (Shephard 1831:extract.).

With the demise of sugar and the freeing of the slaves, Canouan appears to have moved rapidly into a pattern of tenant farming and settlement which remained relatively unchanged until the 1940's when the Snagg estate was purchased by the St. Vincent government. Registrar's records from the 1850's show that plots were worked by families most of whose sur-names are still present on the island today.

Former slaves, emancipated in 1834, were now under the métayage system of farming land. Under métayage, a cultivator receives a plot of land (usually along with tools and seed) from a landlord. In return, the cultivator must

7 From a Xerox copy of the relevant part of the manuscript from Rhodes House Library, Oxford.
TABLE 4
MAJOR CROPS ON CANOUAN AND THEIR HARVEST PERIODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cropa</th>
<th>Botanical Name</th>
<th>Bulk of Harvest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pigeon peas</td>
<td>Cajanus indicus</td>
<td>January-March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn (maize)</td>
<td>Zea mays</td>
<td>August-September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet potatoes</td>
<td>Ipomoea batatas</td>
<td>January-March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton (Sea Island)</td>
<td>Gossypium barbadense (or V-135 strain)</td>
<td>January-February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava (manioc)</td>
<td>Manihot utilisima</td>
<td>March-April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tannias (taniers), Colocasia antiquorum</td>
<td></td>
<td>December-February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eddoes, Dasheen</td>
<td>Xanthosoma sagittiforum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yams</td>
<td>Dioscorea</td>
<td>January-March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowpeas</td>
<td>Vigna sinensis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad beans</td>
<td>Vicia faba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundnuts (peanuts)</td>
<td>Arachis hypogea</td>
<td>July-January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>Cocos nucifera</td>
<td>Year round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benne (sesame)</td>
<td>Sesanum indicum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local designations were used in this column. Alternative common names are given in parentheses.
relatives of the cotton, plants on which the insects might feed as alternate food plants, have been killed or removed. Thus by the removal of the cotton plants the already impoverished land of the Grenadines is crossed without ground cover to the forces of erosion during a period of several months. Increased erosion is noticeable in many areas due to this practice (1952: 12-13).

These numerous difficulties in raising the current strain of Sea Island cotton have caused many people on the islands to feel that growing it as a cash crop is "not worth the trouble" involved. Consequently, the English buyers have not been able to purchase enough of this long-staple variety of cotton to justify a high price and the special equipment needed for its processing. For Canouan, low average rainfall coupled with frequent extreme departures from both the yearly averages and the seasonal patterns of rainfall have made the cotton crop uncertain from year to year. In addition, the St. Vincent government has never sent the Grenadines the long-promised, strain-preventive chemicals. Consequently, most Canouan gardeners have either greatly reduced their cotton plantings or have given them up altogether, preferring to speculate in "ground provisions": yams, sweet potatoes, pigeon peas, and corn.

Economics and livelihood

Agriculture.—The planting of crops on Canouan is

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See George C. Abbott, "The Collapse of the Sea Island Cotton Industry in the West Indies" (1964: 157-187), for a more complete discussion of these factors.
decidedly of the peasant variety as defined by Elena Padilla; small plots are either owned as part of "family lands" or, more likely, rented from the government; labor is provided by household members or occasionally kin in other households will co-operate; and simple technology is used to raise mostly subsistence crops, any excess being used as a cash crop (Padilla 1960:25). As will be discussed in more detail later, Canouan males rarely do any gardening; their occupational activities are directed elsewhere. The household, therefore, is technically not a unit of production. For this reason, I have refrained from classifying Canouan as a peasant society.

The major crops raised are pigeon peas, corn (maize), and sweet potatoes. Some gardeners also grow several varieties of beans, peanuts ("groundnuts"), cassava, and Sea Island cotton; and a few will occasionally plant tomatoes, cucumbers, eggplant (referred to as melongene or aubergine by islanders), melons, and pumpkins in home gardens.

For all practical purposes, however, the staples in the Canouan diet are the first three vegetables — pigeon peas, corn, and sweet potatoes — supplemented by large quantities of rice purchased at the three local shops on the island.

Table 4 lists the major field crops in the order of their importance on Canouan. Botanical names and the months
during which the bulk of harvesting is done are also given.

Gardening is considered women's work. For the most part, Canouan men have little to do with the fields, although few men may try to be home to help with the heavy work of clearing and planting, and less frequently, harvesting. Women say, "Canouan men don't do work, scarcely. St. Vincent men come here and do work--hardest they can do—but Canouan men don't. June month, just start plantin'; after, well, pass [pass gardening by]." Table 5 (pp. 71-72) shows that Canouan men rarely choose gardening as a major occupation (for example, Canouan women frequently say, "Canouan men just love the sea. That all they think about--the sea."), while men born elsewhere choose gardening as the most frequent occupational category.

The rainy season for Canouan usually begins in June and lasts through September, with more sporadic rainfall lasting from September to February or March when the "dry season" begins. By April or May, those few households with cement storage tanks have exhausted their supply of water and must now accompany the oil drum owners who for some time have been making the twice-weekly (Wednesdays and Saturdays) trips to the government tanks to get their ration of one gallon of water per household member.

The agricultural cycle follows this seasonal cycle of rain and drought. In June, the planting of corn begins.
then, before the corn matures, pigeon peas are planted under the corn stalks. Planted last are the sweet potatoes and cotton in August. This timed planting permits a fresh staple to be available for harvest most of the year—corn from August to October, and peas and sweet potatoes from December to March. Islanders hope for a large enough crop of corn and peas so that they can dry them for use from June until August and still have several bags of each to sell either in Kingstown (St. Vincent) or to the more southerly Grenadines: especially Union and Petit Martinique where the weather is even drier than on Canouan. The Island women pride themselves on raising the best pigeon peas in the Grenadines, and some women will combine the sale of their excess crop with speculation on the Kingstown market in tannias, eddoes, yams, and coconuts. For example:

[Mrs. S is what is known locally as a "higgler." She buys vegetables and fruit in St. Vincent for sale throughout the Grenadines. When she must store her produce on Canouan, she gets her family to help with the carrying.] Mrs. S. comes back with her husband and some of her older children to help carry five large burlap bags of tannias, sweet potatoes, and yams into the kitchen. She has purchased these in Kingstown and now hopes to sell them at a profit in Petit Martinique and Carriacou. Mr. S., supervising the carrying, comments, "They lands aren't so good as here or St. Vincent. Being as it is around the holidays, the Mrs. decided to take a chance. She buys the bags at $8 and $13 and is

9 All money in this paper is British West Indian (B.W.I.) unless otherwise marked. In 1965–66, the B.W.I. dollar was equal to approximately $0.68 U.S.
charged 25¢ and 50¢ per bag in addition for boat fare from St. Vincent to Canouan and from Canouan to Petit Martinique and Carriacou. The passage is so dear, but she hopes to make a few dollars on each bag" (Field Notes.)

This kind of speculation points out a basic problem in the Grenadines: that although the island dependencies are poorly developed, their cost of living is even higher than on the mainland (St. Vincent). The government is just beginning to realize this problem in their contemplation of opening up these small islands as free ports (O'Loughlin 1965), but as of 1971, there had been no final decision on the matter.

Canouan is not a port of entry, so all goods entering legally must be transshipped. In addition, imported goods are not needed in sufficient quantities to permit direct purchase from a supplier. Consequently, the expense of maintaining a middleman as well as transshipment costs must be assumed by the island buyers. It is not surprising, therefore, that the shops carry little beyond the basic necessities and that there is no regular market on the island even for the citrus or green vegetables that the island largely lacks.

Fishing.--The other staple food in the islanders' principally starchy fare is fish. Almost every male, whatever his professed occupation, is also a fisherman. Sailors fish between assignments or on long vacations; retired sailors
often use a portion of their earnings to invest in a fishing boat, and young men, either home from the sea or in a trade, organize parties to go spearfishing. At the same time, because few men are full-time fisherman, boat owners often have difficulty getting a crew together to take their boats out regularly.

Most Canouan fishing is drift or bottom-line fishing using five to seven hooks per line, rather than the more prevalent night banking found to the north. For this type of fishing, twenty-one boat owners have registered a total of twenty-four boats ranging in size from eight to twenty-four feet in length. Although an islander would rarely pay the six cents per foot registration fee if the boat were not occasionally in use, probably only about nine of these boats are used with any regularity. In addition, one twenty-eight-foot seine boat and one seine net are on the island. These are usually called into use when large schools of fish can be sighted in the bay. This usually happens during the period of high seas in January. At these times, the captain, coming down from his hillsides vantage point, blows a shrill whistle in the chill morning light to call the eight-man crew to the seine boat and the five-man crew to the accompanying boat. If a catch is good, a seine may hold from 2,000 to 5,000 pounds of fish, which will take five pull-men three hours to bring into the boat.
Some fishermen as well as a few housewives may own fish pots to help insure a household supply of fish. A fish pot is a portable fish trap usually built by islanders out of slats and chicken wire. Canouan islanders say, "Pot not for living; pot for to eat. If you don't get crop for your season, can depend on pot."

Island fish may range from the large ocean varieties --barracuda or dolphin--to many smaller fish--jacks, cavali, black fish, butter fish, etc.

Fishing in Canouan is not without its problems. Already mentioned is the difficulty in obtaining a crew, as most of the other occupations seem to coincide with good fishing seasons. In order to entice a good man to remain with a boat, most owners do not act as their own captains but appoint someone else to do so. Captains enjoy greater prestige since their word is law in the four-or five-crew fishing boat just as it is in a large ocean-going vessel. They also receive a larger share of the catch: three parts to every two for the regular crew members. This is the same share as the boat-owner gets. Ground seas (ground swells), bad weather, and inability to catch bait (usually sprat or fry) also keep many boats on shore. Once at sea, a boat might not catch much, or changing winds might capsize the boat. Thus the entire day's take as well as the fishermen's equipment may be lost. Unless the fishing boat can make an
exceptionally good catch fairly early in the day so that the fish may be profitably carried directly to a distant mainland market (St. Vincent or Grenada) and sold fresh, the crew must return each day to corn (salt dry) that part of the take which is not consumed by the household and relatives to whom fish is regularly given.

Coring fish involves cutting the fish open down the back; rubbing them with salt (normally obtained once a year from the two local salt ponds, if they produce); and drying them on racks in the sun—a process that usually results in over 50% weight loss to the fish. About every two weeks, these preserved fish are then sold in Kingstown, on Carriacou, and occasionally, in Grenville, Grenada at a lower price per pound than could be obtained for fresh fish.¹⁰

There is only one motorized fishing sloop on the island that attempts to get fresh fish directly to the open Kingstown market twice a week by fishing the islands to the north of Canouan for a three day period. Because of Canouan's central location in the Grenadines, ordinary sail-type fishing boats cannot hope to do this without the risk of spoilage.

¹⁰Late in 1965, fresh fish was bringing 30 to 50 ¢/lb. on the open market in St. Vincent; if sold to a vendor, 22 to 30 ¢/lb. Corned fish was selling for approximately 26 ¢/lb. These figures, plus the more technical information on Canouan fishing, were obtained from John E. Adams, University of Wisconsin, who was doing a study of Grenadine fishing at that time.
When a crew is available, an occasional boat will leave the island for several months to fish closer to the markets, but being away from home involves greater living costs.

Realizing the plight of the Canouan fishermen, the St. Vincent government built a $40,000 fish-storage and freezing plant on the north side of Grand Bay in 1960 so that fish could be sold directly at a guaranteed price. This regulation was put into effect but was not consistently enforced. The fishery had been in operation for less than a year before it ran out of funds. The fishermen and the government hope it will be opened again soon, but the prospects seem poor for such an event to occur in the near future.11

Animals.—In addition to gardening and fishing, nearly every Canouan household keeps a limited number of animals. A few sheep and goats (from two to ten) are kept for a supplementary meat supply and for their milk. The number of chickens kept is uncertain as chickens are not cooped and people rarely know how many they possess. Egg and chicken thefts are, however, a constant source of arguments in which considerable descriptive detail about the birds will accompany proof of loss. A household may keep a cow or two; less frequently, a hog; and, even more rarely,

11As of 1971, the plant had not reopened.
a donkey. Except for the chickens, which take care of themselves, the tending of animals is mostly considered to be children's work. Adult owners make no effort to breed the animals to improve the stock. Large animals are slaughtered for meat only on special occasions or when an owner desperately needs cash. A few hogs and usually one cow are slaughtered at Christmas time to supply the entire island with meat.

During the crop season, animals are tethered wherever there is grass or forage available: along roadsides, on the Common (the land surrounding government buildings), at the edge of household plots or in the schoolyard. They are allowed to run free during the dry season. At this time, all green within reach of the animals is stripped clean, including any crops left in the fields, flowers and plants which may decorate front steps of a house, and the lower branches of bushes and trees.

Animals are a matter of constant dispute on Canouan, especially at "let go" time. When they have no more crops that can be destroyed, some people will lose their stock even if their neighbors have not yet finished harvesting theirs. Animal theft is also a major source of intragroup friction. Nearly everyone could report one or more cases of his animals being stolen during the year.
Since a person can rarely prove who the thief is or whose
animals ate his crop, these problems rarely reach the court. Although almost everyone continues to keep stock animals, a frequently heard comment is: "Canouan people bad; they steal [thief] you out. I done with that, man."

Intra-island commercial enterprises.--It has already been shown that Canouan gardening, fishing, and stock raising bring in only limited amounts of cash from outside the island. There are a few activities which do circulate small amounts of cash within the island. By far, running a shop is the most lucrative of these enterprises. At present, the island has three shops (more properly called rum shops since they are licensed to sell liquor and undoubtedly make their largest profit in this way). In addition, there are several small "parlours"--not so licensed--that sell soft drinks. Both carry, in small supply, a wide range of goods which include the following commodities: condensed milk, canned butter, oatmeal, sugar, beer, rum, wine, seasonings, rice, chewing gum, ice cubes, crackers, canned corned beef, cocoa, powdered coffee, canned Vienna sausages, home baked goods, candy, jam, cigarettes, patent medicines, thread, soap, cloth, aspirin, and matches.

In addition to the previously mentioned problems concerning importation of goods for resale in the Grenadines, nearly all items are sold in extremely small amounts, thus adding to the cost for the consumer. As cash becomes
available, another small portion is purchased. Credit may be extended, but it is a source of conflict; and suing for payment of debt is one of the most common forms of litigation when the Magistrate visits the island two or three times a year. Most shopowners are men, but the shops are run by women and are known locally as Miss ______'s shop. Shops are open whenever someone is there or whenever the shopkeeper can be called from her home should someone want to buy. On special occasions such as dances, the shopkeeper will usually attend to sell soft drinks, rum or wine.

These events provide opportunity for another type of entrepreneur to sell her wares: the higgler or hawker (often the same woman who speculates in inter-island trade). At dances, at cricket matches, at Harvest Day Church festivals, these women can be seen with their baskets of ground nuts (peanuts), of chewing gum and candy, or of small home-made cakes and candies.

Additional cash is sometimes made from the sale of the meat of a freshly slaughtered animal: usually a sheep or a goat. In these cases, children are sent around as the

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12Oscar Lewis, *Fijian Families* (1962) mentions this pattern of buying as characteristic of the culture of poverty. Cash sales are so small on Canouan, for example, that a visitor would have difficulty getting change for a $10 and sometimes, even a $5, bill.
sellers.

Older men without families or regular occupations may pick up small amounts of cash by making charcoal or by doing odd jobs, and both men and women who are extremely poor can find irregular employment on the roads. Roadwork is sporadic (sometimes there is none for months), and the pay is poor: $2.00 for men and $1.75 for women per nine-hour day. At most, the government hires two crews, each of which contains ten people. Approximately one-half of these are women.

A few fishermen obtain extra cash by smuggling—mostly liquor and cigarettes; but this may be hazardous. Action by government officers or capsizing of the boat may result in loss of the entire load of merchandise. Most such enterprises must prove successful, however, for liquor and cigarettes on Canouan are cheaper than on the mainland.

The only people to be paid regular wages on the island are the six school teachers (two from St. Vincent), the policeman (from St. Vincent), the Officer in Charge (from St. Vincent), and the midwife. All other cash, and by far the substantial part, must come from outside the island.

Land.—The above examination of work and enterprise on Canouan is sufficient to demonstrate that although an islander rarely goes hungry, climate, hilly terrain, and
isolation from large markets all contribute to a general deficiency in intra-island cash producing activities. This picture is not altogether uncommon in some other parts of the Caribbean, but such areas usually have other characteristics that are not present on Canouan. Two of these are social isolation and strong ties to the land. It has already been shown that although Canouan islanders are relatively physically isolated from the outside world, they are not socially secluded. They maintain numerous extra-insular contacts through emigration of relatives and through their patterns of work based off the island.

It remains, then, to examine in more detail man-land relationships on Canouan.

On many Caribbean islands, strong ties to the land are maintained through land ownership and land inheritance patterns. On Canouan, relatively few islanders own or have rights to land.

On an island of 1,831.5 acres, only 129.5 acres are privately held "family lands." Private holdings total 79 pieces held in 60 names. Holding sizes range from 23½ acres to 15 poles (totaling less than 1/10 of an acre). Almost one-half of the privately owned land (61 acres) is held in the names of 5 persons, only one of whom is living. An additional 32 acres are held in the names of 14 people, again only one of whom is living. Thus, over 3/4 of the
private land is owned by less than 1/3 of the holders. This means that the majority of the private holdings are less than one acre.

Most of the private land (119.5 acres) was purchased in the late 1800's when the small estate owners were breaking up their holdings. In many cases, taxes are still paid in the names of the original purchasers ("old [household] heads") and these lands remain "family lands" in every sense of the word: they are not divided ("shared up") among the heirs or "family."

On Canouan, legal children (children of a married couple) inherit land equally regardless of their sex while the illegitimate children of either marriage partner are usually given smaller portions or rights to the use of some of the land belonging to their parent. Under such a system, it is not uncommon for a person to inherit rights to several parcels of land.

The heirs of the purchasing families may use the land, but no one is free to dispose of his or her portion. People may speak of selling their part of family land, but this is nearly impossible since all participating relatives both home and abroad must be consulted.13 What usually

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13 See Edith Clarke (1957:40-46) for a discussion of the function of "family land" in Jamaica.
happens is that no one really feels the land is his until it has been divided. At the same time, on an island where wills are practically non-existent, sharing promises family conflict. Lands, therefore, remain for years in the names of the long-dead "old heads."

The rest of the island (over 1,702 acres)\[14\] is owned by the government. St. Vincent purchased this land from the remaining heir to the old Snagg Estate for £1,900.00 (approximately $9,120.00 B.W.I. or $5,320.00 U.S. at the 1965 rate of exchange) in 1946. In the early 1950's, the government opened the land for private purchase but closed sales after only eight parcels totaling about ten acres were sold. Since then, most families have rented agricultural land from the government at yearly rates varying from $2.40 to $5.00 B.W.I. per acre. Rents for 1964-65 totaled $207.65 for 50 acres rented by 255 people.

Although households try to rent the same parcel of land that they had the year before, there is no sentimental attachment to the land, and, if conditions change, they may rent another plot elsewhere. Also, those who inherit rights in "family land" seldom feel a sense of personal ownership or attachment. Land ownership gives one little added prestige on the island, and in both cases—ownership and

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\[14\] This figure and the ones following are from the Lands and Taxes Office, Inland Revenue Department, St. Vincent 1965.
rental—young people do not look forward to the day when they may have the parcel of land of their parents.

Since a majority of Canouan houses are built on government lands, many people must pay rent for their house sites. In addition, 97 out of the 142 buildings on Canouan are of sufficient rental value to be subject to government taxes, which vary from $0.50 to $6.30 per year depending on assessment. Private land holdings are also subject to taxation.

Living on Canouan, then, requires a certain amount of yearly cash from nearly all residents—cash which is not easily earned on the island.

Employment.—Given this picture of Canouan’s cash needs, it is not surprising that the majority of Canouan men seek employment outside the island. Table 5 shows that most Canouan-born men either are or have been sailors (59 out of 74 men who claim to have occupations as shown in Occupational categories 1 and 2). It is interesting to note, however, that many unmarried young men, ages 15-24 (see “Total in trades” under category 2, “Occupations based on the island”) state their occupations to be masons or carpenters (although most are not more than semi-skilled in these trades). When questioned, these young men reported that they hoped such career choices would provide an avenue for emigration to Britain, Canada, the United States, or to a larger West Indian island such as Trinidad or Barbados.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Canouan Born</th>
<th>Other West Indian Born</th>
<th>Total Adult Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Occupations based on the island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>1 1 2</td>
<td>2 2 4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman-farmer-laborer</td>
<td>0 0 1</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>0 2 1</td>
<td>5 3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer-laborer</td>
<td>0 1 2</td>
<td>5 5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer-trafficker</td>
<td>0 0 1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fishermen &amp; farmers</td>
<td>0 1 1 0 0 2</td>
<td>0 4 6 6 3 19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>2 2 1 1</td>
<td>1 3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason-carpenter</td>
<td>1 1 1 1</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>5 5 5 0</td>
<td>0 5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice mason/carpenter</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in trades</td>
<td>10 0 0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 2 0 0 2 12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3 3 1 1</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local administrative officer</td>
<td>0 0 1 1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road driver</td>
<td>0 0 1 1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odd jobs man</td>
<td>0 0 1 1</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total other way</td>
<td>3 0 0 0 0 0 3</td>
<td>0 1 2 1 0 1 7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in on-island occupations</td>
<td>13 1 1 0 0 15</td>
<td>0 5 11 6 3 25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. No occupation</td>
<td>16 2 0 0 0 0</td>
<td>18 0 0 0 0 0 18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Adult males (age 15+)</td>
<td>45 18 16 10 3</td>
<td>92 0 9 16 8 4 37</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 5
### Adult Male Occupations by Age and Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Canouan Born</th>
<th>Other West Indian Born</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Occupations based off island</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor-fisherman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor-carpenter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor-engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor-fisherman-farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total present sailors</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor (ret'd), fisherman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor (ret'd), fisherman shoemaker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailor (ret'd), farmer-laborer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total retired sailors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevedore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipwright</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipwright (ret'd), farmer-carpenter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipefitter (ret'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total other occupations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total off-island occupations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An examination of career choices for emigrated Canouan islanders indicates that, in many cases, possession of a skill did appear to have facilitated emigration. Young Canouan men who hope to duplicate this avenue of emigration to the United Kingdom often fail to realize that their older friends and brothers went to Britain and Canada during a period of relatively unrestricted immigration. By 1962, Britain had tightened her immigration requirements with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. Thus, despite these stated occupations, what is more typical in practice is for these young men to drift into sailing, although they may spend a few years as members of trade teams that ply the islands seeking employment wherever opportunity presents itself. In fact, most of the ten young Canouan tradesmen shown in Table 5 had already taken one or two sailing jobs.

It is important to note that the data in Table 5 refer to those occupations to which men feel they belong, rather than to all those in which they have participated. Most island men have or will have done most types of available work at one time or another. On the other hand, expressed occupational choice often represents a man's dominant occupational activity at the time he was asked. Thus, examination of Table 5 suggests another feature of Canouan employment to which I referred briefly in Chapter I; the focus of a Canouan man's multiple occupational
activities tends to change throughout his life in a rather predictable pattern.

Young adult males tend to begin their occupational careers as apprentice tradesmen, presumably with the hope that possession of a skilled trade will facilitate emigration. Next, they move into sailing. We shall see that this stage often corresponds to a young man's first involvement with a girl. By his early 20's, a young man has usually fathered his first child. If he conforms to island expectations, he should now provide for the care of his child even though both mother and child continue to live with the girl's parents. Ideally, this support money also represents the first step toward marriage. An additional part of the young man's income should now be set aside for building and furnishing the home to which he will bring his future wife and child(ren). Ideally, again, this is presumably the girl with whom he had the first child.

Young men are well aware that being a sailor means better pay than being a local carpenter or mason. As financial burdens increase, then, young men gradually tend to abandon their early dreams of emigration and to gravitate toward sailing as a focal occupation.

Table 5 shows that sailing remains a dominant occupational choice throughout a man's 30's and probably at least his early 40's. I have already mentioned that such
sailors, when on vacations or between sailing jobs (which may involve several months or more), frequently find employment as fishermen on the local vessels and perhaps help their mates with the heavy work of gardening. A few may supplement their incomes by using both their sailing and their fishing positions to transport contraband (illegally duty-free merchandise) for sale on Canouan. Their early experiences as carpenters and/or masons also enable them to spend some of their free time building or repairing their homes.

As a man approaches his 50's, he is likely to spend less and less time at sea and more and more time in island-based occupations. At this time, his income usually decreases markedly. We shall see that this is also a time when he is most likely to experience a crisis in his family relationships. This crisis frequently involves a shift in household headship from the male to the female and perhaps an actual separation of the conjugal pair with the woman retaining the home and its furnishings.

The employment picture for non-Canouan born males ("Other West Indian Born" on Table 5) is decidedly different. First, men not native to the island do not come to Canouan before they reach the 25-39 age group. These men do not appear to progress through any cycle of occupational focus; they tend to be uni-occupational at any one time; and they
specify farming as their most frequent occupational choice, an occupational choice almost totally ignored by Canouan-born men. We shall see in the next chapter that these differences between occupational profiles of native and immigrated Canouan males are just a few of the differences that mark the degree and nature of participation in Canouan community life.

No attempt has been made here to tabulate or discuss the occupational choices of females on Canouan. Although a few women responded with occupational choices other than housewife-gardener on the census questionnaire (Appendix B), observation revealed that no one except the midwife, the higgler, the three shopkeepers, the two teachers, and the recorder of local births and deaths regularly practiced any occupation for wages.

Examination of the various topics discussed so far enables us to conclude that lack of opportunities to make money on the island together with a need for a certain amount of cash to pay rents and taxes, and to purchase basic necessities, encourages many people—especially the young men—either to emigrate or to seek employment outside the island. With either choice, money is liable to be sent back to the island sporadically. Such remittances form the core of the cash economy that exists on the island.

Cash and remittances from outside the island—It is difficult to know the amount of cash that comes into
Canouan yearly or the number of families that receive this money. The methods used to remit cash vary considerably. Registered letters, bank drafts, and money orders are the most frequent methods, but St. Vincent does not keep individual records of the first two or island records for any of the three. In addition, a certain amount of money probably is brought in by the sailors and tradesmen themselves when they come home on vacations.

An examination of the names on Postal Money Orders for 1965 revealed that most money orders came from the United Kingdom.\(^1\) In 1965, 34 money orders in the total amount of $1,166.60 were sent to ten Canouan women. Amounts were generally fairly small (averaging around $34.00 with a modal amount of $24.00) and were primarily from sons and from daughters for whom a mother was taking care of a child. Intercolonial money orders\(^2\) were for larger amounts (a total of $1,715.00 on 24 orders to thirteen women) and most frequently came from husbands or sons who were sailing. Nine orders from Canada totaled $212.40 to six women.\(^3\)

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\(^1\)From Imperial Money Order Lists, 1965 in the St. Vincent Post Office.

\(^2\)From postal carbon copies of same.

\(^3\)Records of postal money orders from Canada and the United States do not record senders' names. Those from the States do not even record recipients' first names, so figures from this last source are so unreliable that they have been omitted in this summary, especially since they also do not record the recipients' places of residence.
Thus, postal money orders alone from the above three sources brought a total of $3,094.00 B.W.I. into Canouan.

As will be shown, island families depend heavily upon these remittances from outside the island and upon the cash gifts brought by men returning from work assignments. Canouan people say that a "good son" or a "good husband" is one who "minds you well": he sends or brings money; and a truly unfortunate or poor person is one without "family" or whose "family" has deserted them. As one informant put it, "They [her "family," especially her husband and sons] all done gone off and left me and doesn't never send tell me howdy or mind me none at all" (F67:HH36).

General comments and conclusions

In one sense, this discussion of Canouan economics and livelihood may have posed as many questions as it has answered; for example: Who are the relatives to whom fish are regularly given? How is it decided who should slaughter an animal for the holidays? Under what circumstances do conflicts over land or over animals occur? Which women become higgles? Etc. To the anthropologist, economic behavior does not occur in isolation of other aspects of social life. Discussion of these kinds of questions has

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13In order to protect informants' identities but still give the reader a limited profile of the various speakers, I am using a code consisting of the sex, age and household number (included to differentiate speakers of the same age and sex). For a more complete discussion of this usage, see Appendix A.
therefore been delayed, for they can best be understood in
the context of the overall system of Canouan social relation-
ships to be covered more fully in the next chapter.

At the risk of too frequent repetition, let me
summarize some major characteristics of Canouan discussed
in this chapter that will be important to our examination
of the island community as social system in Chapter III.

1. Canouan residents refer to their island as a
"poor" island. By Western standards this is probably true.
Canouan lacks most modern conveniences; e.g., electricity,
moored vehicles, paved roads, and a household supply of
water. With no rivers or fresh-water lakes, its only water
supply is that provided by seasonal rains.

In technological terms, Canouan is equally under-
developed. It has no industry or no local crafts. It is
not involved in the tourist trade so prevalent in the West
Indies today. Its cultivation is done entirely by hand on
plots averaging less than one acre per household. It has
no plantation system to provide local wage labor. Without
major technological and organizational changes, Canouan's
small size and central location in the Grenadines probably
preclude the development of a profitable fishing industry;
it's exhausted soil and seasonal drought also probably limit
the development of a significant cash-crop economy on the
20. Canouan's only major local productive activity, therefore, is subsistence cultivation.

2. Canouan islanders need a certain amount of cash to subsist. Few families escape the payment of taxes, rents, and/or fees that derive, in part, from the fact that few people own or can exercise rights in sufficient land to maintain their basic subsistence needs. In addition, not all of the foods consumed as part of the basic diet are produced on Canouan; neither are there sufficient craft specialists on the island to satisfy the fundamental household requirements of clothing, housewares, tools, etc. Without increased productivity and diversity, it would be difficult for Canouan to have a well developed system of interrelationships based on the transfer of locally produced goods.

Cash derived from the sale of goods in markets outside the island is limited by the fact that local production...
activities normally do not produce enough saleable excess to guarantee a cash reserve to cover minimal yearly expenditures.

3. Canouan men resolve the perceived and, to a large extent, real conflict situation posed by island needs versus available local resources by embarking on two alternative career paths: (1) emigration and (2) off-island wage labor in the form of sailing.

It has already been shown that emigration results in a society with more women than men, especially in the child-bearing years. I suggest that emigration also contributes to the absence of a well-developed system of local leadership on Canouan. Energetic and resourceful young men appear to be those most likely to emigrate. Thus, emigration becomes a constant drain on the pool of promising island leaders and contributes to the lack of political structures and power at the local level.

On the other hand, emigrants rarely sever all ties with their Canouan-based kinsmen. Their sporadic cash remittances, their occasional gifts, and their letters describing a way of life largely alien to the local residents probably play an important part in maintaining a cash economy on Canouan, in contributing to an incipient stratification system on the island based on differential wealth and possession of material goods, and in exposing the islanders to
new material wants.

These latter three effects are reinforced by Canouan males' choice of sailing as a pattern of migratory wage labor. Sailing, especially on Caribbean-based or international vessels, is a good source of income (some of which filters back to Canouan) and provides many opportunities for exposure to a more urban material culture and ideology.

On the other hand, sailing requires men to spend extended and irregular periods of time away from the island. For Canouan, this means that an important segment of the population is constantly shifting. Sailors have few opportunities to establish and maintain permanent involvement in island-based durable groups (associations). This is probably a significant factor in the relative lack of formal or corporate groups on the island.

Let us now turn to an examination of some of the ways in which Canouan islanders do group themselves and of some of the bases for membership in such groups.
CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned in Chapter I, social scientists studying the Caribbean have overwhelmingly defined this culture area as one with a weak sense of community, the implication being that one cannot study what is not really there. Peter Wilson points out that:

Anthropological studies in the Caribbean have sought to focus on the institutional aspect of organization—principally economic and trading institutions and the family—but one wonders if this is not a preconditioned academic approach groping for those strands of structural formality which we know to be important in other societies (Wilson 1961a: 152).

I have already suggested that Canouan is an island with few formal institutions and that these are not well integrated. On what basis, then, does social interaction take place? How are individuals differentiated? Wilson (1961a: 219) advises that one profitable approach to non-institutionally organized societies is to explore the basis of organization for the performance of daily activities: What do people do together, with whom do they do these things, and how often?

I shall be concerned in this chapter, then, with an examination of the major principles according to which
socially significant categories of "persons" are distinguished on Canouan. The principles to be discussed are:
(1) kinship, (2) color, (3) occupation and income, (4) education, (5) religion, (6) voluntary associations, (7) age, (8) sex, and (9) origin (Canouan born versus non-Canouan born).

The social identities associated with these principles are not all of the same order in that some—age, sex, and origin—are relevant to all social interactions on Canouan; and some are open to selection by the parties to the interaction or are subject to the islanders' definition of the appropriate occasion for the interaction. For example, if a man and a woman who are cousins meet at the door of the social club (Friendly Society) to which they both belong, they may opt to treat one another as mutual club members or they may interact on the basis of their shared kinship.\footnote{As Ward Goodenough has pointed out, however, "the parties to a social relationship do not ordinarily deal with one another in terms of only one identity-relationship at a time" (1965: 7).} They must, however, exhibit behavior considered appropriate to their respective sexual identities—male and female. The identities that one brings to the interaction are always limited by the relationship to the other party in the interaction and, as mentioned above, by the occasion for or situation surrounding the interaction. On Canouan, the
situation of the club meeting would make inappropriate the introduction of identities based, for example, on skin color. (Friendly Society members are to call one another "Brother" and "Sister": a sign of equality; distinctions based on color carry with them the implication of inequality.)

To a certain extent, the differentiation between identities that pervade all social relationships and those that are capable of being selected corresponds to differences in recruitment usually referred to as achievement versus ascription. The correspondence, however, is not complete. Kinship and race, usually associated with ascribed identities (i.e., not an identity one can acquire by some deliberate effort on his part), often operate as if they were situational on Canouan: kinship, because nearly everyone is related to everyone else in some way or another (the exception usually being those persons not born on Canouan); and race, because this identity can only appropriately be brought to a fairly small number of face-to-face social situations.

Thus, in contrast to the last three principles—age, sex, and origin—the first six principles tend to define social positions that are flexible in that the individuals who occupy these positions have considerable choice which social identity they will select in any given situation.

On the other hand, the fact that choices are not entirely random implies some degree of congruence in island
valuation of the goals of social interaction. I argue that it is in these shared categories and shared values that we shall find the integrating principles that constitute "community" on Canouan.

Principles

Kinship.—As an expression of island unity, people born on Canouan often use the phrase, "We's all one family here on Canouan." Given its small population and its historic pattern of preferred island endogamy, this statement probably represents an accurate picture of the complex kin ties that characterize Canouan today; for example, many islanders are related to one another in more than one way. While kinship may thus act to give islanders a sense of common identity, such overlapping kin ties may also provide opportunities for islanders to manipulate their kin affiliations within the system.

Canouan's kinship system may be classified as bilateral or cognatic. There are no bounded corporate groups larger than the household that are structured along kinship lines. Even the corporate functions associated with the household are somewhat limited in scope. Given the data presented in Chapter II, this should not be surprising. The Canouan household is normally not a cooperative unit of

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3Pehrson (1954: 199-200) defines corporate groups as those that have such "corporate attributes:of unilateral kin groupings as perpetuity through time, collective ownership of property and unified activity as a legal individual."
of production, and it may not be a closed unit of consumption. Also, many Canouan islanders do not own or have rights in land, and those who can exercise rights in "family land" work their portion as individuals. Land, then, is not a basis for the formation of nonunilineal kin or descent groups such as have been described for some bilaterally organized societies elsewhere. (e.g., Solien de González 1959b for the Black Caribs) Neither does Canouan have the agnostic lineage structure ("bloods") described by M. G. Smith (1962a) for Carriacou, a Grenadine island to the south of Canouan. Smith asserts that the Carriacou agnostic lineages operate as corporate groups by administering some types of family lands, by performing rituals (e.g., the Big Drum or Nation Dance).

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4 In this case, the "family" in "family land" refers to the descendants, which may under certain circumstances, include both legal and non-legal descendants, of the original purchaser of the land. Thus, we have seen that islanders use "family" in at least two different ways: (1) to mean one's putative kinsmen, no matter how distant, such as we encountered in the commonly expressed Canouan phrase, "He's all one family here on Canouan," meaning that all Canouan-born islanders feel themselves related even though the exact steps of that relationship can not always be traced; and (2) to mean a sort of collectivity of non-unilineally related kinsmen who share the right to claim use of a common ancestor's land. It is important to note, however, that the "family" as used in "family land" does not constitute a basis for the kinmen to organize in any way to participate in any kind of shared activity (i.e., they do not form a corporate group). See pages 106-111 for a more complete discussion of this feature. We shall also see that islanders use "family" in yet a third way: to refer to those relatively close kinsmen (near relatives) who constitute a resource from which certain goods and services conceivably might be expected.
connected with ancestor cults, and by conducting and participating in ceremonies marking major events in the lives of their members. None of these activities is especially relevant in Canouan. Most islanders rent land; they are little concerned with ancestors; and friends⁵ are as likely as kinsmen to attend births, christenings, weddings, etc. Thus, kinship forms the basis for few corporate functions in the everyday affairs of Canouan islanders.

Kinship does operate as a significant factor in some activities on Canouan, however.

It is probably the major parameter along which locally produced commodities are distributed. Food, especially prepared food or food that is to be used immediately, may be offered to a kinsman who passes by when the food is being cooked or being eaten. Similarly, such a kinsman would not be openly denied food or water (often in short supply on Canouan) at any time if he asked for it. For example, a woman short of eggs for baking Christmas cakes would probably make the rounds of her kinswomen to ask if they had extra eggs to spare. Kinsmen normally do not share stocks

⁵Since Canouan islanders are rarely friends with permanent island residents who were not born on Canouan, and Canouan born residents are mostly related to one another, a purist might find it artificial to distinguish friend from kinsman. Canouan islanders do make such a distinction, however, in explaining the reasons for a particular action. For example, a woman might invite a distant relative to a party because they "move well together" (are friends) but omit a closer relative from the guest list "because she too rude, man." On the other hand, a woman may express the reason for a party invitation to another as one of close kinship.
or reserves of food, however (e.g., a person would not give a large bag of dried peas to a relative). Fish that are to be eaten fresh (not corned = salted) are also shared with kinsmen who ask for them.

In the case of both vegetable foods and fish, the owner has no pattern of sharing that designates so much to one kinsman and so much to another. Instead, food is most likely to be shared because the asker is recognized as needing food and can activate some legitimate kinship tie to justify receiving a portion. The asker is usually a woman who has no adult males to provide for her or an elderly male with no resident female to work for him. Under these circumstances the kinship ties that are activated appear to be those that maximize the chances of a regular return. Both consanguineal and affinal, even "attenuated affinal ties," may be drawn upon. The following is a case in point. Mrs. A. and Mr. A. were separated. He was now living alone in the small vacant house belonging to his sister (her dead mother-in-law's house), but he was also visiting a single mother up on the hill who had many children, a practice that put an added strain on the relationship between the originally married mates. This, however, did not stop Mr. A.

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5"... attenuated affinity refers to a broken marital bond which is used as a decisive reference point in the establishment of meaningful relationships among members in a kindred network" (Whitten 1970: 217).
from occasionally coming by the house and asking his estranged wife for food. Mrs. A., living with her young grandchild in the house she and her husband had shared (Mrs. A. claimed that her son had built the house and that her husband had only "supervised the work" [p. 56; HH 44]), in turn got fish regularly from her husband's brother, an important fisherman on the island (when he was not sailing).

Nancie L. González (1970: 242) has suggested that, for the woman, at least, the ability to disperse one's loyalties and to activate various ties as needed is perhaps adaptive in that the woman, and the children dependent upon her, gains some measure of security even though the male may fail in his economic role of provider.

Food grants of the above type are not seen as reciprocal. The giver thereby gains some measure of prestige over the recipient in that the former is obviously in a position to have excess to spare and the latter is described as "poor" if he is forced into the position of asking. A woman may try to circumvent this ascription by justifying her food grant as her due because of some failure on the part of the giver's kinsman (as in the example above: Mrs. A. justified her claim of fish from her husband's brother because her husband had failed as provider. In addition, Mrs. A. did

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7I suspect that Mrs. A's continuing generosity to her estranged husband stemmed in part from her assessment of his need of food from her as a breakdown in his relations with his kinsman [mistress] on the hill.
continue, upon occasion, to provide her husband with food). All other food gifts are considered reciprocal and should be repaid, not necessarily in kind, within a reasonable period of time. Both claims and gifts are a source of some conflict on the island. While it would be rare that either would touch off an argument, accusations of improper claims and unequal reciprocity are frequently drawn into disputes over some other matter.

Houses are not rented on Canouan, but a vacant house will be lent to a kinsman in need (e.g., to Mr. A. in the example above). Unwed young girls, after telling their mothers of their first pregnancy (outside of marriage), are often beaten and thrown out of their households of orientation. It is usual for a maternal kinswoman to take the girl in until such time as the mother’s anger has subsided and the girl can move back home. Teenage boys, in temporary disagreement with their mothers, are also welcome at a maternal kinswoman’s house. Occasionally, such a boy will get some of his companions together and they will sleep out for a few nights in a kinswoman’s empty house.

Sharing of shelter is especially important to Canouan islanders who travel to other islands. Few could afford the cost of a hotel or guest house, so it is typical for them to stay with a relative when they visit. In addition, without relatives, parents wishing advanced education
for a gifted child would probably not be able to afford it, since room and board, as well as books, supplies, and uniforms would prove too costly for even the most wealthy Canouan islander. In this sense, then, emigrated children and kinsmen become part of one's social capital that permit one greater participation in the larger society outside the island.

Co-operative labor, organized along kinship lines, is exceedingly rare on Canouan. There are no suau (esusu), combites, etc. like those described for some other Caribbean islands (e.g., Herskovits 1941, 1947). Parents will sometimes send children to help a kinsman (often to fulfill a reciprocal kin obligation that can not be returned in kind by the debtor). Young men will sometimes do the heavy work for a lone female relative, but she will try to give the boys some token payment. For the most part, however, menial jobs are considered outside the kin province and islanders therefore hire outsiders (= non-Canouan born men; see below) to do the task for a standard rate of pay.

It is important to realize that most goods and services are provided to kinsmen with the full expectation that they will reciprocate within a reasonable period of time. Whether a gift is given unsolicited or whether it is asked for, it constitutes a dyadic contract. Repayment

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SDyadic contracts, according to George Foster (1961: 1174) are 'informal, or implicit, since they lack
may be made directly and in kind or indirectly (through someone else) and in some comparable good or service. As will be shown later in this Chapter, children are sometimes used to close contracts, especially if the fulfillment of the contract involves manual labor. Perhaps more important, children can be used to circumvent the contract system altogether.

It is also important to note that the kin-reciprocity system on Canouan itself does not normally involve cash or goods purchased for cash. Wilson (1961a) in discussing the ideology of kinship as one of equality implies that kinship contradicts the need for economic achievement. In a sense, this may be true for Canouan, but the islanders appear to have avoided some aspects of this apparent conflict by extending kin reciprocity only to locally available goods and services associated with subsistence needs and by omitting cash and purchased items associated with the social prestige system on the island (see below). As will become evident later, this division of kin-reciprocal and non-kin-reciprocal goods means that island food (except for most fresh fish) and shelter (most usually provided by a matrilateral kinswoman) are largely under the ritual or legal basis. . . . Explicit contracts are made explicit through networks of gossip by the Ego preferring the prestation" (Whitten 1969: 232). On Canouan, failure to repay most commonly motivates a giver to make an implicit contract explicit through gossip.
domestic domain of the female.

Canouan, like the Caribbean in general, has an Eskimo type kinship terminological system. As English speakers, the terms are essentially the same as those used in other English-speaking areas of the New World, but there are some modifications in the application of these terms to comparable categories of kin. For the most part, these modifications appear to be associated with the structural differentiation that exists between legitimate and illegitimate offspring and the fact that legitimate offspring are more likely to be co-resident with their fathers than are non-legal offspring.

Sometime before age thirty-five, nearly all Canouan-born males marry legally. Marriage is monogamous and is usually delayed until a man can establish a neolocal residence. It is highly probable that one or both members of the conjugal pair have children outside of their present union (i.e., by mates other than their present one). On Canouan, these children normally are not brought into the newly formed household; they are typically left with maternal kin. For the husband, this means that his illegitimate child(ren) is left with his former mate(s). If she should eventually marry, she then leaves the child(ren) with her relatives, most commonly her mother, just as the man's wife would do if she had any illegitimate children. Both
a married man and a married woman are expected to contribute some part of the financial support of their illegitimate children domiciled elsewhere. Although I shall be discussing this in more detail later, I feel it is important to mention here that although legitimate and illegitimate children on Canouan are structurally differentiated, they are not socially differentiated (i.e., there is no stigma attached to a child jurally defined as illegitimate).

So far, this discussion has tended to imply that as many children are non-resident with their mothers as they are with their fathers. This is not the case. First, there are more women than men on Canouan; therefore, women are less likely to marry and thus remain as resident members of their own families of orientation along with their offspring. At the death of their parent(s), these single mothers usually become heads of their own households made up of themselves and their children (usually fathered by several men). Second, women who marry while their children are relatively young are more likely to be women whose children are only by their future spouse. These children are brought into the household and legitimized by the marriage of their parents.

Most men recognize paternity, whether in or outside of marriage; therefore, usually everyone knows who a child's father is. Legally, St. Vincent requires that an unlawful child be registered with the surname of his mother. Locally,
the child and/or his mother may choose to use either surname, the father's or the mother's. Canouan islanders are most casual about this. Since islanders try not to duplicate first names on the island, last names are rarely used. Also, a surname is not chosen once and for all, i.e., a person may use the last name of his father on one occasion and that of his mother on another.

Islanders are equally casual about first names. The registered or christened name is often not the one used locally as a term of address; instead, what islanders refer to as a "play-name," "house-name," or "kitchen-name" is used. A few examples from my field notes will illustrate:

I asked Mrs. A. the name of our neighbor (I had asked her this before but had seen a different name on the household register of the Public Health Inspector). "Achel; some say Rachel, but most call her Achel—Achel Kendall. ("I thought I heard someone call her Ashley.") "Achel Ashley? Well, she must have taken the mother's name." (F 56: H44 paraphrased from field notes)

The priest is expected to come on Tuesday, so Mrs. B. wants to christen Rosalie, her daughter, on Wednesday. Mrs. B.'s sister, Mrs. C., had selected the baby's name. Mrs. B. had at first decided to call the child Caroline Marie, but Mrs. C. hadn't been too keen about that name. She had appeared to have accepted whatever the mother's choice had been, however. Unknown to Mrs. B., Mrs. C. (the official registrar for the island) had changed the name to Rosalie and had entered this name on the birth record. . . . Mrs. E. complained that the problem with Rosalie (as a name) was that there was already a Rosalie on the island. "But I can call her anything—Marie, or Caroline, or any name" (B = F36: H17; C = F45: H539—paraphrased, from field notes).
There is also some indication that at least some islanders feel that one's real or baptismal first name should be known only to one's friends. On two occasions, women revealed their first names to me since I was "now a friend." I had to promise to tell no one else what the name was.

Provided a person has but one play-name by which he is known, he could possibly be addressed by as many as four name combinations:

- legal first name
- play name
- mother's surname
- father's surname

Add to this the occasional use of titles (e.g., Captain), and naming can become very confusing to an outsider.9

Elementary kin terms of address and terms of reference for primary kin are the same as those used in other

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9 Obviously, part of the confusion I initially experienced over names stemmed from the way I was defined by some of the islanders as some sort of official outsider who should warrant legal names in response to given questions. Because of the secrecy (by some) surrounding first names, some people could only give me the kitchen name and the legal surname (thereby sometimes ignoring a person's choice of surname for local use); close friends could use both legal names, and casual discussion might yield neither. Such apparent confusion was in all probability not part of daily life on Canouan but was generated by my presence. Some ambivalence over naming does occur among islanders, however, partly because the priests are now discouraging the use of play-names among the people:

Mrs. C. told me that many people went by their play-names but not so many as used to do so. "The priest come and he tell the people that God doesn't know them by that name but by the one that was given in church. 'You come here and give the baby a name and go home and call the baby "Pancake""." (F45: H539—paraphrased, from field notes)
English-speaking areas of the New World. The derivative forms (step-brother, step-son, etc.) are not normally used, although islanders are familiar with their meanings. A relationship established by virtue of sharing one parent is usually designated as "______ by mother" or "______ by father" (e.g., "We are brothers by father" means that the boys share the same father but not the same mother). The absence of the "step-" prefix type of derivative terminology should not be unexpected given the structural differentiation between full- and half-siblings on Canouan. Only full-siblings are likely to share a common household with a father present. (This is not necessarily true for female-headed households since in single-mother households, half-siblings might share common residence.)

A child may extend the term of address, "mother" (and its diminutive forms), to the woman who acts in this capacity in his household of orientation (rarely a woman who informally adopts a child; but most likely his maternal grandmother). This most commonly occurs when a woman's oldest daughter(s) begins her child bearing career before her mother has completed hers; thus, the woman's first grandchildren are of the same age group as her own youngest children. If the daughter is young and unwed, she continues to live at home and does not significantly alter her role after her child's birth. Her mother simply absorbs the
grandchild into her own circle of children and they all grow up together, the unwed mother-daughter simply continuing as one of the older children. The grandchild can distinguish his real mother from his grandmother linguistically ("______ is my real mother, but _______ rear me up"): but he often does not distinguish her behaviorally.

Lineal kinship terms are also used as in other New World English-speaking areas, but collateral terminology is limited to "aunt," "uncle," and "cousin." Degrees of collaterality are not designated, i.e., islanders normally do not use the terms "great aunt," "great uncle," or "first," "second," etc. "cousin." Neither do they use the ending "in-law" to designate affines. If greater clarification is needed, the speaker usually reverts to descriptive terminology. Another common way of expressing kin relationships is through reference to a third person: "You cousins. He have to call you mother aunt" (from field notes).

To an outsider, the Canouan kinship system appears further complicated by the extensive use of kin terms as terms of address for female non-kin (or kin in other than the designated kin category): "Sister," "Aunt," "Auntie," "Tante" (on Canouan, pronounced "tanten;" from the French term for "aunt"), "Mama." One informant explained that such usage comes about when the woman so designated (e.g., "Aunt Anna") has many people in the appropriate reciprocal kin
category (e.g., nieces and nephews). Other children and adults simply begin to use the form of address that they hear so often. I suspect that the use of "Sister" (and rarely, "Brother") are extensions of their required use as terms of address among members of one of the Friendly Societies. In neither case of these extensions of kin terminology can we say that these terms of address refer to fictive kin ties.

There is really only one kind of fictive kinship on Canouan: that between godparents and godchildren. Godparenthood has limited behavioral correlates on the island. In the first place, godparents are primarily chosen for legal children. In the second place, because of the high rate of emigration, godparents have often left the island before the child has reached maturity.

In addition to their participation in the christening ceremonies (both in church and in the household of the child), godparents are supposed to give gifts for and participate in the special events in the child's life, for example, birthdays, confirmation, etc. Children are supposed to address their godfather as "compere," and their godmother as "macme" or "ninne" ("ninny"). One measure of the lack of importance of these fictive kin relationships on Canouan is that, after the christening, these things are rarely done. Only when the fictive kin tie reinforces an
actual kin tie is it likely to be referred to (e.g.,
"Aunt ______ is also my godmother.").

Because of the prevailing patterns of domiciling of
children on Canouan, an illegitimate child is likely to
interact much more with his maternal kin than with his
paternal kin. The term, "close kin," then, more commonly
applies to a larger kin group on the mother's side of the
family than on the father's, and the child is more apt to
make claim or to activate these ties than those through his
father. Typically, a father, once he is married, never
really interacts with his outside children except when an
occasional mother might send the child to the father to get
money for his support. Even in the case of a married couple,
the children are more likely to interact with their maternal
kin. I have already mentioned that married children usually
continue to maintain rather close ties with their mothers.
This is especially true of sons and mothers, since the son
is expected to continue to contribute to his mother's support
after he is married. It shall be shown in Chapter IV that
this tie often puts a great deal of strain on the marriage
bond. Wives are not pleasantly disposed towards their mothers-
in-law (and vice-versa), but given neolocal residence and
the males' pattern of off-island wage labor, wives (and the
children) can effectively ignore their mothers-in-law most of
the time.
Following the advice of Wilson (1961a: 92), this section of kinship has attempted to explore the major ways in which kinship ties are the structural bases for interaction among Canouan islanders. In general, we may conclude that:

(1) The nuclear family on Canouan has few formal functions. In fact, the next chapter will show that at certain stages of its development, the family is likely to be dispersed among several households. While a single father may interact with his children by his most recent mate, his early career choice of sailing and his continued residence in the household of his mother precludes extensive involvement in the enculturation of his children. As will be discussed in more detail later, the enduring dyadic relationships within the nuclear family are those that result from common residence rather than from descent, affinity, and consanguinity alone. For this reason, (and others to be discussed later), the mother-child (especially mother-son and mother-resident daughter) relationship tends to be the most enduring; that between co-resident siblings (most likely full siblings for the reasons discussed above) is somewhat less continuous.\(^{10}\) Siblings sharing a common mother

\(^{10}\) This seems especially true for Canouan compared to reports by ethnographers for other areas (e.g., González 1970; Davenport 1961) perhaps because of Canouan's distinction between subsistence and luxury goods as items of exchange. A son or daughter would send money and purchased gifts to a
are jurally equivalent, but legal children of a father take precedence over their non-legal siblings. (See discussion of inheritance below.) The most fragile nuclear family bond, from the standpoint of durability and frequency of interaction, appears to be that between mates. For the male, at least, his household of orientation often appears to take precedence over the household he establishes as husband-father.

(2) Kin obligations and occasions for interaction outside the household and the nuclear family are limited in scope. We might classify them into three somewhat overlapping categories.

First, extended kin groups are the primary routes by which local commodities—land, vegetables, fish, water, and eggs—are directly and usually reciprocally exchanged (no cash is involved). In this way, the island resources, which constitute a large part of the basic necessities for the Canouan islander, are dispersed. While it is true that each household has a garden in which much the same crops are raised, and most households keep some livestock (chickens, goats, sheep, and more rarely, cattle, and pigs), kin reciprocity assures that most goods are shared, thus making up for any temporary deficit in one household's resources at mother (or a mother and father if co-resident) as would a father or mother to his children, but on Canouan, siblings do not exchange cash or luxury goods, e.g., a brother may be quite wealthy, in island terms, but his sister or brother may be very poor.
one time. More important, the system provides an adequate, if somewhat lean, subsistence base for a large segment of the population that has no access to much cash reserve: for example, single mothers, deserted or inadequately provided for, wives, old men, and dependent children.11 The preferred island-endogamous mating system means that it would be rare for a Canouan born individual to lack a kin tie that he could activate in times of emergency; only an outsider (stranger) could be truly destitute on Canouan. This does not mean that islanders don't feel themselves poor or destitute. Cash and the things cash can buy define the wealthy and prestigious on Canouan, and one usually gets access to these things himself or via his mate or his children (usually sons). A "poor" Canouan islander by island standards is one with no husband and no sons (or, more specifically, no

11 I think it might be important to point out that in this respect, Canouan is different from most urban and industrial societies—for example, the urban poor in the United States—where it is often difficult for a woman and children to exist independently of some source of cash income. While it is true that a Canouan woman would complain bitterly that such an existence is impossible, a small number of them can and do live primarily on the crops and animals that they can raise and supplement their incomes by selling or exchanging in the reciprocity system any small excess they can save. I suspect that the knowledge that they can exist independently of a man (either minimally, as described above, or more commonly, supplemented by cash sent by grown sons) gives especially older women a sense of control over their own destinies that is probably less frequent in the urban-cash dependent societies (see Chapter IV for some additional comments on this hypothesis).
"good" husband and "good" sons = they don't send money or gifts).

Second, kinship forms one basis for invitations to certain types of social events on the island: parties and ceremonies associated with rites of passage of the household members, e.g., births, christenings, return-thanks ceremonies (for some special good fortune), marriage ceremonies and feasts, funerals, wakes, and entombings. Again, there are no cultural rules that designate that certain kin must be invited to particular events. Whether the kinsmen are on good terms at the time of the event would largely dictate an invitation or lack of it. Nor is it likely kinsmen would constitute an entire guest list. Friendship, or perhaps the desire for a prestigious guest, is as likely, or even more likely, to be the basis for including a person in a household celebration. Thus, in this instance, kinship is only one of a series of inter-personal relationships that act to structure interaction between individuals or households.

Third, the fact that a significant number of islanders have kinsmen who have emigrated to larger Caribbean islands, to North America, or to England, means that most people have the basis for extending their experiences beyond the island boundaries. Emigrants to other Caribbean islands act as loci for visiting or temporary residence for travelling Canouan islanders. They also send gift packages
of food that ordinarily would have to be purchased at the shops if obtained on Canouan. Flour, sugar, salt, some fresh fruit, etc. are sent via the local mail schooner or informally by interisland freighters on which a Canouan sailor works. Canouan islanders reciprocate by sending locally grown vegetables (especially pigeon peas) that are not available on the larger islands and by continuing to contribute every other week the twenty-five cents dues to the Friendly (Burial-Beneficent) Society in the emigrant's name. Emigrants to North America or to England (especially if they have children or parents on the island) are likely to send money or purchased non-food items--e.g., clothing, toys, decorative pillows, etc.--periodically. Probably equally important are the letters that inform the islanders of life in the urban industrial northern areas and the return replies that keep the emigrants apprised of events and gossip on the island.

At the risk of becoming embroiled in a terminological dispute, I feel it useful to distinguish this kind of kin group (as described in the three situations above] ego-based or laterally derived) from the next type to be discussed below (ancestor-based or lineally derived) and from the more general terms of "relatives" or "kin." The key here, I believe, is the recognition by Canouan islanders of certain of their relatives as constituting a source of
potential resources. While there is still a great deal of controversy over the definition of the term, I feel that we can most meaningfully refer to this circle of relatives as a kindred. The Canouan kindred, then, refers to a non-corporate group of nonunilineally "related kinsmen who are seen by informants as potential resources, whether they are activated or not" (Buchler and Selby 1968: 89). On Canouan, these bilateral groups can include consanguines and affines (as well as ties activated through attenuated affinity), and the degrees of genealogical distance that are utilized as lines of activation are usually not the same on the father's side and the mother's side. Genealogical distance, especially for illegitimate children, tends to be deeper on the mother's side. This is partly an outgrowth of the fact that illegitimate children are more likely to be co-resident with their

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12 See Buchler and Selby (1968: 86-89) and Goodenough (1970: 40-51) for an excellent discussion of the theoretical issues involved in the controversy over the definition of the kindred. Otto Blehr (1963) has preferred to use the term, "kith," for a group that is structurally and functionally similar (but not identical) to the Canouan case (Blehr's kith = "persons related by consanguineal and/or affinal ties involving mutual obligations," p. 271) to distinguish it from the kindred, which he reserves for a group composed of consanguines only. As Blehr has defined the two terms, "kith" would be the more accurate choice for the Canouan situation, but since this designation has not yet received wide-spread acceptance, I shall use the term, "kindred" here, especially in the light of its less restrictive definition offered by a number of anthropologists (cited above).
maternal kinsmen. Thus, common residence largely determines the likelihood of certain ties being activated over others in the same kin category (e.g., aunt, uncle, etc.).

Although this chapter is devoted to an examination of the bases for daily social interaction, there is another type of kin-based group that acts to determine land use rights in “family land” among Canouan islanders (see footnote 4, this chapter). It has been mentioned only briefly before because it does not act to structure mutual aid or reciprocal relationships. In other words, although use rights are determined by virtue of the recognition of certain lines of cognatic descent, members of the kin group thus formed do not get together to perform some collective activity or do not establish mutual rights and obligations in one another by virtue of their shared land rights (other than recognition of these rights). Thus, although one’s kindred may include overlapping membership with the group of cognatically related kinsmen who share land-use rights with you, the two do not coincide.

Rights in family land on Canouan (recall from Chapter II that most of Canouan, including approximately 2/3 of the crop land, is not privately owned; and thus, the majority of the land and land holders do not participate in this scheme) are determined cognatically from the original purchaser of the land. Children of both sexes can inherit
land from either their mother or their father. Legal heirs of the male, however, take precedence over his non-legal heirs, but legitimate and illegitimate children of the female can normally claim equal portions of land-use rights she inherits from her ancestors but not to land-use rights she obtains by marriage.

Given this pattern, it is possible, and even probable, for children to have several land-use rights that they can activate. Also, we might predict that with each succeeding generation, claims for land use will tend to exceed the available land reserves. This has not been a real problem on Canouan, as yet. First, land purchase on Canouan is a relatively recent phenomenon (late 1800's and again in the 1950's). Thus, claimants are usually only one or two generations removed from the original purchaser. Second, the purchased land is not exceedingly diverse; by this I mean that it is really only suitable for two types of crops: the garden crops raised in small patches around the house and, in some cases, tuberous or root crops (sweet potatoes, eddoes, etc.) raised on the beach or in sandy soil. Much of this land has been over-cropped by now and is largely used for housespots with surrounding gardens and some open grazing land. Since primarily only the women are the gardeners and their techniques and time are limited, the plots of family land that can be claimed for use are small, especially since
women usually also rent additional hill-upland for crop
diversity. Third, since World War II, large numbers of
young people have emigrated, so land claimants are greatly
reduced. In fact, some affinal collaterals have managed
to gain use of private land to which they would not normally
have been entitled because sufficient lineal kinsmen did not
activate their inherited right to use all of the available
land. We must therefore distinguish those relatives,
cognatically descended from the original purchasing ancestor
who have rights in family land (and can pass these rights
on to their descendants), and those who actually use the
land.

Both of these conditions have consequences for
Canouan behavior.

In the first case, the cognatic descendants are
considered to have right in land in perpetuity, irrespective
of whether they activate them or not. Because many of
these people have emigrated, land has tended to remain
undivided among heirs. Also, because claims are now several
generations deep, it is almost impossible to sell a portion
of the land or a house, or even to rent an ancestor's house,
because, technically, all claimants should be consulted and
should receive their portion of any revenues derived from
the mutually-held possession.

In the second case, actual use of the land or
dwelling is largely determined by residence pattern. Use is
determined by informal arrangements made among resident co-
heirs or by a single co-heir for that portion he has been
using. The depth of genealogical distance that may be
activated in actual land use is largely determined by the
available resident population that can claim rights. Lineals
take precedence over collaterals, collaterals over affinals.
In terms of housespots (the house and immediately surrounding
gardens), resident females (usually single mothers who have
maintained residence in their households of orientation) take
precedence over non-resident females (who presumably have
left their households of orientation to take up residence
with their husbands) and males (who are expected to build
a house of their own on marriage).

It is really only in this second case that kindred
ties may be activated in relation to land. In such cases,
the use is technically considered temporary since the user
would have to relinquish his plot if sufficient legitimate
heirs (legitimate only in the local sense since this pattern
of family land distribution is not given legal recognition
by St. Vincent) turned up to lay claim. Once actual use
has been established, however, it is likely to continue
since emigrants and their descendants do not normally return
to the island.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{13}It will be interesting to watch this situation,
however. With the recent reduction in emigration opportuni-
ties, the expected population growth, the increasing
In keeping with earlier discussion, I should like to point out that by allowing unclaimed family land to fall under the kindred system, islanders accomplish one of the hypothesized purposes of that system: the distribution of local commodities (in this case, excess land) to those who need it, thereby helping to insure some modicum of independence to otherwise needy kinsmen (usually women who will use the land for gardens). The structural maintenance of the descent system as the professed mechanism for land-use inheritance (a system that virtually prohibits house rental and land sale) helps to reinforce our hypothesized separation of cash and kin (above). I suspect, too, that to a certain extent, this system is maintained in the hope that emigrated kinsmen (especially children) will eventually return to the island (a hope also expressed in the continuing payment of burial fees for emigrants to the Friendly Societies, a feature to be discussed later).

Color.—A second principle that acts to distinguish socially significant categories of people on Canouan is skin color, or more accurately, the shade (amount of melanin pigmentation) of one's skin and the general facial features that reflect one's degree of admixture of European and generational depth from the purchasing ancestor, and the development plans that threaten to drastically reduce available rental land, pressure on the land and disputes over land-use rights may well emerge as a major problem for Canouan islanders.
African stocks.

One of the major consequences of some islanders' work and life outside the island is a heightened color consciousness. This phenomenon is by no means a new one for Canouan; but it appears to have been intensified in recent years, especially by the tales and experiences brought back by sailors returning from metropolitan ports. Many of these sailors land in coastal cities of New York, Boston, and those of the southern United States as well as in cities on the large tourist islands. For these men, "color" takes on a new meaning: "Negro," "Black," or "Coloured" versus "White." On Canouan itself, where all residents except one are classified as 'Negro' or 'Mixed' by the census takers,¹⁵ this dichotomy is rarely expressed.

¹⁵In the "Explanatory Notes" accompanying the St. Vincent Windward Islands Population Census, 1960, the following guidelines are offered to census takers concerning "Race or Ethnic Origin":

While the enumerator's task here was to classify persons in the household along the lines of the respondent's assessment, he was also fully instructed to avoid confusing racial with national classification. The following ten ethnic groups were recognised in the Eastern Region: Negro, White, East-Indian, Chinese, Mixed, Portuguese, Amerindian, Carib, Syrian, and Lebanese and other. Children born to parents of different racial groups were classified as Mixed (1963: x).

David Loventhal cautions that racial ascriptions given in census data are unreliable, to say the least. Bias on the part of the census-taker plus changing social evaluations often result in racial percentages varying quite significantly from one census to the next in areas where migration has been minimal during the same time span (Loventhal 1967: 599-600).
When sailors are drunk, they may curse "the White man" or, upon occasion, lament and ponder the "Black" man's position in the world; or a woman may proudly comment on how many "White" people attended a daughter's wedding in England. On a day-to-day basis, however, color appears to operate more subtly.

Historically, color must have been more closely tied to class, for some islanders still point with pride to their light skins and their relationship to the Snagg's (if spelled with two g's, the spelling used by the former estate owners, as opposed to the one g Snags, not so related). A careful distinction is also sometimes made between the light and the dark complexioned DeRoche's (a common surname on the island), the former having been early small landowners. Undoubtedly, it was also the historic practice on Canouan, as elsewhere in Plantation America, to employ the lighter Negro slaves as domestics on the estate. M. G. Smith talks of the resulting color hierarchy that emerged from this differential employment: "where colour was important to the whites and the blacks, shade was important to the coloured" (1953: 65). Shade continues to be an important distinguishing characteristic among Canouan islanders. For example, shade, along with the presence or absence of "good features" (especially aquiline nose and long, straight hair), form the basis for most physical descriptions of people.
Interestingly, "good features" are coupled in the describers' minds with good behavior or "good character." Witness these statements: Several women are describing the future mate of a young, light complexioned sailor: "She's a dark girl but she's nice anyway." [I heard this statement from two different women on two different occasions.] Practically the same statement was used to describe a friend who had died. Conversely, a light person is expected to behave better than a dark: "______ did that [expressing incredulity]? And he a light person, too."

It is only one step further to self depreciation. A young girl laments, "All my brothers and sisters are clearer [lighter skinned] than me" (F17: HH51). Such self-effacement reflects a very real, if subtle, difference in treatment and attitude toward children of differing shade from both neighbors and family on the island. Off the island, employment opportunities are generally better for those with lighter skins.

On Canouan, light complexioned young people are more sought-after as mates. This preference is illustrated in the following incidences:

Mrs. A. is showing pictures of her two grandchildren in England and is discussing the "good features" of her daughter, Nita. "See how they hair is long. Nita's hair is as long as yours [the researcher's]. Evan, a dark man, but he have good children because of Nita. She say he glad to get she as a mother of his children. If you could have seen the number of men wanted Nita. He, Evan, come home and he breed she--out of spite; He say no man goin' to take she then" (F56: HH44).
People feel that a dark skinned girl should have more sense that to hope for marriage with a lighter man:

What, she think she goin' to get him to marry up with she, a darkie, after he been with Jeanetta, a clear girl! She just make another baby, that's all (F56: H44—paraphrased from field notes).

Parents seem to favor lighter children; at the same time they usually expect more from such off-spring (in terms of 'character' and economic accomplishment). One island father reported that he was proud of his daughter even though she had never written to him since she had left home: "I got a big shot daughter in the States. She my only girl—an outside [illegitimate] child, but high color, so she go far. She a big shot; me a darkie little shot" (K54: H122—paraphrased, from field notes). The intensity of these shade and feature preferences is perhaps best reflected in the following incident. After over twelve hours in intensive labor, a young mother's first comment upon seeing her newborn daughter was, "Oh, she's got a flat nose." The attending women consoled her by assuring her that some of this 'defect' could be corrected by pinching and pulling the baby's nose everyday. 16

Dark skinned individuals are assumed to gain prestige by associating with lighter skinned people; thus,

16Interestingly, this is evidently not unique advice in the Caribbean. Raymond T. Smith also reports such a comment in his British Guianese material (1956: 212).
those who are lighter (or "White") should avoid being taken advantage of by those darker than themselves. For example, when I was asked to be a godmother for one of the islander's children, I got this advice from one woman (the woman above who was proud of her daughter's light skin and good features):

You got to watch that (points to researcher's skin). Do you know who she got to stand up with you? She get some of her black people to do it. You got to watch. You didn't know. She too damn rude, I tell you. She'll get some black Nigger man and you'll have to call him companion... She should go get some darkie. You have that word in New York? Darkie? She too damn forward, man (Paraphrased, from field notes).

The opposite also holds true: dark skinned parents should not stand in the way of their lighter children. Thus, parents will, to a certain extent, expect (or at least excuse) such children's cutting themselves off from their family if they emigrate and make good (as in the example of the father of the "big shot" daughter, above).

The reader would be in error if, from the above comments, he assumed Canouan to be a color-class society (or the "plural society" hypothesized by M. G. Smith [especially 1965] and others to exist in some areas of the Caribbean). As with kinship, color is but one of a number of factors that may come into play in structuring interpersonal relationships. I observed no case in which color acted as the sole basis for a permanent alliance or avoidance between individuals or groups.
I suspect that the Canouan case is similar to that which Madeline Kerr found in Jamaica:

What is so interesting is that the attitude to colour seems to persist at different levels. In other words you get different personality constellations producing what appear to be different attitudes to colour in the same person. One day a person will be bitter and anti-white, yet when another constellation is involved he will be concerned with fears and dislike only of people darker than himself. It is as if in some constellations he is the almost white man with white ideals, in others he is the dark man resenting white domination (1963: 95).

I am not sure that I feel comfortable with Kerr's term, personality constellations, but it is clear from the incidents I observed on Canouan (some of which are reported above) that islanders do express what often appear to be contradictory color attitudes in varying situations.

As an aid to understanding, I should like to suggest a tentative descriptive classification of the circumstances in which color comments were observed to be expressed and the direction these comments were likely to take. For simplicity, let me list these here as (1) island vs. general (those color comments emerging in the island context vs. those meant to be generally applicable); (2) self vs. other (those color comments or assessments focused on oneself vs. those focused on others); and (3) positive vs. negative (those color comments that are complimentary vs. those that are disparaging). These parameters are meant to be overlapping; thus, each color comment can be described by using
one feature from each of the three paired categories thereby making a possible eight-class descriptive instrument

[e.g., the young girl who lamented that all her brothers and sisters were clearer than she, was making a disparaging (3, above) statement focused on an island situation (1) and herself (2). Although all eight types of comments were heard on Canouan, we shall see that only "positive or negative", "island," "other" comments are important in interpersonal relations. As Kerr (1963) points out, "self" comments probably have important psychological ramifications, but I'm not qualified to fully discuss these here.

First, I think we must clearly distinguish the dichotomous color classification of "Black" vs. "White" ("Negro" vs. "White") from that of shade (and varying degrees of 'good features'). The former implies a color caste; the latter, a color continuum. Islanders are aware that in the United States and, to a lesser (but increasing) extent, in England and Canada, they would all be lumped together into a single social category--Negro, defined as all those with any known Negroid ancestry, a definition that all islanders, except the one disputed claimant, agree applies to themselves. The infrequently heard color-caste expression

17a. island-self-positive  3a. general-self-positive
b. island-self-negative   b. general-self-negative

2a. island-other-positive  4a. general-other-positive
b. island-other-negative  b. general-other-negative
is, therefore, a statement of island unity: we (islanders) against the generalized (non-islander) others. For our purposes, then, color-caste is not an important factor in structuring day-to-day social interaction. As I have already suggested, however, shade (implying color continuum) is important. Despite its physical character, we would be in error if we assumed color to be an ascribed classification on Canouan. Islanders are not immutably arranged on an invisible color continuum with each islander feeling inferior to all those lighter than he and superior to all those of darker skin tone. As with the other principles to be discussed in this section, color is a feature that can be used to one's advantage to help gain entrance to a particular group or to justify omission of another person from some activity (e.g., "We clear people have to stick together." "Don't trust her because she a darkie.") or to justify one's own omission from some activity or one's own failure to achieve success (e.g., ". . . me [just a] darkie little shot.").

In a situation in which one is at a color disadvantage, one can choose to simply ignore the color principle and attempt to maximize some other feature (e.g., kinship, monetary success, education, etc.). This can easily be done in a face-to-face situation for islanders were never observed to allude to another's color when in a direct confrontation.
Instead, color forms a part of the backdrop of gossip and the sparring for allies that nearly always accompany personal disputes on Canouan. It is important to note, however, that whether an islander chooses to ignore or to utilize the color principle, it is the shared island valuation of Caucasoid features (light complexion; aquiline nose; straight, long hair; thin lips, etc.) as more desirable or better than Negroid features (dark skin, etc.) that permits the principle to operate at all.

In practice, although skin shade and facial feature descriptions were a common part of Canouan conversation, these comments did not frequently appear to be excessively emotion-laden. The only people for whom it appeared to be an urgent matter were the Seventh Day Adventists, the minority religious group on the island, whose thirty-four members were nearly all "strangers" or "outsiders" (people born outside of Canouan).

**Occupation and Income.**—Although economics and livelihood were discussed in some detail in Chapter II, I think it important that we place this material in the context of Canouan community organization. To a certain extent, this is a difficult task, for full understanding of the role of occupation must await an examination of the Canouan social prestige system and the respective role alternatives available to males. However, a few comments
can be made at this time.

Perhaps more than any other factor, the amount of cash a person or a household has at its disposal determines the degree of and character of its participation in Canouan society. As was already pointed out in the discussion of kinship, although it is possible for a person to survive with a minimum of cash, this person or household would be defined as in dire poverty by Canouan standards. Acquisition of cash, then, and the goods and services cash can buy are the overwhelming concerns of each Canouan islander and household.

Recall that, typically, household members do not form a co-operative or corporate unit of production on Canouan. This means that a household's cash resources normally come from a variety of productive activities engaged in by its adult members.

The most important cash earning member is usually the male head-of-household (in fact, his headship is likely to be determined, in part, by his ability to be the major wage earner in the household). Consequently, for the most part, the prestige value of the job he holds is directly related to the wages it carries with it, and this in turn acts to define the status of the entire household.

As a man's sons mature, they too become wage earners and are expected to contribute a portion of their salaries
to the household in which they reside. In practice, however, rather limited data from the most wealthy families on the island suggest that a son's cash contribution is inversely proportional to his father's. Sons in a wealthy household are released from pressures to earn support money and therefore have a greater number of alternatives open to them. (1) They can extend their education beyond the primary grades, thereby delaying their wage earning capacities but also increasing their chances for emigration. (2) They may delay their career choice since wealthy families can absorb a non-productive adult for a time. (3) Such young men may also engage in earlier and more frequent sexual liaisons since wealthier men are in a better position to bargain with (or make demands on) young women who hope for a secure marriage. Such activities would tend to drain the young man's cash resources from access by the household in which he resides as he provided the socially expected support money to his outside (illegitimate) children. Last (4), the young man may marry earlier since he can divert the bulk of his earnings to building and furnishing the house required by the islanders as a prerequisite for marriage. Wealthy parents may encourage their sons in alternatives (1) or (4) since both of these enhance the prestige of the household as a whole.

One of the traits associated with Caribbean marriage
or as the islanders put it, with being Mistress so-and-so) is that the wife is now supposedly free from wage labor. Marriage, by definition, is a validation of a husband's ability to support his wife and family. On Canouan, this does not always hold true. All Canouan women keep gardens. Even the most wealthy do not hire wage labor to assist them in this task. Wealth does exempt a Canouan woman from certain types of activities, however. A wealthy woman would not engage in door-to-door selling (or higgling) of excess produce or meat, an activity thought by islanders to be a clear advertisement of a family's need for cash. Since wealthy women tend to have large families, they are perhaps less likely to have an excess of fruits and vegetables; but any surplus would be marketed in bulk outside the island via the local schooner. One cash-producing activity that is acceptable for wealthier women is the management of their husband's [rum] shops—small commercial establishments that are one of the common investments for surplus cash. Of the five families on Canouan with the largest houses, three had shops (shops or rum shops are licensed to sell liquor as opposed to parlours, which are not so licensed).

Adult daughters living at home do not normally contribute directly to the cash income of their families. For the most part, there are practically no ways in which young girls can earn cash and stay on the island. On the other
hand, daughters still at home are likely to be single mothers. If their former mates are sending support money, these young girls do contribute indirectly to the maintenance of the household. Almost certainly, emigrated young women are expected to send occasional remittances to help support outside children left in the care of relatives.

Young children are exempt from cash producing activities (although, as previously mentioned, they may be used to circumvent the embarrassment attendant upon door-to-door selling, or they may be sent to beg or "borrow" money or food).

From the above, it can be seen that a household's total cash income in likely to be spread over a number of sources, some of which are direct and some indirect, as in the support monies paid to resident single mothers and cash remittances from abroad. It would be a mistake to consider this total as comprising the amount available for use by the household as a whole, however, for it is typical that each household member keeps his wages secret from the others (even a husband from a wife). One's income is his to dispose of as he sees fit. He has certain obligations to give a portion to his household, to his outside children, to his mother, etc., but whether he honors these commitments or not is largely a personal (i.e., not a legal) matter.

Jerome S. Handler (1965a) found much the same situation in
a Barbadian community. His summary of the Chalky Mount case applies equally well to Canouan.

Although all adults or wage-earning persons are supposed to contribute to the household budget, adults with separate sources of income are prone to regulate their own economic affairs. However, the female assumes primary responsibility for household consumption needs and especially the needs of the children. Although the male contributes, or should contribute, to the domestic economy he will usually keep a portion of this income for his own needs. In fact, in the handful of cases for which I could get adequate data on savings, if more than one adult in the household had a savings account neither person knew what the other had in his. Also, individuals usually contract their own debts, although on certain occasions (e.g., major loans on houses from the government) spouses may take out loans jointly (1965: 284).

The individuality of spouses’ incomes is probably even easier to maintain on Canouan where the male’s off-island income producing activities require periodic expenditures for room and board as well as provide greater opportunity for spending money on personal entertainment. On the other hand, the female’s sources of income (remittances, sons’ contributions, money from the sale of excess produce, etc.) and her household budget are free from the husband’s scrutiny for much of the year. Large outlays, for house repair or construction, for example, are usually made at the

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18 See especially p. 281ff. This study is worth examination for much of Handler’s detailed economic analysis of Chalky Mount (Barbados, British West Indies—now independent) is applicable to the Canouan situation. I suspect that Chalky Mount’s land- and local-based multiplicity of cash-producing activities acts to set it apart from Canouan on numerous other levels, however.
discretion of the head of the household.

In general, then, we see Canouan islanders, both as individuals and as households, participating in a prestige system in which cash is one of the principle markers of rank. Those occupations that are known to be most remunerative (e.g., teachers, office-workers, officers on international and Caribbean freighters; and for women, "nurses" [midwives] and teachers) are those that are most respected. Those of least reputed remuneration (e.g., local schooner sailors) are least respected.

Cash is not the sole determinant of prestige, however. As has been the case for the other principles we have examined, cash is but one of the numerous factors that help to define the prestige system on Canouan and thereby act to structure interpersonal relations. For example, members of wealthy families would rarely be omitted from the guest list for any social occasion on the island, public or private. Their presence confers respectability on the occasion and may actually be profitable for the person or household that issued the invitation (e.g., an invitation to be a godparent means that the wealthy person is in a better financial position to honor the godparenthood obligations).

Education.—Formal education on Canouan consists of a one-room Primary [elementary] School which includes a primary department of three stages (normally attended by chil-
dren from ages five to seven) and six classes (attended by children up to age fifteen). Children should be enrolled in school at age five and must leave school on their fifteenth birthday. Children progress through the stages and classes at their own speed; thus, some young people may complete the sixth class long before their fifteenth birthday, others may never reach it by that date. The faster students simply repeat class six until they must leave because of age (although better students may be used to help in the primary department for part of each school day). A child's academic performance, however, is of little concern to most parents; thus, a good school record does not enhance the prestige of the household. Since nearly all Canouan children are enrolled in the local school over the permitted years, primary school education plays little part in differentiating individuals and households on Canouan.

Education is important to islanders in two other ways: one is the value placed on secondary or advanced education, and the second is the differentiation made between

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19 Some indication of the importance of primary school education to Canouan parents can be seen from a comparison of the school enrollment figures for 1965-66 (Fall term, 198 students; Spring term, 169 students) with total population figures for the 5-15 age group as of February 1, 1966 (123 children). (See Table 2, pp. 44.) A normal school day's attendance record tended to be approximately 20 students below the current enrollment figure, suggesting that most students attended school with some regularity.
the teaching personnel and the rest of the island population.

As Peter Wilson has pointed out:

... throughout the Caribbean, the church, the school and the political party are institutions external to the village and not therefore organically a part of the social system of the village. Frequently their personnel are alien, and certainly their rules are (1969: 80).

The Canouan school system is under the direction of the Education Department of St. Vincent. As such, the head teacher, and any other teachers who cannot be recruited from the local population, is sent from the mainland. More important, these teachers are products of an educational system based on British curricula and standards of performance. (For example, mathematics texts used on Canouan have problems dealing with English pounds, pence, etc. rather than B.W.I. dollars and cents, and qualifying examinations are the Common Entrance Examination, the G.C.E. [General Certificate of Education], and overseas school examinations of the Cambridge Examination Syndicate.) Priority is placed on mastering standard English speech patterns and prose structure, British literature, history, and science (e.g., the biology of plants and animals familiar to Europeans, not West Indians). Moderate capability in these areas awaits completion of secondary school. Except in rare instances (e.g., in 1966, six Canouan young people were enrolled in secondary or private primary schools), Canouan children can
not pass the qualifying examinations for or financially afford an education beyond that provided by the local primary school, for even in Government (state-owned) schools books, supplies, uniforms, and, for Canouan youngsters, room and board must be purchased. Those few who do go on achieve success only if they master a speech pattern and way of life different from the ones they had experienced at home.

In this sense, the educated West Indian has a certain mystique; he is a person apart, a member of an elite. No matter what his shade, he shares some of the respect given to "white" and the lighter complexioned managerial classes on the larger West Indian islands. He now speaks as they do and via the common educational system, he shares some of their background. Moreover, he is now able to seek a clerical, semi-professional, or minor administrative position. For the educated Canouan youth, except for the few who return (usually temporarily) to Canouan to teach, this nearly always means permanent emigration. Most important, perhaps, the returning educated youth on Canouan has fully entered the respect system (he wears white shirts and suits; he doesn't get into brawls or get drunk, etc.) thereby cutting himself off from most of his age-mates who are absorbed in establishing their reputations via other patterns of public behavior. (See the sections on "Social Prestige" and
"Men and Women" in this chapter for a more complete examination of this topic.) Peter Wilson (1971) has discussed what he calls a "crew" (local male peer group of such educated young men on Providencia, a Colombian West Indian island with a population of around 2,000 inhabitants. Such groups would not at present be possible on Canouan for there are neither enough qualified positions to absorb educated young men nor enough educated young men in any one age group.

Education, then, for the West Indian means that the young male or female has become upwardly mobile. He has changed his life style, his values, and most important, his probable peer group associates (and, thus, for the Canouan youth to fully realize these rewards, he must emigrate).

If an advanced education almost ensures permanent emigration, what motivates parents to seek this goal for their children? First, education and the career opportunities it affords are positive values on Canouan, and parents want the best they can provide for their children. Then, too, since advanced education is a costly undertaking, it becomes one of the goods and services that validates wealth on the island. There are some expected returns from such an investment. In addition to money, emigrated young people often send gift items that are not available locally (Chatty Cathy dolls, clothing, etc.) that become show pieces in their parents' homes. The letters from abroad, in addition
to expanding the family's horizons, provide topics of conversation whereby the achievements and "exotic" experiences of the emigrated kinsmen are exhibited before friends and neighbors.

This exodus of the skilled and the educated from Canouan means that the native island population is relatively homogeneous. I have already mentioned that the island no longer has private estates; thus, there is no resident landed aristocracy. Neither is the island large enough to maintain a resident commercial, professional, and/or administrative class. The largest commercial establishments are the [run] shops mentioned previously, which are scarcely spacious enough to hold the counter and bench that characterize their interiors. Thus, Canouan lacks the economic and political "brokers" of nation-community relations reported by Eric Wolf (1965 [1955]) as prevalent in many Mexican villages, for example. In one sense, Canouan sailors may act as their own "cultural brokers" as they become exposed to a broad cultural spectrum through their travels, but this exposure is always limited by a sailor's meager shore leave, his tendency to associate exclusively with his fellow sailors, and his own personal perceptual abilities. The major cultural brokers, then, tend to be the few St. Vincent government officials appointed to Canouan for short terms of duty. Most notable of these is the head teacher.
A number of traits make this the case. In addition to his being an educated professional embodying all of the mystique we discussed earlier, he is an outsider---a Vincentian---but one carrying government authorization for his position on the island. These two features, education and government authorization, have probably led to the head teacher's being cast in a role left largely vacant by the absence of a political-administrative structure on Canouan itself and by the frequent absence of males as resident heads-of-households. While it is often difficult to separate a man's personality from the position he holds, I suspect from the accounts I heard about previous head teachers that the observed duties and activities of the present head teacher were standard for Canouan.\(^{20}\) The head teacher himself commented that much of what he did on the island was not part of the job as defined by the government but seemed to be expected of him by the people.

In his first guise, as government appointee, the head teacher is one of the major leaders on the island, especially in affairs involving prominent outsiders or

\(^{20}\) It is also difficult for me to describe the exact nature of the deference paid to the head teacher by Canouan islanders. He is not above being the subject of gossip, but there is a quality that is respected no matter what the rumored allegation may be. I think the best account I have found of this attitude is in an autobiographical novel by George Lamming, a West Indian from Barbados (1970 [1953]; especially p. 30ff.).
travel to other islands. During 1965-66, for instance, he organized activities for and acted as chief greeter to the Bishop, the Administrator and his wife, and the Chief Minister and his entourage when they visited Canouan. He emerged as informal leader of the trips to other islands for special activities such as weddings, boat races, and the Queen’s visit to St. Vincent. When activities were likely to be island-wide, such as at holiday-time, islanders again usually turned to the head teacher for guidance. Perhaps this is so because such planning may generate factionalism as different segments of the society advocate different arrangements. As a respected outsider, the head teacher is seen as at least a somewhat unbiased arbiter.

The head teacher’s role of arbiter is extended to the less far-reaching disputes among parents that result from children’s quarrels. As we shall see, children are discouraged from fighting with others to settle arguments; and, in fact, children (and adults) rarely do engage in physical combat. Childhood disputes, often generated by claims of theft by one child against another, are subjects for the recurring disagreements among households, especially among the women. Children possess little of worth except school supplies and books and these are constantly being used up, lost, and stolen more quickly than parents feel is warranted. Since replacement costs money, claims of
Theft are likely to be serious matters for mothers. In keeping with Canouan patterns of conflict, the accusing mother rarely confronts the mother of the accused directly; instead, she turns to the head teacher to press her claim.

As I suggested earlier, the head teacher was also expected by some mothers to act as surrogate father, meting out physical punishment for their children's reputed misdeeds. (Although physical punishment was used in the school, the teacher normally confined its use to school-related matters.)

It was not unusual, then, to see a number of mothers stopping by the school just before or just after school hours with punishment requests (either for their own or for another's child). Often these were just general appeals to be hard on the child, for while Canouan parents seemed relatively little concerned about their children's academic performance, they appeared very concerned about their comportment. It would be a reflection on the parent if his child exhibited "rude" behavior in school. Reports of a child's misdeeds would be carried to other parents by their children to be used by them to diminish the household's prestige by accusations of poor childrearing practices.

Religion.—Most Canouan islanders are members (either active or professed) of the two largest churches on the island: the Anglican Church with a membership of
approximately 55% of the population, and the Roman Catholic Church with a membership of roughly 40% of the population. Five percent of the islanders, mostly "outsiders" (immigrants to Canouan), are members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Only the Adventists may be considered a separate social group on Canouan. I suspect, however, that religious affiliation plays only a minor role in segregating the Adventists from the rest of the population; probably more significant is their status as outsiders (see section on "Origin" below).

Adventism is a religious system that differs markedly from the two Catholic denominations: the Anglican and the Roman Catholic. On Canouan the latter two churches closely resemble one another both in organization and in ritual, and neither appears to enjoy more prestige than the other. Membership in one or the other of the two churches is largely a matter of historic accident. Descendants of former Snagg estate slaves are likely to be Anglican. In fact, the present Anglican church is the original one built by the Snags on grounds located near the center of the island. This necessitates a nearly thirty minute walk for a good many of the members, most of whom have recently settled in the more populous southern end of the island. For this reason, the Anglicans frequently hold their informal services in the more conveniently located schoolhouse or
Society Lodge. The smaller estates, those sold in the late 1800's, were situated near the southern end of Canouan. These had been owned mostly by Frenchmen, thus, the concentration of Roman Catholics in this region.

Both the Anglican and the Roman Catholic Churches are visited by their respective priests, nearly always Europeans, approximately one weekday morning every two weeks. At that time, confession is heard and the Mass is celebrated. On Sundays and on any special holidays between these visits, islanders hold their own services, which consist largely of hymn singing, group prayers, and announcements of coming religious events.

Special events and holidays are likely to be attended by members of both churches; for example, a number of Anglicans attended the Roman Catholic Confirmation ceremonies and a number of Roman Catholics attended the Anglican Harvest Festival. More revealing, perhaps, of this felt similarity is the fact that Roman Catholic youngsters are often sent to the Anglican Church's Sunday School, since the Roman Catholic Church doesn't maintain one on Canouan.

Seventh Day Adventist services are attended almost exclusively by members. The Adventists have no regularly employed clergy or visiting leader. Instead, some special speakers (usually West Indian) would periodically visit Canouan for a few days. During a speaker's stay, nightly meetings, preceded by a lengthy period of hymn singing,
would be held. During such meetings the guest speaker would lecture the members on the practical aspects of living a Christian life; such topics as the father's role in the family and in the socialization of his children or the importance of parents teaching children by good example might be explored. Regular (non-special) Saturday services were usually taken up with hymn singing, money matters, and members' reports of their weekly "witnessing" [proselytizing] activities.

Perhaps more important from the standpoint of social differentiation is the active participation of Seventh Day Adventist males in religious affairs. Roman Catholic and Anglican Church activities are almost exclusively the domain of the women, children, and the elderly; and women are those most likely to emerge as leaders. I suggest that several factors help to explain this involvement of outsider males in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. First, most Canouan men who are actively involved in sailing are engaged in building their "reputations" in relation to other island men. This reputational system is largely centered on activities shared by males similarly employed as sailors when off the island and as part-time fishermen when home. While a full discussion of "reputation" awaits our examination of the social prestige system as a whole, suffice it to say that the features defining what is called "reputation" here
are similar to those associated with "macho" or "machismo" in Latin American areas--features associated with virility or manliness. Since many of these valued activities and qualities are the antithesis of those advocated by the Church, many native Canouan men either avoid the Church or find it irrelevant until they are older and more sedentary (or perhaps more involved in the total community on a day-to-day basis).

Seventh Day Adventist males, as outsiders who came to Canouan in large part because the economic opportunities afforded by gardening (or occasionally by fishing) outweighed those found on their home islands, do not share the native Canouan males' common experiences associated with sailing (e.g., "girls in every port," "barroom brawls," ready cash, sailing legends and lore, etc.). They do not have the friend and kinship ties that result from growing up in a particular setting with a particular peer group. In sum, the outsider male is typically at the fringe of male society and activities on Canouan. Without friend and kinship ties or a significant cash resource, he is also likely to be poorly integrated into Canouan society as a whole. If one motivation for religious participation is a lack of security and recognition in one's social relationships, then perhaps the outsider male's active participation and leadership in the Seventh Day Adventist Church is one
avenue to acceptance by his peers (in this case, the limited peer group of other Adventists). Adventism is an especially good choice for such a purpose for its religious tenets (abstention from alcohol, marital fidelity, etc.), if followed, effectively remove its male members from competition for reputation with the Canouan males.

Religion and the church are important to most Canouan females, immigrant and native born alike. A number of mothers expressed the importance of church training for their children, and even the men will join the women in citing the commandments as the proper or ideal behavior for all to follow. In addition, church sponsored holiday and associated activities provide some of the major social occasions of the year.

Unlike many West Indian communities, Canouan has no organized system of cult beliefs or folk religion and there are no men or women on Canouan who claim to be practitioners. A large number of islanders, especially women, extol the efficacy of the powers usually associated with these belief systems but feel that one would have to go to other islands to find people skilled in such practices (e.g., obeah or divining). I suspect that folk practices were much more prevalent in the not-too-distant past, for older people still talk of participation in such rituals as Big Drum (or Nation Dance: songs and dances supposedly retained by the slave
populations from their African tribes or "nations"), saracas (or sacrifices, usually given in thanksgiving or to ensure safety and good luck), wakes, and "tombings" (entombments of the dead). 21

A few of the old practices remain in part--rum is still offered to the dead friends and relatives whose graves surround a new tomb with the accompanying statement: "I make this sacrifice to all it may concern" (the "to all it may concern" assures the person making the offering that no one is left out and thereby becomes jealous); but the rest of the former celebration and big feast is now satisfied by a Requiem Mass. As one woman puts it, "It cheaper than buyin' all the rum, wine, and food." 22 In fact, most of the ceremonies and rituals that remain, such as a Return Thanks [a ceremony of thanksgiving for some special good fortune] either await the arrival of the priest or, in his absence, are conducted by one of the participants using passages from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer or the Roman Catholic

21 For a description of these activities as they are practiced in Carriacou, a Grenadine island to the south, see R. G. Smith (1962a), and A. C. Pearse (1955, 1957).

22 The above statements were made by a 69 year-old woman [1945] during the 1966 entombment of her husband who had died in 1947. It is interesting to note that while much help was given and much interest was shown during the actual labor involved in the entombment (digging the foundation and pouring the cement), the sacrifice itself was done with almost no ceremony, observers, or participants.
missal. In either case the folk part of the celebration is likely to be no more than dinner and drinks for a few friends after the service, if the concerned families can afford it.

Even basically secular activities such as the dances and Carnival are no longer the same. Although there was talk during 1965-66 of holding a quadrille to let the older people demonstrate their ability to dance the difficult five sets or figures, there was never enough interest or knowledge of the required music to warrant renting the Society Lodge.

Pre-Lenten Carnival masking used to be a major event on the island. Especially women would dress as if they were men, vying with one another to come up with ingenious ways to represent the male genitalia, and clever or suggestive statements with which to entice people to pay money or give eggs to see or hear the rest of their planned performance or partially hidden object. The following case illustrates what many islanders recall as a classic example of Canouan Carnival humor and cleverness. The island woman concerned

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23 It is interesting to speculate that this transvestite masking may give women an approved opportunity to play at being males. As we shall see, many male activities are not appropriate for women, including extra-marital affairs; and men, because of their occupations, are the ones who travel and are in contact with the outside world while relatively few women have gone farther than St. Vincent.
reported that she had put a large "white" doll in a basketbed and a small "real African" ["black"] doll next to her under the blanket:

Then I went around and asked people for assistance. Yes, you could hear her cryin' [demonstrates]. Yes, you see, I responsible. The girl come from England. It was I who bring her, so when she make mistake [the implication here is that the "white English" doll has had a "black" child by one of the island men], I responsible for her. Now she need money to send her back home; so I go to my friends and neighbors and beg, "Assistance! Assistance!" I make plenty money that trip. (F507: HH121. Paraphrased from field notes.)

In 1966 only two women maskers made their appearance. Both dressed as men. The one woman charged people one penny to see "Archie" whom she carried under a cover on a tray on her head. Since "Archie" was the subject of the most popular Carnival song for 1966, a song so suggestive that the original version was banned from public performance, islanders were anxious to see the hidden object.

Although the ritual or ceremonial aspects of Canouanfolk religion have largely disappeared from the island, the associated beliefs are still prevalent, especially among the women and children. For convenience we might classify these beliefs into two major categories: treatments and remedies [what M. G. Smith refers to as "medicine" (1962a: 147)] and magico-spiritual beliefs [including beliefs in what M. G. Smith refers to as "book magic" (1962a: 147-148), beliefs in
dream messages, and beliefs in grave spirits or ghosts].

While most women thoroughly believe in professional medical care (when it is available; the Grenadine doctor rarely visits more frequently than once a month, if that often), they also have a whole series of home remedies to treat minor ailments or discomforts. For example, beside the usual herb teas so frequently discussed as being common in the West Indies, many Canouan women have great faith in the medicinal use of human urine. Urine is drunk to relieve heartburn, is splashed on one's eyes and face as a refresher when one is tired; and one mother complained of having to get up in the middle of the night to "pee on a flannel" for her child's cold. Various animal parts are also utilized; e.g., a lizard skin may be used to rub on a teething baby's gums to ease the pain, and a ground whelk's [large marine snail] shell mixed with grease scraped from a coal pot is to be packed into a dental cavity.

Islanders also believe in prenatal causes for postnatal defects; e.g., a boy's severe retardation was blamed on his mother's seeing two dead bodies during her pregnancy and a child's bad eye was attributed to his pregnant mother's being "lashed" [struck] in the eye.

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24For a listing of plants used medicinally by the residents of the Grenadines, see Richard A. Howard (1952: 19-20) and for folk treatments in Trinidad see George E. Simpson (1962: 326-340).
I have already mentioned that there are no magical specialists on Canouan but that islanders often speak of such practitioners on other islands. For example, the drowning of three young men from Union Island was explained by islanders as "someone's having thrown something [a magical spell] on the boat." A favorite topic for moonlit evening conversation is the DiLawrence Company whose members can supposedly "draw milk out of coffee" and draw money out of a locked box. The source of the name DiLawrence Company appears to be from a small publishing company in Chicago which printed a book on black magic and witchcraft. Islanders seemed to feel that the term referred to some sort of secret club found on St. Vincent and other islands in which members read a particular book and thereby acquired special powers [an example of M. G. Smith's "book magic"].

A number of islanders claimed to have relatives who possessed these skills, although only one stated she had direct knowledge of the book itself. Apparently, one is permitted to read just so far before encountering a page marked "Stop." If the reader continues, he discovers the secrets but also must carry the responsibility of such knowledge. The island reader stated that she was too afraid to read on.

Many islanders believe that the spirits or souls of the dead continue to involve themselves in the affairs of
the living. Malevolent or mischievous activities are usually the work of "jumbies"—unidentified spirits that wander out from the graveyard especially at night. Accidents are sometimes blamed on their machinations. Benevolent spirits are more likely to be the souls or ghosts of some close relative: a mother or a spouse, who returns in dreams to help or guide a person—e.g., to find lost objects, tell of winning sweepstakes numbers, predict future well being, tell of their pleasure with a "tombing," or, perhaps, warn of impending danger or unhappiness.

Not all dream messages are delivered by the dead; some are embodied in regular dreams in symbolic form. A few Canouan women had commercially prepared dream books to help them with interpretation.

Men publicly scoff at these "women's beliefs," but they sometimes act as though they believed them. A rather humorous case illustrates what I mean. Three young men, who in my home not more than a week before had been chiding some young girls about their beliefs in "jumbies," pushed down the front door of a house and knocked over a table and kerosene lamp in an effort to escape from a "jumble" that was "chasing them." The "jumble" turned out to be a friend who had cut through the cemetery in an effort to catch up with the three on their way to the rum shop. At least one man apparently believed that his boat's name embodied its luck
or misfortune; after he capsized on a calm sea, he asked me to paint on a new name because the present one was unlucky.

M. G. Smith reports that on Carriacou the preservation of folk beliefs and rituals has played an important part in maintaining a sense of community identity:

Through sacrifice and the Nation Dance the ancestor cult maintains its vigour, despite the church's opposition and the emigration of young folk. It mobilises kin and community and enjoins their participation far more effectively than does church ritual. It dramatises community links with the past, and it makes common human experiences significant and sacred (1962a: 143).

Such is not the case for Canouan. The old rituals are fast disappearing. The occasional vestiges that remain (e.g., the small food offering made to ancestors on All Souls Day) are now often felt by islanders to be part of Christian ceremony. Even the more prevalent folk beliefs do not really act to unify the people since many of the "sophisticated" young people and sailors claim disbelief in such "superstitions." This leaves these beliefs largely in the domain of the women and the old—a domain, by the say, that overlaps with active participation in Christian religious worship.

Sodalities/Voluntary Associations.—Harold Driver (after Lowie 1948.4: 294-319) defines sodalities as subgroups of societies "not primarily determined by either kinship or by coresidence. . . . [The term comes] from the Latin sodalis, meaning comrade, companion, friend, and
associate" (Driver 1961: 405). Membership is usually voluntary rather than ascribed.

We have already discussed one of the major sodalities on Canouan: the church; but there are several other types that should be examined before we turn our attention to the social prestige system on the island.

We have seen that Canouan does not have a well-developed network of kin groups; neither does it have a large number of voluntary associations. Those that do exist are frequently poorly organized and their membership transitory. As one girl pointed out in reference to craft classes that used to be held on the island, Canouan's enthusiasm in voluntary associations is sustained only as long as the organizer, usually a government or private agency representative, is present; when he leaves, the groups tend to fade away.

Thus, sodalities on Canouan are also typically temporary with one notable exception: the Friendly Societies (also referred to as Burial or Beneficent Societies elsewhere in the Caribbean from their two main purposes, to provide burial funds for deceased members and to provide a small loan fund for living members). In contrast to other clubs and associations on the island, the Friendly Societies are tightly organized. Orders of business, conditions for payments, and rules of conduct for members are precisely
defined in a commercially published pamphlet. Meetings tend to be very formal with women, usually wearing hats, and men, in suits, sitting rather stiffly through what is often a long order of business. Any member displaying improper behavior is singled out by the marshals and fined. Fines in one of the Societies, for example, run from 6¢ to 24¢ for such misdeeds as "Intoxication at Meetings—18¢," "Indecent at Meetings—12¢," and "Defamations of Members &c.—18¢," etc. (Rules . . . [1936?]: 21).

Both of Canouan's Societies—the United Brethren Friendly Society (a branch of a Society founded on Bequia [a Grenadine island to the north; see Map II, Chapter II] in 1931) and The Perseverance Friendly Society founded on Canouan in 1936—meet every two weeks to conduct their business, a large part of which is taken up with collecting the 25¢ dues. One cent of these dues, plus all fines, levies, and initiation fees [25¢], goes into a General Management Fund. Loans and sick benefits are first paid out of the equity a member builds up on his portion of the dues (a minimum of 48¢ per month, although a member may contribute a larger amount, if he wishes). If his needs exceed this equity, he must then petition the Maintenance Committee for an additional grant from the Society's General Maintenance Fund. The Friendly Societies thus act as a sort of credit union or forced savings plan as well as an
insurance scheme, which provides money to members when they become sick or disabled and when they die. In 1966 death benefits were $40.00 and $80.00 B.W.I., with the United Brethren Society paying the larger amount.

Membership is not exclusive and a number of islanders belong to both Societies (thereby qualifying the heirs to collect $120.00 upon the death of the member). It also is not uncommon for islanders to keep up an emigrant's dues in the hope that he will return to Canouan, at least to be buried. Membership rolls in both Societies, therefore, tend to be large: even the smaller, less wealthy Perseverance Society listed 180 members for 1966.

Credit institutions of this type are not unusual in the West Indies, nor, for that matter, among the poor in a number of settings. Raymond Firth cites the frequency of loan clubs in Asian and some African peasant communities. The role he ascribes to these clubs in peasant societies applies equally well to the Canouan situation:

Such institutions provide a useful alternative channel for credit that is more impersonal than in the case of relatives or friends. Because of the considerable sums of money they supply, and the limitations of other forms of saving and investment—and the high interest rates charged by moneylenders—such institutions often play an important role in the peasant economy. But it is doubtful if such credit associations can contribute very substantially to capital formation to promote economic growth significantly (Firth 1964: 31-32).
The Societies perform an additional function that is particularly important to our examination of social interaction: they act as grievance committees to hear personal disputes between members. They are most anxious that such disputes do not reach the Magistrate Court, which is held on Canouan once or twice a year. This effort is a reflection of the premium placed on unity and harmony among a Society's members. In the United Brethren Society, for instance, members must address one another as "Brother" and "Sister;" and every member must take part in the funeral procession of a deceased member under pain of a $1.00 fine for nonattendance (Rules . . . [1931?] 11-12). Both Societies maintain an office of "Sick Visitor" that refers to a person who calls on the members who are ill in the name of the Society. However, probably because most Canouan islanders belong to the Societies, the rules promoting a sense of identity among members tend to break down outside the formal setting of the meetings.

Possibly only two other voluntary groups on Canouan can be said to have any continuity of purpose and membership; these are the political parties and the Cricket Club. Neither is very active.

Politics is of little concern to most Canouan islanders. One islander said that elections and politics really don't affect Canouan much; no matter what party is in power,
its leaders make the same glowing promises and the same nothing gets done. One man and one woman did act as party chairmen on the island; their major duties were to help organize events when candidates campaigned on Canouan and to check voter registration lists. Since elections are not a very frequent occurrence on St. Vincent, these positions would be activated very few times over a period of years. (1966, however, happened to be an election year.)

The Cricket Club was equally sporadic in its activities. Originally organized by a group of young men in order to pool their cash resources for the purchase of equipment, the club had not resolved a number of issues that were now causing dissension among its members; e.g., Who should keep the equipment between Club sponsored games? [This dispute was eventually resolved by having the head teacher hold it.] Since the equipment is subject to breakage during play, by whom or how is it to be replaced? Etc. The Club, however, did get together to organize a Boxing Day game and to sponsor an inter-island cricket match during 1965-66.

Other voluntary associations on Canouan are much more fluid. Relatively few of the various fishing, sailing and work crews, and the [instrumental] bands have a stable or defined membership. This is partially because many of these groups only come into existence when a sufficient number of men interested in a particular pursuit are home
from sailing. Because sailing schedules are varied, the composition of a group, such as a musical band, for example, tends to fluctuate over time.

The occupational structure of Canouan probably contributes to the appearance of a second characteristic of these groups: they tend to be roughly age graded. As noted in our discussion of employment in Chapter II, men appear to progress through what might be called an occupational developmental cycle with young, unmarried men (ages fifteen to approximately twenty-four) often beginning their careers as apprentice masons or carpenters and then drifting into sailing as opportunities in the trades fail to materialize. By early middle-age (twenty-five to forty-five) Canouan born males are likely to be directing their major wage earning efforts to sailing. They are now either married, or soon to be married, and are thus actively involved in earning cash for house-building or family maintenance. As a man approaches his fifties, he spends more and more time on the island, eventually joining the somewhat regular fishing crews of his retired age-mates.

Most unmarried young men do not join fishing boat crews. Instead, they form a loosely organized collectivity that spends much of its time planning and participating in a variety of entertainment ventures, some of which are extended to include the whole community. It is largely from
this group that musical bands are formed and Cricket Club members are drawn. It is also the group most likely to organize spear fishing and boat racing excursions and to plan subscription dances (dances at which admission is charged, usually 25¢ on Canouan). Since these last activities normally include girls as participants, they offer the major chances for young men and women to get together, especially since there is no pattern of formal dating on the island.

Men of all ages frequent the rum shops at night. Although I did notice some overlap of patronage for the two shops located in the southern portion of the island, I could not say with certainty that there were no cliques of men who met regularly at one shop or the other. Older men also spend a good deal of time in the rum shops during the day, especially when there is no fishing or no work to be done on the boats. At other times they may simply lounge around under the trees, usually near where their particular fishing boats are drawn up out of the water.

Readers familiar with Peter Wilson's work on Providencia (especially 1969, 1971) may well inquire if what I am describing here are the roughly bounded male peer groups that he has labeled "crews." From my reading of Wilson's material, I suspect that the Canouan collectivities of men discussed above do not quite qualify as "crews" although
they certainly share a number of the characteristics, value orientations, and activities of the "crews" Wilson describes for Providencia. Where Canouan male peer groups fail to qualify is in the looseness and fluidity of their membership. Instead of forming bounded units or discrete entities, Canouan men appear to interact in male society much the same way that islanders interact in the community as a whole: they try to maximize their own reputations by associating with those who have already established theirs. 25 For instance, a fishing boat owner, instead of always using his regular crew of age-mates, will often try to obtain the services of vacationing sailors, especially freighter captains (men who, by virtue of their occupational positions, have an established reputation on the island). In this way the boat owner can enhance his own reputation by being able to claim that Captain _______ works on his boat when he is on Canouan.

25 I must admit that I might be in error about the details of male interpersonal relations. As Peter Wilson (1970) has pointed out, men spend a good deal of time in the company of other men in settings not considered appropriate for women; e.g., in the rum shops and in front of the police station (if dominoes are being played that night). As a female, I was therefore not involved in these aspects of male social interaction. The week and a half that I painted names and registration numbers on fishing boats afforded me some exposure to an otherwise exclusive male social setting, but, at best, my information is incomplete and must rely on what I was told, could overhear, and could observe of those male activities that were carried out largely in the open.
Social Prestige

In the first part of this chapter we have tried to separate conceptually those major principles that act to differentiate people on Canouan and through which islanders perform the roles associated with daily social interaction. It is now necessary to explore how the social positions and roles derived from these principles articulate to form the patterns of values and norms that define social prestige on the island.

Canouan, unlike the societies that anthropologists most commonly study, does not have a system of well-defined, bounded sub-groups characterized by determinate, stable relationships. This contrast is most clearly seen with kinship. Canouan's bilateral kinship system, coupled with its scarcity of privately held land, valued goods and resources, does not lend itself to the formation of discrete or permanent groups (e.g., lineages, clans, ramages, etc.) that can act to organize individuals or to integrate the population. Relationships between kinsmen are not governed by strict rules of comportment. In fact, the alternative patterns of mating allow a great deal of choice to be exercised in the selection of one's kinsmen. Whether or not one activates a kin relationship is largely a matter of the compatibility of the reciprocals and/or the personal return one can hope to gain from such an alliance.
Even the kinship ties among household members may be weak since the household does not act as a corporate landholding body or a cooperative unit of production. Adult household members often have their own sources of income, land, and livestock and can disperse these resources as they see fit. Sons, for example, do not achieve their skills or occupational positions through their fathers. It is therefore not important for them gradually to move into the web of social and economic relationships associated with a particular enterprise.

Thus, it is the individual, essentially acting for himself, who, to a large extent, chooses those with whom he will interact. The groups that result from the congruity of choices and intent are therefore usually temporary and informal. By informal I mean that the roles, and the rules for the integration of the roles, are flexible. When we encounter bounded, cohesive social groups on Canouan, they are likely to be either those associated with institutions centered outside the island, such as the church, the school, or the political party; or they are groups that have emerged primarily in response to conditions and pressures defined by situations external to the island, such as the need for cash coupled with the lack of opportunities for men to earn significant wages and to have access to established credit institutions. Examples of the latter type of social group
are the Friendly Societies and, in one sense, the Cricket Club.

Much of Canouan social interaction takes place in the informal social groups that sociologists often call crowds—temporary aggregates of individuals brought into direct or face-to-face contact. The small population and small geographical size of Canouan lend themselves to this kind of encounter.

Both men and women spend much of their time outside their houses: men in or around the rum shops or near their fishing vessels; women going to and from the tending of livestock and gardens or to shops or neighbors on errands. Women are nearly always to be found in their yards near meal times since most of the cooking is done in the open mud and thatch kitchens (wattle and daub) that characterize so many of the houses on Canouan. Islanders abhor being alone and appear to take every opportunity to stop and chat with others. Since personal business is rarely conducted in the open, other islanders who happen by do not hesitate to join in a conversation, especially in the evening after the day's work is done. At dusk it is not unusual to encounter numerous clusters of men and women outlined against the evening sky along the roadway or gathered on someone's front steps. By nightfall, however, women normally retire to the
protection of their own houses and men gather in the rum shop. If there is a full moon to light the paths and roadways, women spend their evenings in the somewhat more formal activity of visiting. If the visitor is not especially close to the visited, and particularly if a woman is calling at the home of a relatively prestigious person, she will announce in advance the day and time of the anticipated visit and will arrive wearing good clothes and bearing a small food gift. If a woman visits a close friend, however, she may just "drop in" unannounced. In addition, opportunities for getting together with others are provided by the occasional parties, dances, private and church-sponsored religious activities, and the rare political gatherings. It is in these transient informal and semiformal settings that most Canouan social interaction takes place.

Since these types of settings are not likely to be rigid or explicitly defined, an individual can frequently manipulate his encounters to maximize his association with the more prestigious of the islanders.

Manipulation is always limited by the individual's qualifying or satisfying the conditions that define the occasion for the group's formation. For instance, and "outsider," as a non-sailor, would not gain much by aligning himself with men who get together at the rum shops at night to share sailing stories; or a very dark skinned
individual might find it awkward to join a group of light complexioned people discussing the evils of "those darkies."

On the other hand, one could conceivably maximize one's social position by carefully choosing one's interaction setting: e.g., unless I am one of the darkest persons on the island, I could select only darker people with whom to associate whenever color is relevant, thereby gaining prestige by being the lightest in this particular situation.

It is under these circumstances that an individual may express apparently conflicting value orientations such as those discussed in the section on "color." The individual has shifted his reference group or his interaction setting and has thereby altered his role. Nadel elaborates on this capacity of role when he says:

Roles . . . materialize only in an interaction setting; consequently, the behavioural characteristics we have in mind when talking about roles will always include, besides the actor's own mode of behaviour, that of others towards him. In brief, the behavioural characteristics implicit in role concepts appear so to speak both in the active and passive voice (1957: 23-24).

( Italics in original.)

This ability of defining-characteristics to shift relevance with different interaction settings is less likely to result in value conflict (since value conflict affects the individual only if he perceives the conflict; in other words, only if he is unable to effectively shift roles from
one setting to another) than to result in role conflict. The small size of Canouan’s population almost ensure that all islanders interact with one another to some degree; and the chances are overwhelming that eventually, “an individual will be put in a position where two incompatible roles must be played simultaneously” (Wallace 1970: 231). Under these circumstances, role conflict can be said to take place. Thus, manipulation of one’s association is always effective-ly limited by the degree of inclusiveness of one’s manipu-lative sphere.

At the same time, the small size of the community on Canouan means that role relationships are public and overt. A person, either by direct encounter or by hearsay, becomes known in all the roles he performs. As John Szwed found for Codroy Valley in Newfoundland:

Putting together these characteristics of broad role definition and the overt and public nature of role relationships, it is evident that Valley people have little recourse in “hiding” the self, or “retreating” into different roles that are highly insulated from each other, as are those in urban area [sic]. . . . All actions that a person performs in any area of life towards any individuals in role-relationships with him potentially affect the appraisals other persons in other role-relationships with him will make (1966: 96).

Since role relationships are overt, on what basis can an individual hope to manipulate his associations to achieve

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26 See Wallace (1970: 230-232) for a discussion of various types of culture conflict.
maximum prestige?

If two goals could be said to dominate Canouan social relationships, they would be: (1) to become as respectable as possible in the eyes of one's neighbors, and (2) at the same time, to avoid discord. Perhaps because most community relationships are structured via daily face-to-face interaction, islanders conceive of discord as dissension that is primarily the result of direct confrontation between disputants or competitors. In other words, disagreements and tensions may be present (and, indeed, are rarely absent) between individuals or segments of the community, but islanders are likely to be disconcerted only if these tensions erupt into public arguments between the parties involved. Freilich noted something of this sort in his study of the sexual life of Negro peasants in Anamat, Trinidad (1969). Here he likened the knowledge of community sexual matters to a "classified file" to which all community members had rights of access. However, since the "file" is composed of the "secrets" of all of the participating members, public exposure of another's secrets is likely to lead to a retaliatory exposure of one's own. Thus, although it is very difficult for knowledge of one's actions to remain within the sphere for which they were intended, public feedback is not complete. To phrase it another way, the degree of exposure of "self" is never fully known. It is for this
reason that islanders feel that they can manipulate their public images and thereby enhance their social prestige.

Before proceeding further, it might be wise to extract from the material presented earlier a summary of what constitutes social prestige on Canouan.

First, it must be noted that what we are discussing at this point is primarily those values and norms that are applicable community-wide; in other words, those to which Canouan islanders publicly respond when asked about ideal behavior and goals. Borrowing from Peter J. Wilson (1969, 1971), we shall use the term "respectability" for this system. Wilson distinguishes respectability from a second value system, "reputation," by the former's being an "external" system; that is, it is derived from standards of the "total, legal" society, especially as they are expressed by those institutions that are present both in the "legal" society and in the community: the Church, the school, and the political party (although this last is not well-developed on Canouan). Wilson sees "reputation," on the other hand, as an "internal" system.

"Reputation" is a complex of values which reflects the congruence of the way a man views himself and the way he is viewed by others. It relies upon the existence of peer groups—males of approximately equal life situations and life chances.

It is not accidental that the very activities most central to the achievement and maintenance of manhood and reputation are those proclaimed illegal by the total society (gambling, smuggling, fighting or readiness to
fight, banditry, embezzlement and bribery, for example). In fact, in its most general sense a reputation is gained according to the degree to which a man is proficient in undermining, disobeying or circumventing the legal system of the society (1969: 80,81).

The value orientations of reputation and respectability are not diametrically opposed, however, and in some areas, they can overlap, as, for instance, in the valuation of money and of international sailing as a prestigious occupation. Neither can we designate respectability as a totally female value orientation and reputation, a totally male one. Again, turning to Peter Wilson:

Women then always subscribe to a value system based on respectability and only partially, perhaps reluctantly, to a value system based on "reputation". Men, on the other hand, are completely involved in a value system based on "reputation" but with age and social maturity, measured by economic security, marriage and so forth, move into a value and status system based upon respectability (Wilson 1969: 78).

Because reputation is a system primarily subscribed to by men, and in that capacity therefore serves to illustrate some of the differences in life style between the two sexes, I shall postpone its discussion until the next section. Let us turn then to the island-wide value orientation, respectability.

Respectability, as has been suggested, is reflected in two basic social goals: one, the acquisition of money or, more accurately, the spending of money in socially approved ways; and two, the avoidance by word or action of making others feel threatened or inferior in one's presence.
Note that the important economic aspect of prestige is not so much the amount of money one has but how that money is spent. This is not so surprising if one will recall that even the members of a single household normally do not know the amount of money each householder has or controls. On the other hand, most men do know something of the wages typically paid to sailors in various positions and can therefore estimate the life style to which a man should aspire. Thus, prestige is vested in the amount of money one has available to spend and also in the fact that he spends it. For example, a freighter captain would be ridiculed if he did not provide a nice house, furnishings, and clothing for his family, or if, for instance, he did not buy the number of rounds of drinks his companions felt were warranted by his position and estimated income. This sentiment is expressed in the oft-repeated island phrase, "A man must do as best he can by [for] his family" (or "by his friends").

The single, most important investment a man can make, and therefore the one most indicative of his prestige, is his house. In addition to overall size, the house is important as a sign that the man has legally married, the first step in the acquisition of respectability for both
males and females. Because there is no community source of electricity on Canouan, islanders are somewhat limited in the amount and kind of furnishings and appliances that can be purchased for the house. A wealthy household should have a kerosene refrigerator, a pressure lamp, a mechanical mill for grinding corn, and a sewing machine in addition to "nice" furnishings (usually a couch and chairs with cushions, beds for all members of the family, a table and chairs for dining, and several glass-fronted cubboards or "safes" for the display of the dishes and glassware).

Knickknacks (artificial flowers, figurines, decorative pillows, framed pictures, etc.) are items usually contributed by emigrants. Although the mere presence of these items lends to the household's look of wealth, they also point to a continuing interest of the children in their family, an indication to others that the children were "well brought-up."

Another financial responsibility of a man to his immediate family (both his parents, especially his mother, and his wife and children) is to provide enough money for "nice" clothing (style is not so important on Canouan as that the clothing should be new—not faded, torn, or insect eaten), school supplies, and adequate food.\(^\text{27}\) If a man is

\(^{27}\)There is not much difference in the types of food eaten by the more wealthy and the poor since all meals are primarily composed of local commodities--crops from the
sufficiently wealthy, he should also spend money for a second education for those of his children who can qualify.

Beyond these household expenditures, a man has few ways to invest his money. If he has surplus capital, he may invest it in a shop, a boat (especially a motorized one), or in additional livestock, especially cattle, pigs, and a donkey. This latter outlay, however, is always limited by the need to sustain the animals over the annual drought.

It is important to note that Canouan has few of the income "leveling mechanisms" such as are commonly found in peasant communities (see especially Nash 1964: 293-294; and Wolf 1966: 7-9). The absence of a civil-religious hierarchy on the island means that the wealthy do not divert their capital into communal office or ritual and ceremony. Even rites of passage--birth, christening, marriage, etc.--are likely to be marked by only a modest party for friends and kinsmen. Moreover, with the exception of the purchase of rounds of drinks by men, cash is not a commodity used to validate friendship or kinship ties on Canouan. Outside the gardens and fish from the bay. The one exception is rice, a staple that must be purchased. It is here that the concept of adequacy is applied. The wealthy may more frequently supplement their meals with commercially prepared foods, but the small stock of tinned goods that can be carried in the shops and "parlours" does not allow for much variability along these lines.
immediate household, locally produced goods may be exchanged or given, but not money. Probably the single most important "levelling mechanism" on Canouan then is that the capital resources of all island families are uniformly low by Western standards (although island standards recognize a limited range of variation).

It should be mentioned that money and the things it can buy are not the only determinants of respectability. One must validate this respect by behaving with decorum. One should get legally married, raise one's children properly, take one's part in church and club affairs, avoid direct confrontations with those with whom one disagrees, and, in general, be responsible, reserved, and orderly. But as George E. Cumper (1961: 416) found in his analysis of "Household and Occupation in Barbados," it is primarily "economic mobility [that] is closely linked with social mobility" for most households in the West Indies. This is fundamentally so because respectability devolves around so many things that are associated with wealth. Once a head of a household becomes wealthy, the entire household is in a better position to become more so: money--more children (see Chapter IV)--better education--better jobs--emigration--more remittances from abroad--more money available to the household. Thus, once a family becomes wealthy, it is likely to become more respectable: e.g., a wealthy son or
daughter is in a better position to contract a marriage with someone lighter than himself, thereby "upping the color," and a wealthy man or woman is usually chosen for such positions of honor and responsibility as are available on the island--an officer in the Friendly Society, an island representative to greet visiting dignitaries, etc. As Cumper points out, however, the economic cycle of the household is still likely to be vested in its head. "The household has little property to transmit, since it is not an economic enterprise; and so the stability of the household tends to be limited to the life of the husband" (Cumper 1961: 416).

Upward mobility, however, is always limited by the general low level of capitalization of island families, a feature mentioned previously. For this and a number of other reasons, lines between individuals and households on the basis of wealth and other prestige factors are not rigidly drawn on Canouan, and it is for this reason that I have hesitated to apply the term, "social class."

In the first place, the island is small. It lacks an elite segment based on factors other than wealth; e.g., civil servants or professionals. The two island residents who might qualify—the head teacher and the policeman—are not native to the island, and their houses and furnishings, for example, are provided by the government. The smallness
of the island also ensures that individuals interact with all other islanders in a variety of face-to-face social situations. Some of these situations are likely to be settings in which the participants approach one another as social equals.

In the second place, Canouan islanders see themselves basically as a unit—as homogeneous. This sentiment is reflected in the statements "We's all one family here on Canouan," and "We's just poor people here on Canouan," or in the expression of their common racial classification by "whites" as all "black" people. We have seen, however, that both kinship and color are categories that can act to socially differentiate people on the island; but to a certain degree, these categories and a number of other mechanisms do allow for an expression of equality among islanders.

Third, there are few rewards for increased respectability on Canouan. There are no ruling councils, no official posts. The power structure of Canouan is centered outside the island. Thus rewards for prestige are primarily in recognition, not in real power or authority. Even at the local level, islanders appear unable to organize themselves for the purpose of accomplishing goals for the good of the community as a whole. Perhaps one reason is that those most likely to possess organizational skills are those most
likely to emigrate. I suspect, however, that the nature of Canouan's social system does not lend itself to cooperative activity. Although the Canouan household is not a cooperative unit of production, the sum total of its productive parts enable it to be nearly independent as a unit of sustenance. Other needs—clothing, the raw materials for housing, furnishings, etc.—are provided through channels external to the island for Canouan has no local industry or crafts. Labor, again, is nearly always provided by household members for the accomplishment of their respective tasks: a man builds his own house; a woman tills her own gardens. Canouan households, then, are essentially a series of like units, each capable, within somewhat varying degrees of adequacy, to largely provide its own needs. The need for cooperation at the level of the community, then, becomes minimized.

Sex, Age, and Origin

Much of what is relevant to this examination of sex, age, and origin has already been discussed in the context of other topics covered in this chapter. It remains for us to draw together some of the most important points in order to fully understand how these three qualities tend to bound the interactional settings of different segments or "persons" within the community.
Sex.—It should be clear by now that Canouan men and women move in different (if somewhat overlapping) social spheres. Even when males are involved in the respectability value system, their roles are likely to be different from, although, to a certain degree, complementary to, those of females. The focus of female activity is on the home or the domestic sphere, which includes such concerns as child care and enculturation, family nutrition and health, home maintenance, etc. and as Nancie L. Gonzalez has so cogently pointed out, on the supra-domestic domain. This is defined by Gonzalez as follows:

Today the domestic domain embraces not only those functions which continue to occur within the household, but it also must deal somehow with those higher level structures and institutions which directly affect the domestic unit, but which are beyond its immediate control. Such areas as schools, public health, civic improvement, consumer buying, and the like, are included here. At this point, relations between households, as well as between the household and higher levels, become relevant. In primitive society the relationships between households were most often cast in terms of kin relations and were thus assigned to the appropriate linking kinsmen, depending upon the type of systems involved and the individual case. In modern mass society these matters have been increasingly removed from the lower-level household or domestic domain and are manipulated through a relatively new set of institutions and concrete structures which serve to relate one household to another, and the entire domestic domain to the jural. We might call this intermediate domain the supra-domestic (González 1970: 239-240). (Italics in the original.)

Males, on the other hand, are not well integrated into household affairs except as the recipients of domestic and sexual services. For example, Canouan males rarely
participate in the discipline and training of their children. In fact, it is exceptional to see them interact with their children in almost any capacity. When women and men were queried as to the duties of a father toward his children (see Appendix D), both sexes overwhelmingly responded that his primary (and frequently the only mentioned) duty should be "to provide [money] for them."

If one adds the sexual dimension, the role definition for "husband" on Canouan appears to be not much broader in terms of household participation. A number of those writing on the West Indies (and Black Lower-Class America, for that matter) have expressed concern over the "failure" of the male in his role of "husband-father." After examining the Canouan situation, I wonder if this is really the case. Are we dealing here with "failure" to perform a role as the people themselves define it or as it is defined in Western society as a whole? Although I can not answer this question with surety, even for Canouan, I suggest that this is a subject that needs further investigation.

As far as I could ascertain, those men who thought of themselves as being (or were accused of being) failures did so primarily in terms of island standards. If a woman, for example, says that she is married to a "careless man" [a common derogatory phrase applied to Canouan husbands], she means that he will not go out and "make a livelihood
and toil for his family;" not that he is inattentive to his children and to her.

In this context, it must be repeated that Canouan men are frequently physically absent from their families due to their career choice of sailing. Even more important, a man's family of procreation in its early stages is likely to be dispersed over several households. Figures cited in the next chapter indicate that, typically, marriage takes place after the birth of the first three children. Before marriage, mates continue to live in their respective households of orientation, their children staying with the mother. Thus, the Canouan career and mating cycles do not lend themselves to a "father role" in which males are intimately involved in their children's enculturation or in other domestic affairs. It does not necessarily follow, however, that what we are discussing here is cause and effect. Data cited elsewhere indicate that there might be a variety of occupational and mating patterns associated with what Nancie L. González (1970: 239) refers to as a man's "psychological absence" from the home.

If males are peripheral to the household, in what social contexts are they active?

28 See, for example, Oscar Lewis' work on the "culture of poverty," especially 1959; and Boyer, 1964, on the Mescalero Apache.
First, at the level of the total community, it is the male who deals with money matters, other than daily domestic expenditures. Men, for instance, are the chief officers in the Friendly Societies, and it is a man who handles all island banking and the cashing and depositing of money orders, business that must be transacted on St. Vincent because Canouan has no facilities for these purposes. Also, men are the ones who organize and direct matters involving contacts with the larger society. Examples of these latter types of activities were discussed in connection with the role of the head teacher, who frequently plays a pivotal part in such affairs. In addition to the cited tasks of receiving visiting dignitaries and organizing inter-island excursions, this latter sphere of influence is probably most clearly reflected in the men's focusing on the sea. Certainly, almost all Canouan men, no matter what their occupational choice, travel much more extensively than do women. Thus, just as Nancie L. González (1970) has reported for a number of other areas of the Caribbean, the

29 In fact, the Rules for one of the societies specified no female officers are permitted. Rosters of past and present officers show that an occasional female fills the less important posts, however.

30 Interestingly, most Canouan women complain of violent sea-sickness and do not go into the sea except to bathe and on special holidays. In either case most women just wade in the shallow water, although little girls were seen swimming on several occasions.
Canouan male sphere of community interest and activity is in the _jural_ domain; that of the female in the _domestic and supra-domestic_ domains. But, as we have already noted, the jural domain of the male on Canouan is always limited because the sources of power and authority are centered off the island. González has suggested that this lack of opportunity for males to actively participate in "jural affairs of the society at large," coupled with the fact that they are "effectively cut-off from the domestic scene since they tend to be funneled away from the local area in their pursuit of employment," has led to a "situation in which male roles are not as complete as those filled by females" (González 1970: 241).

Although this conclusion appears generally valid for Canouan males at the level of the community as a whole, recall that men are also involved in a second interactional sphere: that set of male-male interpersonal relationships termed "reputation" by Peter J. Wilson (1969, 1971). Earlier, I suggested that reputation on Canouan appears not to be tied to the type of bounded male peer groups Wilson has labeled "crews." Instead, the Canouan reputation value system seems to operate through networks of hierarchically arranged, somewhat age-graded males who, as Wilson has

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31 Recall from previous discussion that what is meant by "somewhat age-graded" here is simply that adult males who might be roughly classed onto three groups---
proposed, share "a complex of values which reflects the
congruence of the way a man views himself and the way he is
viewed by others" (1969: 80). As I mentioned earlier, much
of what comprises the "complex of values" constituting
reputation on Canouan is not fully known to me. What I did
observe leads me to suggest that the system primarily re-
volves around male valuation of prowess in (1) sexual ex-
ploits, (2) skills in interpersonal relationships, and (3)
wage-earning capabilities. It would also appear that
activities in each of these areas must be validated or
corroborated to be fully acceptable as indicators of
reputation.

The most common validation of sexual liaisons with
island girls is in the birth of children. Neither mate is
likely to try to conceal paternity—the male because he
gains reputation, and the female because she hopes to gain
and maintain financial support for the child and eventually,
perhaps, marriage with its father. Extra-marital affairs
between island men and women are publicly condemned as in-
appropriate behavior for either sex; but in the private
company of males, this may not be the case.

unmarried sailors, married sailors, and retired sailors—
tend to interact more with one another than with the island
male population as a whole. This does not mean that men in
call three groups are never found together. Gatherings of
men in the rum shops and under the trees are likely to be
composed of men from all three age-groups.
Sexual exploits off the island, since they are frequently temporary, must depend upon the supporting statements of one's fellow sailors for corroboration. In the absence of such testimony men were heard on several occasions to cast doubt on the claims of the speaker.

Men appear to have a fairly wide range of mechanisms by which to merit esteem in their dealings with other men. Basically, one gains approval by "coming out on top" [besting another]. Physical prowess is one of these mechanisms; verbal skill and cunning are two other avenues. The importance of non-physical prowess is illustrated in the following instance: One Canouan young man, somewhat jokingly, suggested that what he would do if someone wanted to start a fight was to run home and send in his "Old Lady" [Mother]. This started a debate among members of a group of young men as to the relative merits of physical combat versus other ways of dealing with an adversary. A number of young men felt that they admired a man who could avoid a fight by besting his antagonist through some sort of clever ruse.

Fighting, both among adults and children, is discouraged by Canouan islanders and, when it does occur, is likely to lead to a Magistrate's Court hearing. Violence, other than an occasional scuffle, is practically unknown among the islanders. Court records for the eight years
preceding 1966 showed but one major case (involving the use of a knife), and this was a fight between visitors to Canouan.

Illegal behavior in general appears to play a relatively minor role in Canouan's definition of reputation. Where it is commended, I suspect that it is the cunning with which the illegal act (such as smuggling or theft) was accomplished that is the admired quality.

Verbal skills are displayed in boasting and bragging, in joking, and in being able to relate one's own or another's adventures in an entertaining manner. Although adroit word-manipulation, such as punning, seems to be appreciated, the use of big words, quotations (particularly from the Bible), and patterned speech contests (see, for example, Abrahams 1968, 1970; and Crowley 1966) were not noted as being a well-developed form of verbal competition on Canouan. Non-native Canouan males, however, often employed the first two speech patterns--big words and Bible quotations--in their conversations with both men and women.

I have already discussed at some length the importance of cash and income because this is one area in which the respectability and reputation systems overlap. In both systems emphasis is placed on the amount of money one has and on how that money is spent. In the reputation system, however, the most important spending patterns are those that
reinforce a man's worth among his peers—primarily, standing for one's share of drinks in the rum shop or elsewhere. Among young unmarried men, the validation of wealth is more likely to be in certain outward symbols of money: e.g., "nice" clothing (Banlon shirts, wash trousers, straw pork-pie hats, etc.), a pipe (rarely smoked, however), and musical instruments (usually electric guitars played through battery operated equipment or battery radios).

Thus, although the amount of cash one has at his disposal is important in both the island-wide respectability system and the male peer sub-system, the way in which money is allocated is often a source of conflict between the two.

I began this section with the observation that Canouan males and females move in different social spheres: women in the domestic—supra-domestic sphere and men in the jurai—reputational sphere. Even at social gatherings men and women were rarely observed to do things together. Only men go out to the rum shops at night drinking; at parties, men nearly always sit in a separate room and play dominoes while the women talk and joke together elsewhere. Dances are usually attended by mates separately, each going with his or her friends. Even if a couple should attend together, the mates rarely dance with one another, since it is common for males to dance with females of nearly all marital
statuses and ages, 32

What, then, ties men and women together into the social units of household and community?

I propose that it is in the very exclusivity of the sexual roles that binds the sexes together. Women, focused on household maintenance and domestic services, are effectively excluded from the wage-cash domain, especially since the island lacks opportunities for women to earn substantial amounts of money. At the same time, maintenance of a standard of living considered adequate by islanders requires some cash resources. On the other hand, male adherence to the reputation value system almost totally excludes them from the performance of any domestic duties. Neither can they turn to commercial establishments to hire the work done, for there are no such services offered on Canouan. Even men living alone do not cook, clean house, keep a garden, etc. I have seen them resort to begging if they can get no female kinsman to perform these domestic tasks.

Therefore, we might speak of Canouan females as service independent but cash dependent; while Canouan males are

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32 Presumably, dances provide one of the best opportunities for men to proposition women about establishing an affair [an extra-residential liaison]. This is probably one reason why young men are often extremely sensitive about the men with whom their mothers dance. On two occasions fighting broke out at a Canouan dance because men ignored two son's verbal warnings to stay away from their mothers.
cash independent but service dependent. Thus, adult males and females form an interdependent unit that usually finds its expression in the household. We must be careful here, however, for this interdependence need not revolve around a husband-wife relationship. As will be seen in the next chapter, women can often satisfy their cash needs through the wage-earning capacities of their adult sons. Under these circumstances, the husband-wife relationship is weakened and eventually, perhaps, severed (by separation, not divorce), in which case the house will remain in the hands of the female. The male, cast adrift, must now seek another female through whom to satisfy his domestic (and presumably, sexual) needs.

In concluding this discussion, we might contrast the Canouan household, which I have suggested here is organically integrated, with the community as a whole. Earlier I proposed that the Canouan community is characterized by mechanical solidarity—the juxtaposition of like parts—rather than organic solidarity based on an interdependence of the parts. Perhaps it is for this reason that the household in the Caribbean has received so much attention from social scientists working in the area while the community, giving the appearance of lacking organization, has been largely ignored.
Age.--Canouan islanders approach the life cycle as if it were composed of four stages: infancy, childhood, adulthood, and old age. The lines of demarcation are not clear and there are no rites of passage to mark the transition from one stage to another, but there are shifts in life style and cultural expectations that seem to indicate such a four-part division.

"Infancy" and "childhood" are defined by islanders as extending from birth until age fifteen.

Children are not well integrated into the community as "social persons." They are not directly involved in the social prestige system, for instance, except as they are used to judge or validate their parents' position: e.g., a poorly cared-for child or a "rude" child is seen as a reflection on his parents' (especially his mother's) child training practices; and a child given a secondary education is seen as a reflection of his parents' ability to afford such an education (not, for example, as proof of the child's academic abilities). Although a child probably receives increased advantage via his parents' prestigious position, he does not receive preferential treatment among his age-mates or is he likely to inherit his parents' position.

Probably the most prevalent adult reaction to children is to ignore them. Children, therefore, can move in and out of adult society without being noticed or taken
account of. Children wander in and out of homes and stand among adult groups in conversation along the road with the adults paying little attention to them. Borrowing from Erving Goffman (1959; also Hotchkiss 1962), we might classify Canouan children as "non-persons" much as servants, taxi-cab drivers, elevator operators, etc. tend to be in our society. People usually talk around or through them rather than include them in the conversation. Thus, as John Szwed found in the Newfoundland community of Codroy:

Children, being without publicly recognized fully developed selves, are free both from the sanctions of gossip and to observe and to report what has been observed. They are particularly free to go where adults fear to tread, as their presence is ignored, even if they are uninvited. Although a child may not be sent specifically to report on other adult's behavior, he is often asked to give a full account of what he saw. As a non-person, he is allowed access to the back-stages of other households and may stay as long as he likes (1966: 100).

As in Newfoundland, Canouan children are sometimes brought to the attention of adults as sources of information. During my island household survey, for example, many mothers were observed to turn to a nearby child to supply some of the answers about their own families as well as about others. Because most adults on Canouan try to keep their own activities and affairs secret from one another, children, as non-persons, become valuable resources of what John C. Hotchkiss (1952) refers to as "instrumental knowledge" about neighbors that would not otherwise be available
to adults. On a number of occasions, women were heard to question a child closely upon his return from an errand or from school.

Probably the most common service children are called upon to perform for adults is errand-running. Because of the island pattern of frequent and small quantity buying, children are constantly being sent to the shops. Children are also sent to deliver messages, to pick up the mail, to watch for the fishing boats (to warn mothers to get ready to prepare the evening meal), etc. They are so vital in this role in adult society that nearly all households try to have at least one child in residence to perform these tasks. It is interesting to note that parents give "dawdling on an errand" as the most usual cause for "flogging" [to spank or beat with a rod, usually a branch from a tree or bush on Canouan] their children.

John C. Hotchkiss (1963) and John Szwed (1966) report that children often play another role in adult society:

Another side of the same coin is the ability of the child to perform 'face work' for the parent. His non-person status not only provides him both with access to otherwise closed areas, but also gives him freedom from worry about his self image among adults (Szwed 1966: 101). 33

33 Erving Goffman (1955) defines "face" as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of
On Canouan children are sent to "borrow" money, beg, and ask for food and services when no payment can be expected; for example, one child announced, "Mother said you must send give she some flour." A child can make demands and be excused (e.g., "must send" in the quotation above) where an adult can not.

Parents also send children out selling. Items range from single cigarettes (packs are broken open to be sold one cigarette at a time), homemade candy and little cakes, and eggs, to mutton from a freshly slaughtered sheep. Large-scale selling is considered enterprise and is therefore handled by adults, but such small-scale selling usually implies that a family is in immediate need of cash and is therefore handled by children.

Parents also utilize their children's labors to help defray adult reciprocal responsibilities, especially if there is little likelihood of a family being able to repay in kind within an acceptable period of time. For example, one woman, instead of making the usual money contribution to

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approved social attributes—albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself" (p. 213). Goixman then goes on the use the term "face-work" to "designate the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face. Face-work serves to counter act 'incidents'—that is, events whose effective symbolic implications threaten face" (p. 216).
a relative's tombing [entombment], sent her children to "drog" [dig and carry] sand for the cement.

Children, then, are utilized for those kinds of errands from which the adult has nothing to gain by doing them himself or for those transactions in which he might lose "face."

Children are seemingly aware of these methods of entrance into the adult world and are often seen patiently waiting in the background of adult conversations and activities for opportunities of service to present themselves. Younger children frequently are not as patient and therefore they often appear to seek adult attention by excessive noise or threatened action that might annoy the seemingly impervious adults. On numerous occasions, these children were heard singing, "reading," or reciting in a voice loud enough to almost drown out the conversation of a parent and guest. At other times, a young child would threaten the theft of the choice luncheon leftovers (usually saved and eaten cold for supper) or of sugar (a favorite item for childhood theft). Parents usually continue to ignore the attention-seeking child unless the vocalizations actually succeed in stopping a conversation or unless the threatened action is carried out, in which case the parents will usually pause long enough to "flog" the child. Interestingly, noise is not a normal concomitant of childhood play.
around the house and seems to occur almost exclusively in these "attention-seeking" situations.

Another possible entrance for younger children into adult awareness is as a source of temporary entertainment. Small children who can dress up their gossip-potential observations with a bit of spicy language hold an adult audience longer; and a tantrum from a very young child usually gets an amused adult comment, though rarely action on the cause of the tantrum. Adults sometimes encourage this kind of activity by allowing a child to sip a bit of rum or other alcoholic beverage.

In general, however, even though children are largely ignored by adults, they spend a good deal of time in the background of adult social activities. They often attend dances where they can be seen at two or three o'clock in the morning asleep on the benches that surround the Hall; they tag along on their mother's moonlit night visits to a neighbor's; and, if they can remain sufficiently obscure, the boys will hang around the rum shops and evening domino games picking up bits of male conversation and jesting.

In sum, the child's role in the community seems largely to be as a "non-person"—he is frequently to be seen in adult company, but adults act toward him as if he were not there. In this capacity, children become effective
(1) as errand runners, performing those simple but time-consuming tasks that adults find distasteful; (2) as repositories of knowledge about others since children can go where their parents or adult family members might not be welcome; and (3) as performers of "face-work," allowing adults to avoid direct contacts with others in situations in which threats to their face are likely to occur.

John C. Hotchkiss reports that:

These childhood roles, derived from the need for adult self-protection in a society where gossip is the vehicle of information, seem to occur in social contexts where an individual does not have much opportunity to diversify the self. In modern societies, in general, our activities take us into many roles which are disparate from one another. The combined membership of those that a man meets on his job, in his club, at his neighborhood bar, in his hobby group, and in his family, does not necessarily overlap. In peasant communities, on the other hand, nearly the total of one's self is subject to view and evaluation by one's fellow villagers or townsmen. . . . Social structures which demand day in and day out, face-to-face interpersonal relations have a double edged quality in that while there are indeed culturally defined means of self-fulfillment, a structure of such relations also means that the self is placed in constant jeopardy [sic] (Hotchkiss 1962: 9).

Structurally, children and infants often act to tie households together since at some stage in household development the elementary or nuclear family is likely to be dispersed among several residential units. This is especially true for couples just beginning their mating and child-bearing careers, for children who have been sent to grandparents or other close relative who might have requested them, and for outside children of married couples.
The transition from childhood to adulthood is perhaps the best marked of the life cycle stages. Almost without exception, young people are referred to and treated as "children" from the time they can talk and move about fairly independently until they leave school. Since most young people attend school until their fifteenth birthday, the transition from "child" to "adult" is often a very abrupt one. At age fifteen young men are expected to consider employment; and by seventeen or eighteen, most have already been off the island for a period of time doing carpentry or masonry work or as sailors on local schooners or freighters. Girls, after the school years, begin to assume more responsibility in helping with household chores in preparation for future courtship, engagement, marriage, and motherhood; but, as will be shown in the next chapter, many girls have their first babies by age seventeen or eighteen and therefore never go through the ideal mating pattern for a young girl.

Since the previous discussions in this chapter have concentrated on the adult phase of life on Canouan, only a brief summary is needed here. I have already hypothesized that for males adulthood tends to be divided into three phases largely tied to their occupational and mating career cycles. Phase one begins with a man's entry into the labor market shortly after age fifteen and lasts until his
marriage; phase two covers the early years of marriage during which time the children are growing up and the man is most actively sailing (roughly ages thirty to the late forties or early fifties); and phase three corresponds with a man's retirement from sailing. Recall that during the pre-marital years, a man is likely to reside in the house of his parents, setting up his own household only at his marriage. "Successful" [by island standards] men remain in their own households until old age and death; "unsuccessful" men may discover that retirement and approaching old age find them unwelcome at home as their wives or mates become increasingly financially independent through their sons' and daughters' cash contributions and remittances.

Correspondingly, the adult female is likely to begin her mating career while still resident in her parents' home, moving to her husband's house when she marries. Table 7 in Chapter IV shows that a fairly large number of women will probably never marry but remain as single mothers in their households of orientation (eventually to become heads of their own households at the death of their parents). Note that by ages twenty-five to thirty-nine, most men have moved from the category of "childless single person" to some sort of co-residential union (marriage or consensual mating) while women move from "childless single person" to either some sort of co-residential mating or single mother status.
Perhaps least clear is the transition to old age. On Canouan, old age is probably less dependent upon one's chronological age than on a diminution in one's mental and physical abilities and/or a transition from a relatively secure position in a household to an insecure one. This can happen in a number of ways but almost always involves a move from a household in which one was at least a nominal head, or independent and with some authority, to a household in which one is dependent or alone.

Islanders express fear over the latter possibility, that of being alone. In 1966 there were 27 people on Canouan over the age of 70 (seven of whom were males) and 51 between the ages of 55-69 (of these, 18 were males). In this group of 78 people, six men and ten women lived alone. All would be considered extremely poor by island standards. They had very little cash and, especially the men, had little access to domestic services. It is for this reason that older people say that they often request a grandchild or young relative to live with them. In addition to providing companionship, the child is there to run errands and to help in the household chores.

If the hoped-for pattern of old age unfolds, older people find themselves secure in their own houses with either a daughter, who is probably a single mother, and/or grandchildren living with them to take care of the gardens
and the daily chores. Since some of the grandchildren are likely to be the outside children of nonresident sons and daughters, the household will usually receive some funds for their support. Other married sons and daughters are also expected to contribute cash when and as they are able. Under these circumstances the household continues as a separate, independent unit capable of maintaining a lifestyle considered adequate by island standards. Even though the older person or couple can no longer fully participate in household affairs, he is still referred to as the head of the house.

Islanders express a great deal of concern over old age. It is not uncommon for islanders in late middle age to constantly seek reassurances that they look younger than their years and that they are still vigorous. On the other hand, as they approach old age, they appear to see death as being around the corner; e.g., "You still comin', but I always goin' [to my grave]." Statements concerning participation in future events are nearly always accompanied by "Please God" or "If God permits me to see tomorrow."

Origin.—Canouan islanders use the terms "outsider" and "stranger" to refer to anyone born and reared on another island. These terms usually apply even if a person lived on Canouan for many years. The concept of "outsider"

34 This discussion refers to "outsiders" or
probably derives in part from the relatively long history of island endogamy on Canouan. Marriage records, dating back to emancipation (1834)\(^{35}\) indicate a strong tendency for islanders to select mates from within the island. Migrants, therefore, are not integrated into the network of kin that characterizes much of the informal interaction system on Canouan. A number of factors reflect this lack of integration.

First, outsiders rarely have "family" on the island. They are, therefore, excluded from most social events and, more important, from the exchange of food by means of reciprocal gifts that takes place between relatives. Since there are no markets on the island, this places the outsider in a position of buyer among gift receivers, as, for example, when fish are being distributed on the beach after a day's catch. The importance of kinship as a means of integrating individuals into the island community is perhaps best seen in the differentiation made between migrants from Bequia (a Grenadine island to the north) and those from other, more distant, islands. Bequia migrants usually have some kin tie (albeit, sometimes relatively remote) with

"strangers" living on the island. Islanders are exceedingly generous, open, and friendly to "strangers [visitors] just passin' through."

\(^{35}\) Canouan marriages are kept on record in St. Vincent. Place of origin of the spouses indicated a strong tendency for Canouan islanders to marry among themselves.
someone on Canouan. It is interesting to note that, except, perhaps, in the heat of an argument, these men are rarely referred to as outsiders.

Second, since outsiders need more cash than the typical Canouan born islander, it is usually these people who act as odd-jobs men, doing work that most Canouan men scorn. This employment, plus the fact that most non-Canouan born men find their major occupation on the island (as gardeners or fishermen), gives strangers little basis for socializing with the Canouan sailors. Outsiders were often heard to air such complaints as: "In the rum shop, they [Canouan men] treat me as though I wasn't there" (M39: HH124) or "They don't listen to me when I talk, for me not Canouan" (M64: HH92).

Third, outsider males are often members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church as opposed to the Roman Catholic, Anglican, or no professed church affiliation that characterizes the island-born male population. Adventist membership is especially characteristic of recent male migrants, most notably from St. Vincent. Of the thirteen men who gave their birth place as St. Vincent, seven reported that they were Seventh Day Adventists. This constitutes all but one of the households with male heads who are members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The remaining household is headed by a man from Trinidad. The six other member
households are headed by elderly Canouan born women. Nearly all of the member households are poor by island standards.

This variation in church affiliation might not be so important if it were not for the fact that Seventh Day Adventist Church services and organization are markedly different from those of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches on the island. Adventists, for example, keep Saturday as their Sabbath, and they are expected to proselytize or "spread the word." Role cards for this purpose are kept for listing each member's weekly activities. In a population as small as that of Canouan, this places a special burden on the Adventist because he must constantly approach people whom he knows, from past experience, will not be receptive to and often resent his efforts.

Adventists take a vow not to use bad language or to drink intoxicating beverages, but both drinking and risque joking are major ways in which men interact and gain reputation on Canouan. Perhaps for this reason, most Adventist men break this vow with somewhat regular frequency.

Perhaps the most noticeable contrast is that Seventh Day Adventist men are actively involved in their church. Canouan men typically do not participate in church services and activities. These are considered the domain of women and children, and local positions within the church are usually held by women. Seventh Day Adventist men, in
contrast, act as leaders of their local services.

In addition, Adventists are usually the most defensively racially conscious and frequently the most critical of non-Adventist neighbors' activities. They feel that they are "put upon" by the Canouan born islanders: "Canouan people spiteful; try to hold you back" (M64; HH92) or "Canouan people bad, they try to steal you out. You complain and they come and take all you have; especially when you's poor; they take advantage of you" (F38; HH98).

It is difficult to know whether being an outsider turns people to Seventh Day Adventist Church membership (for example, in an effort to seek some sense of group identity and companionship) or vice versa. Some support for the first position is found in the fact that the Canouan women who are Adventists could not be said to be well integrated into the island community. On the other hand, not all migrants (even from St. Vincent) or all marginal Canouan women become members.

Outsiders are set apart from Canouan born islanders in yet another way: they are often suspected of possessing magical means of doing harm to others, principally by poisoning food. Consequently, some Canouan people refuse to eat food prepared by outsiders. Since food and drink are the major forms of hospitality and reciprocity, an individual who refuses them is placed in a position of being
overtly rude, a position not lightly taken on Canouan. One islander advised me how to avoid being rude while at the same time reducing the risk of being poisoned by eating a stranger's food:

[You should] get some quicksilver to make you vomit poisoned food before it get to do damage. Just a drop in some rum and you vomit everything. There is female and male quicksilver--the female has to take the male and vice versa--so you have to get someone who knows to buy it (F19; HH101).

Poison stories are fairly frequent. Probably actual cases of food poisoning are not unknown in an island where practically everyone must do without refrigeration. One elderly man nearly died from a case of purported food poisoning in 1965. Because his young wife was from St. Vincent, much gossip circulated on Canouan accusing her of poisoning him for his land and animals.

Since outsiders on Canouan are usually males rather than females, I would like to close this section with some speculation about the nature of the male outsider role.

Although there are obvious gradations, the role of stranger among Canouan males is one that is outside both the male prestige and reputation systems discussed earlier. One of the reasons for this is that outsiders did not grow up on Canouan and thus were not part of the adolescent peer groups that, to a large extent, constitute the focus of continuing male interaction on the island. Also, as mentioned earlier,
most non-Canouan born males do not choose sailing as their occupation, so they rarely have the cash or the common experiences to participate in almost any sphere of activity that confers importance in male society. On the other hand, from the Canouan males' point of view, the activities in which the outsider does participate are those designated as feminine: gardening, home, and church. Given the marked dichotomy between male and female adult roles on Canouan, outsiders who are involved in "female" tasks are not merely inept players of the male reputation game but are outside the game altogether.

Neither are outsiders absorbed into the feminine hierarchy; for from the females' point of view, strangers are outside the significant rank conferring aspects of the female role: those centered on the kinship and reciprocity systems. In this sense, outsiders, along with children, become sort of "nonpersons" who do not fit into either of the island gender roles but who do play an important part in facilitating the maintenance of the social system (as, for example, by working for cash when the kinship reciprocity system fails to provide the needed labor).

Table 6 attempts to summarize some of the important comparisons in the role orientations of Canouan males, females, and outsiders.
TABLE 6
COMPARISON OF ROLE FOCI FOR CANOUAN MALES
AND FEMALES, AND "OUTSIDERS"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canouan Born Male</th>
<th>&quot;Outsider&quot; Male</th>
<th>Canouan Born Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the sea(^1)</td>
<td>the land</td>
<td>the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sailors</td>
<td>gardeners</td>
<td>gardeners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>vegetable food</td>
<td>vegetable food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wages</td>
<td>subsistence</td>
<td>subsistence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reputation</td>
<td>(neither reputation/</td>
<td>respectability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>respectability)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rum shop</td>
<td>church</td>
<td>church and home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male-male relations</td>
<td></td>
<td>female-female relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexual aggressiveness</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>sexual submission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child support</td>
<td>child support and care</td>
<td>child care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>household status-definition through money and occupation</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>domestic services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jural domain</td>
<td>(neither domain)</td>
<td>supra-domestic domain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)No attempt has been made to make these foci exactly comparable.
CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

In the previous chapter, it was seen that Canouan men and women have different spheres of interest: the men primarily focusing on male-male interaction that is centered outside the household, and the women primarily focusing on the domestic (household) and supra-domestic domains. This does not mean, however, that men are excluded from roles centered on the household; in fact, as will be shown later, most men perform important roles related to several households. On the other hand, because of the nature of the mating system on Canouan, a number of men are not residents in the households in which they have mates and children. Therefore, as mentioned in Chapter I, the kinship unit (family) does not necessarily correspond to the residential unit (household).

This chapter will examine some of these aspects of family and household life on Canouan.

\[1\] Data for this chapter come from the island census (Appendix B), the Child and Parent Interviews (Appendixes C and D), informal questioning, and general observation.
Mating

Of the three types of mating usually listed as characteristic of the Caribbean—legal marriage, extra-residential unions, and consensual unions—Canouan may be thought of as primarily subscribing to the first two. Extra-residential unions, sexual unions in which the mates continue to live in their own households rather than with one another, are referred to by Canouan islanders as "friending"; or, they describe the male mate as "just passin' through." Consensual unions, sexual unions in which the partners cohabit without being legally married, occur on Canouan, but they constitute only a small percentage of the total mated population: 8.4% of the females who have ever mated. Islanders use the terms "keepers" or "bachelor couple" to refer to consensually mated partners.

One of the reasons for the infrequency of consensual unions on Canouan might be found in Keith Otterbein's hypothesis: "The greater the number of men who earn and save money to build a house, the lower the

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2 Throughout this discussion, mating will be used to refer to "those unions which involve conception, cohabitation, or community consensus and familial action" as defined by H. G. Smith (1962a: 168).

3 Consensual unions are known by a number of other terms in the Caribbean literature: concubinage (Clarke 1957), faithful concubinage (Henriques 1953), common-law marriage (R. T. Smith 1956), common-law union (Blake 1961) and locally on Trinidad as "living" (Rodman 1961).
percentage of consensual unions" (1965: '75). Canouan sailors do have access to rather substantial wages by Caribbean standards, and they are characterized by a fairly high incidence of legal marriage. Data presented in Table 7 suggest several features of Canouan mating that tend to support the Otterbein hypothesis: (1) by the age of twenty-five to thirty-nine, most Canouan males have married; and (2) of the fourteen men involved in consensual unions, eight are non-Canouan born (and therefore, probably do not have access to substantial amounts of money).

When consensual mating does take place on Canouan, it is likely to occur in the following two situations: (1) when a woman who is considered a poor marriage prospect by island standards has inherited a house (often a "poor" house made of wattle and daub or weathered boards), and (2) when one of the partners (usually the woman) is married but separated from the spouse.

In the first situation, the woman may attract a man who does not have enough money to build a house and thereby contract an acceptable legal marriage. Immigrants, particularly those who have had some experience with agriculture, are those most likely to find this situation attractive. Most Canouan men, on the other hand, have an opportunity to earn sufficient money to contract the culturally more approved union: marriage. Islanders say that a Canouan
TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY SEX, AGE, AND CONJUGAL CONDITION:
CANOUCAN, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24 39 54 69 89</td>
<td>31 39 54 69 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35 26 48 61 85</td>
<td>34 26 48 61 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>69 65 102 116 174</td>
<td>65 65 102 116 174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Childless single persons
2. Single parents
3. Consensual unions
4. Married
5. Separated, living alone
6. Widowed
7. Divorced

---

*Men were considered to be single fathers only if they had children by Canoican women.

*This total includes one single mother of indeterminate age.
sailor would be "shamed" to live in a poor woman's house. Then, too, a consensual union tends to vest more power in the woman than does legal marriage. Islanders are well aware that the woman is the one who owns the house, and this fact is a constant reminder to the man that he has failed in his primary duty to provide a home and money for his mate and family.

In the second situation, when one (or both) of the partners is still married but separated from his spouse, the consensually mated pair is again usually co-resident in a woman's house. For religious (and perhaps also monetary) reasons, Canouan has no divorce, although divorce is legal by St. Vincent law. Because the house and the children remain with the wife when spouses separate, the husband is especially anxious to establish another co-residential union with a woman who will perform those domestic tasks that Canouan men are so reluctant to carry out. For her part, the wife may be content to have extra-residential mates or "friends"; but if she is in need of financial assistance or help with the gardening, she may take on a keeper. Such men are usually elderly, separated or widowed Canouan men or non-Canouan born men.

Table 7 illustrates some other features of the Canouan mating system. Most noticeable, perhaps, is the difference between the number of single mothers and the
number of single fathers. In part, such a distribution stems from the disparity between the number of adult males and females on Canouan and from Canouan's commitment to monogamy. Unlike some other Caribbean islands (for example, Carriacou, as reported by M. G. Smith 1962a; 1962b), Canouan islanders place a high value on fidelity within marriage. Faithfulness is only expected from men, however, when they are on Canouan; most wives accept the fact that their husbands may have lovers on other islands.

The above information suggests that the patterns of mating for males and for females on Canouan are likely to be somewhat different. The early part of the cycle for most Canouan born men is rather predictable. Single young men engage in one or a series of extra-residential affairs beginning sometime after they leave school at age fifteen. At the same time, most boys are also beginning to earn and save money by going sailing or by doing carpentry or masonry work on other islands. Between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, nearly all of those young men who have not emigrated have married.

The last part of the Canouan male mating career is less predictable. Men who have succeeded in continuing to earn money throughout middle age tend to remain with their wives in a position of dominance within the household. Men whose earning capacities have significantly diminished may
be thrown out of the household they established at marriage, or they may simply be forced to relinquish the position of dominance traditionally held by Canouan husbands. Public sentiment would rarely condone a man being thrown out for loss of earning power alone; he usually must also have been grossly indiscreet, most commonly by having an affair with a Canouan woman, or by drinking excessively, by giving his wife (and newborn child) venereal disease, etc. I suspect, however, that often a man who no longer provides his wife with adequate cash may, in part, be driven by his spouse to seek companionship elsewhere. For example, it appeared that a reversal in male-female household dominance often preceded a man's seeking a lover and his eventual exodus from the home. Women who have no sons or married daughters to contribute money to the household seemed more tolerant of the "careless" husband.

Most men die before their wives (See Tables 1 and 2, Chapter II), so few are widowers (and of the five widowers on Canouan in 1966, two had remarried).

The early mating careers for Canouan women are somewhat different from those of men. Some will approximate the cycle outlined above for males: from about seventeen to twenty-four, while still in their mother's or parent's home, these girls will engage in one or more extra-residential unions that will result in their becoming single mothers;
then, some of the girls will marry. In 1966, 88 out of 155 mated women were married. Typically, the age of marriage for a girl is more varied than for a man, a fact that islanders acknowledge when they respond, "Best age for a girl to marry? Well, according to her luck. Some marry fifteen; all the way there (anytime after that)." 

Overwhelmingly, Canouan women say that they want to marry and that marriage is the appropriate goal for their daughters. On Canouan, as in nearly all parts of the Caribbean, marriage should not take place until a young man has accumulated enough money to pay for a proper wedding and to build a new home for his bride. In Canouan, the necessary cash can only be acquired if the young man leaves the island to find work or learn a profession. Since young men are at such a premium because of male emigration, young women are anxious to please the males, and, at the same time, women try to ensure that the men will honor their promises of marriage. The promise may be in the form of a statement of a love for the girl made to her parents or an actual engagement, preferably made by a posted letter. Islanders erroneously believe that a stamped letter

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4 This statement was a typical one from the 36 respondents to the Parent Interview question on the ideal age for marriage. (See Appendix D.)

5 Only two Canouan women were heard to express negative sentiments toward marriage.
legalizes the engagement; a broken engagement after such a letter is thus supposed to be subject to legal action and compensation if the parents and/or the girl press charges. St. Vincent law does not support this view.

The boy, for his part, often feels more secure in his position, especially with a popular girl, if he has left her with a child. On the other hand, he may use his superior bargaining position to get the girl to have sexual relations ("make bassa-bassa") with him; and "if a little mistake [baby] come, he might go off leave she" (F19: HH101). The boy might desert her by emigrating, by delaying the marriage so long that the girl contracts another union and thereby nullifies the engagement, or by the boy, himself, taking up with another girl so that his fiancée feels that she must cancel the arrangement to avoid shame. Such a girl, with her bargaining position somewhat decreased, can only hope to try again. If she is unsuccessful on too many occasions, she may accept a consensual union to help support her illegitimate children, thereby almost surely ending her chances for marriage. It was rare for a Canouan woman, especially in the young and middle-aged groups, to have had a history of keeping before marriage. It appears, then, that in Canouan, as Judith Blake has reported in Jamaica, "the common-law [consensual] relationship frequently seems to be a poor preliminary to marriage. It has low status in
the eyes of both men and women and entails few mutual obligations. These features make it a poor sort of 'trial marriage'" (1961: 147). Thus, an unmarried girl with illegitimate children may remain a single mother, raising her children in a household that she may have inherited from her parent(s) of which she is now the head. Keith Otterbein, in writing on Caribbean family organization, points out that this association between a low percentage of keeping or consensual unions, migrant wage labor (in Canouan's case, sailing), and a high percentage of female-headed households is characteristic of a number of Caribbean societies (1965: 77).

As a last resort, a woman who has been unsuccessful in contracting a marriage within the limited supply of Canouan males may attempt to find a spouse elsewhere. Approximately one third (twenty-six out of the eighty-eight) of the Canouan women who have married have found a husband from outside the island. The data show that those women who marry immigrant men tend to marry somewhat later than those who find their mates on the island.

In summary, extra-residential unions and single motherhood appear to be primarily the result of women's attempts to bargain for marriage. It does not follow for Canouan, as M. G. Smith has suggested for other West Indian islands, "that the majority of male partners of these single
women will be found among the married men" (1962b: 36). On the contrary, unmarried Canouan women rarely mate with married men unless the men are separated from their wives. Thus, the Canouan data do not support Keith Otterbein's hypothesis that the Caribbean double standard of sexual behavior combined with the relative instability of consensual as opposed to marital unions, would lead to a greater frequency of extra-residential mating in communities with a high percentage of marriages. Here, again, is the assumption that married men, as opposed to the more tenuously mated men in consensual unions, are not required to adhere to a code of fidelity, a feature not characteristic of Canouan mating relationships.

This discussion suggests that for Canouan the mating system is not the two-alternative one specified by such writers as Keith Otterbein (1964: 282) and N. G. Smith (1962b) as characteristic of certain parts of the Caribbean, not a choice between norms but a failure of one to work in the hoped-for manner producing the other. For the most part, neither can this dual pattern be considered as two phases in a three-phase developmental cycle of the household as R. T. Smith suggests in his article "The Family in the Caribbean,"6 Although most Canouan women begin

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6 For a more complete examination of the concept of a developmental cycle of domestic groups, see Jack Goody (1958).
their mating careers as extra-residential mates and a few end them as separated or widowed heads of households with a period of some sort of co-residential mating in between, matrifocality is not a characteristic of the beginning and end of a household developmental cycle on Canouan but a continuing feature of many household groups. These Canouan women do not "spend at least a period of their lives in some sort of conjugal union" (R. T. Smith 1960: 70).

William Goode, in discussing illegitimacy in the Caribbean, neatly summarizes the Canouan situation:

The Caribbean girl with unusual qualities may be able to demand marriage. However, the average girl has little chance at marriage, early or late, unless she is willing to gamble that a more permanent union will grow from one relationship or another . . . . Motherhood lowers the girl's value in the market, but if she does not produce a child for the man with whom she is living or with whom she has a liaison, her chance of a stable union is low. . . . Meanwhile, however, a woman may have children by several men, . . . (1964: 34-35).

Island women want to marry ("Everybody want to be mistress so-and-so"), and it is this desire, combined with the economic-demographic features discussed earlier, that ties the extra-residential and marital mating systems together. An examination of the pattern of sexual unions involving conception for women who have married and that for single mothers reveals this relationship more clearly.

Out of a total of 189 adult women on Canouan, 88 have married at least once. Of these women, 78 have borne a total of 389 children. (See Table 8.) Note that 10 women,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Wives--Non-Canouan Born</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
all over 45, have borne no children. Interestingly, 8 of these women are married to non-Canouan born men. Approximately 2/3, or 237 of these children were born legally, within the marriage. The remaining 122 children were born illegally by 45 of the 78 childbearers. Of these 45 women, 20 bore only children by their future husbands; thus, 53 women married the fathers of their first children. Of the other 25 women who bore children before marriage by men other than their future husbands, all but one did so by extra-residential mates, the 43 children corresponding to the number of mates except in 3 cases in which women had two children by one man. In addition, the data show that approximately one half of the young women who had children before marriage by men other than their future husbands had them by more than one man, sometimes by three or four extra-residential mates. These data tend to confirm the earlier point that on Canouan, extra-residential mating contains the possibility of future marriage while consensual mating, or keeping, largely excludes marriage with anyone but one's keeper.

Turning now to mothers who have never married, Table 9 shows that 57 Canouan women fit into this category. Of these 67, 59 are single mothers and 8 are keepers. Some of these women, particularly in the 15 to 24 age group, may yet marry. As Judith Blake (1961) found for women in Jamaica,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Never Married Mothers (1)</th>
<th>Ever Married Women (2)</th>
<th>Total: Columns (1) &amp; (2) (3)</th>
<th>Total Women (4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-54</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-69</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>67b</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>189b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Three women in the 55 to 69 age group had had no children.

b These totals include one severely retarded woman of indeterminate age who had at least 6 living children. While it was certain that she had never married, it was impossible to determine the paternity of her children or the pattern of her sexual unions.
Canouan's single mothers exhibit somewhat different mating and reproduction patterns from those of married women.

First, single mothers bore a smaller average number of children than women who had married: approximately three children per woman as opposed to the married woman's five. If we remove the seven keepers who have a total of 42 live-born children (one keeper had but one stillbirth), the average for the single mothers alone is even less: 2.74 children.

Second, keepers and non-co-residentially mated single mothers contract more unions than the married women, have an average of more children per extra-residential union, and are more likely to become involved in a keeping union at some time in their mating careers, though rarely as a first union. (Nine single mothers had had a total of 22 children by keepers but were not now engaged in keeping unions.)

For all women, married and unmarried, the median age for bearing the first child is 17. By age 25, nearly all women have mated, either by marrying, keeping, or establishing extra-residential unions. In the first two cases, the woman and her mate live together in a household they establish as parents (a household of procreation); in the latter case, the couple live apart in their respective parents' households (in their households of orientation).
In all three types of mating, the man is expected to provide economic support for his mate and any children that they have in common; and the woman is expected to provide domestic services: cooking, washing, mending, etc. If the couple is young or the extra-residential union not yet validated by the birth of children, this exchange of services (other than the sexual privileges that, by definition, characterize all three types of union) may be minimal.

**Household Composition**

If a woman with children by previous non-marital unions should succeed in contracting a marriage, what is the disposition of her illegitimate or "outside children?" On Canouan, it is unusual for a man or a woman to bring his or her outside children into the household (in 1966, only five children in five households could be so classified). Instead, these children are usually left with the maternal grandparents; more rarely, they may be given to childless relatives (often a sister of the mother) or friends. A woman who leaves children to enter a marriage is expected to continue to contribute economically to her children's

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7 Keith Otterbein defines "outside children" as "children of unwed mothers or illegitimate children of married women; the term corresponds to the legal definition of illegitimacy. If, however, the unwed mother married the putative father of her child, the child is legitimized provided neither of the parents was married to a third person when the illegitimate person was born" (1964: 294).
support. Presumably, the woman is receiving some money from the father(s) of her children. If the man fails in his duty, the now married mother should still try to send some cash and periodic gifts for the children. Not all do this, however, and few in the amount expected by the grandmother or grandparents. Despite frequent complaints, grandparents, especially widows, desire grandchildren in the home; and if they have no "outsiders" to rear, they request and expect one or more of their daughters to donate a child to their care. As mentioned earlier, when an unwed mother fails to marry, she usually continues to reside in the home of her parents, remaining under their supervision and support until they die, in which case the unmarried daughter(s) inherits the house and continues as a single-mother household head. Female household headship may come about in several other ways: (1) Since wives tend to outlive husbands, a woman will become the head of the household that she and her husband shared until his death; (2) a woman may separate from her husband, in which case she remains in control of the household; (3) a woman may remain single but still rear children given her by others and head her own household; and (4) a few women have such ineffectual husbands or keepers that they obviously run the household and, in some cases, own it. These are usually cases in which a woman has married late in life.
Household headship has been the focus for structural analysis in several West Indian family studies: notably in the works of M. G. Smith and Raymond T. Smith mentioned in earlier references; however, headship is not always clear in Canouan, and, thus, it is often difficult to identify headship objectively. Edith Clarke (1957: 30), experiencing this difficulty in her Jamaican study, abandoned the concept altogether, using instead residential groupings or household types as her basis for analysis. On the other hand, M. G. Smith reported no difficulty in identifying household heads in the five West Indian communities he examined. Replies to such questions as: "Whose house is that over there?" or pointing, "Who lives over there?" [and within the household] 'Who is the head of the home (house)?' ... were generally unanimous and were never contradicted" (M. G. Smith 1962b: 19). Use of the two questions suggested for neighbors leaves the investigator in a hopeless muddle on Canouan, for nearly everyone refers to a home from which the husband is frequently absent due to work outside the island as the woman's. Asking household members to specify household headship probably more accurately reveals the actual situation; but even in this instance, young married women often give themselves as head.

Such responses, although of little aid in determining household headship for an analysis of household
structure and composition, are certainly indicative of an important aspect of Canouan household organization; in many cases, women are the day-to-day heads of their homes for much of the year since husbands simply are not there to represent the household. At the same time, Canouan women generally agree that males should be the authori-
tarian figure in the home, and no matter how independent women may become as day-to-day heads, most defer to their husbands or mates when they are present. Those households in which the man assumed the position of authority when he was home were designated as headed by males. If the wife and neighbors agreed that the man had no such authority, I included the household with those headed by females.

Keeping in mind the warning of Raymond T. Smith that "Headship is not a rigidly defined concept" (1956: 69), let us briefly examine Canouan household composition as found in those homes with male heads and those with female heads. (See Table 10.) Slightly over one-half (67 out of 130) of Canouan's households are headed by women under the con-
ditions outlined above. As might be expected from the pre-
vious discussion of children by women who never married, these female-headed-households have fewer children of the head: a total of 106 in 37 households as opposed to 164 in 39 male-headed households; and a smaller proportion of these children are legitimate: 37.5% for female-headed
TABLE 10

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD: CANOUAN, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to the Head</th>
<th>Number in Households with Male Heads</th>
<th>Number in Households with Female Heads</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensual mate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son of head and mate:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 15 yrs. of age</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 15 yrs. of age</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter of head and mate:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 15 yrs. of age</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 15 yrs. of age</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son of head only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter of head only</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spouse only</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consensual mate only</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter of:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spouse only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consensual mate only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's wife</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's consensual mate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's husband</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's consensual mate</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's son:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legitimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegitimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's daughter:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legitimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegitimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's son:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legitimate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegitimate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter's daughter:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legitimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>illegitimate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 10—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to the Head</th>
<th>Number in Households with Male Heads</th>
<th>Number in Households with Female Heads</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adopted child's of relative</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of non-relative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted child's son</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted child's daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great-grandchildren</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse's father</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse's mother</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother's child/grandchild</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister's child/grandchild</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse's sister's son</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse's sister's daughter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant relative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number of Residents</strong></td>
<td><strong>263</strong></td>
<td><strong>230</strong></td>
<td><strong>493</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total No. of Household Heads</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
<td><strong>67</strong></td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>326</strong></td>
<td><strong>297</strong></td>
<td><strong>623</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
households; 73.8% for male-headed households.

Table 10 also shows the infrequency of outside children of either spouse in the male-headed home and the rarity of collateral relatives and affines in either male or female-headed households. Grandchildren, mostly illegitimate offspring of the household head's daughters, are found in households with either male or female heads, but much more frequently with the latter. Out of 121 multi-member households, 54 have grandchildren, and in 39 of these instances, the grandchildren are illegitimate. These figures illustrate the common disposition of outside children and, at the same time, demonstrate how a young woman can continue to bargain for marriage in a society in which outside children are not welcomed into the home of a mate. As Yehudi Cohen found for a community in Jamaica:

When an unmarried girl bears a child, the burden of its support must be shouldered by the mother's parents. Since the culture assigns illegitimate children to the care of the maternal grandparents, it turns out that almost every couple rears two generations. This accounts, in part, for the three generation family (1956: 668).

What occasionally happens is that the first illegitimate children of older daughters arrive during the closing childbearing years of the mother; consequently, the grandchildren and younger children are raised together almost as siblings.
What do these household composition figures mean in terms of a distribution of household types? Table 11, outlining residential units, shows that although the largest single category of households is that of couples and children, these only constitute approximately one-quarter of the total households on Canouan. Another quarter might be called "grandmother families," families of which the grandmother is head with her children, grandchildren, and/or great-grandchildren. An additional 20 households include both grandparents and grandchildren making 54 out of the 130 Canouan households three-generations or more. On the whole, households based on individuals (68 households) slightly outnumber those based on co-residently mated couples (62 households).

The earlier discussion on mating tended to focus on the interrelationships between the mated pairs in the three different types of unions found on Canouan. As can be seen in this presentation on household composition, however, children are a numerically important part of most households (113 out of 130 households on Canouan have resident children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren). Since these children occupy a relatively minor position in the community at large (see Chapter III), the focus of their social identities primarily centers on the household. Let us now turn to an examination of the mated couple's roles as
TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF RESIDENTIAL UNITS.
CANOAN, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Type</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. Ch'less couples only</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Ch'less couples plus others</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total childless couples</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. Couples and children only</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Couples, children plus others</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total couples and children</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. Couples and grdch. only</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Couples, grdch. plus others</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total couples and grdch.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. Couples, ch. &amp; grdch. only</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples, ch., grdch. + others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total couples, ch. &amp; grdch.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Couples and issue to 4th gen.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total couples</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male Head</th>
<th>Female Head</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. Ch'less individ. only</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Ch'less individ. plus others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total childless individuals</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. Individuals and children only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individ.,children plus others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total individ. and children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a. Individ. and grdch. only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individ., grdch. plus others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total individ. and grdch.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a. Individ.,ch.,and grdch. only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individ.,ch.,grdch. + others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total individ., ch. &amp; grdch.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Individ. and issue to 4th gen.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total individual households</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Adapted from a table from M. G. Smith (1962:65)
parents and the child's role in the context of the household and of the general enculturative processes.

Household and Family Relationships

Father's role:—As Hyman Rodman has stated in opening his discussion of the father's role on Trinidad: "It is a biological fact that a mother is always certain a child is hers while a father is never absolutely certain" (1971: 75). Biological paternity is important on Canouan. For the man, it is a validation of his reputation as procreator. It also means that he should now assume the burden of the major support of the child. For the woman, establishing paternity assures that the father's role as economic supporter is recognized by the community so that she may legitimately press for the father to marry her; or, failing this, she can bring social pressure to bear on him to supply some money toward the support of the child. Unlike some other Caribbean communities (for example, the Trinidadian community studied by Hyman Rodman, above [1971]), paternity is rarely disputed on Canouan. This is probably because of the islanders' insistence upon fidelity between mates. Because co-residential mating does not always follow the birth of a child, however, the father's role may not always be centered in the household. If it is not, the role is likely to be less adequately filled since a man who is no longer directly involved with the mother of his child(ren) tends to have
other, more immediate, demands on his money and time: his own mother, his wife, and/or his current mate.

For the most part, fathers, whether co-resident with their children or not, do not interact with their children to any great extent. Fathers and children were rarely observed to work or play together; and fathers rarely assume the responsibility for disciplining their children. Of 48 children interviewed in the Child's Interview (see Appendix C), 31 reported that the mother punished them the most or exclusively. In only 4 cases (2 boys and 2 girls) was the father given as punishing most.

Another indication of the low saliency of the father role for Canouan children is in their responses to a question asking them to name their parents or guardians. All but 2 of the 28 children with fathers in their households mentioned only their mothers' names. The other 2 gave both their mother and father, in that order. In addition, children living with their grandparents gave only the grandmother as their guardian.

What factors are involved in bringing about this centering on the mother and grandmother and ignoring the father or male in the household? Of importance here, I think, is the community's definition of the father's role. The most frequent single response in the Parent's Interview (Appendix D) to the question concerning the main duties of
a father was to "send money" and "support the child." More revealing, perhaps, were parental responses to "Who should have more to do with disciplining the child, the mother or the father?" Sixteen of the 31 respondents to this question gave answers similar to those below:

It is right that two should do it, but you will find in these islands men go so far to work--some stay but one year; but the father shall never have the chance owing to the livelihood. He must go in sea and away so long. Only means of livelihood--the sea, I know a sailorman nearly five years out; so the female have to do it (F46: HH41).

Both, but the mother do it because the father hardly at home; the father mostly cut to tail for his daily bread and for his family. If he present, he see to it; if not, mother see to it (F48: HH 42).

It would appear, then, that islanders see a father's first and foremost duty as providing monetary support for his family. Both sexes say that the role includes more but that it is difficult to enact this expectation given the necessity for men to earn money off the island. The children's responses, however, suggest that even given the opportunity, men do not participate very actively in childrearing or in disciplining their children.

It has already been mentioned that men who cannot bring in a substantial cash income are defined as "careless men." The man who stays on the island must of necessity fail in this important duty to his family and is, therefore, defined as inferior by both females and males. His home and furnishings are not as luxurious as those of men earning a
steady wage. He cannot be a bearer of exotic gifts from other islands or countries. His is the mundane world of everyday where his every achievement or lack of success is open to daily scrutiny. The off-island based male's world is largely a private one known to others primarily by what he, himself, relates, selects, or embroiders. This is particularly true for international sailors, less so for other types of sailors since these men are more likely to have sailing companions from Canouan. On the basis of these factors, the society judges a man's success largely by the amount of money he is capable of bringing into the household and by the type of occupation in which he earns this money. As mentioned earlier, these occupations tend to be ranked as follows: (1) sailors on international lines, (2) sailors on Caribbean lines, (3) tradesman on other islands, (4) former sailors—fishermen, (5) fishermen, and (6) farmers. Thus, another aspect of the father's role is to confer rank on his family and household. Interestingly, the occupational evaluation is such that the less frequently a man is in the household, the higher the rank conferred on it.

Mother's role.—Much of what constitutes the mother's role in the Canouan household has been implied in the discussion of the father's role above. While the father's primary function is to "mind" [support] the children, the mother is to be the "caretaker." Her primary
responsibility is to enculturate and take care of the domestic needs of the child:

[What are the duties of a mother toward her children?] To train them in the right way, keep them clean and send them to school regular and church; keep them clean and everything (M26: H100).

... learn the child his prayers, send to school daily, confirm, send to take Lord's sacrament, show him God. If when grown, [child] can't say that mother didn't show me the right way (F48: H128).

It is the mother (or the mother surrogate, usually a grandmother) who most closely interacts with the children on a day-to-day basis. This mother-child relationship, however, is not as intense as might be expected. Although most mothers deny it, children spend a good deal of time away from their mother's immediate supervision. If at all possible, mothers will not take their children with them into the gardens or on errands; they will leave them at home alone or in the care of an older sibling. Most mothers try to discourage their children from spending time away from the house, but school, children's duties of caring for the stock and errand-running, and a general lack of enforcement because the mother is away from the house a great deal, preclude such an interdiction. Also, a number of children (for example, thirteen of the forty-eight children in the Child's Interview, Appendix C) do not spend their childhood years exclusively in the households of their mothers (or grandmothers). What actually happens is that, as in most
societies, enculturation on Canouan is carried out via a wide variety of sources; but, in most cases, it is the mother who is most consciously aware of and most frequently socially assigned the role she plays in training the young.

Child's role and childrearing practices.--Islanders say that children are much desired in Canouan society, although a few men commented that "the old people" (their parents and grandparents) had misled them into having too many children.

Since many girls have their first babies outside of marriage and thus ruin their chances for the ideal courtship and marriage pattern, knowledge of such a first pregnancy is often unhappily received; but once the initial furor has subsided, these pregnancies progress about as all others do, and the resulting child is usually welcomed by the girl and her family. Even married women rarely announce their pregnancies but wait for others to notice it. In most cases, this topic becomes part of a gossip game: speculation on whether so-and-so is pregnant, who the father is, and who was the first to notice.

Most women have their babies at home attended by a midwife, and female friends and relatives who offer

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3 The midwife is usually a local woman who has had a short period of training (six weeks, in most cases) from the government and is under government contract. The visiting doctor reports that he never sees pregnant women: "These women are just like the beasts here. They work in the
encouragement and advice directed at calming and quieting the expectant mother. Since houses are generally quite small, men and children are usually just in the next room and can not fail to hear all of the activity through what is frequently only a cardboard partition, but they are not directly included in the proceedings. Once the newborn child is bathed and dressed in new clothing, he is carried out for all in the next room to see. It is obvious that men prefer boys to girls if a first child, but they eventually want girls too since they are supposed to be more attentive and reliable when grown.

Which ever the sex, it seems to me that mothers and women often treat infants as if they were dolls: they amuse themselves with babies, manipulating them, dancing them or clapping their hands in time to radio music, and generally acting towards them as if they expected no response at all. David Landy reports a similar mother-infant interaction pattern in a rural Puerto Rican village (1959: 98-99). On the other hand, there were a number of times when I observed fields all day and go in and have their babies with no trouble—just like a horse. If there's anything seriously wrong, they go up to the hospital in St. Vincent. I don't go to any of them. They don't allow men around them when they have the baby, you know" (personal interview). As might be suspected from his above comments, this doctor was not held in very high esteem by the islanders. If they feared any serious illness, they usually went to St. Vincent or Carriacou for treatment.
women with real dolls. On these occasions, the women spoke to the dolls, asked them questions, and included them in the conversation as if they were capable of responding. This attitude toward infants may be tied to a general belief on Canouan that children are not yet "sensible." Women talked to the dolls as if they saw them as representing adults. Perhaps it is for this reason that the conversation was characterized by a tone of expected response. We shall return to this topic later.

A good deal of the time, a creeping or toddling infant will be ignored by his mother, often confined to the safety of the house (whether someone is there or not) by a wide board, which fits into slots at the base of the doorway.

Beautiful or handsome infants, usually defined as those with Caucasoid features, are coveted by all families, and especially by grandmothers. A number of women commented that they would urge a guest with such a baby to leave the infant with them for a few months. Several women told of a former Canouan woman who visited the island with her blond, light complexioned, illegitimate baby girl. Women still speak of the beauty of the child who must now be around four years old, but the women continue to be angry at the mother because she would not give the child to any of them. Giving children away is not unusual. It is seen as an obligation
to give a child (especially if there are quite a few children in the family) to a sister or close relative who has none or to a grandmother who has asked for an infant to rear. A child might also be given away if it is felt that he might receive better opportunities in another home.  

Even if grandmothers do not request a child to rear, they often expect to have considerable say in the rearing of their children's offspring. They feel that they are much better qualified to raise the children than are the inexperienced young couple. Interference by grandmothers appeared to be strongest in the case of married daughters. Perhaps this is because the grandmother is continuing a pattern of supervision of the mother and her child(ren) that, for most women, began at home with the birth of their daughter's illegitimate children.

At the same time that considerable attention and love are focused on the infant, parents, grandparents, and neighbors are careful not to carry this too far for fear that the child will get maljo. Maljo is described by

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9 I was approached on three occasions by what I interpreted to be half jest-half serious offers of an infant "to take back with [me] to the States."

10 Maljo or maliezau (M. G. Smith 1962a) is probably a corruption of the Spanish mal ojo—bad or evil eye. George E. Simpson reports a similar belief on Trinidad: "A child gets maljo when a person with a 'bad eye' looks at a child and says: 'Oh, that is a beautiful child.' The child refuses to eat or drink, cries continually, and 'pines away.' It may have 'an attack of fever.' To find out if a child
islanders as a wasting disease of infancy caused by someone's loving the child too much or thinking the child too beautiful:

Iris was telling how she "happened to make Silas [now four years old] by Bertram T." and why Silas now lived with Bertram and Queenie, his wife, rather than at home with her: "When I was young, around fifteen, I was working by June R., but she used to send me to Bertram T. for fish. It was then that it happen. He don't speak to him no more. When Mommy find out, she beat me and she curse him. John R. [June's husband] beat me, man, too. Since he [Silas] was a baby, he father mind he. Queenie come and she want he. She say she have a dream and she love he too much; she might cause him to die young--give him maljo. . . . People tie a shoelace around the baby's waist with either a ten cents or a little bag on it. Sometimes they just pin a bag on the clothing or put a lace around they wrist or neck. The bag contain garlic and blue or a leaf from the white hand broom bush. This to keep away maljo" (F19: HH101).

By the time the child is capable of walking, close adult-child interaction appears to cease. About this same time, between nine months and one year of age, the child is weaned and no longer sleeps with his mother at night. More and more, the walking child's care is turned over to a

has maljo, put a branch of sweet broom in its hand or on its chest. If the sweet broom withers immediately, the child has maljo. To 'cut' maljo, put a piece of indigo blue in a saucer and pour holy water on it. Put a branch of sweet broom, some lanewah and gully root leaves in a jar of water and add some of the blue water and a pinch of salt. Bathe the child with this solution. Mix spirits of asafesita (assafetida) and olive oil in a saucer containing indigo blue water and make the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, on the soles of his feet, on his chest, and on his back. Anoint him with the liquid left in the saucer" (Simpson 1962: 326).
school age female sibling. It is not uncommon to see little
girls, from age five on, carrying their young charges, who
are almost as big as they. Although, in most cases, these
little surrogate mothers watch the young ones only when the
mother is out of the house (in the fields, etc.), often the
sibling caretaker is expected to continue her responsibility
when the parent is there:

Mrs. J. was sewing. The two boys and the girl were
playing and the baby was in the wash tub. On one
occasion, the youngest boy took a stick into the peas
and started to bat at them with it. "My, God, boy,
you're knockin' down the peas" (mildly disturbed voice).
She calls angrily, "Roxanne, stop him; take that stick
from him!" Later, the baby in the wash tub just below
Mrs. J. begins to cry. Mrs. J. calls, "Roxanne, come,
come! Pick up this child." Later still, "Roxanne,
make him come out of the garden." Roxanne was five
years old at the time. (Field notes.--F32: H=126.)

On another occasion, a boy of about four years of age was
running up and hitting me. The father, with whom I was
talking, did not seem to notice. As the attack became more
vigorous (with an added stick), some older children re-
strained the child. A frequently heard parental command to
an older child is, "Make ______ (a younger sibling)
behave."

On the whole, the child caretakers are extremely
tolerant and protective of their charges. Hitting seems to
be a common practice among pre-school age children, with the
sibling caretaker often the recipient of the beating. On
nearly all observed occasions, the older child either warded
off the blows or attempted to restrain the youngster but did not hit back or even become observably angry. Little girls show a great deal of responsibility toward their younger siblings and were observed to be impatient with their jobs only when children of their own age were playing and they couldn't join in the fun. Under such circumstances, they tried to get a girl younger than themselves to watch their charge rather than to desert their duties.

Older girls, especially if they have been saddled with a series of infants to watch, often complain that they are unhappy at home and assume their burdens with great reluctance. In these situations, a great deal of tension between the caretaker and her charge was observed. This usually takes the form of each child trying to get the other into trouble with the parent.

Although parents are proud if children show special aptitude or mature early (walk, sit, speak, etc. earlier than other children), they rarely praise the child for any achievements; and, in actuality, they seem to fear a child who, as they phrase it, is "too sensible":

Silas, when he young, he too sensible. That not good. You have to burn them [punish them] when they young and sensible or they not live. Too much o' brightness is not good, you know (F19: HH101).

When people are debating about who did an unknown deed such as stealing or breaking something, their dispute often hinges on whether the culprit was a "sensible or big person"
or not. Children, presumably not sensible, are expected to get into mischief and are not held fully accountable for their actions.

Children are especially deemed "too sensible" when they have outmaneuvered their parents. On one occasion, a five year old girl had taken five dollars from her mother's purse. The child convinced the mother that she had not taken the money by appearing indignant that her mother should think to accuse her. When the mother finally discovered the truth, she described her daughter as "too sensible." "She a fidgety child, Miss Landman. You know, you can't trust children." ("Fidgety child" seems to be the way most mothers describe their own child if caught in some misdeed, especially stealing. Boys, however, are more frequently described as "willful" or "hardened.")

Nearly all islanders agree that "you can't trust children"; and, for that matter, petty thievery is a constant problem in the school and in the home. If a child takes a small object from a neighbor's house, the mother's feeling is almost that it was the neighbor's fault for putting temptation in a child's way. This attitude is in keeping with parental training of children; for example, mothers remove breakable objects from a toddler rather than tell him not to touch them. Sugar, one of the most common objects of childhood theft; cookies ("sweet biscuits"); and
other coveted or favorite foods are hidden from children with the parent telling the child that there is none in the house. When a child repeatedly discovers his parent's deception, he is again judged to be "too sensible."

Parents often deceive their children in other ways. They make promises of things (usually gifts or trips) that they have no intention of keeping, or they tell a child that an absent relative is going to send a gift. Small children make much of these promises, talking for weeks of the anticipated present. Threatened withdrawal of these promises is then used as a means of controlling a child. Two of the islanders' remarks are representative: "I won't take you to town on the holiday if you do that" or "I'll write to your father and tell him not to send give you a doll for Christmas." One grandmother promised her five-year-old granddaughter that I would take the child with me when I went back to the United States. The grandmother then repeatedly threatened, "Miss Landman see you do that; she won't want to take you with her." Another woman promised the five-year-old a Barbie doll and a Chatty Cathy doll (brand names for two dolls that had been sent by a relative in the United States to another child on the island) for Christmas. When asked if the child would really get these dolls, the woman said, "No, but she's children and isn't it better she think for a while that she is going to get the
The use of such a system of promises and threats is probably a fairly effective disciplining technique. Promises are normally made so far in advance of the event that children are certain to misbehave in some way; thus, parents can always justify the failure of the promise to materialize.

Parents also threaten children with punishment that is infrequently carried out: "I'm going to flog [beat] you when we get home" or "You wait; I'm going to brutalize you." Children soon learn that unless punishment is noted out on the spot, the threatened action is rarely carried out. Consequently, when parents are angry and shouting or are breaking a branch of a bush to flog a child, many children flee and hide. If they wait sufficiently long for their parent's anger to subside, most children know that they are safe from punishment. Little children who attempt to run away are often enticed back by promises of food or that no spanking will be given, but older children soon realize these to be empty promises and get well out of sight of an angry parent.

Canouan parents basically want their children to be inobtrusive, polite ("mannerly" or "not rude"), and obedient. When the children become young adults, the parents hope that the boys will pursue a trade, the girls
will get married, and both will send money back to the
household. A number of parents mentioned the importance of
church training for their children, but rarely were parents
heard to emphasize the ethical or moral ideals associated
with Christian teaching. Madeline Kerr (1963) discusses
Jamaican childrearing as characterized by a lack of
patterning. Observation leads me to believe that this is
also true for Canouan. Parents apparently place little
emphasis on consistency in child training. A child might be
punished one day for a misdeed—for example, using bad
language—and might be rewarded the next for similar be-
havior—in the example above; a group of adults might find
the swearing of the child amusing. It has already been
pointed out that punishment tends to be situational—subject
to the parent's whim and mood and to the child's skill in
avoiding it.

Part of the inconsistency probably stems from a
failure of mother-child interaction to approximate the
Canouan ideal. Mothers assume that children will be con-
stantly under their supervision when they are not in
school,11 but mothers' chores frequently take them away from

11 Fathers and neighbors also operate under this as-
sumption; thus, when a young girl gets pregnant, especially
for the first time, husbands often beat or berate their
wives for failing to "watch the girl." As the rest of this
discussion will illustrate, much of Canouan's social struc-
ture conflicts with this demand on the mother.
the house and their demands on their children to be errand-runners, little shepherds, etc. mean that children are away from the house for a large part of the day. Although children are admonished to perform their tasks without dawdling along the way or without stopping to associate or play with other youngsters their age (other children are a "bad influence"), mothers frequently get involved with something else and forget how long the children have been gone. Except during the recess periods at school, children were not observed to play very often with others or, for that matter, to play fantasy games by themselves (e.g., school, house, etc.). Instead, most children spend their "stolen" free time in the presence of adults. One of the most frequent sights on Canouan is that of a small child standing or stooping in the shadows of a room or building "studying on" (as islanders phrase it) the activities of adults.

The situational aspect of Canouan childrearing with its apparent inconsistency, plus the focusing of responsibility for child care and training on a single individual—usually the mother—gives the child a certain amount of independence in manipulating his own activities at the same time that it probably contributes to a certain amount of uncertainty about self expression and social expectations. Yehudi Cohen (1955) in writing of a Jamaican community,
characterizes this uncertainty as a dependence-independence conflict. On Canouan, this conflict appears to be expressed in the child's alternation of verbal outbursts and aggressive acts (stealing, hitting) with excessive shyness in the presence of adults.

Young children (up to about age seven or eight) were often observed sucking their thumbs, fingers, or arms; cuddling in their mothers' laps or against their breasts; and most frequently, hiding behind their mothers' backs or skirts when suddenly addressed by an adult. A variety of hiding in which girls avert their faces behind upraised hands seems to carry over into late teens and even early twenties. Mothers appear at times to either slightly encourage such acts of dependency or to simply tolerate them in their younger children, but it is obvious that the mothers are both pleased and annoyed by these actions. The dependent child, although seen as demonstrating affection, is also very time-consuming. Many mothers end up having to take their child with them whenever they go out or having to bribe the youngster to stay with someone until their return. At the very least, the mother is forced to explain her errands to the child and sometimes to disguise the real nature of the trip, fabricating some mission that the child will not enjoy.  

\[\text{12 Landy (1959: 183) reports similar instances for}\]
Mothers seem to encourage dependency on the part of their children in various ways: (1) they often become involved in their children's quarrels; for example, the head teacher is constantly being approached by mothers requesting the resolution or rectification of some injury or slight to their children by others; (2) as mentioned before, they discourage their children from spending time with age-mates: "keeping bad company" was given by mothers as the second most common characteristic of a "bad" child; (3) they refuse to publicly acknowledge any accusations of misbehavior against their children; and (4) within the home, they often hide their children's misdeeds from the supposedly "strict" father.

On the other hand, some mothers seem to encourage what is usually referred to as pseudo-maturity (Tiller 1957) on the part of their children. On Canouan, such premature attitudinal and behavioral expectations were observed most frequently among girls in families of consensually mated couples and among boys in single-mother households. One teacher reported that "some parents treat the girls as if they were big women; the mother sometimes leaves them home to do around the house." It seemed, too, that some single mothers might be using their sons as a substitute for some

Valladóñeses (Puerto Rican) mothers.
of the role expectations normally filled by a mate or husband: "He [the son] the man around here; I can always depend on him to do things even before I tell him."

Most Canouan mothers would like to perpetuate certain aspects of this mother-child relationship after the child has reached adult status. Apparently, a number of mothers succeed for children frequently continue to send their mothers rather substantial (by Canouan standards) amounts of money and gifts long after they have married or mated. This responsibility falls more heavily on the son because he has access to cash through wage labor, and jealousy on the part of the wife over how much money the husband (son) is sending his mother is not an infrequent source of argument. Mothers are aware of this and on two occasions, they were suspected of spreading rumors about infidelity on the part of their sons' fiancées to break up the impending marriage.

Young adults.—When at age fifteen the young people are suddenly thrust into adult status, there is considerable evidence that especially the boys experience some adjustment problems. From being expected to be dependent, submissive, obedient children, they are now ideally expected to be independent and dominant adults. Boys are to seek employment sufficient to support themselves, to contribute to their households of orientation, and ultimately, to support a
family (and, perhaps, a few outside children along the way). They should begin to take an interest in women and sex and are now free and expected to join the nightly rum bouts at the local shops. For the most part, the boys' childhood experiences did not prepare them for this transition. In addition, the old ties to mother and home are still there. Many boys partially solve this conflict by sleeping and eating away from the home; either several young men will sleep together in a vacant house or a few will occasionally sleep and eat at the home of an older female relative. Evenings are spent away from the home with groups of young men drinking at the rum shops, walking the roads, or practicing with the musical bands—exclusively male activities.

The major break with home, and island, and childhood comes when the young man seeks his first off-island employment. It is interesting to note that young men in their late teens overwhelmingly consider professions that have exclusively or predominantly male personnel and a relatively rigid superstructure: sailing, police work, the army, or the trade teams.

Upon a young man's return after his first job outside the island, he has a definite role about which he may have been uncertain before. Not only is this role acceptably defined as fully masculine by others, it gives the
young man a part to play that camouflages any ambivalence he still might feel toward his rather abrupt shift from child to man. He has a basis for joining in the rum shop talk and boasting, and he now has a basis for approaching the young women on the island.

For girls, there is undoubtedly more preparation in childhood for their adult role; most of the chores that children are asked to perform are centered in the home, the woman's domain. On the other hand, their break with the household is likely to be more gradual and less complete in some ways than that of boys. As we have seen, a number of girls do not become independent until the death of their mothers, and then, as single mothers, they become the heads of their own households. Even marriage, with its economic independence, often constitutes only an incomplete break with the mother. Many girls have outside children that they left in the care of their mothers, and grandmothers like to be included in the rearing of their daughters' legitimate children. Not even emigration severs the mother-daughter tie completely.

Thus, children (usually single mothers) can act to give continuity to the existence of a specific household through time (although the structure of the household will be constantly changing). They can also act to tie the household to others on the island in the following
situations: (1) the nuclear family (father–mother–children) may be dispersed among several households; (2) children often spend some portion of their childhood years in the household of another—usually a matrilateral kinswoman; and (3) children continue to play important roles (minimally, economic roles) in their families of orientation even after they have formed an independent residential unit of their own.

The point to be made, then, is that interpersonal relationships within a household can not be considered as completely bounded, for to some degree, the responsibilities and concerns for members (even potential members) continue even if they are no longer residents.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In investigating the social structure of a local community, the ethnographer tries carefully to determine the kinds of groups which make up the community; the kinds of persons found in these groups, and the plans which regulate the interaction within and among these categories (Bock 1969: 131).

Until fairly recently, anthropologists and sociologists working in the British Caribbean have tended primarily to focus on the structure of the black, lower-class family and household (e.g., R. T. Smith 1956; M. G. Smith 1962a, 1962b, etc.; Clarke 1954; Greenfield 1959; Rodman 1971; etc.) and, to a lesser extent on an analysis of certain economic, psychological, or historic conditions in particular communities (Handler 1965a,b; Kerr 1963; etc.). Sometimes, these two foci were combined; the structure of the mating system, the family, and/or the household being seen as an adaptation to economic and social factors largely beyond the control of the society itself.

Individuals, however, do not live their lives entirely within the household; neither are their interactions confined to seeking mates or perpetuating social relationships established by previous matings. Analysis of extra-household patterns of interaction is often difficult,
however, because Caribbean communities typically have few internal institutions through which individuals can achieve social identities and between which formal ties can exist. For Canouan, the government and, to a large extent, the church are institutions external to the island. There are no businesses or no unions for workers; in fact, most occupational bases are located off the island. Canouan has but one voluntary association that is not temporary: the Friendly Society, and but one semi-corporate group: the household. Typically, household membership is composed of either a nuclear (elementary) family or a consanguineal unit centered on the mother-child tie, or some extended form of these two kin units.

Even without a strong organizational base of local institutions and formal social groups, Canouan islanders do exhibit regularities in interpersonal behavior. What is evident, however, is that the occasions for interaction on Canouan tend to be informal (devoid of clear-cut rules and explicit agreements as to rights and duties). Thus, as Peter Wilson found for Providencia, "the social structure . . . depends as much on the ties created by the participation in social behavior as it does on the ties between people that qualify them to participate in social behavior" (1961a: 218-219; emphasis in original).
What I have attempted to do, then is to examine the principles according to which islanders distinguish socially significant categories of persons: statuses or social positions; the normative culture patterns associated with these categories: roles; and something of the way in which typical individuals respond to the norms: typical roles. ¹

On Canouan, there are two major frames of reference within which social positions are defined and roles are enacted: (1) the community (the island), and (2) the household.

At the level of community, nine principles by means of which socially significant categories are distinguished were discussed: (1) kinship, (2) color, (3) occupation and income, (4) education, (5) religion, (6) voluntary associations, (7) age, (8) sex, and (9) origin (birthplace). Not all of these principles, however, are of the same type. Since categories simply define members according to one or more attributes that they have in common, we cannot assume that categories refer to social groups (groups whose members interact on a face-to-face basis for the accomplishment of some shared goal or purpose). Only categories based on the principles of kinship,

¹For a discussion of role, typical role, and role performance, see Erving Goffman (1961: 35, 93).
religion, voluntary association, and, to some extent, occupation may be thought to contribute to social group formation on Canouan.

Social categories can also be variable in their degree of penetrance: for example, those social identities associated with the age, sex, and origin principles were seen as penetrating all social relationships and, to a certain extent, as limiting the social field within which one can interact. Examples from each of the three principles will serve to illustrate what is meant here.

For Canouan islanders, persons under fifteen years of age ("children") are non-persons, i.e., they do not have fully developed social identities. For this reason, they are not directly incorporated into any of the social categories relevant to community-level interactions.

Sexual identities also tend to influence the social sphere within which one enacts social roles. Women are associated primarily with the domestic (household) and supra-domestic (relations between households) domains. Thus, women are more likely to receive their community identities in the areas of kinship, religion, education, and in certain situations, voluntary associations, especially as these impinge on the home. Their most important social positions, however, will be found in the household itself. Men, on the other hand, derive their most significant
identities from participation in the community, both in the male-male social system concerned with male "reputation" and in the jural domain concerned with leadership positions associated with the voluntary associations and with affairs that impinge on the island from the larger society. Success in this latter domain confers "respectability."

Outsiders (men of non-Canouan origins or birth), in some ways, duplicate the position of children—they are non-persons—even though, like children, they perform some important functions that help to perpetuate the social system by allowing socially significant persons to circumvent certain role expectations.

For the most part, however, individuals have a certain amount of choice as to what role they will select. There are a number of reasons for this, some of which are an outgrowth of the characteristic workings of social systems in general, and some of which are especially relevant to the Canouan situation.

First, individuals involved in a social relationship typically react to one another as occupants of more than one social position at a time (see Goodenough 1965: 5-7). For example, on Canouan, one's dealings with an old, female aunt would have to take into account all three identities: that based on age, on sex, and on kinship. On the other hand, any one social encounter brings into play only a
portion of the inventory of social identities a person is entitled to. In the example above, the aunt may also be a seamstress, a secretary to one of the Friendly societies, a mother, a wife, etc.--identities presumably not relevant to this particular interaction situation (or to the particular role other, as Erving Goffman [1961: 85] labels the relevant audience in an interaction). What is significant for Canouan is that there can be relatively little role-segregation partly because there is little audience-segregation. On an island of approximately 630 people, everyone interacts with everyone else with more or less frequency. A person, therefore, becomes known in just about all of the roles he plays, although the exclusively male (male-male) roles are not very visible to females and vice versa. This knowledge, while contributing to the inability of an individual to hide the self, also permits him a certain amount of manipulation of his social relationships. Manipulation, however, is always constrained by certain limits: (1) the roles selected should be appropriate to the occasion and the setting (location and persons party to the interaction); and (2) the roles selected should be compatible with one another.

Second, social positions are typically ranked (evaluated) by society such that some enjoy more prestige

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2For a discussion of role- and audience-segregation,
than others. Given Canouan's dichotomy between male-female interactional spheres, the ranking systems of positions appropriate to males and those appropriate to females tend to be separated; but at the level of community, I suggest that the social positions occupied by men are more highly evaluated by the society, while at the level of the household, those filled by women are considered more important. For both sexes, the system of social evaluations along with the multiplicity of exposed identities, all of which cannot be brought to bear in any single interaction, allow one to select from one's identities those that maximize one's social rewards.

Third, this capacity to maximize rewards is further enhanced by the fact that it is primarily as individuals, rather than as members of social groups, that Canouan people establish social relations. Thus, they can more easily choose those with whom they will establish ties and the bases on which ties will be activated. This means that networks of social interaction are likely to be constantly shifting on Canouan, but it should be mentioned that not all ties are open to choice (at least in the normative sense). They are always limited by the factors listed under the first point in this discussion, as well as by a certain concept of legitimacy: What ties should legitimately be

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see Erving Goffman (especially 1961; also 1955, 1959).
activated or maintained (e.g., the mother-child tie)? Is the tie that is activated a legitimate one (in islanders' eyes)? A person who pushes role manipulation too far is usually effectively controlled by the gossip system, which can act not only to reinforce but also to redefine social roles appropriate to social categories. A case in point was the woman who activated an attenuated affinal tie (her former mate's brother) on the basis that her husband had failed in his duty toward her although she continued in some of her duties toward him.

How do the community roles discussed above articulate with those associated with the second important social setting for Canouan islanders: the household?

Raymond T. Smith (1960: 67-68) distinguishes six major "elements of household group activity" that are especially relevant to the Caribbean: (1) child care, (2) sexual services, (3) domestic services, (4) economic support, (5) managerial functions, and (6) status-defining functions. If we think of these elements as aspects of social roles that must be performed by some actor, then we can see some basis for the ties between the Canouan household and community.

Ideally, males, in the role of husband-father, are assigned the responsibility for economic support, for some aspects of child care, for managerial functions associated
with major (non-domestic) expenditures and affairs, and for status-defining functions within the household. In return, men are considered to receive sexual (really a two-way exchange) and domestic services. Men are expected to be the heads of their households in that final authority and power over household matters are to reside in them. Conformity to these expectations confers prestige on men in the island-wide "respectability" system; but only in the area of economic support is there overlap between the man's role in the household and that in the "reputation" system.

In reality, the inability of Canouan, at least at its present level of exploitation, to support any significant marketable commodity (via fishing or farming, for example) combined with the islanders' need for a certain amount of money in order to subsist (and to be evaluated as being an important person), forces men to seek wage labor off the island. For Canouan born men, the occupational choice is usually sailing; but off-island labor reduces the feasibility of ideal male household role fulfillment in all areas of expectation that require face-to-face interaction. Thus, a man's affective household role can only be in the areas of economic support and status-defining functions. If men can fulfill these limited role expectations adequately, they may be able to be irregular performers of their other roles as husbands and fathers when the opportunity exists.
Two other factors may further reduce the Canouan male’s ability to perform even the limited roles of economic support and status-definition: (1) the lack of job opportunities in sailing, especially on the more prestigious (and more remunerative) freighters as opposed to the local schooners, and (2) the physical requirement of sailing as a career, such that only able-bodied men can pursue it as an occupation, thus eliminating the weak, the old, and the very young.

These factors, combined with Canouan’s commitment to monogamy and its unequal sex ratio (approximately ten adult females to every seven males), mean that a number of households can not have a man in the position of husband-father. If the household is to carry out its activities, then these role duties must be distributed to other actors. Indeed, this is what the Canouan data show. Particularly men are likely to occupy social positions in a number of households: husband, father, son, brother, consensual mate, extra-residential mate, etc. These positions are discrete social entities in that the identity relationships (ego/individual-alter/other) are differently defined by the society: e.g., a father is not a son in relation to the same alter; but the significant role expectations overlap. In other words, certain duties have identical distributions: in this case, the duty of economic support. For this
reason, the men on Canouan are often placed in a position of role conflict because few can hope to fulfill all of the financial obligations placed upon their limited wages. This type of role conflict—conflict growing out of the multiple roles one must perform—has been labeled inter-role conflict by Neal Gross et al. (1958). This contrasts with intra-role conflict—conflict growing out of the role definition itself and its perception by others—which we shall see tends to characterize the wife-mother role on Canouan.

Certain components of the wife-mother role on the island are incompatible in that fulfillment of one precludes adequate fulfillment of the other. The best example is the normative expectation that a mother provide constant, personal supervision for her children; but mothers are also expected to maintain a garden and to perform the myriad of domestic tasks associated with maintenance of the house and household members. These latter duties are likely to take her away from the household for long periods of time. In addition, the children's roles as students, errand-runners, part-time shepherds, etc., also contribute to the mother's dilemma of providing constant and personal supervision.

It has been popular with Caribbeanists to characterize West Indian childrearing as incompatible with adult role expectations (e.g., see Kerr 1963 and Cohen 1954, 1955, 1956). To a certain extent, the Canouan data confirm this
view. On the other hand, if we see the core of Canouan's social system as vested not in particular learned behaviors but in skills in manipulation of social situations, then Canouan's lack of patterning and apparent inconsistency in childrearing may be seen as forming a continuum between enculturation processes and adult role performance.
APPENDIX A

FIELD TECHNIQUES

In order to locate an area appropriate for study, I made a preliminary survey of Grenada and the southern Grenadines in July-August, 1964. I was kept from completing a trip throughout the Grenadine chain by hurricane Dora which struck Guadeloupe and the southern Leeward Islands in August of 1964. I returned to the West Indies in September, 1965, for an eight-month residency on the island of St. Vincent and on its dependency, Canouan. Two months of that time were spent on St. Vincent searching through the rather incomplete and frequently scattered records containing data on the smaller dependency.

Earliest reports from the Grenadines are incomplete because the islands were caught up in the power struggle between Britain and France. These two countries alternated control of the Grenadines until the 1700's. In addition,

1This section summarizes the field techniques used in gathering the information in this study. For reasons that will become evident in the text of this appendix, not all of the material could be included in this dissertation (for example, the data from the psychological tests await professional analysis). In this discussion, however, I shall describe all of the techniques used because they were part of the patterns of daily contact with the Canouan people that contributed to my overall view of the island.
fires, hurricanes, and irregular record keeping have restricted the type and the amount of information available. Even when records have been sent from the smaller islands, their data are often combined as reports for the Grenadines as a whole or, occasionally, for the St. Vincent Territory (the mainland [St. Vincent] and her dependencies [the north and central Grenadines]). St. Vincent has just recently become aware of its rich heritage and is currently in the process of attempting to organize and catalogue its diverse historical materials. Great Britain has sent an archivist to help St. Vincent in this monumental task, but, as of mid-1936, the job had just been started. The materials that had already been collected were not open for use until the archivist could return to St. Vincent from other British West Indian islands to complete his cataloguing. Unfortunately, many valuable historical documents had already been lost to earlier "housecleanings" (e.g., the local newspaper, "The Vincentian," had recently burned copies of all papers and clippings dated before 1953, the paper having passed to new ownership after the previous owner and local historian had died).

The first stage of the field work, then, consisted of locating and of searching through the available records. The basic data collected were as follows:
From St. Vincent:

1. Births, christenings, and marriages—1765 intermittently to the present. (While 20th century records show Canouan births, etc., separate from the general St. Vincent record, these report only those which take place on Canouan itself. For example, a Canouan woman who gave birth to her child at the St. Vincent hospital would have the birth recorded with the mainland figures.)

2. Land tax evaluation and holding sizes.

3. Postal money orders (for use in calculating the amount of money received by Canouan islanders from emigrants and relatives. Since money orders must be handled through the mainland post office, the place of residence is often not recorded. However, because I collected this information after a three-month's residency on Canouan during which I conducted a survey of the island population, I was able to recognize the names of the senders and receivers of the postal money orders. In some instances, however, [notably orders from Canada and the United States] only first initials were used or only the receiver's name was recorded, thus making accurate identification more difficult.)

4. Census data (censuses of population and agriculture).

5. Government statistical data and reports.

6. Police records and cases of the Magistrate's Court.

7. Maps and survey materials.

8. Historical data—summary reports of old deeds and histories.

From Bequia (northernmost and largest Grenadine island):

9. Summary data on Canouan from the Public Health and Sanitation records for the Grenadines. (These records contained a recent list of all buildings and their date of construction and of the heads of each household, their occupations and places of birth.)
From England's Rhodes House Library, Oxford:

10. Xerox copy of the "State of Carriacou and the other Grenadine Islands," 1776, MSS. West Ind. r.4.

Information which was not available (often kept only for the St. Vincent Territory as a whole) included:

1. Emigration figures.

2. Records of bank drafts (for use in calculating money coming into Canouan from emigrants and relatives).

3. Record of the sale of Canouan to the St. Vincent government. (Such records usually have attached to them a schedule of deeds and documents relating the history of previous ownership of the island's territories. All such records, originals as well as copies, appeared to have been lost from the Registrar's Office. Since St. Vincent was currently engaged in litigation concerning the 1947 (?) sale agreement, there may have been some reluctance on the part of the government to permit an outsider to view the documents.)

4. Recent aerial photographs and maps. (It was hoped that the former could be used in plotting changing patterns of land use and residency by comparing earlier available photographs with the recent photographs taken by both the Royal Air Force and the United States Air Force in the 1960's. Even though the St. Vincent Crown Surveyor readily endorsed my requisition of these photographs of Canouan, both Air Force agencies refused to release the photolargments from their classified files. In addition, U.S.A.F. color-keyed maps of the island were only available in black and white photocopy, as the originals were also restricted.)

In addition to collecting the written materials available, I also attended various events on St. Vincent which were relevant to the Grenadines or to Canouan. The most important of these are listed below:
1. Public debate on the establishment of free ports in the St. Vincent Grenadines.


3. A discussion of the "Constitutional Proposals for Antigua, St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada" by some interested citizens.

4. Election campaigns. (Elections were scheduled for some time in the fall of 1966; the date had not yet been set by the Chief Minister in power by the Spring of 1966.)

5. A public presentation of the Canouan Development Project proposal in which St. Vincent-owned lands on Canouan (approximately 93% of the island) were to be leased to a New York firm for the purpose of developing a tourist resort. (Although an option was granted to the New York firm in January of 1966, the final agreement had not been signed by the time I left the field in May, 1966.)

Because Canouan's yearly records are sent to St. Vincent for posting, few copies are kept on the island itself. However, I was able to collect reports in progress and information for local use. Such data included information kept by the local island administrator on rainfall, livestock, and boat ownership, and on school-entrants' records. The latter information, along with the St. Vincent birth records, was helpful in verifying children's ages about which parents and children were sometimes uncertain. Church records

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2The election and the modification of the St. Vincent constitution (although not according to the Proposal mentioned above) did take place in 1966-67. The other issues and proposals were still pending in late 1971, as far as I know.
evidently were not kept by the priests who visited the island once every two weeks.

I began living on Canouan in October of 1965 and returned to St. Vincent in April of 1966. Time spent on Canouan was largely devoted to collecting data by major techniques to be discussed below. To aid in the gathering of data, I took into the field copies of George P. Murdock et. al., Outline of Cultural Materials (1965), Conrad M. Arensberg's "The Community Study Method" (1954), and Sister M. Inez Hilger's Field Guide to the Ethnological Study of Child Life (1960). Thus, I am indebted to them for many of the subcategories listed below.

Also, it should be noted that while the techniques and categories are outlined here as discrete entities, in the actual field work there was much overlap; and information, where possible, was cross-checked by using several methods. For example, while daily and seasonal rounds were largely observed, I also asked informants concerning these items. Then too, such cross-checking helped to verify and to clarify information as well as to reveal differences between observed, professed, and preferred behaviors.

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3A number of useful guides have been published since my field experience. Among these is the excellent series edited by George and Louise Spindler on "Studies in Anthropological Method." Out of this series, the book by Thomas Rhys Williams, Field Methods in the Study of Culture (1967), is probably most relevant to our discussion here.
1. Description.
   a. Spatial description (e.g., community plan—layout of all houses, buildings, lands.)
   b. Temporal description (e.g., annual, seasonal, daily rounds, etc.)

Although houses or rooms are rarely rented on Canouan, I was able to acquire a vacant, four-room house on the beach just off the main jetty or pier. This location enabled me to keep track of most of the comings and goings on the island, but it lacked the advantage available to houses located on the ridge of having a panoramic view of many people's yards and windows. I spent the early part of my stay on Canouan wandering about the island mapping house and building locations, charting field locations, discovering the local domesticated and wild plant names, and observing people as they worked.

2. Direct Observation.
   a. Participant observation.

In order to explain my presence on Canouan, I told the islanders that people in the United States knew very little about Canouan and this part of the West Indies. I was on the island to find out more about how they lived and worked. While this satisfied some of the islanders, others seemed to feel more comfortable giving me a label with which
they were more familiar. Thus, some referred to me as an historian; others, as a writer. A few of the men who were familiar with the impending development project felt sure that I was a "spy from the American development company." Although they would publicly acquiesce to my denials, it was obvious that they continued to feel that they were in on a secret. Some of their conversations with me undoubtedly were colored, at least initially, by how they felt about the development project itself.

In addition to my overall observational role, I performed many other roles during my stay on the island. Some of these were: substitute teacher (in the one-room elementary school); typing teacher (to four or five post-school age young girls three afternoons a week); "art instructor" (to school age children who came to my house to draw); boat painter (for the fishermen's boats); island secretary; and godmother.

The Canouan islanders were exceedingly generous people with whom to live and work. I was consistently given more food than I could possibly consume, and, after I had resided on the island for some months, parents would send their children to notify me of an event that they felt sure I would not want to miss, because "Miss Landman wants to see everything." Thus, I was generously included in all the ceremonies or festivities which regularly took place during
the period of the year I was in residence as well as most of
the other community events (e.g. births, christenings, etc.).
There were, however, certain activities, largely connected
with the family cycle, that I could not observe—for example,
membership and death rituals—because they did not occur during
the period of the field work.

Canouan islanders are English speakers. As noted by
several other anthropologists, having informants who speak
the native language of the ethnographer brings rewards as well
as problems. While the fieldworker need not spend a great
deal of time learning a language different from his own, he
may slip into the error of assuming similar meaning and
connotation to, in this case, the English terms with which
he is familiar in his own culture. If informants are literate,
field notes and personal communications become extremely
vulnerable, not only in terms of the study itself but also
in terms of the investigator’s obligation to keep his inform-
ation confidential. This is true in the field and in the
final field report. Unlike anthropological studies among
anliterate or illiterate peoples, field work in a literate
community increases the chance that they or someone familiar
with the region may read the ethnography. In this report,
therefore, informants are identified only by sex, age, and
household number; for example, (F33: HH121) refers to a
female (F) thirty-three years of age (33), residing in
household number 121 (HH121).

The problem of anthropological ethics is especially acute when dealing with Canouan. Not only are the islanders English speakers who are almost 100% literate, but they are also a highly mobile people. This greatly increases the chance that they might gain direct or indirect access to this report (or future published materials). Most important, the island's small size and small population make it very difficult to disguise speakers whose personalities and special turns of phrase are so well-known to all. While the ultimate disguise would be to use another name for the island (a mechanism used by Yehudi Cohen (1954, etc.), Edith Clarke (1957), Raymond T. Smith (1956), and others for the villages that they studied in the larger Caribbean territories), the economic and geographic descriptions necessary for a complete understanding of the data would surely negate such an effort for so specific a location as Canouan.

I can only state my concern, and hope that the precautions I have taken in the selection of quoted material and in the concealment of informants' names will prevent recognition of the many friends who so generously shared intimate details of their lives with me.

The reader will notice several features concerning the quoted material in the text of the dissertation. First, material appears in both verbatim and in paraphrase form.
since much of the data was collected during day-to-day participation in the activities of the community (i.e., outside of formal interviews), many of the responses and statements were recorded after they were made. Wherever possible, however, records were made soon after each event or occasion. If no intervening activity had taken place, I was usually able to remember certain key words or phrases within a conversation. These appear as paraphrased statements of the coded informants in the text. Data from the formal questionnaires (see Appendixes B, C, and D following) appear as direct quotations since informants' responses were recorded during the interview sessions. Both types of quotations are included to give the reader the flavor of the speech and thought of the Canouan people that often is lost in a rephrasing of their statements into standard English.

Second, as anyone familiar with West Indian speakers will know, English as spoken in this area is often quite different from that encountered in the United States. In

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6Often, informant responses went far beyond the requirements of the census or interview questions. Since I was already making notes of the questionnaire responses, informants did not seem to mind if I continued to record their additional comments and concerns. This is probably the best source of the direct quotations that appear in the body of this report.

7Such English is variously referred to an English dialect (Stewart 1962: 50-51; Taylor 1963) or an English creole (especially LePage and DeCamp 1960; DeCamp 1963).
addition, each island and often classes within an island can be distinguished by their variety of West Indian English. For example, on Canouan and in many West Indian areas personal pronouns in the nominative case are frequently substituted for the objective case: "He give it to she." However, Canouan speakers are not consistent in this usage. Part of this apparently stems from the relatively high incidence of primary or elementary school education among Canouan islanders. They are usually aware that their everyday usage is at variance with the formal or standard English taught in the school. Thus, they will often speak slowly and carefully when talking to strangers or outsiders but quickly and informally when turning to speak to another islander. Then, too, several parents expressed concern about helping their children improve their English "to better their chances [in life]."

These pressures toward standard English result in what David DeCamp (1963) calls a "post-creole community." DeCamp states:

... the educational and occupational opportunities and the necessity of learning a more nearly standard variety of English in order to get a better job all act on individual speakers, pulling them in different degrees toward the standard end of the continuum (1968: 38).

My experience on Canouan indicates that the process of

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6For a discussion of this feature in Jamaican creole, see David Cassidy (1961: 53-55).
Anglicization not only affects some speakers more than others but also affects the individual so that frequently he is not consistent in his own speech patterns, i.e., he cannot be placed at some defined point on a continuum between creole and standard English. I suspect that, to a large extent, such variable linguistic behavior is situational, but I admit to not having carefully noted connections between linguistic shifts and situational contexts. The reader will notice, however, that many of the speakers quoted in this report are not consistent in their phrasing or transformations.

Third, certain terms are claimed by the islanders to be vestiges of the French patois that in earlier times was spoken, along with English, on Canouan. Very old people say that they can speak the patois; but when asked, they usually can remember only certain words and phrases connected with ceremonies and dances. Such terms, in general use on Canouan but not found in English as spoken in the United States, appear in this report in quotation marks without specific speaker designation.

Few of the quoted statements and responses that appear in the text were given by men. In part, this stems from the relatively small number of men who were on the island at any one time. This also reflects the sex of the investigator and the rather rigid separation of male and
female activities on Canouan. I was able to establish some rapport with the men by painting the names and registration numbers on their boats. Afterwards, since my house was on the beach, several men would stop and chat while they relaxed on my front steps. However, the exclusively male activities (e.g., domino playing, evenings at the rum shops, fishing) were closed to me. In addition, since it was usually the men who presumed that I was connected with the New York development firm, they were more cautious in their statements to me.

Both sexes were initially reserved. I suspect that this has numerous sources. Canouan islanders, though exceedingly generous and polite, are nearly always restrained when in the presence of strangers. Coupled with what might be deemed as a general reticence or shyness is undoubtedly a certain suspiciousness surrounding the presence of an outsider on the island. Canouan islanders engage in some practices that are technically illegal (e.g., minor smuggling operations). If they are caught, penalties are rather high for a people with little cash reserve. In addition, I am Caucasoid and from the United States. Regular contact with whites on the island comes via the visiting priests and the doctor, both of whom express disapproval of certain island customs (especially mating and birth practices). Also, most islanders are aware of the race prejudice
reported for the United States. This is especially true of the Canouan sailors who have had contact with various United States port areas, most commonly in the south. The women, however, appeared to quickly overcome their initial reticence; and several, who had considerable free time, seemed to enjoy the chance to impart daily gossip to a willing listener. In addition, young men soon realized that of the four or five girls who came to my house three days a week for "typing lessons," only one could use the typewriter at a time. Thus, young men frequently dropped by to chat with (and informally court) the idle girls. This was a valuable source of information, partly because it provided access to the thoughts, aspirations, etc. of young people, and also because it provided a regular forum for the debate of current island issues where divergent points of view were aired and often challenged.

On the whole, Canouan islanders were very generous with their time. Islanders do not enjoy being alone; and in their efforts to make me feel welcome and comfortable, they spent a good deal of time visiting me so that I would not "be lonely in that big house." Thus, the daylight hours when I was home rarely passed without visitors. Children came to draw pictures; teenage girls to take typing lessons; boys to see the girls; and women to keep me company.

One disadvantage to this pattern of visiting was
that it left me with relatively little time to record daily events. At first, I attempted to keep both a diary and a reasonably detailed daily observation report. Since daily activity normally began at sun-up (around 5:30-6:00 A.M.) and my last visitor (a neighbor woman who came every night) left at 9:00-10:00 P.M. (after the bedtime of many islanders), there was often little time (or energy) left to cook supper and type notes by candle or kerosene lantern before retiring. The diary and its intended cathartic effect became attenuated and transferred to long letters to friends and relatives at home.

In addition to visiting me regularly, islanders were very generous in including me in their public activities and a number of their private celebrations. For example, I periodically accompanied various islanders to the three churches on Canouan. I attended the Anglican Harvest Celebration, the Roman Catholic Confirmation ceremonies, various Friendly (sometimes referred to as Burial or Beneficent Societies on other West Indian islands) Society meetings, the yearly Magistrate's court, the election campaign activities, the Governor's visit celebration, the occasional dances, and the various holiday festivities, e.g., the Boxing Day picnic and swim. I accompanied some young people on their trips to spear fish and to dive for whelks (large marine snails). (I must admit, however, that I stayed with the less adventuroussome girls and simply helped to catch the snails as they
were thrown up on the rocks by the divers.)

Some of the personal and household activities to which I was invited were several parties (one of which celebrated a christening), a Give-Thanks ceremony (given after the settlement of a long court litigation), and a "tombing" (an entombment). I attended the births of two babies (by natural childbirth on Canouan) and acted as a godmother for another infant.

I did not pay informants. For the most part, there seemed little need to do so. Second, after spending some time early in the field work demonstrating that I was not a rich American from whom people could borrow money, I did not want to reverse this image. I did attempt to return favors by entering into the food gift-giving system on the island (partly with fruit and cookies from St. Vincent and partly with island food gifts that were in excess of amounts I could consume) and by giving my time and services (boat painter, typing teacher, substitute teacher, etc.) when someone asked for them.

b. Non-participant observation

I am using non-participant observation to designate those observed activities in which I specifically did not become involved; I sat on the periphery and made notes on observed behavior.

I spent two weeks observing children in the
classroom and on the playground. Canouan's school was one room and contained children from ages five to fifteen.

Average daily attendance for 1965-66 was about 170 pupils. Since most school age children attended school with some regularity but rarely organized into play groups outside the school setting, this proved to be a good place to observe children inter-acting with one another.

I attempted to spend some time observing pre-school age children at play on the Commons (open public ground). In addition to the fact that it was relatively rare for preschoolers to play together, my presence nearly always interrupted their normal activities. Thus, observations of this age group, along with the school age children's involvements outside the school situation, became part of the casual or chance observational pattern that was used for most daily activities on Canouan: the observer simply walks around a good deal and ends up wherever voices or a commotion can be heard.

3. Indirect observation
   a) Interviewing

   As Benjamin Paul has pointed out in the section on "Method" in the encyclopedic inventory Anthropology Today (Kroeber 1953):

   Interviewing is an indirect means of observation only with reference to events outside the context of the interviewing situation. . . . But, in so far as
the subject's feelings and judgments are relevant to
the inquiry, interviewing is as direct as any other
means. The informant is himself an observable
object... (Paul 1953: 441-42).

The same could be said for all of the indirect observational
techniques detailed here.

(1) Open ended interviews were held with the
following island personnel:

The doctor--(scheduled to be on Canouan
one and a half days per month, but he
visited only three times during my six-
month stay.)

The dispenser--(stationed on Union Island.
He visited Canouan to dispense medicine at
the local clinic one-half day every two
weeks.)

The Officer-in-Charge or local administra-
tor--(He kept the records on local rainfall,
registered fishing boats, collected taxes,
and advised people on legal matters. He
had come to Canouan as part of an advisory
team after St. Vincent purchased the Snagg
estate in 1947. At that time, he was the
fishing adviser. He was the only member
of the original team left on the island in
1965, so he assumed the position of Officer-
in-Charge.)

The police officer--(A two-year appointment
from St. Vincent. The police station, in
which the officer and his family lived,
contained the only source of electricity on
Canouan and the only direct communication
with the mainland--St. Vincent.)

The Public Health Officer for the Grena-
dines--(stationed on Bequia, the Grenadine
island closest to St. Vincent.)

The head teacher--(from St. Vincent. He was
exceedingly generous in opening the school
records to me and in allowing me to interrupt
class schedules to test children and to collect essays [see item 3b, below].

The midwife—(She is usually referred to as the "nurse" by island residents. She is the only locally-born member of the local official personnel.).

(2) Scheduled interviews

(a) Community questionnaire (See Appendix B.)

After I had been on Canouan for approximately two and a half months, I began a house-to-house survey. Even though I denied that I was representing the government, some islanders perceived the census as official and were thus very careful to be exact and cooperative. I was working from one end of the island to the other, but islanders often urged me to hurry and get to their house. The survey proved to be an excellent technique for getting to know all of the island residents. Although the questions did not warrant it, interview visits often lasted one or more hours per household. Since I frequently carried cookies and sweets for the children, islanders often interpreted the interview visit as a first visit that should be returned by a representative of the household as soon as they could conveniently do so. In this way, I was included in the visit-food gift exchange by households that I would probably not have been involved with in the normal course of events.

The community questionnaire was first tested on a
few households on St. Vincent to check if the questions were worded so as to be understandable to the interviewees and if the questions revealed the kind of information I desired.

(b) Child interview (See Appendix C.,)

This and the next two scheduled interviews were part of the original research design, only a portion of which is included in this report. I had originally hoped to combine the typical ethnographic field techniques with psychological techniques in order to examine certain types of culture and personality relationships on Canouan. This interest grew out of a concern with the somewhat controversial literature on matrifocality and father-absence and their effects on children and adult personality types in particular population segments in the United States, the Caribbean, and elsewhere. Unfortunately, the psychologist who had agreed to interpret the projective tests I administered to a sample of Canouan children was unable to do so for personal reasons; thus, these data remain in raw form. Given the serious questions surrounding the validity of the cross-cultural use of projective techniques (Lindzey [1961] details some of these objections; see also Henry and Spiro [1952]), I admit to not having searched for another qualified interpreter as zealously as I might have done.

The child interview was administered to 47 children
out of a sample group of 54 children to whom 52 Rorschach and 52 Draw-a-Person Tests were given. (The groups do not totally correspond because Canouan children are rather geographically mobile and the original 54 were not always present for each stage of the testing and interviewing.)

(c) Parent interview (See Appendix D.)

This interview was originally planned to accompany the projective test material on the children in the sample. After thirty-six interviews, I discontinued the interviewing for the results did not appear to justify the time spent. I suspect that the questions were not very definitive, in Canouan terms. It might also be that, since the parent interview followed the community questionnaire, the people were bored by interviews.

(d) Teacher interview

I elicited teacher opinion on the school performances, special qualities, and special problems of the children in the sample.

b) Collection of children's essays

(1) Essays on suggested topics

Children in classes 5 and 6 wrote essays on the following topics:

The Person I Like Best and Why
What I Would Like to Be When I Grow Up

7The suggestion to collect student essays was made by Dr. Erika Bourguignon (personal communication).
My Happiest Memory
The Worst Thing That Ever Happened to Me

The teachers preferred to have the children write
the essays as part of English instruction. I suspect that
such a context tended to inhibit the children's responses to
some extent.

(2) Story Completions

Canouan children seem very concerned with wrongdoing
and its consequences. To gain some insight into these
concerns, I gave children in classes two, three, and four
a series of stories that needed completions. The plot
situations presented—somewhat modified to suit the Canouan
setting—were developed by two American social psychologists,
Drs. Gladys L. and Harold H. Anderson and were used by Rhoda
Métraux and Nelly Schargo Hoyt in a study of German national
character (Métraux 1955). As Métraux describes the test:

The plot situations—the stories presented to the
child writers for solution—are variations on two themes:
loss and accidental damage. In five of the stories the
child protagonist is faced with a situation where some-
thing has gone wrong through the child's fault or by
accident; one is an ambiguous situation where an adult
may blame a child. Thus the range of situations is a
limited one. In most of the stories the child is or
may come in conflict with an adult; in two there may be
conflict between children. Thus the plot situations
present some possibilities for comparison of adult-child
and child-child relationships (Métraux 1955: 307).

Since the results of these Story Completion Forms,
which require pattern and theme analysis probably best done
in consultation with a psychologist, are not included in this
report, I have omitted an appendix designating the specific plot situations.

c) Projective testing

(1) Rorschach test

Rorschach tests were given to fifty-one children between the ages of five and fifteen. Children tested were selected on the basis of two variables: (1) households classified according to the mating pattern and generation of the parent or guardian (1=married parent; 2=keeping [consensually mated] parent; 3=single parent; and 4=grand-parent [See Chapter I for a definition of these terms] and, (2) households classified by the relative presence or absence of an adult male in the home. (A=adult male present all of the time, B=adult male in and out of the home throughout the year [refers most commonly to local schooner sailors whose trips last for a few days to a few weeks on fairly regular schedules], C=adult male absent most of the time [refers most commonly to Caribbean and international freighter sailors who may get regular vacations of two weeks to a month each year or may be gone for longer periods of time, e.g., two to five years; also refers to men who work on other islands but consider Canouan their home]; and D=no adult male in the home.) It is important to note that "adult male" does not always refer to the male mate of the mother or guardian of the child. The childbearing years of some women may be so
extended that they have adult sons as well as young children in the home. These young men were observed to interact more frequently with infants and young boys than were the fathers, so it was necessary to include their presence in the above categories. Also, in a few "grandmother" families, an adult son, not the father of the child, was present and was therefore included in the adult male classification. The significant part played by any adult male in the household, whether he is the father or not, is discussed by such scholars as Robert L. Munroe in his study of the couvade and cross-sex identity among the Black Carib of British Honduras (1964).

Based on these two variables of four, sixteen possible categories emerge, twelve of which are present on Canouan in the following proportions:

\[\text{DISTRIBUTION OF CANOUAN SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN ACCORDING TO HATING PATTERNS AND THE RELATIVE PRESENCE OF ADULT MALES IN THE HOME}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult Male Pres.-Abs. Categories</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>192(^b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)See text for explanation of categories.

\(^b\)One retarded boy who did not attend school was not included in this table.
From these categories, approximately one fourth (51) of the children were tested, further selection being based on getting the widest age range possible in each category. Obviously, since the children were not evenly distributed among the categories, the sample could not be entirely representative and still achieve the study goals.

The Beck method of administering the Rorschach tests was used (Beck et al. 1961).

(2) Draw-a-Person test

The same children who comprised the sample described above were given a Draw-a-Person test. Children were provided with paper, three pencils of various degrees of hardness of lead, colored pencils, a ruler, and an eraser and asked to draw a person.

Both the Rorschach and Draw-a-Person tests were given to children individually in the quiet of an empty house close to the school.

(3) Draw-a-Household contest

In order to obtain some idea of how Canouan children view a household, 105 children in Stage three and in Classes one through six were asked to "draw a house and the people who live in the house." In the hope of reducing copying, which is an important factor in the one-room crowded school building, small prizes were given for the best boy's and best girl's drawings at each grade level. The children were
given nearly two hours to complete the drawing. Before the drawings were collected, the children were asked to number the figures in the order in which they drew them and to label each figure as to whether it was a man, a woman, a boy, or a girl.

d) Collection of children's free drawings

Children were encouraged to come to my house to draw. They were provided with paper and pencils and permitted to draw whatever they wished. A total of over one-hundred drawings from twenty-seven children was collected in this way.

e) Collection of folklore: myth, legend, etc.

I attempted to collect island folklore, but I was almost totally unsuccessful in this effort. Children responded by copying Anancy (Anansi) stories (see Martha Beckwith [1924]) from classbooks. One informant gave me a series of riddles that she had heard during a wake on Union Island (a Grenadine island to the south). This lack of a Canouan folklore tradition is consistent with the negative responses I received on item 10 of the Children's Interview (see Appendix C).

In closing this examination of field techniques, I should reiterate that those psychological materials that can best be interpreted by a qualified psychologist or with the aid of a psychological consultant are omitted from the
body of this report. However, items 2b and c are discussed in this summary of field techniques because they were a part of the original research design. Also, as Benjamin Paul (1953: 441-42) states, the investigator can add to the observational information on his informants in a contrived as well as in an open situation.

The data in this report were not subjected to any elaborate statistical analyses. Percentages, arithmetic and modal averages, and frequency distributions were included to support qualitative judgments, especially in instances where such inclusions would make the descriptive material clearer or more definitive.
APPENDIX B

COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Household No.: Respondent(s):

*Owner
Occupation Village
HOLDINGS--Date of Building Origin
(R--Renting and living on Government lands)
(L/R--Living on owned holding and renting Government
lands)
(O/H--Owner of holdings and living and working on it)
(O--Owner of holding but not living on it and working
rented land from the Government)

*Data from the records of the Public Health Inspector resident in Bajia

Date of Survey

1. Household Head Legal name
   Play name
   Maiden name--listed before married name

   a) Household Composition
      (Names, ages, sex and relationship of all members
      of the household)
      (Length of residence of adopted children and of
      grandchildren)

   b) Family
      (1) Names, ages, and sex of all children (living
      and dead) born to
         a. Both parties
         b. Outside children of mother (giving names
            of fathers, length of relationship, status
            of relationship, etc., if possible)
         c. Outside children of father (giving names of
            mothers, etc.)
      (2) Present residence of all living children (above)
      (3) Present occupation of all living children (above)

1Modified from Madeline Kerr 1952(63): 210-211.
c) Conjugal condition (present) (Marriage, Keeping, Friending, Single Father or Mother, Widow, Widower, Separated, Divorced, Single)

Married—Legally married
Keeping—A person lives in the same house as their partner without being legally married. Definite cohabitation—consensual union.
Friending—Recognized extra-residential mating
Single mother or single father—A person who is the biological mother or father of a child or of children which he or she recognizes, but who is not presently engaged in any union, and who has never lived with a member of the opposite sex in a marital union.
Separated—A person does not live with the partner to whom he is still legally married.
Divorced—Refers only to those cases in which a divorce has been granted by the courts.
Single—A person who has never had any children and has never lived with a member of the opposite sex in a marital union.
(Although a person may fall into more than one of the above categories, it is his status at the time of the survey that is of primary importance here.)

(1) Marriage—date of
(2) Keeping—beginning of

2. Religion

3. Geographic movement (travel, immigration, emigration, intra-community movement, etc.)
a) Where born? (If in Canouan, what village? If outside Canouan, when came to Canouan?)
b) Previous residencies
c) Extent of travel by each person in household (Place?)
d) Places lived abroad (length of time in each; occupation, age?)

4. House
a) Owner(s)
b) When built
c) By whom built
d) Source of money, if possible
e) Period of residence in—(Any previous residencies, location?)

2Modified from Raymond T. Smith 1956: 96-97.
f) Number of rooms (Specify rooms--check on sleeping arrangements, where possible.)
g) Type of house
h) Extra buildings and structures (kitchen, tank, latrine)

5. Land and Animals (stock)
a) Amount of land (number of acres)
b) Location(s)
c) Acquisition
   (1) Purchased
      when purchased
      from whom
      price paid
   (2) Inherited
      from whom
      relationship of person to receiver
   (3) Rented
      from whom
      price per acre
   (4) Gift
      from whom
      relationship of giver to receiver
d) Animals

6. Occupational history of working adults (especially the male--frequently of adult male in the home)

7. Other relatives living on Canouan

---

3 From a paper by Roger V. Burton and John V. M. Whiting (1961)
# APPENDIX C
## CHILD INTERVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household No.:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Name:</th>
<th>2. Age: Birth Date:</th>
<th>Tests Available:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Class:</th>
<th>Observations of Person Behavior:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| 4. a) Parents (Father in home?) | nail biting |
| b) Guardian(s) (Relationship to child?) | speaks excessively softly |
| c) Period of residence with above | shyness (indications of): |
| d) Residential history | etc. |
| e) Sleeping arrangements | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Travel experience:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. Personal experiences</th>
<th>Height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) With various material goods (auto, movies, T.V., radio, toys, books, pets)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Household chores</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. Home and community</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Whom do you feel closest to (love most) in the world?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why? How do you show this love?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Do your parents love you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you know this?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) What usually happens to you when you do something wrong?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give examples of when this might happen. Who disciplines (punishes) you the most?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8. School</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Do you like school?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) What is (are) your favorite subject(s)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9. Others</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Who is your best friend? Why?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1Most of the questions in this interview schedule were derived from Hilgcr (1960) and Burton and Whiting (1961).
9. b) What qualities do you admire most in a boy? A girl?
c) What qualities do you dislike most in a boy? A girl?
d) Whom would you say is the worst boy (girl) in the school? Why?
e) Whom would you say is the best boy (girl) in the school? Why?

10. Stories told you outside of school. When (on what occasions?) By whom?

11. Favorite games?

12. What do you want to be when you grow up?
APPENDIX D

PARENT INTERVIEW

Household No.:  
Respondent(s):  

Child's Name:  

Questions concerning particular child

1. Residential history
2. a) Motor abilities and age of:
   (1) Sitting up
   (2) Creeping
   (3) Walking
   (4) Talking
   (5) Toilet training (bed wetting?)
   (6) Weaning (any problems?)
   (7) Discontinuing sleeping with mother
   (8) Onset of menstruation (preparation for?)

   b) History
   (1) Special birth problems
   (2) Severe illnesses or disabilities

3. Present
   a) Responsibilities around the home
   b) Discipline: What happens when the child does something wrong? Examples?
   c) Special "good ways" about the child
   d) Special discipline problems?
   e) Frequency of father (or other adult male) in the home? Any other men with whom child regularly associates?
   Father (adult male) play with child? Special routines?
   Father-child relationship before age 3, i.e., Extent to which father was home and cared for child during infancy.
   Does father (mother) have a favorite child?
   Eating patterns (who eats together regularly)?

4. Future:
   a) What would you like to see your son (daughter) doing when he (she) grows up?

---

Most of the questions in this interview schedule are derived from Sister M. Inez Hilger (1960), and Roger V. Burton and John W. M. Whiting (1961).

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General questions concerning
Childhood on Canouan

1. Ideal (best) age for a boy (girl) to marry.
2. Ideal (best) number of children to have. Should the first child be a boy or a girl? Why? Is it better to have more boys or more girls? Why?
3. What makes a good son? A good daughter?
4. Worst characteristics (things) a child could have (do)? (Do these change with various age levels?)
5. Duties of a father (mother) toward his (her) children?
6. Who should have more to do with counselling (advising) the child? The father or the mother? (situational?)
7. Who should have more to do with disciplining (punishing) the child? The father or the mother? (situational?)
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