

CHAPTER II
THE SETTING

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I intend to briefly delineate some of the more salient geographical and socio-economic features of Barbados, to outline some of the regional idiosyncrasies of the Scotland District, and then present an overview of the sociocultural characteristics of Chalky Mount. Consequently, we will be placing the land-based complexes to be discussed in subsequent chapters in their village, regional, and island settings.

BARBADOS

Physical Features and Climate

Barbados is the most easterly of the Caribbean islands and lies about 100 miles outside of the arc of volcanic islands which constitute the Lesser Antilles. Resting upon the same submarine shelf--a continuation of the Paria peninsula of northeastern Venezuela--as its neighbor some 200 miles to the southwest, Trinidad, Barbados' 166 square mile surface is largely composed of a coral limestone cap which covers the faulted and folded

sedimentary rocks underneath. Rather than being flat, as it is sometimes misleadingly described, Barbados' relatively low altitudes are arranged, for the most part, in a series of plateaus (two major ones) of varying elevations. The overall picture in this respect is adequately described in one of the island's annual reports as follows:

...it is possible to distinguish several clearly defined regions. The Scotland District extends... along the middle of the N.E. coast... This is the highest region and attains a height of 1,115' in Mount Hillaby. The coastline is rugged and is backed by cliffs and island scarps. On three sides of this Scotland District, to the west, southwest and south, is the Upland Plateau, a terrace 800' above sea level at the foot of the Scotland region descending to 400' where it ends in an 80' high encarpement (sic) which is dissected by usually dry gullies. This scarp overlooks the Lowland Plateau, the third and biggest region which is below 400' and extends to the coast all round the island except in the Scotland District... The Lowland Plateau has extensive areas of uniform height but it descends to the coast by a series of minor steps and scarps (Barbados Annual Report 1958 and 1959:106).

As one drives towards the northeast from the capital of Bridgetown, in the southwestern part of the island, the road gradually climbs over these plateaus until the eastern edge of the Upland Plateau is reached. From here the road drops sharply into the relatively rugged and limestone free landscape of the Scotland District. Before the District and the village are brought into clearer perspective a broader overview of the island itself can be given. Topographically,

Most of Barbados is a series of gently undulating plains... But the island is much more varied than it at first appears. Significant differences in

rainfall depend primarily on altitude and on location with respect to the prevailing northeast and southeast trades; soils also vary greatly, even though over six-sevenths of the island they derive from the underlying coral limestone. Generally speaking, the central and eastern parishes...boast high and fairly continuous and dependable rainfall without a long dry season, and red or thick black soil. This is the most productive part of the island..., and also the most tied up in great sugar plantations...The drier, thinner soiled, more remote north...and southeast...which often suffer severe droughts, are more given over to peasant agriculture and less used for sugar...Bridgetown and its suburbs...together make up an 'urban' area which contrasts sharply with the 'country'...Completely different from the rest of the island is the non-coral Scotland District of the northeast...where fertile pockets alternate with steep slopes of sand and clay highly susceptible to erosion... (Lowenthal 1957:469-471).

Regional variations, as suggested above, are manifest in rainfall and its distribution. The Upland Plateau receives between 60 and 75 inches per annum and has a distinct two to three month dry season, while the Lowland Plateau averages between 40-60 inches with a longer dry season of between four to five months (Barbados Annual Report 1958 and 1959:108). Parts of the Scotland District normally receive more rain than the lower areas, although rainfall distribution on the island as a whole can be extremely irregular not only from year to year, but within single years as well. Rain water, which percolates through the coral limestone, is trapped beneath the surface by older geological features, and underground streams or wells form reservoirs from which the island's water supply is derived. This water supply stands out as being one of the purest in

the Caribbean, and is partially responsible, along with the general lack of swamps and disease carrying insects, for the relatively healthy conditions prevailing on the island.

The trade winds blow almost constantly and are generally unimpeded because of the island's relatively low relief. The result is a cooling effect on what might otherwise be an oppressively hot climate. The average velocities of these winds vary "...between 7-10 miles per hour from August to December and 11-14 miles-per hour from January to July" (Starkey 1961:3). The winds blowing from the southeast are felt the strongest in the Scotland District which experiences, on the average, lower temperatures than the rest of the island. The lowland regions get temperatures of between 74°-87°F. during the wet season and between 70°-84°F. during the dry season, but the averages for the Scotland District are about 9°F. below these (Barbados Annual Report 1958 and 1959:108). The temperatures in Bridgetown can sometimes be uncomfortably high, but "a few hundred feet of elevation modifies the temperature and in the central uplands the thermometer rarely rises into the middle 80s and may drop into the 60s at night" (Starkey 1961:3).

Barbados is marginally located with relation to the Caribbean's hurricane zone, though a number of storms have done considerable damage--the most recent one of serious consequence having occurred in 1955.

Fauna and Flora

There are few wild animals on the island and none of these are dangerous to man. Two species of snakes exist but these are harmless and rarely seen. There are a few monkeys in the limited wooded areas, particularly in the Scotland District. These can be quite a nuisance to fruit trees and certain kinds of crops. Also there are some rabbits, mice, rats and mongooses. The latter were imported in the late 19th century to help destroy the rats which were causing a great deal of damage to the sugar cane. After the rats were brought under control, the mongoose continued to breed so rapidly that the legislature passed an act in 1904 providing for its destruction. Nevertheless, the mongoose continues to thrive and destroy young animals and fowls. Today the mongoose can be seen frequently as it scurries across roads from one cane field to another. As might be expected, there is a great deal of insect life, but such tropical diseases as malaria have been eradicated and none of the insects, save the centipede and house fly--both of which are more prevalent at certain times of the year than at others--offer a serious threat to the islanders' health.

The relatively dense forests which once covered Barbados are all but gone, and the one significant reminder of this floral past is found today in the 50 odd acres of Turner's Hall woods in the Scotland District parish of St. Andrew. Yet, even the primeval qualities of Turner's Hall have been somewhat diluted for a number of trees, such

as mahogany, were introduced subsequent to the island's settlement. In fact most of the trees and plants found in Barbados today were introduced after the island's settlement in 1627. Not the least of these is sugar cane--the omnipresent grass--the production and processing of which lies at the core of the Barbadian national economy.

Economy and the Role of Sugar

Barbados is an agricultural island largely concerned with the cultivation of sugar cane and the manufacture of raw sugar, molasses and rum. There is little other industry to speak of, and aside from the sugar factories and a handful of rum distilleries, most of the industrial or manufacturing enterprises are largely geared towards the insular market.¹ Over the recent years there has been a concerted governmental effort to bring industries to the island, and various types of legislation designed to serve as incentives to prospective investors have been enacted. But Barbados is first and foremost a sugar island as it has been since the mid-17th century when the plant was first introduced from Brazil.

¹Various types of clothing are manufactured as well as such things as soap, edible oils, biscuits, ice, etc. There is a brick factory in the parish of St. Andrew, two foundaries which primarily do work for the sugar factories, a recently constructed and functioning beer brewery, and other assorted small manufactories.

The role of sugar in the contemporary national economy is aptly summed up in the following:

...production of sugar considerably exceeds the island's requirements of sugar. The surplus is exported to buy from the rest of the world other goods and services which are required for the population of Barbados to consume, to use up in the process of producing sugar and other forms of production, and to add to equipment and stock. Down through the last three centuries...Barbados has remained largely an exporter of sugar and its by-products, molasses and rum and an importer of goods for consumption or capital formation and raw materials. This arrangement of the economy into a 'production-for-export' sector and an 'import-for-consumption-and-investment' sector is fundamental in understanding how the economy of the island works.

Production in Barbados consists of more than sugar, molasses and rum. Included in the total are subsistence production...manufactures such as those that spring up as offshoots in an agrarian economy to satisfy local markets...installation and repair of capital goods...services...and so on. This 'other production' exceeds the value of sugar and its by-products roughly in the ratio of 2 to 1.

What is significant...is not that this other output is greater than sugar output but that it depends for its size on the value of sugar production... By and large,...decisions to produce new goods for the export market, or to satisfy new demands, or to take advantage of new supply conditions have added little to total production over the last few years. So, broadly speaking, sugar still sets the pace in the economy of Barbados (The National Income of Barbados 1956-1959:1-2).

Since 1951 Barbados' sugar prices have been set by the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, and the favorable terms derived from this agreement have helped to introduce a new solvency in the island's economy. For instance, after the signatories to the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement met in London in June 1961, the LDC price of \$119.56 (L.S.C.)

London in late 1961, the 1962 price of \$219.66 (B.W.I.)² per ton of sugar was agreed upon--a \$3.18 per ton increase over 1961 prices (Barbados Advocate, December 20, 1961). Although it has been pointed out that a profit can be realized at a price as low as \$144 per ton of sugar (Smithers 1962), the world price in February of 1962 was about \$103.20 (Barbados Advocate, February 13, 1962), and in March about \$105.60 (Barbados Advocate, March 29, 1962).

During the 1961 meeting referred to above the agreement was also extended to 1969. An editorial in the Barbados Advocate commented that

Governments in the West Indies, dependent on sugar as the bulwark of their economy, can make firm plans for the next seven years without fear of the whole crop being thrust on the world market, where the price is considerably lower than the negotiated price... (December 20, 1961).

But, when Britain's entry into the European Common Market was being discussed there was some panic as to the possible deleterious effects this entry might have on the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement. This concern was epitomized in a statement by Mr. Mencea Cox, who was then Barbados' Minister of Trade, Industry, and Labour, when he said

It would be disasterous for Barbados if our sugar industry were forced to sell sugar in the free markets of the world....The Commonwealth Sugar Agreement has

²Note that all monetary figures quoted, both in the text and tables, are quoted, unless stated otherwise, in terms of British West Indian dollars (\$1.00 B.W.I. = .58 U.S.).

been a tremendous boon to our sugar industry, and it is vitally important to the economic welfare of Barbados that no action whatever should be taken which might in any way tend to diminish the value of the agreement and the preferences accorded by the United Kingdom and Canada (Barbados Advocate, October 21, 1961).

Not only does the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement pay better and guaranteed prices on sugar, but

...we have the advantage of the Commonwealth preferential tariff plus the Colonial Sugar Certificate System, which means that whereas on entering, the British import duties of up to 11s. 8 d. are levied on non-Commonwealth sugar, a maximum of only 1s. 04/5d. is levied on outs... (Smithers 1962).

Further, and this is also of importance, especially in considering some of the problems discussed in Chapters III, IV, and V,

As long as sugar continues to be the most profitable crop which can be grown on the island, the relative security now provided by the market in sugar provides a strong inducement to continued concentration of any available capital or land in the crop. Granted that there exists a physical limit to the amount of land which is available for growing sugar cane in the island, this factor might explain the stability in the total acreage under sugar production as well as the failure of both output and productivity to rise appreciably on holdings devoted to other crops (Bethel 1960:133).³

Barbados' total land area is approximately 106,229 acres, of which 68,713.40 acres are estimated to be arable (see Table 1). Approximately seven-eighths of the arable land is planted in sugar cane (Starkey 1961:14), and most

³For a concise statement of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement and its effects on the Barbadian economy see the same author and work, pp. 129-133.

of this cane is grown on plantations or estates. In 1961, for instance, plantations reaped approximately 37,440 acres which yielded 1,160,143 tons of sugar cane--or 84.2 per cent of the island's total production (Inniss et al. 1961:7). The remaining 12,000 acres reaped in 1961, or approximately one-quarter of the total reaped acreage, was reaped by peasants, i.e., persons growing cane on 10 or less acres of land (see Chapter III), who accounted for but 15.8 per cent of the total sugar cane output (Inniss et al. 1961:7). This cane, in 1961, yielded 159,541 tons of sugar, most of which was exported in the form of raw sugar or molasses and rum. Sugar and its by-products normally account for three-fourths to four-fifths of the total domestic production, and more than ninety per cent of the total monetary value of all exports (Starkey 1961:21).⁴

Most of the sugar cane, as indicated above, is produced under the plantation system. In 1961 there were 239 plantations operating on the island. These, on the average, are much smaller than the vast sugar estates known in such places as Cuba, British Guiana or even Jamaica and Trinidad, etc. Most estates in Barbados are relatively

⁴In 1959 the value of sugar and sugar by-products was 94.2 per cent of the value of the total domestically produced exports. Comparable figures for 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, and 1959 are 92.8, 92.6, 95.3, 94.8, 94.2 per cent respectively (Starkey 1961:21). In earlier years, as might be expected, sugar and its by-products accounted for even a greater proportion.

small--anything over 400 acres being considered large. Most of the plantations are owned by citizens of Barbados. But interlocking and multiple ownership is common. Thus, the figure of 230-odd estates is somewhat misleading as a reflection of the spread of proprietorship.

The cane is processed by factories which, over the years, have steadily decreased in numbers while the remaining ones have tended to increase in size. Some of the 20 factories that were operating in 1961 are owned by corporations which also own sugar estates so that the cane of these estates is committed to certain factories, but for the most part there is avid competition amongst factories for the cane of the independent producer.

Despite the major role played by sugar in the Barbadian economy, it should be noted that a relative minority of the working population is directly engaged in agricultural pursuits. However, it is difficult to ascertain, from census figures, how many persons are engaged in activities which indirectly relate to agriculture, and even if this were possible, figures which show the occupational distribution in Barbados can be misleading. Yet, according to Starkey "only about one quarter of the population depends on agriculture for a living. The typical Barbadian today is engaged primarily in urban activities" (1961:8), and the 1960 West Indies Population Census (Bulletin No. 1) gives 20,653 persons, or 24.3 per cent of Barbados' working population, as being primarily engaged in agricultural work.

Since the labor requirements of sugar production have seasonal fluctuations not all of these persons were gainfully employed throughout the year. The remainder of the working population was employed in various service, professional, managerial, skilled and unskilled labor capacities.

There are numerous businesses on the island, and most of these are concentrated in Bridgetown. Starkey points out that

The organization of Barbadian business is extremely complicated: It includes manufacturers representatives, importers, exporters, banks, attorneys, estate agents, insurance companies and agents, wholesalers, department stores, appliance stores, specialty shops, supermarkets, public markets, small shops, and hucksters... Few of the larger businesses fall into only one classification-- almost all have many functions. The situation is further complicated by interlocking ownership and control (Starkey 1961: 24-25).

Bridgetown and Island Communications

Bridgetown plays a central role in the island not only as the locus of most major businesses, shops, and government offices, but also as a major means whereby Barbadians become aware of the larger insular and extra-insular society. Indeed, the numerous shops and business concerns--to say nothing of the excitement--that Bridgetown offers, especially to the rural populace, makes it a bustling and often times congested town with frequent traffic jams and parking problems. Simple exposure to the social and material milieu of Bridgetown helps greatly in creating

new and increasing consumer demands, these demands in turn having obvious effects upon consumption patterns and the need for cash.

Over 600 miles of paved roads criss-cross the island facilitating internal travel, and the large number of private autos, plus a well developed bus system, which follows the major arterial highways, puts Bridgetown within easy access of most villages on the island. Bridgetown, then, which attracts people from all over Barbados and can be considered "crowded" much of the time, functions as a cultural "homogenizer" for rural peoples from diverse villages.

External travel to and from the island is also fairly easy. Lying on the south equatorial current which flows from West Africa to South America Barbados has always been in a favorable geographic position, and was usually one of the first ports of call for the sailing ships which made the middle passage during the slave trade. Today, the island is a center for trading schooners which ply the islands of the Lesser Antilles. With the recent completion of a deep water harbor and increased bunkering facilities for ocean-going ships, more and more vessels of this type are also stopping at the island. Increasingly, Bridgetown is becoming a favored port of call for West Indies tourist cruises, and the island is also served by the two "Federal" ships which stop at each of the islands of the British Caribbean. Seawell airport is equipped to handle all kinds of planes and is served by a number of major airlines as

well as British West Indian Airways. All of these transportation facilities, increased publicity, and the social and physical appeal of the island have aided a great deal to accelerate the expansion of the tourist industry upon which Barbados is coming to depend more and more. Today, "The gross value of the tourist business...is second only to the sugar industry" (Starkey 1961:19).

The island has two major daily newspapers and a few minor weekly ones, the major newspapers being well supplied not only with local news, but Caribbean and international news as well. Though the island does not have a radio station, rediffusion (a single wire transmission) is present in many homes and virtually every village on the island. For a monthly rental fee the speaker is hooked up in the subscriber's house, and though one does not have a choice of station there is a wide variety of fare ranging from BBC news programs and various kinds of music to church services, soap operas and the like. Rediffusion, even if it is not present in a house, has a much wider effect than a list of its 20,000 or so subscribers might indicate, for speakers are located in schools, community centers, shops, etc. Aside from helping to bring every village into the larger context of Barbados, the Caribbean, and the world, rediffusion provides a means whereby the members of families scattered throughout the island can congregate for such events as funerals and even weddings. Indeed, in the rural areas (as well as the urban ones) the death notices are

one of the most popular of rediffusion's features, and not a few of the persons attending any given funeral are there because the funeral was announced over rediffusion. News features keep islanders abreast of international and Caribbean affairs and it is no wonder that, along with the island's high literacy rate and extensive educational system, one finds a good many rural Barbadians aware, even if superficially, of the world around them. These factors, plus the travel of many Barbadians, whether as contract agricultural laborers to the United States or returning immigrants, correspondence with relatives abroad in England or the U.S. (and even visits from American family members), the frequent goings and comings to town, a well developed postal system, telephone system, cable and wireless system (which provides overseas communications), movie houses, transportation facilities, libraries and many other things all contribute to an urbanity that one might not expect to encounter on a small Caribbean island dependent upon a monocrop economy for its existence.

Population

Barbados is crowded. On its 166 square miles live 232,333 people (West Indies Population Census 1960), giving a density of close to 1400 persons per square mile. This makes the island one of the most heavily populated agricultural regions in the world (Lowenthal 1957:447). Over the past five years or so large scale emigration to England has acted as a temporary safety valve, yet population

expansion is one of the island's major socio-economic problems. The heaviest concentrations are to be found along the leeward or western coast facing the Caribbean Sea. Further inland most of the rural population is clustered in small villages which are either plantation tenancies or "free villages" formed after emancipation by ex-slaves who were able to buy lands from sub-divided plantations (Greenfield 1959:77). These small villages are never very far from one another. In the rural areas, as one might expect, the population density decreases, but even within the two parishes that form the bulk of the Scotland District, St. Andrew and St. Joseph, there were, in 1960, 569.5 and 912.9 persons respectively per square mile, and these two are the lowest-density parishes on the island.

Of the island's total population, about 89.3 per cent is Negro, 6 per cent colored or mixed, and 4.3 per cent white, the other three-tenths of a per cent being comprised of East Indians and other assorted ethnic groups (Table 2). Emigration has somewhat altered the racial ratios presented in the 1946 census, but even, as of 1960, "...the white minority...forms a larger proportion of the total population than in any other part of the British Caribbean" (Lowenthal 1957:468).⁵

⁵For example, according to the 1960 West Indies Population Census, whites form 1.8 per cent of the population in Trinidad and Tobago, .4, .7, .5, 2.3, and .5 per cent in Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and British Guiana, respectively.

The Political System: National and Local

Whites dominate much of the island's commercial and economic life as they have done throughout Barbados' history. They largely control the sugar industry and are prominent as merchants, business men, etc. However, political power is now clearly in the hands of the Negroes and colored, and in 1961 only one of the 24 representatives to the House of Assembly was white. All the ministers and the Premier are Negro, though whites can still be found in the higher levels of the civil service--albeit in decreasing numbers and proportions.

Barbados enjoys internal self-government with the governor having nominal political duties as representative of the British Crown. The national law-making body, the House of Assembly, was established in 1639. Until relatively recent times it was dominated by the white plantocracy, and, according to Starkey, functioned to "...protect the interests of the upper classes by protecting property, aiding agriculture and commerce, and relieving the laboring class sufficiently to prevent disturbances..." (Starkey 1939:192). Not long after these comments were made Barbados and other West Indies islands experienced a number of riots. These were followed by a series of reforms and changes, manifested in Barbados by the introduction of new types of social welfare legislation and by an increase in the numbers of Negroes entering politics. Negro political representation has

increased further as the income qualifications for voting were reduced, first in 1944 (when the franchise was also extended to women), and then in 1950 when income qualifications for voting were eliminated and adult suffrage was introduced.⁶ A ministerial system of government was inaugurated in 1954, and the cabinet, which is formed by the members of the dominant political party, is the chief policy making body of the island's national government. Members of the cabinet also sit in the House of Assembly as representatives of their parish constituencies. There are two representatives from each of the island's eleven parishes and two from the city of Bridgetown.

A new system of local government, replacing the 330 year old vestry system, was introduced on March 25, 1959. As of that date, the eleven parishes, into which the island had been divided since 1645, were grouped into three local government administrative units. Today, the voters of these parishes elect representatives who sit on the local district council of which that parish is a part. These councils (governed by elected officials but worked by staffs of civil servants) perform such duties as the repair of certain types

⁶In the 1961 general elections something like 61.7 per cent of the island's registered voters cast their votes (Barbados Advocate, December 7, 1961). But the high turnout of voters, in the rural areas especially, can be at least partially attributed to the highly developed custom whereby the candidates hire cars which ply the villages and transport voters to the polls. For instance, about 85 per cent of Chalky Mount's adult population is registered and of these

of roads, upkeep of the alms houses, control of public health facilities, public lighting, etc. Some of these functions were formerly the responsibility of the vestries. The councils, as did the vestries before them, largely derive their operating funds from the taxes which they levy upon lands and business enterprises carried out within the area of their jurisdiction. Though vestry members were elected for one year, and for the most part of Barbados' history, as was pointed out, under a very limited voters' franchise, today the council members are elected for three year terms under the same system of adult suffrage as prevails in elections for the national government.

With this brief introduction to Barbados we can now deal with some of the distinctive features of the Scotland District, and then proceed to introduce the village upon which this paper will focus.

98.5 per cent voted in the 1961 general election. Voting day is one of relative festivity, people get dressed in their better clothes, and eagerly look forward to a drive to the polls even preferring the newer model cars to the older ones. It is doubtful, though still speculative, if such a high proportion of Chalky Mount's registered voters would have voted had there not been transportation provided for them. In the local government elections held during January of 1962, the Barbados Advocate reported in its January 12 edition that only 30 per cent of the island's electorate voted, but in Chalky Mount 50.4 per cent voted. Once again this proportion, though lower than for the general election, may in part be attributed to the cars and festive nature of the situation

THE SCOTLAND DISTRICT

As mentioned above, the Scotland District is a distinct physical zone of Barbados. It is situated in the northeastern section of the island and covers an area of about 22-23 square miles, or approximately one-seventh of the island's total land area. Supposedly named Scotland by the earlier settlers because it reminded them of the Scottish highlands, the district presents quite a different aspect from the gentle and undulating topography of much of the rest of the island. Claiming to be Barbados' highland area, the hills--most less than 1000 feet and many just a few hundred feet--are not very high, and yet the overall aspect presented is one of rugged and mountainous country in miniature.

From Bridgetown along one of the main highways running northeast, the road gradually climbs over the rolling hills of the Lowland and Upland plateaus to an altitude of close to 1000 feet. This marks the rim of the Great Limestone Cliff, a semi-circular limestone escarpment, which is the natural barrier of the Scotland District and sets it off from the rest of the island (see Figure 1). From the height of this cliff the road descends into the rugged terrain of the Scotland District itself. Some of the most picturesque views on the island may be had from various points along this cliff which extends northwest by southeast for 14-15 miles.

For many years of Barbadian history this cliff served to "isolate" the Scotland District from the rest of the island, and as recently as the mid-1930's Starkey could speak of the isolation and relative backwardness of the area (1939:44-50). Even today, "urban" Barbadians are apt to look upon the Scotland District and especially its population as representing the epitome of rural life and the "backwardness of the country folk." The natural beauty and relative ruggedness of the area has attracted tourists, and the rough surfs and heavy winds that blow off the Atlantic make the east coast an attraction for motoring and vacationing Barbadians from other parts of the island.

The limestone capping which covers most of Barbados is absent in the Scotland District, some geologists believing it to have been removed by the sea and other geologic action in the distant past. At any rate,

The Scotland District is geologically the oldest part of Barbados and consists of contorted grits, silts, sandstones and sandy shales of marine origin. Part of the submarine ridge on which Barbados lies has been raised by folding to form a dome in the centre of the Scotland District and from this rivers radiate in deep gullies which separate narrow inter-fluvial ridges. This is a very clearly defined geomorphological region and is notable for its residual peaks, such as Mount Hillaby and Chalky Mount, for its rugged landscape and for the presence of some permanent short streams which flow to the sea in deep narrow valleys (Barbados Annual Report 1958 and 1959:107).

These streams are largely empty of water during most of the year, but can fill up very quickly during the torrential downpours of the rainy season carrying with them thousands

of gallons of water and tons of mud and silt which are swept out to sea. During especially heavy rains large parts of the eastern coast are discolored by the sediment which is poured into the sea by these now raging rivers.

Rainfall in the Scotland District is normally higher than in the rest of Barbados, and a fall of 75-80 inches a year towards the higher parts--near the Great Limestone cliff--is not uncommon, though in other parts of the District rainfall can drop as low as 45 inches per annum. Since it is exposed to the winds that blow from the ocean, the district's temperatures are generally lower than in other parts of Barbados. Scotland soils are somewhat different also, and cultivation in a number of areas is quite difficult because of the steepness of the slopes and erosion. Soil erosion in the Scotland District poses a greater threat to agriculture than in any other area of Barbados. These and other related geographical features which affect the agricultural economy of the region, especially the village of Chalky Mount, will be taken up in the next chapter.

About 97 per cent of the Scotland District's land area is within the three eastern coastal parishes of St. Andrew, St. Joseph and St. John. Of the District's total area, St. Andrew comprises approximately 57 per cent, St. Joseph 27 per cent, and St. John 13 per cent, most of the remaining 3 per cent or so lying in the inland parish of St. Thomas. However, most (95 per cent) of St. Andrew's

land area, 63 per cent of St. Joseph's and 23 per cent of St. John's are within the District. St. Andrew's parish, then, is typical of the Scotland District in geological and topographic terms. The houses of Chalky Mount, for the most part, lie within the southeastern corner of St. Andrew, while some fall into St. Joseph's parish. In all, Chalky Mount lies at the approximate center of the eastern edges of the Scotland District, and most of its houses are a little less than a mile or so from the island's eastern coast (Figure 1).

Belleplaine, the former parish seat of St. Andrew, can be reached from Chalky Mount by a 20 minute walk over the footpaths which have been cut through the hills. In Belleplaine one finds the nearest post office, the alms house and parish doctor, a number of shops, the St. Andrew parish Anglican church, gas station, a high school, community center, etc., and villagers frequently go to Belleplaine for various types of business and visiting. In many ways the "town" offers the goods and services that a county seat might offer elsewhere, though dependency on it is much less pronounced today than it was in the past.

CHALKY MOUNT

Introduction

An hour's bus ride, or a half-hour's car ride over eleven miles of a twisting and narrow route northeast from Bridgetown brings one to Chalky Mount. As one enters Chalky Mount from the south (see Figure 1), one sees a handful of houses sprinkled on either side of this main road (i.e., Bissex road) which, after passing through the village for about 250 yards, then swings sharply to the east descending Coggins Hill to approximately sea level where it joins up with highway number two--the main route from Bridgetown to Belleplaine. However, if one were to continue north, for about 275 yards, rather than descending into the St. Andrew's valley, one would reach a fork with two roads leading from it. One of these roads is Less Beholden which descends from a height of about 500 feet to about 300 feet, dead-ending about 500 yards from the fork at the site of an old windmill which used to serve the now defunct plantation of Less Beholden. The other road, however, is Chalky Mount--separated from Less Beholden by a deep revine--which follows the ridge of a 500 foot hill for about 1000 yards before it ends in the rugged and eroded landscape surrounding Chalky Mount peak (550 feet) from which the village draws its name.

Many of the village's houses are arranged, Strassendorf fashion, along the three roads described above,

though the bulk of the dwellings are to be found along the ridge over which Chalky Mount road stretches. Each of these three roads indicates each of the three sections of the village (i.e., Bissex, Less Beholden, and Chalky Mount), though these sections have little significance and are demarcated here only for reasons of introduction. To all intents and purposes they comprise one village--the village fo Chalky Mount--and are discussed collectively, for the most part, in the ensuing discussions. The settlement pattern and physical plan of the village can be best grasped by reference to Figure 2.

History

Chalky Mount peak is indicated and named on the earliest known map of Barbados (Ligon 1657)-- but the first direct evidence of habitation in the area derives from a will and a deed recorded in 1678 (Barbados Registry:Wills, Vol. 13, folio 477; Deeds, Vol. 9, folio 577). These documents clearly show that small (i.e., 40-50 acre) sugar plantations, together with their complements of slaves, were operating in the Chalky Mount area from the early days of the island's settlement. All available evidence further indicates that Chalky Mount's history reflects, in its major outlines, the history of the island as a whole. The triumvirate forces of plantations, slavery, and sugar, which are so dominant in Barbadian (and Caribbean) history were manifest in Chalky Mount from earliest times. Yet, the

village, especially in the 19th century, had some relatively idiosyncratic features with respect to the rest of Barbados.

For one, poor whites, in the 19th century, formed a greater percentage of Chalky Mount's population than they did in non-Scotland District villages. Poor whites who, for the most part, were themselves plantation tenants or their descendents and had formed part of the island's militia comprised a quasi or true peasantry (vide Geertz 1962:6)-- depending upon how one would like to define peasantry-- having certain obligations to the plantations from which some of them rented their lands. For the most part they subsisted upon food crops and their livestock, the latter being a main source of cash. Sometime in the early or middle 19th century, when these whites became more dominant as small land owners, they began to grow arrowroot which was to form the main cash crop on both white and Negro holdings until the early 1940's. The whites, during the 19th century, formed the main small land owning group of Chalky Mount (see Chapter III). A number of them were, as well, artisans (though not potters) and shopkeepers. They did not work for the plantations as did most of Chalky Mount's Negro population. Older informants, reflecting upon conditions within their memories, maintain that the two races "got along good," and though there is evidence of relatively frequent miscegenation, intermarriages seem to have been rather rare.

There was (and still is) another distinctive feature of Chalky Mount, aside from arrowroot and poor whites--

which were also common to a number of villages in the Scotland District--and this was its relatively small Negro-dominated pottery industry, which by the mid-nineteenth century was the only "cottage" industry on the island. This will be dealt with more extensively in Chapter V. In all, an extensive treatment of Chalky Mount's history would unnecessarily extend the length of this chapter, though historical materials will be presented in subsequent chapters whenever it is felt that they can contribute to a better understanding of the problem or problems under discussion.

Population

As of April, 1962, there were 544 persons living in Chalky Mount (256 males, 289 females), 62 per cent of whom were twenty years old or younger (see Table 3). The smallest number of persons is found in the 21-40 age group and this seems to be due largely to the recent emigrations to England. These emigrations, part of a West Indies-wide phenomenon, have affected, among other things which will be dealt with later, not only the village's internal labor supply (Chapter III), but also the income of a number of its households. It should be added that 520 persons are Negro, 19 are colored, and 5 white. Over the past forty or fifty years whites have decreased both in proportion and in number. A person is considered colored if at least one parent was said to be white; but if more remote ancestors were to be included and other Barbadian phenotypical criteria were

applied, the colored group might be enlarged at the expense of the Negroes. The proportions of Negro to colored to white are comparable to the proportions for the remainder of the Scotland District, and for most of the rest of the island except for the urban areas which have a larger concentration of colored and whites (Table 2).

Chalky Mount as a Community

The settlements or villages of rural Barbados are too well integrated into the island, and the island itself is too small to permit one to speak of cultural and/or institutional isolates. Nor can any of these territorial units be considered as sociologically or economically independent. Enough of Chalky Mount's social and cultural characteristics will be presented to show just how greatly dependent upon the wider island the village is and how much of the insular culture it reflects. An attempt will also be made to show how the networks of social and economic relations in which the villagers find themselves extend far beyond the confines of the geographically delimited area upon which this presentation is focused. Without attempting to enter into the often polemical discussions surrounding the definition and use of the concept community in both anthropology and sociology, we can nevertheless think of Chalky Mount, in a limited sense, as being a community. We can speak of it as a community largely because the physical proximity of the houses and the occupations of most of the adults

produce a situation wherein most of the people resident in the village spend more of their working and recreational time in the company of each other than in the company of outsiders, i.e., most of the daily activities of most of the population take place within the relatively circumscribed area of Chalky Mount and its environs. M. G. Smith's almost neutral and non-committal definition of a community fits our purpose well:

By a community, I shall mean a field of social relations based on regular face-to-face associations between persons. Such face-to-face associations imply co-existence within a defined area; and the simple fact of recurrence in such social contacts together with the likelihood that this will continue for some indefinite period, makes for some elements or levels of patterning. (1956:295)

It is in this sense that Chalky Mount can be considered a community, and for this reason the terms community and village will be used interchangeably. The definition of village followed here is that presented in Notes and Queries:

A village may be defined as a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted (Royal Anthropological Institute 1954:64).

Although the term village is more specifically intended to connote the physical aspects of Chalky Mount, and the concept community the social and cultural, it does not seem to be of great importance to preserve these distinctions rigidly for purposes of the discussion that follows.

It should be pointed out that the term village sometimes has a special connotation in Barbados. It usually refers to habitational clusters whose lands are not owned by plantations. These are distinguished from plantation tenancies where, though the houses may be owned, the lands upon which they are placed are owned by the plantations and rented from them. In this sense, Chalky Mount is neither entirely a "free village" nor entirely a tenancy, but combines both forms of land tenure in terms of housespots and working lands.

To speak of Chalky Mount, then, as a community in no way implies that the village functions as a corporate unit. For instance, Chalky Mount is very much a part of the island's national and local governmental system, but persons do not politically represent Chalky Mount qua Chalky Mount nor is the village defined as an administrative unit. Also there are no groups, secular or otherwise, which can make decisions for the village as a whole or significant parts of it.

There are no formal leaders other than the religious ones, but the influence of these leaders beyond the immediate confines of their own churches is negligible. There are two civilian constables, both members of the community, and though they are legally empowered to make arrests, in practice they have extremely limited authority. The village is under the police jurisdiction of the District F police station--about a mile away. Here is also located the

District's magistrate's court in which the villagers' serious disputes and complaints are adjudicated, but this court serves all of St. Joseph's parish and a good part of St. Andrew's as well. In all, Greenfield's statement about the village he studied in the parish of St. George is, as well, applicable to Chalky Mount:

Though the inhabitants of Enterprise Hall do not form an integrated sociological community, they see themselves as "Enterprise people" as distinguished from the inhabitants of other villages and plantation tenancies. There is a sense of historical connection to a place of residence with specific neighbors, rather than one of membership in a functioning community.... Though there are no legal boundaries (to the village) there is informal agreement as to where each village begins and ends. (1959:78).

The people of Chalky Mount are in more-or-less ready agreement as to which houses belong to the village and which do not. And while the boundaries of the village are less easy to define the residents agree that Chalky Mount is a geographical area which is differentiated from other areas both in name and by expanses of cultivated or uncultivated lands upon which there is little or no habitation. In all, Chalky Mount's population feels itself part of a common territorial unit and identifies this unit as Chalky Mount. Although a great deal of day-to-day interaction takes place among the village's residents, and

81 percent were born there (another 15 per cent come from within a 2500 yard radius of the village), there is no strong local feeling, no "esprit-de-corps," and no local institutions which help to unite the village's population into a functioning and corporate sociological community, i.e., Smith's statement that "...community structure is informal in character..." (1956:309) fits Chalky Mount well.

Social and Cultural Characteristics of the Community

The people of Chalky Mount form a relatively homogeneous cultural group which reflects the culture of Barbados' rural lower class. Although there are some distinct wealth differences among the villagers, most of the population, with some minor exceptions, falls within the lower socio-economic class of Barbados. In fact, the most frequent expression the villagers use to refer to themselves as a collectivity is "we poor people" which has a connotation expressing not only limited monetary resources, but a "way of life" as well; and this "way of life" and the occupations the villagers pursue are sufficient indices of class position setting the people of Chalky Mount off from the Barbadian urban and rural middle and upper classes. To itemize these cultural items and customs--though, needless to say, there is an enormous amount of cultural

overlap between all classes of Barbados--is unnecessary here, but to consider the class membership of the villagers along purely economic lines--in spite of the wealth differences among them--would be misleading.

In all, then, the relative cultural homogeneity of the villagers prevails, regardless of wealth, occupation, and property ownership, and far overshadows whatever differences exist. Although there are cultural variations within the village, e.g., secondary school educated children and the parental generation, teenagers and adults, etc., these are not sufficient to set off particular groups within the village from their counterparts in other villages of the island, nor to align these groups with any but the rural lower class of Barbados.

There are no formal secular associations based within the community. A social club, formed in 1960 under the initiative of one of the school teachers (a resident of Belleplaine) had a short life of five months or so. An attempt made by the government cooperative officer to institute a cooperative among the village's potters had a brief success in 1962, but by the time I left the field in July of 1962 the cooperative was moribund. The cricket club, which is found in a number of Barbadian villages, is lacking in Chalky Mount--perhaps because there is a shortage of level land available for a playing field; yet most Chalky Mounters of all ages and both sexes are devotees of the

game, and small children can often be found playing cricket in the roads using the stem of a palm leaf for a bat and empty beer bottles for a wicket--one of the most common sights to be seen in rural Barbados. There used to be a Friendly Society (i.e., mutual aid burial society) headquartered in the village but this was disbanded a number of years ago; yet Friendly Societies have more members in the village than any other secular organization. Sixty-four per cent of the persons 16 years and over belong to Friendly Societies and quite a few of these belong to more than one. Children under sixteen belong as well, and many of those who claimed no membership used to belong to the one on Chalky Mount. None of the plantation workers--the single largest occupational category--belong to the Barbados Workers' Union, although there were a couple of abortive attempts made a few years ago to unionize them.

The type of local associations which are fundamental to the village's social organization are the four Protestant churches or "meeting halls" which cater not only to Chalky Mount's population but to the population of surrounding villages as well; and these are part of an island-wide network whose top officialdom resides outside the village. Though forty-six per cent of the adults in Chalky Mount state their religious affiliation as the Church of England (i.e., Anglican) a minority of them regularly attend this church. They, and most others in the village, prefer one of the meeting halls in the village itself. The lack of

attendance at Anglican churches cannot be attributed solely to their distance from the village, but also to the greater emotional appeal that the fundamentalist churches have. Yet, the majority of villagers, regardless of stated affiliation, patronize the Church of England (especially the parish church in Belleplaine) for such events as baptisms, weddings, and funerals.

The meeting halls are important recreational outlets not only for the people who regularly attend them--a minority of the total adult population--but for those who are frequently found outside listening to the services within. The outsiders often number more than those attending, and this is even more true during the annual revival week when congregations from other villages with their own meeting halls come into Chalky Mount. In all, the churches, informal congregating in the rum shops, "walking up de road" at night visiting and gossiping with friends and/or kinsmen, or simply staying at home listening to rediffusion, are the major regular recreational outlets for Chalky Mount's population.

Occasionally, a mobile cinema unit stops at the yard of a neighboring plantation and the films are attended by many of the men and boys. Sometimes, some of the younger people, especially during the cane harvest season, will go into town for a movie, but most of the population has never been to a commercial cinema. Most of the people go into

Bridgetown at least once a month⁷ either to take care of some form of business (e.g., cash a remittance check, make a deposit in the government savings bank) or to shop, and trips of this kind also form a major type of diversion. Sometimes there are dances in Belleplaine which are largely attended by the younger men, both married and unmarried. While I was in Chalky Mount the new headmaster of the school organized a dance on the Queen's birthday. This was the first event of its kind ever held in the village and was heavily attended by males and females of all ages. On Bank Holidays the meeting halls or persons from outside the village might sponsor an "excursion" in which a bus is rented and people, for a fee, are taken on an outing to some spot on the island. Bringing their own food and drink they will be gone for the better part of the day. National Holidays (which can as well be bank holidays and are largely adopted from English ones) e.g., Guy Fawkes day, are celebrated to a minor extent, though such holidays as Christmas and Easter, especially the former, command the most attention. There were a few heavily attended political meetings in the village during the 1961 elections, but these are a relatively new experience for the villagers.

⁷For instance, of a random sample representing 55 per cent of the village's 16 and over population, 56.7 per cent traveled to Bridgetown between one and five times during the months of March or April, 1962. Another 9 per cent went to town from 6 to 10 times during one of these months.

The rum shops are the most common loci of informal congregating by Chalky Mount males, although those who claim fundamentalist church membership generally refrain from loitering in them. Teenage boys and girls, especially on Saturday night, are apt to congregate at one of the rum shops which is located at the junction of the main road descending into St. Andrew's valley, not only because the road receives more traffic than Chalky Mount road, but because of the attraction of a juke box which was installed a few years ago. Plantation workers usually gather in the rum shops during "hard times" and when rain prevents them from working. They often play whist and dominoes but there is no gambling, and except for Saturday nights and Sunday mornings, the drinking is relatively light.

Most of the people are in bed by 9 or 9:30 except for those who go to a "prayer meeting" at one of the mission halls, or on Saturday nights when many of the men and the younger folk are apt to stay up longer. On nights when the moon is "bright" and the sky cloudless most of the population stays up for a few hours beyond normal bedtime gossiping, joking, and arguing. In all, as it is locally put, they are "enjoying de moonlight," and on such nights the village presents quite a different aspect of activity than it does on moonless and cloudy nights. Funeral attendance and participation in widding parties, both as invited or uninvited guests, are also major recreational

outlets, but, in all, the normal recreational life of the villagers, as I said, revolves around the mission halls, shops, and informal visiting among friends and/or kinsmen.

An itinerant evangelist, East Indian traders who have regular customers on "The Mount," tourists who come to see the potters, and the various deliverymen who regularly deliver goods to the shops, are the most frequent outsiders (i.e., persons not from the village or neighboring villages) who come up to Chalky Mount.

There are 139 "buildings" in the village. One hundred and sixteen of these are occupied houses, and 16 are unoccupied houses. There is a free primary school which was built about ten years ago by the government, and which caters to the children of surrounding villages as well, one government built bath house (which is infrequently used and rarely has water), four meeting halls, and one detached shop. There are four other shops as well, but these are attached to the homes of their owners. Some of these five shops are more elaborately stocked with goods than others and three of them serve beer and rum. Foodstuffs purchased in the shops normally supplement what has been bought in town, since 76 per cent of the households acquire most of their food in Bridgetown--a few others buy food in Balleplaine. In all, the shops in Chalky Mount, though they play an important role in the village economy, are not the main channels through which money flows out of the village. Itinerant traders, Belleplaine shops, and, above

all, Bridgetown play important roles. The latter's role in consumption has increased enormously over the years as the villagers' cash resources have increased and improved transportation facilities have put the capital within ready access of the village.

Only three houses in Chalky Mount have electricity, and these are in the vicinity of the school (see Figure 2). The electric poles terminate at the school and were erected, at government expense, especially to serve it. The costs involved in bringing electricity to the rest of the village would be prohibitive from any single individual's point of view, but a modest cooperative attempt to bring electricity failed in 1960. Most of the remaining houses of the village rely upon kerosene storm lamps for night lighting, though the shops, meeting halls, and an occasional home are lit by more elaborate pressure lamps of the Coleman type.

There are only four radios in the village--three of them being battery operated. However, 33.6 per cent of the occupied houses have rediffusion, while an additional 26 per cent had it until relatively recently but gave it up for a variety of reasons, most of which relate to the \$2.00 monthly rental fee. There are no regular newspaper subscribers in the village, though a handful of the men who work in town read a newspaper fairly regularly. Most of the village's adult population have some reading ability,

though magazines and books, other than the Bible, are exceedingly rare except for households containing secondary school students who have a variety of textbooks.

The village water supply is erratic, and there can be an actual scarcity especially during the crop season. The reasons for this lie less with the island's water resources for domestic use than with the village's physical location relative to the main water lines. Many times it is extremely difficult for adequate pressure to build up in the main which serves the village's branch lines. During most of any given day it is not unusual to find the standpipes which serve the village without water. Sometimes during the crop season--which is also the dry season--these standpipes may not yield water for as much as four or five days. In cases of this kind villagers have to walk as much as a mile or more up the hills in order to fill their buckets, or rely upon the undependable schedule of water tank trucks sent from Bridgetown.

The village has four standpipes, one of which serves Bissex, another Less Beholden, and two, spaced about 300-400 yards apart, serve Chalky Mount Road. Early in the morning or late at night, the times at which water is generally available, women and children (sometimes older males) wait their turn around the standpipes in order to fill up their buckets which they then head back to their houses. Every house, as is common in rural Barbados, has a

large 50 gallon oil drum (or smaller capacity wooden barrel) in which the household's water supply is kept. Since water is only available at certain times, small crowds often form at the standpipes while each person waits his turn, and because of this the standpipes function as loci for gossip and news. Only ten (8.6 per cent) of the occupied houses are equipped with their own water pipes, but since private water pipes fit into the main branch lines these houses are not assured any more regular supply than those without pipes. In the days before public standpipes were available, water was taken from springs that would form near the surface in some of the ravines. Houses were more dispersed in those days as well, but since the introduction of standpipes virtually all of the houses are clustered along the sides of the main roads within relatively easy access of the water supply. In fact, one of the more frequent reasons given for changing the location of a house is to be in a more convenient position with respect to a standpipe.⁸

⁸ Although most houses have been on the same spot for twenty years or more (not necessarily, however, with the same occupants) the most frequent reasons given for moving a house reflect the desire to be on one's own, as opposed to rented, land, and/or to be in a more convenient location vis-a-vis the water supply. Cases wherein persons have moved because of their being evicted from plantation lands are relatively rare, though many of the village's house-spots are rented from neighboring plantations (see below).

Houses are constructed in such a manner that they can be readily dismantled in order to be moved. House-moving requires a group of men (sometimes up to twenty or so) and is about the only regular form of non-pecuniary

Kinship, Households, and Houses

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally. There is a relatively loose form of "kindred organization [wherein] every individual is surrounded by a set of consanguines who have some mutual rights, obligations, and responsibilities toward him" (Davenport 1961:462), and distinctions are also made between close and distant relatives. These features are broadly characteristic of most Negro communities reported on in the British Caribbean (vide R.T. Smith 1963). In most cases the Chalky Mount household comprises some kind of family group, but the rights and obligations that flow between kin when household boundaries are crossed seem to have little function in economic affairs--especially in land exploitative activities. These kinship obligations often become ideological supports when, for instance, labor relationships are formed between related persons of different households, rather than being determiners of such relationships (Chapters III and V). Further, the kinship system is not very extensive, geneologies are relatively shallow, and kinship ties outside of the household--except

communal labor that can be found in the community. The only person who is paid is the carpenter who directs the whole operation from the dismantling of the house to its erection on a new spot. However, the householder is obliged to provide light refreshments in the form of rum and "biscuits" for the rest of the participants who are usually friends and/or kinsmen.

those that govern the sending of remittances--usually have minimal effects upon the household's economic status.

Although there are no corporate kin groups as such within Chalky Mount, sometimes a loose family group formed of "near" kin from different households will "own" land in common, but cases of this kind are in a definite minority (Chapter III).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to concentrate upon the family as such and delve into a discussion of kinship relations in Chalky Mount. The contemporary structure and functioning--to say nothing of the historical development--of the Negro lower class family is a complex subject, and is the focus of a great deal of controversy in the British Caribbean literature (vide Greenfield 1962, M.G. Smith 1962b, R.T. Smith 1963). Here, I will simply point out that the household is the basic social and economic unit in the community, and wider kinship relationships seem to play a limited role in land exploitative activities and the economic arrangements related to these, but the household is still the most important social unit that interlocks with these activities. It must be stressed, however, that the household is in a dubious position as a unit of production for, as was pointed out in Chapter I, in many cases it does not seem to be the land exploiting

exploiting unit as such.⁹ It is, however, the major unit of consumption, most earned cash being funnelled into it and most cash expenditures being made for it.

It should be noted here that although persons may be involved in the same domestic economy and share a common dwelling, they do not necessarily have to "share common productive resources and liabilities" (M.G. Smith 1962b:13, see also Davenport 1961:435). These latter characteristics, as was pointed out in Chapter I and as will be dealt with again in Chapter VI--where the household's role as a unit of production will be made more explicit--seem to be more a feature of British Caribbean "peasant" communities than of villages such as Chalky Mount. The household's position with respect to the land-based complexes will also become clearer as these complexes are discussed in subsequent chapters.

Most recent discussions of the British Caribbean Negro family and household have been careful to distinguish between these two units and to stress that the household is a group "the members of which eat and dwell together as a rule" (M.G. Smith 1962b:13, see also R.T. Smith 1956:51 and Greenfield 1962). Employing this definition, then,

⁹With respect to pottery, the household's function as a unit of production seems somewhat deviant in some cases, but this deviancy is cancelled as certain pottery households and individuals become involved in other land-based complexes and/or income producing activities (Chapter V).

there are 117 households in Chalky Mount. In all but one case these units are demarcated by residence in separate houses. The one exception is a house containing two related nuclear families, but each is completely independent of the other, their common residence being a temporary arrangement because one family's house had burned down just prior to the commencement of my 1961 field work.

Of course, the definition of household used in this paper, though generally applicable, does not take into account certain infrequent variations. For instance, in a few cases an elder parent living alone might sleep in a house apart from, but adjacent to, a married child's house, and might eat and have his clothes washed and ironed in that child's household. In other cases, younger children might sleep in a grandparent's house, aid in the maintenance of that house and perform various domestic chores, but in other respects such as meals, clothes washing, etc. they participate in their parent's household. Similarly, a man might be residing with one woman contributing to her and their children's upkeep, and yet contribute as well to another woman's household. Patterns such as these, though of interest and importance for a discussion of family structure and relationships, seem to have little significance for the kinds of problems I am concerned with in this paper. In fact, it is not necessary here to become overly detailed on the nature of the household unit. I will

point out certain of its features, however, in order to relate it demographically to the land-based economic complexes.

There are 64 households (or 54 per cent of the total) that contain a sexually cohabiting pair of adults, and 58 of these households also include children. These children may belong to one or both of the adults, and/or be grandchildren of one or both. In 50 of these 64 households the adults are legally married.

There are 24 households which contain only one female adult with her children and/or grandchildren, and 10 households with one female adult and at least one of her adult children, male or female. These ten households might also include other children and/or grandchildren. The 34 "female-headed" households (29 per cent of the total) include 7 "heads" who are married. In most cases their husbands are emigres in England or contract laborers on United States farms. These 34 households also include a number of widows and "divorcees"¹⁰ so that the incidence of marriage is more frequent than these figures might suggest.

Nineteen (16 per cent of the total) households are divided among three other "types." Fourteen of these are

¹⁰ Divorce is rarely a legal court-recognized one. Married people who, after a while and for whatever reasons, cease to cohabit often consider themselves as divorced. One or both spouses may begin a common-law union with someone else.

single occupancy households (some of which contain widows and "divorcees"), four contain an adult male with his children and/or grandchildren, and one is composed of two male minors. In sum, the most frequent type of household in Chalky Mount is one containing a sexually cohabiting pair of married adults together with their children and/or grandchildren.

The village's modal household (Table 5) is composed of 6 persons, 2 person households being the next most frequent type. These two types account for about 26 per cent of Chalky Mount's population. Another 29 per cent live in three to five person households so that about 55 per cent of the village's population lives in households containing from two to six persons. For the village as a whole, there are an average of 4.6 persons per household, but 313 of these (out of a total population of 544) are children under 16 and adults over 65 (Tables 3 and 5). There are, then, 231 adults, an average of 1.9 persons per household, who are in a position to devote their labor to the major production complexes that are discussed in this paper. This is somewhat of an oversimplification for not all the 231 adults cited above participate. On the other hand some of the 15 and under and some of the 65 and over age group are involved to some degree with these complexes. Nevertheless, some general idea of household labor resources can be

gained from these figures. In most cases data for a more definitive statement are simply lacking.

Many households are short of able-bodied laborers when labor demand peaks are reached in certain phases of such complexes as small-scale sugar cane farming (Chapter III), and the sexual division of labor within these complexes, e.g., only adult males cut sugar cane, often functions to diminish household labor resources even further. Consequently, households which engage in one or more land-based complexes (with the exception of plantation wage-labor) are often forced to seek help in various tasks from members of other households. The nature of these tasks will be shown in subsequent chapters, but the fact that extra-household kinship rights and obligations perform minimal functions in the land-based complexes, and that labor is most often hired for cash, further points to the need for cash on the part of Chalky Mount households. That is, not only do persons engage in cash-producing activities to maintain and increase their standards of consumption, but they often need cash in order to be able to effectively participate in the cash-producing activities of their choice.

Houses.— Close to 80 per cent of the villagers live in houses which have an average floor space of between 180 to 324 square feet; yet, in spite of the frequent congestion of persons and the cluttering of household appurtenances,

houses are normally tidy. The wooden floors are usually scrubbed at least once a month and an intensive house cleaning usually takes place at Christmas time. Yards are frequently swept, and, despite the often shabby interior and exterior houses display, most homeowners and households take pride in their dwellings.

The house, then, has a social value far and above its physical shelter function, and it can be safely said that in the villagers' property system houses are ranked second to land in importance. The houses represent a considerable expenditure. About 96 per cent are made of wood, mostly imported Canadian Pine, and cost between \$900-\$1000 (B.W.I.) to build. "Sheds"--the most common type of addition--cost about half this. Few people are in a position to afford the sums of money needed for houses, and consequently many rely on loans.¹¹ In addition, a large

¹¹In former days it was customary for plantation owners, lumber companies in town, and even solicitors to extend these loans to the lower class, but today most people rely on the facilities of the Barbados Housing Authority--a governmental agency. Though loans are available for a variety of purposes from the construction and repair of a house to the purchase of a housespot, only persons of the working class are eligible to receive them. As of 1962 a person is defined as a member of the working class, for housing loan purposes, if his (or her) income averages \$40 or less a week. By this definition virtually every adult in Chalky Mount would easily qualify for housing loans, and 64 per cent of the 84 per cent of homeowners for whom I have information have received government loans. In most areas these were used to help buy construction materials and pay a carpenter to build a new house.

and continual expenditure that Chalky Mount households have involves the physical maintenance of the house and supplying and replacement of internal furnishings. The desire to repair, enlarge, and even paint houses, to add kitchens and outdoor privies, and to furnish them with items that range from kerosene stoves to artificial flowers, sideboards, caned chairs, linoleum flooring, beds, glasses, pots and pans, and a host of other appurtenances plays a very prominent role in motivating the villagers towards the acquisition of cash. Some persons even carry fire insurance on their houses.¹²

Consequently, houses incorporate and are the source of a host of "culturally created needs," which, for the most part, can only be satisfied with cash. And the degree of structural elaboration, often-times in minor details, and the extent and nature of interior furnishings are among the key indices by which one may judge the relative affluence of a household.

Ninety-seven of Chalky Mount's occupied houses are "owned" by persons resident within them. Of these 97 houses, 66 are "owned" by males and 31 by females--most of the latter having inherited the houses upon the death of a

¹²Of the 82 houses for which I have information, 18 are insured against fire loss.

parent or spouse. There are, however, a variety of ways in which a house can be owned. These range from outright ownership with all debts paid and the right to alienate to a type of communal ownership--(analogous to "family land"--- Chapter III)---wherein the household head is the custodian of the house for his immediate family group which might be residentially quite dispersed. He cannot, however, alienate or sell the house without the approval of other claimants to it--though he can move it to another spot.

Fifty-four per cent of Chalky Mount's houses were purchased by their owners, and 23 per cent were inherited in a variety of ways (Table 4). In some cases--the category "Neither" in Table 4--no one person resident in the house makes any kind of proprietorship claim upon it. In most cases of this kind the house belongs to a close consanguineal or affinal kinsman who is abroad.

Unlike the houses themselves, where ownership is the rule, 49 per cent of the housespots are rented, and most of these (68 per cent) are rented from plantations whose lands border the village (Table 4). The remaining rented housespots are rented from other small holders who are either living in the village or who are former residents of the village now living in other parts of Barbados or abroad. Close to 40 per cent of the housespots are owned by a household resident while in 13 cases--the category "Neither" in Table 4--persons are living rent

free upon the land, and adjacent to the house, of a close kinsman who is resident in Chalky Mount.¹³

In all, since 33.6 per cent of the total housespots in the village are rented from plantations one can say that the village is roughly one-third a plantation tenantry. However, in most cases, persons who rent housespots, if they rent working land as well, rent this working land in another area (though it may be rented from the same plantation). Even those who own their housespots can rent pasture and/or working lands from the plantations as well. Chalky Mount, then, has elements both of a "free village" and of a plantation tenantry, but to discuss the community in these opposing terms, as I said before, does not seem to be of significance in considering the contemporary situation with respect to land tenure, use, and exploitative activities.

Occupations and Economic Life

A suitable occupational classification for Chalky Mount's adult population is difficult to achieve for, as was indicated in Chapter I, quite a few persons have a number of occupational roles and/or sources of income.

¹³For a more extensive discussion see the section on working land tenure and mode of acquisition in Chapter III. Much of what applies to working lands applies, as well, to housespots.

Comitas' discussion of "occupational plurality" in rural Jamaica (1964) is, as well, applicable to the Chalky Mount situation.

"Occupational plurality" is defined as "a condition wherein the modal adult is systematically engaged in a number of gainful activities which form for him an integrated economic complex" (Comitas 1964:41). This concept is offered by Comitas to describe a distinct socio-economic "stratum" which includes about 50 per cent of Jamaica's rural population--a population which he finds "not easily accounted for in any of the taxonomic formulations presently available for the Caribbean area" (1964:41). For Comitas, this population forms the "nexus of a socio-economic type significantly different from either the peasant, farmer, or plantation types which hold for other population segments of rural Jamaica" (1964:41).

An important characteristic of "occupational pluralists"--although obviously one that is not unique to them--is that they do not "own or control sufficient land to earn a living solely through agriculture" (Comitas 1964:42), and quite often the lands they do hold are of marginal agricultural potential. Further, "...the various fragments of a farm are [often] held under different forms of land tenure, complicating both the legal position and the economic utilization of land" (Comitas 1964:42). Citing agricultural statistics, Comitas points out that

close to 70 per cent of all Jamaican farms are under 5 acres, and about 22 per cent are less than one acre. For Barbados as a whole 98 per cent of the 27,912 farms are under 5 acres, and 85 per cent are under 1 acre (West Indies Census of Agriculture 1961). In Chalky Mount 98 per cent of the working lands are under 5 acres, and 69 per cent are one acre or less (Table 12). These figures, aside from any other evidence, point up similarities between Chalky Mount and sections of rural Jamaica, and reflect that in Chalky Mount--as in Jamaica--"it is the rare land holder who can depend on cultivation alone, either for subsistence or for profit, and not exert additional economic effort in other directions" (Comitas 1964:42).

Without going into detail on Comitas' paper, we can summarize it by stating that much of it is concerned with providing evidence to support his major contention--a contention that is best summarized in the following quote:

...if relatively large numbers of people have managed a balance between the plantation and peasant systems or have constituted extremely eccentric versions of a pure peasantry¹⁴ over long periods of time, they probably have formed

¹⁴For instance, Padilla mentions that "a variety of peasant types can be found in the Caribbean" (1957:25). She groups these peasants into three main types, the most attenuated one being described thus: "Landholders who sell their labour to estates or plantations and who supplement their cash income with production on their own land. For this they in turn may have to hire labour, as occurs among some of the landholders growing sugar cane in Barbados, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Cuba" (1957:25).

qualitatively different structural arrangements. Among such people in rural Jamaica, the chronic condition of occupational multiplicity has influenced the form and nature of their social contours and has produced a social entity distinct from those whose structural arrangements are based on just one general occupation. We are confronted, then, with another recognizable type which requires separate classification and analysis and which, for want of a better term, can be called the occupational pluralist (1964: 44).

As I have suggested before, "occupational plurality," seems to be a characteristic of significant numbers of Chalky Mount's population, and is a much finer conceptual tool for portraying the socio-economic segment this population represents. The concept of "occupational plurality," then, will permit a much clearer analysis of Chalky Mount's economic life, and will be further utilized in the concluding chapter of this paper. At this point, however, I am more interested in presenting an overview of the village's occupational structure while at the same time trying to point out the difficulties of thinking of Chalky Mount's adult population in terms of "uni-occupational models" (Comitas 1964).

For purposes of this introductory discussion I accept what the people themselves consider their primary occupations to be, i.e., the occupations in which they feel they spend most of their time during the work year, and from which, in the case of wage earners, they derive the major proportion of their incomes. These occupations are listed in Table 6 which, in spite of its deficiencies, gives

some idea of the range of economic activities in which most of the villagers engage; and hence Table 6 reflects to some extent the "economic life" of Chalky Mount. The occupational categories in this table are offered as guides to the vocational activities of the village's adult population, though it is to be noted again that the categories are not clear cut and mutually exclusive for a number of role occupants. This is due to the "occupational plurality" of many adults. Some of the occupational categories utilized in this paper are briefly considered below in order to make more explicit the ways in which they should be accepted in respect to any particular role occupant.

Over one-half of the village's 206 adults operate some land (held in various forms of tenure) upon which sugar cane is grown. Yet, no one, to the best of my knowledge, looks upon himself as a peasant or small farmer (Chapter III). Small farmer or peasant is a form of self employment which, in the villagers' eyes, does not imply a bona fide occupational status. That this feeling is widespread in rural Barbados is confirmed by the following statement which is based upon a study involving a sample of 5,364 Barbadians.

although the term 'peasant proprietor' is in common use in Barbados, it was hardly used by members of the sample to report their fathers' occupations. A possible interpretation would seem to be that it connotes not a specific occupation but a stage or form within the general occupational category of agricultural laborer (Cumper 1961:398).

At any rate, in no Chalky Mount case does the cash derived from small-scale sugar cane farming constitute the only source of income for a person or household operating land. Nevertheless, small-scale sugar cane farming is a major ecological adaptation and is of vital significance to the community's economic life. The following chapter will be devoted to a discussion of this complex.

Plantation wage labor is the single greatest occupational category yet many of the persons who claim to be plantation workers also devote, by their own estimates, a considerable amount of time and effort to crop cultivation on their small holdings. But one finds situations such as the following: A shopkeeper cuts plantation cane during the reaping season, nets more cash from this than from his own shop, yet considers his occupation that of shopkeeper; another shopkeeper considers himself a plantation laborer, leaves his shop in the care of a niece during the day, but tends it in the evening until the legal closing time--after which he usually makes his rounds as a plantation watchman--a job from which he derives a small amount of cash. The basketmaker only makes baskets during the out-of-crop season, but during the crop he cuts cane for small farmers, and grows cane on his own small parcel of land. There are only six potters (i.e., persons who are able to make pottery on the wheel), but others who claim they spend most of their time in pottery are apt to work on the

plantations during the cane harvest and derive a major part of their annual income from plantation activities. Equally, some of those who consider themselves plantation workers will also engage in pottery production throughout the year. The one man who is a sugar factory laborer works full time in the factory during the crop, and intermittently throughout the year, but during "hard times" is more likely to be employed on peasant holdings or as an odd job carpenter. Even one of the two persons with a private car, who is a relatively large land owner in his own right, spends a great deal of time on his land from which he derives a considerable proportion of his income; yet occupationally he defines himself as a chauffeur. The bath house attendants and the school janitress have, in reality, part-time jobs, and they could be considered as spending more of their time in the performance of home duties.

Home duties, then, which, with plantation labor is the single largest occupational category for females, can also be misleading. A number of women who claim home duties as their major occupation also work during the crop season for the plantations and/or peasants or may work for peasants throughout the year. Equally, a number of women who claim to be retired could just as easily be categorized as having home duties as can some of the non-pottery hawkers who work but intermittently, e.g., the fish monger who only sells fish during a limited season. It is as well

to point out that some of those who look upon themselves as retired (both male and female) acquire a good proportion of their income from working either their own small holdings or those of others. The kinds of examples quoted above could be multiplied. There are also some occupational pursuits, e.g., barbering, butchering, house painting, which are clearly secondary in the minds of the people in the amount of time devoted to them, and in the income they yield.

Of the 147 adults who fill the 23 self-assessed occupational roles (excluding home duties) in Table 6, 135 perform these roles largely within the village and its environs. One hundred and six of these persons are primarily engaged in activities which are directly related to some form of land use. Even tailors, seamstresses, carpenters, shopkeepers, etc.--some of whom are as well small-scale sugar cane farmers--are dependent upon the money that their customers make largely through land-based economic activities.

The importance of land as a source of cash is also reflected in Table 7 where income-producing activities of Chalky Mount adult males during 1961-1962 are tabulated. Of the village's 78 gainfully engaged males during that year, 42 were involved in plantation wage labor, 59 as small-scale sugar cane farmers, 54 raised income producing livestock, 12 were engaged in pottery, and four cultivated

minor cash crops. Twenty-five also performed wage work for persons involved in one or more of the land-based complexes indicated above.

Table 7 also offers a good idea of the ways in which these and other activities were combined in order to produce cash income. For instance, of the 78 males 83 per cent regularly combined two or more income-producing activities during 1961-1962; and 37 per cent combined at least four activities. Even though these various activities contributed disproportionate amounts of income "it is the occupational balance reached which maximizes the possibility of individual and household security" (Comitas 1963:9). I will have more to say about this in Chapter VI. The importance of land, however, is further underscored by considering household involvement in Chalky Mount's land-based economic complexes.

Land-Based Economic Complexes: Household Distributions and Combinations

In 63 of Chalky Mount's 117 households at least one person considers himself a regular plantation wage laborer. If people under 21 and others who work intermittently were to be included, the percentage figure would be somewhat higher. Ninety-six of the total households include at least one small farmer; but more households would be included in this complex if we were to include those who provide hired labor for small farmer households (Chapter III). Income-

producing and/or subsistence livestock (Chapter V) are raised by 76 households, while there is no data available for eight. Also the number of households in this category could be increased if one were to include those that had disposed of animals immediately before the questionnaire was administered. Sixty-eight households grow subsistence crops--a handful combining these with arrowroot--37 reported no subsistence crops, and 12 provided no data. Only 13 households were regularly involved in the village's small pottery industry, two less than were involved in 1960. In all, the majority of households are involved in four of the six land-based economic complexes with sugar producing activities having the greatest emphasis.

Aside from the various land-based economic complexes and excluding remittances, 60 of the community's 117 households reported having derived cash from other sources during 1961-1962. These other sources included various occupations listed in Table 6 (e.g., carpenter, tailor, seamstress, shoemaker, postman, bus conductor, etc.) as well as paid labor on small farmer holdings or in the village's small pottery industry.

In considering the frequency and kinds of combinations of these complexes, or the nature of household "occupational plurality," complete data is available for only 93 households. Two of these are single occupancy households whose members are totally dependent upon meagre old-age pensions for support; and five derive their cash

from activities outside of the land-based complexes. Consequently, our sample (Table 8) of the ways in which various land-based economic complexes are combined for household units, is limited to 86 households (49 of which also engage in other occupations and/or wage-earning activities). Of these 86, 13 participate in only one type of land-based economic complex, and, aside from three plantation-laboring households, in no case do they rely entirely upon this complex for their total cash needs. Twelve households combine two activities; small-scale sugar cane farming occurring in combination with something else in 11 of these.

Twenty-seven households combine three activities, with small-scale sugar cane farming occurring in all. The most frequent combination (20 cases) being small-scale sugar cane farming, subsistence crops, and livestock. Thirty-two of the 86 households combine four complexes, the most frequent combination (26 cases) being plantation wage-labor, small-scale sugar cane farming, livestock and subsistence crops. Only two households combine five complexes. Of the 86 households, 73 are directly involved in small-scale sugar cane farming, and 44 are regularly involved in plantation labor, but these two complexes are combined in only 37 cases.

In sum, Table 8 confirms that land resources play a prominent role in the ecological adaptation of most Chalky

Mount households, and sugar cane production either on small farmer holdings and/or on plantation lands is the outstanding feature of the community's ecology. Few households are totally exempt from the island's sugar economy in the provision of their cash needs, and it can be said that none are ultimately exempt from the influence of sugar. Even members of the minority of households which depend to a large extent upon remittances from abroad supplement their annual income from activities directly or indirectly related to the sugar industry.

Emigrants and Remittances

Remittances are derived largely from emigrants in England. Since the exodus of these persons from the community has had some effect upon its internal labor resources-- and in some cases land tenure and ability to acquire small holdings-- emigrants have some role to play in the land-based economic complexes under discussion. Consequently, we might review some features of these emigrations, and, as well, point out what role remittances play in the community's economic life.¹⁵ Other considerations concerning emigrants will be presented, as the occasion arises, in subsequent chapters.

¹⁵There is only one household on Chalky Mount totally dependent upon remittances. This is a household of a young mother and her child who recently returned from England. The father, still in England, is responsible for the complete support of these two persons.

Between 1955 and April 1962 at least 108 persons left Chalky Mount as emigrants to England. Adequate data on these emigrants is available for 112 of the community's 117 households. Of these, approximately 60 percent have lost at least one member through emigration. If one were to extend the number of households affected by emigration through loss of close family members who were resident in other households better than 75 per cent of the village's households would be included. Although the sex ratio of emigrants is about equal (see Table 9) 93 per cent were between the ages of 16 and 35 years.

These persons, in varying ways, are under a number of obligations to their family or household groups. Close to one-third of the emigrants left children in Chalky Mount-- children whom they have some legal and moral obligation to support. They are also, once they find employment, under a moral obligation to remit to their parents and spouses (both legal and common-law). Parents expect remittances even though this expectancy is not always fulfilled. Not a small amount of bitterness and resentment is felt by parents towards those children in England who irregularly or rarely send them money, and this is especially so in those cases where the parents have been largely responsible for providing the passage money. It can be seen from Table 9 that 61 per cent of the emigrants for whom I have information received help from family members. This financial aid, if not formally termed a loan, is given with

the expectation of repayment and/or continual remittances. Also, the emigrant might be under a obligation to repay loans that were received from the government--close to 20 per cent of the emigrants relied primarily upon governmental loans for their passages abroad. In general, then, different demands are placed upon the emigrant's earning power from within the village, and these demands derive not only from moral obligations to close kin, but also from legal obligations of child support and repayment of government loans.

But remittances are not always sent, and even when sent they can be sporadic. This may result in part from the emigrant's intentional laxity, but circumstances of living in England often prevent the fulfillment of obligations of whatever kind. Initially, it might be low paying jobs and the cost of living abroad which afford little, if any, surplus funds. As the emigrant immerses himself more in life in England standards of consumption change and expenses increase, and as time passes a sense of obligation to the family at home sometimes decreases as well. Unemployment may also affect the emigrants' remitting power. In addition, as the years pass, younger emigrants begin to form new families in England which place a burden upon their financial resources at the expense of remittances to home.

For these reasons, then, the amounts of money sent home are often limited and apparently decrease as

the years go by. This is not to underestimate the role played by remittances in the village economy, nor to deny the fact that a number of households are highly dependent upon them. Taking the village population as a whole, however, remittances do not seem to constitute a major source of income.

I was able to obtain reasonable estimates on remittances from only 91 of the village's households. Of these, 46 reported having received remittances during 1961-1962. But there is a range in the amounts of money involved from under \$50 to over \$850. (See Table 10) Only six households received more than \$650 in 1961. These comprise 13 per cent of the total remittance receiving households, but only 7 per cent of the 91 households for which I have information. It takes roughly \$650 per annum to feed the average household in Chalky Mount. Although households have many needs for cash other than food, food expenditures do constitute the major single expense. The six households cited would constitute maximum dependency, but five of them rely on one or more other sources of cash as well. At the other extreme (Table 10), it can be seen that one-third of the remittance-receiving households received \$150 or less per annum. At this point, remittances become secondary sources of income, and all of the households in this category as well as those in the middle ranges engage in other cash producing activities. In general, of the 46 remittance-receiving

households, 32 engaged in some combination of at least three of the village's land-based economic complexes--most including both plantation wage-labor and small-scale sugar cane farming plus one or two others.

To sum up these latter sections, it is apparent that the majority of Chalky Mount's adult population is involved to some extent in various forms of land use, and that most households and individuals combine a number of land-based economic complexes in their production activities. Reliance upon these activities as sources of cash varies from household to household and individual to individual, and in a number of cases income is derived as well from other occupational and/or wage-earning activities and even remittances. For our purposes, however, we are concerned to examine the patterns existing in the various land-based economic complexes. Within these, sugar cane is the dominant production focus. And since small-scale sugar cane farming is one of the most important complexes in terms of household representation, community-wide labor demands and even cash yields, we start our discussion of these complexes in Chapter III, with a consideration of small-scale sugar cane farming.