Carib as a Colonial Category: Comparing Ethnohistoric and Archaeological Evidence from Dominica, West Indies

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Abstract. Documents and maps describe settlement locations and objects possessed by the Carib, or Kalinago, in the Commonwealth of Dominica during the post-Columbian period. Archaeological testing at multiple sites in northern Dominica reveals that historical Carib settlements functioned as trading sites, observation posts, or refuges, but such testing has not recovered material culture described in the documents. Part of the explanation for the lack of correspondence between ethnohistory and archaeology is the inadequacy of the Carib ethnonym, which has been manipulated by the political and economic interests of European colonizers since 1492. Beginning with the first voyages of Columbus, the Carib were portrayed as warlike cannibals who raided the "peaceful" natives of the Greater Antilles. Carib-French contacts in the seventeenth century recorded origin myths and linguistic evidence that fit with the initial Spanish impressions of native Caribbean peoples. Archaeological findings reveal some of the heterogeneity that has been obscured by the Carib category recorded in the ethnohistoric sources.

Spanish explorers on Columbus's first voyage learned of people called *caribe* or *caniba* inhabiting the islands east and south of Hispaniola. They were told of these people during communications with native peoples who claimed that the *caribe* organized raids to capture women as wives and occasionally practiced cannibalism on men that they killed. The *caribe*, later Carib or Island Carib, were counterbalanced by "peaceful" natives of the Greater Antilles, whom scholars began to label as Arawak or Taino in the nineteenth century.[1] This dichotomy begins to appear in the firsthand accounts of Columbus (Cólon 1984) and Chanca (1949) and shapes the narrative of Spanish histories of the early Caribbean (see, for example, Las Casas 1951; Martire d'Anghiera 1964–65; Oviedo 1851–55). In the sixteenth century,

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Figure 1. The Eastern Caribbean. Drawing by the author

resistance by any native group in the West Indies and northeastern South America earned the Carib label and established the Carib as the "icon of the primitive and wild" underpinning Western thought (Whitehead 1995a: 11).

The warlike cannibal reputation had cooled by the early seventeenth century when the French began colonizing the eastern Caribbean (Boucher 1979), but conflict still occurred when Europeans attempted permanent settlement. Some islands were conquered, while others, like Dominica and St. Vincent (see fig. 1), were designated neutral islands left to the Carib by agreements between Britain and France. Evidence collected during encounters between French colonists and people known as Caribs further cemented perceptions of a discrete Carib group. Observations recorded by French missionaries at this time provide invaluable ethnographic information (Bouton 1640; Breton 1999 [1665]; De la Borde 1674; Du Puis 1652; Du Tertre 1667–71; Labat 1724; Rochefort 1665; see also Hulme and Whitehead 1992). The consensus of origin myths recorded by the missionaries is that the Carib migrated to the islands from South America and conquered the original inhabitants known as Igneri or Eyeri (Allaire 1980; Davis and Goodwin 1990: 39–40; Gullick 1980, 1985; Hulme 1986; Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 19–20). Also prominent among missionary contributions

is a Carib-French dictionary compiled by the Dominican Raymond Breton (1999 [1665]) after he had lived among Caribs in Dominica. While recording evidence of men's and women's languages as well as a pidgin trading language, Breton learned that the Carib called themselves Kalinago in the men's language. Evidence of a Cariban men's language and an Arawakan women's language appeared to verify a migration in which Carib-speaking men captured Arawak-speaking women (Whitehead 1995b: 92–93), but this has since been rejected.[2] In the twentieth century, the label Island Carib was introduced to distinguish the islanders from Carib speakers in mainland South America.

This narrative has guided archaeological inquiry toward determining Carib origins, discovering if and when a migration or local development occurred, and associating pottery or other material culture with the Carib. The authority of the Carib identity in the chronicles waned in the late twentieth century as scholars reevaluated the cannibal invader narrative (Boucher 1992, 2008: 23–28; Honychurch 1995: 21–22, 2000: 13–16; Hulme 1986: 47–48, 2000: 6–7; Keegan 1996; Patterson 1991; Sued Badillo 1984: 24; Whitehead 2002; Wilson 1993b: 42–43). Rereading the ethnohistory challenges assumptions and critiques the manner in which Europeans assigned native identities. It is now clear that the Carib are more heterogeneous than a literal reading of the ethnohistory suggests (Davis and Goodwin 1990; Forte 2005; Honychurch 1997, 2000; Hulme 1986, 2000; Hulme and Whitehead 1992; Sued Badillo 1978, 1995, 2007; Whitehead 1988, 1996, 2002). This is part of a wider critique of the construction of native Caribbean identities and how these identities shape interpretations of archaeological findings (Curet 2002, 2005; Keegan 1989, 1996, 2007; Oliver 2009; Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 18–21; Reid 2009; Rodríguez Ramos 2008; Wilson 1993a, 1993b).

In this article I use ethnohistoric sources to anticipate where Carib sites in northern Dominica are located (see fig. 2) and what material culture may be present in archaeological contexts. Essentially, my effort to correlate archaeological and historical evidence directs Louis Allaire's (1977) "Carib problem" toward the historical period.[3] I find that expectations derived from the ethnohistory do not correlate with archaeological findings at four post-Colombian sites. Part of the explanation for the lack of correspondence between ethnohistory and archaeology is the inadequacy of the Carib ethnonym. Since its inception, European political and economic interests manipulated the Carib identity. Consequently, it is misleading to impose Carib upon temporally and spatially diverse post-Columbian settings. Following Honychurch (1997) and Wilson (1993b: 46), I view the Carib during the *post*-Columbian period as a heterogeneous people who

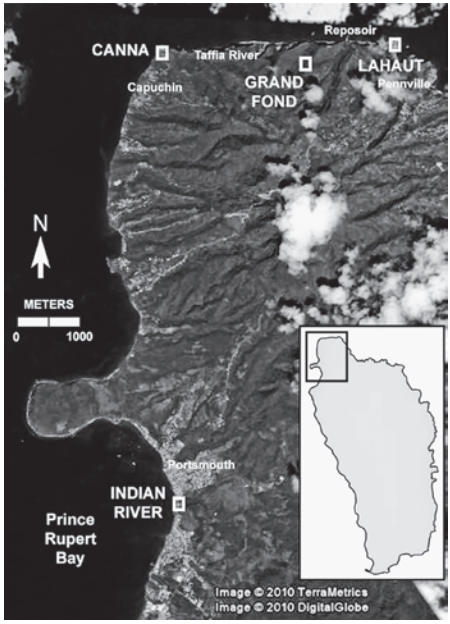

Figure 2. Four archaeological sites in northern Dominica. Map created by the author. Aerial photo in the background from Google Earth, © 2010 Google

experienced many changes after generations of encounter with European, African, nonlocal Amerindian, and Creole peoples. Through a multisited approach restricted to a region of Dominica, an island that people known as Carib have inhabited continuously since 1492, my archaeological testing between 2005 and 2007 demonstrates that the Carib label obscures heterogeneity among native peoples of Dominica. Survey and excavations record settlement locations permitting observation, trade, and refuge, but neither Old World faunal remains nor trade goods, which documents suggest the Carib possessed, were found. My data offer a perspective from sites in one area of Dominica, which may later be combined with other sites to build a regional synthesis.

The meanings and connotations of the Carib label continue to resonate. In November 2010, the elected chief and council requested that the government of Dominica amend the 1978 constitution to replace "Carib" with "Kalinago" in all official titles and place names (so the Carib Territory becomes the Kalinago Territory, and so on). This effort follows a revival of Carib identity (Forte 2005), which manifests in Dominica in forms such

as the Kalinago Barana Autê, or Kalinago Cultural Village, a site portraying traditional lifeways.[4] People of Carib/Kalinago ancestry and citizens of France and Martinique collaborated in the Ioumoulicou project to build a "traditional" canoe with which to reenact interisland travel.[5] By using the word *Carib* I do not mean to perpetuate its usage in light of the Kalinago people's right to define themselves. But since "Carib" appears throughout historical sources and maps, simply substituting "Kalinago" for "Carib" in the documents is misleading, because European authors using the latter term intended a specific set of meanings. Although its accuracy is questionable, Carib nevertheless was a "real" identity during the colonial period, and it continues to complicate interpretations of the past. I encourage an approach to the Carib which at least differentiates the period before Europeans arrived from succeeding centuries, as archaeology can help to break down misconceptions that persist to the present (Schmidt and Patterson 1995).

This article begins by reviewing how the Carib category has guided the research questions being asked by archaeologists. Then a series of expectations is outlined to define where post-Columbian Carib sites are located in Dominica and what material culture may be found. Comparison of these expectations to multiple sites reveals that the post-Columbian Carib are more complex and heterogeneous than the ethnohistoric record suggests and demonstrates how the lack of a clear correlation between ethnohistory and archaeology relates to the inadequacies of Carib as an identity after 1492.

Ethnographic and Archaeological Evidence of the Carib after 1492

Critiques of early Caribbean ethnohistory challenge the Carib-Taino dichotomy by showing that European impressions of native identities were based on hearsay and assumptions. Reliance on these categories obscures a great deal of variation (Curet 2002; Forte 2005; Hill and Santos-Granero 2002; Hulme 1986; Keegan 1989, 1996, 2007; Patterson 1991; Reid 2009: 88–99; Rodriguez Ramos 2008; Whitehead 1988, 1996, 2002; Wilson 1993a, 1993b). Several components of the Carib stereotype have been discounted, particularly accusations of cannibalism (Hulme 1978, 1986; Moore 1973; Myers 1984; Whitehead 1984). For example, an often cited "proof" of cannibalism is an episode in 1493 when Spanish sailors observed human bones in native dwellings in Guadeloupe. Based on the caribe rumor learned during Columbus's first voyage, these bones were assumed to be remains of people who had been eaten. Consequently, Guadeloupe's inhabitants, along with native peoples on neighboring islands, were labeled as

Carib. Critics of this interpretation contend that the bones are probably evidence of mortuary practices rather than anthropophagy and that consumption of human flesh was not actually witnessed (Myers 1984: 156–57; Sued Badillo 1978: 42, 2007).

As exploration and colonization of the Indies proceeded, political and economic interests reinforced the Carib identity. In 1503, the Spanish Crown outlawed Indian slavery but permitted Caribs to be enslaved (Hulme 1986: 70; Keegan 1996: 28; Moore 1973: 124–25; Whitehead 1996: 867–68). In 1518, a Spanish official named Rodrigo de Figueroa was assigned to decide who was Carib and could be enslaved versus who was not Carib and off limits. While creating these distinctions, Figueroa relied on hearsay, and his designations were not confirmed through visits to any islands (Forte 2005: 50–52; Hulme 1986: 71–72; Whitehead 1988: 9–11, 173). The intentions of applying the Carib term are clear in light of the shifts between assignments. For example, pearl beds found in 1512 near Carib islands off the South American coast resulted in these lands being changed to non-Carib to claim the islands' natural resources, until pressure from mine owners who desired labor switched the islands back to Carib (Whitehead 1988: 11; also see Forte 2005: 49; Sued Badillo 2007). Similarly, the Carib categorization was manipulated by colonists in Puerto Rico, who wanted as many Carib as possible to secure an inexpensive labor supply (Sued Badillo 1984). A literal reading of the sources ignores the reasons behind the creation of the Carib, as Jalil Sued Badillo's (1978, 1984, 2007) work so effectively demonstrates, and disregards intra-island variation.

In the seventeenth century, British and French settlers in the Lesser Antilles followed Spanish convention by labeling the natives they encountered as Carib. French writers recorded "Kalinago" as a self-ascription, but this did not replace Carib. There was little consideration that early sixteenth-century slaving raids had depopulated the eastern Caribbean or that refugees had moved between islands (Sued Badillo 2007). Several authors suggest that the natives adopted the Carib label to benefit from the reputation of ferociousness while opposing European encroachment (Forte 2005: 54–55; Garraway 2005: 39–42, 65; Hulme 1986: 67–73; Whitehead 1988). Those who may have been unable to assemble interisland raiding parties continued to resist by associating themselves with the memory of cannibal Carib warriors.

Archaeological Interpretations

Pioneers of the first archaeological exploration of the Caribbean such as Walter J. Fewkes (1907, 1922), Sven Lovén (1935), and Irving Rouse (1948) were influenced by the Carib migration narrative found in the chronicles

when interpreting data and constructing the region's pre-Columbian cultural chronology. Illustrating this method is Rouse's review of the "Island Carib" in Steward's *Handbook of South American Indians* (Rouse 1948). With admirable thoroughness, Rouse consults all known ethnographic accounts of the Island Carib. *Pre*-Columbian versus *post*-Columbian Caribs are not differentiated; Rouse rarely considers the time and place of observations as he collapses all historical accounts to fit the Island Carib into a Windward Islands culture-area (Wilson 1993b: 52). Thus an underlying assumption is that Spanish observations of Caribs of Guadeloupe in 1493, for example, represent the same Carib met by Jean-Baptiste Labat in Dominica in 1700. Such equivalency is questionable, as it is possible that these were entirely different people after depopulation and slaving expeditions (Sued Badillo 2007: 61–65).

A similar reliance on the chronicles directed later researchers to attempt to ascertain Carib origins, to define a Carib pottery type, to determine if a migration to the islands occurred versus local development, and to determine how these affected regional affiliations and influences (Allaire 1977, 1980, 1984; Boomert 1986, 1995, 2004; Bullen 1964; Bullen and Bullen 1972; Holdren 1998; Davis and Goodwin 1990; Rouse 1948, 1992). From this perspective, the Carib are approached as an ethnic group spanning the Windward Islands whose members share a common identity, as opposed to a related but discrete group known as Kalina or the mainland Carib of South America (Allaire 1977, 1980, 1984, 1987; Boomert 1986, 1995; Dreyfus 1983–84; Holdren 1998; Rouse 1948, 1992). This has led to debate about whether Caribs are more closely affiliated with South America or the Greater Antilles or if local development or acculturation occurred in the Windward Islands (Boomert 1986, 1995; Davis and Goodwin 1990: 40–43; Honychurch 2000: 34–35; Wilson 1993b: 52–54). Many have noted the absence of published archaeological studies of Carib sites from any period (Allaire 1977: 16; Boomert 1986, 1995; Davis and Goodwin 1990; Holdren 1998; Honychurch 1997, 2000; Rouse 1948: 547, 1992: 22) with the exception of the Island Carib site at Argyle, St. Vincent (Allaire 1994; Allaire and Duval 1995). In 2010, excavations at the Argyle site by Leiden University revealed domestic structures, earthenware pottery, and European manufactured goods (Hoogland, Hofman, and Boomert 2011). While Sued Badillo (2007: 67–72) consults archaeological literature—primarily reports of artifact collections—in relation to possible Caribs in Guadeloupe, this article, along with Arie Boomert's (2011) testing in northern Dominica and the excavations at the Argyle site in St. Vincent (Hoogland, Hofman, and Boomert 2011), represents renewed effort to understand the archaeology of the Carib based on controlled excavations.

Although this article targets the post-Columbian period, low-fired pottery is frequently encountered at Dominican sites, and the identification of sherds requires knowledge of the regional ceramic chronology. Since a pre-Columbian chronology for Dominica is nonexistent, the Windward Islands sequence must suffice, and I summarize it briefly here.[6] The earliest phase encountered is Cedrosan Saladoid (ca. 400 BC–AD 600–800), a type that represents a migration from South America. Cedrosan Saladoid pottery is fine and thin-walled, distinguished by complex polychrome decorations and incised patterns (Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 24–25). Post-dating the Saladoid is a type formerly known as the Suazoid series, or Suazoid, which is characterized by finger-indented rims, scratched surfaces, anthropomorphic *adornos* (handles, or lugs), and specific vessel shapes. Based on the Carib migration narrative and the Suazoid's distribution in the Windward Islands, Ripley P. Bullen and Adelaide K. Bullen (Bullen 1964; Bullen and Bullen 1972) proposed that Suazoid was Carib pottery (Allaire 1977; Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 28), but Allaire (1977, 1984) conclusively refutes this hypothesis. Suazoid has since been divided into the Troumassan Troumassoid (AD 500–600–ca. AD 1000) and the Suazan Troumassoid (AD 1000–1500) (Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 26). Suazoid may date to after 1492, but more archaeological data, particularly radiocarbon dates, would be needed to clarify this point. Finally, Boomert argues that the Cayo type (Kirby 1973) is Carib pottery, using historical evidence and comparisons to the Kariña and Koriabo complexes of the Guyanas. He defines Cayo decorative types such as punctated knobs, distinctive vessel forms, and inclusions such as *caraipé*, the ash of South American tree bark (Boomert 1986, 1995, 2004: 260–61, 2009). Whether Cayo is contemporaneous with or post-dates Suazoid is unverified. While some contest that it is Carib pottery, Cayo has been identified at two sites in Dominica investigated by the author and five sites tested by Boomert (2011). This continues to support Cayo's association with the Carib. My analysis below suggests more complexity to this problem, as it is misleading to assume that Cayo is present at every post-Columbian Carib site.

Carib Settlement Locations and Material Culture

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents describe Carib settlements across the eastern Caribbean, including Martinique (Allaire 1977: 15, 82), St. Lucia (Hofman and Bright 2004: 77), and Tobago (Clement 2000: 16). Maps showing Carib sites have guided surveys in Martinique (Allaire 1977), Grenada (Holdren 1998), and Tobago (Clement 2000), and maps helped in the discovery of the Grand Fond site discussed below. The results

of using maps to locate archaeological evidence of the Carib are inconclusive. Maps can direct surveys toward areas of high probability, but associating material culture with settlements marked on the maps is a challenge.

The ethnohistory provides descriptions of Carib material culture, and Allaire (1977, 1984), Barbotin (1974: 61–67), and Boomert (1986) review references to clay pots used by Caribs after 1492. Applying the historical sources equally to all of the Windward Islands may be misleading, but some data relate to Dominica because the missionary Père Raymond Breton records pots used by Dominican Caribs in the seventeenth century (Allaire 1984). Surface surveys and excavations in Dominica have recovered low-fired pottery (Evans 1968; Honychurch 1997; Petitjean Roget 1977a). Provided that sherds possessing identifiable morphologies and decorative styles are found, these can be classified into preexisting types. Boomert's work with the Cayo requires that this ware may be associated with Carib settlements, as vessels and decorations consistent with the Cayo have been found at Indian River, five sites in the northeast (Boomert 2009), and an eighteenth-century Jesuit site at Grand Bay in the south (Lenik 2010b).

While the documents describe pottery used by Caribs, it should not be assumed that the same type will be found at each settlement. Sources do not necessarily apply to all islands and all time periods. Dominica was inhabited by a variety of people by the late seventeenth century, and Carib pottery traditions may have mixed with those of other peoples, as Christopher Ohm Clement (2000) suggests for Tobago. The variable functions of sites in northern Dominica may be materially reflected in different ways. Finally, it is possible that no low-fired pottery will be found. The absence of ceramic vessels may be attributed to factors such as restricted access to clay sources, reduced time to make pots, loss of knowledge of manufacturing, or use of alternative materials such as calabash, baskets, iron pots, or European ceramics.

Documents describe a variety of European-made goods possessed by Caribs in Dominica. Sources refer to Caribs trading for "iron cutting tools" like axes (Honychurch 1997: 297). In place of wood and stone graters, surfaces of iron pieces roughened by punctations could grind manioc (Honychurch 2000: 127), and flat iron fragments served as griddles for cooking cassava bread. There are records of trade for "glass beads, knives, hatchets, saws, 'copper jewels,' and brass pendants" (Honychurch 1997: 297). It is also feasible that animals of Old World origin were acquired, as long as faunal remains are preserved. Archaeology may answer further questions. If Caribs produced tobacco for trade (Honychurch 1997: 299), did some choose to smoke with European-made clay pipes? Was alcohol traded to or stored by Caribs in glass bottles, or were perishable containers utilized?

Were plates and bowls of European manufacture used alongside or in place of handmade pots? Were personal items and beads collected during raids or salvaged from shipwrecks?

When outlining these expectations, it is worthwhile to consult recent research conducted at post-Columbian Native American sites, which questions approaches to colonial encounters and considers the difficulties in linking past or present Native American peoples to specific artifact types or patterns (Blanton and King 2004; Cobb 2003; Galke 2004; Gallivan 2004: 22–23; Lightfoot 1995, 2005; Loren 2008; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2003, 2005, 2009). Several argue that native peoples were not passive recipients of European culture (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992: 4; Silliman 2003: 127, 2005; Stein 2005: 30–31). Newly acquired objects and technologies were situated in social settings that were much different from precontact times (Silliman 2003, 2005). It is not sufficient to simply classify trade goods as "Carib." Even if European goods are found at potential sites, we need to remain wary of simplistic replacement models or equating ethnicities with artifact types. This same idea applies to linking earthenwares with specific ethnic groups or identities. Archaeologists have identified low-fired pottery made by free and enslaved Africans around the Caribbean but caution against imposing a regional "Afro-" or "African-Caribbean" type (Hauser and DeCorse 2003). This production continued through the colonial era and still takes place among people of mixed Carib and African ancestry in places like St. Lucia (Vérin 1963: 103–24). The purpose here is not to enter the quagmire of the complex issues related to associating ethnicity and clay pots, but rather to consider that pottery may have been manufactured and used by people who do not fit neatly into "Carib," "African," or "European" slots. This point is particularly salient for Dominica, where "coloured" and mulatto classes arose during the precolonial and colonial periods. This blurring of categories confounds direct correlations between ethnicities and pottery types.

Archaeological Research in the Commonwealth of Dominica

The Commonwealth of Dominica is located between the French *départements* of Martinique and Guadeloupe (see fig. 1). Thick with vegetation across all elevation zones, Dominica is a mountainous island of volcanic origin measuring 751 square kilometers.[7] Available data indicate that human settlement has been restricted to the coasts as most of the interior has been neither settled nor cleared of vegetation. Europeans first encountered Dominica on Columbus's second voyage in 1493, but the island did

not become a British colony until 1763, after the Seven Years' War. This leaves an extended period from 1492 to 1763 when Dominica was not formally colonized and treaties maintained the island's neutrality. Prohibitions against settlement were ignored as Dominica harbored French families, people of mixed ancestry, enslaved Africans and maroons, Amerindian refugees (Sued Badillo 2007: 61–63), and Caribs. In 1903, a British colonial official granted a Carib Territory to people self-identifying as Kalinago or Carib.[8]

Archaeologically, Dominica is among the least known islands in the West Indies. The island's frequent rainfall, thick forestation, and rugged topography are most harmful to archaeological preservation (Honychurch 2000: 29–35). Reconnaissance and excavation conducted by the author confirms that these conditions impede preservation of archaeological deposits, but recent work has begun to improve site documentation. Flat areas suitable for permanent settlement are limited, and typically are disturbed by villages or intensive agriculture. Sandy coastal areas are mixed by crabs, roots, or flooding. Hilltops suffer erosion and appear to lack stratigraphy, with shallow deposits in flat areas and deep deposits accumulating on slopes. These obstacles impeded discovery of Dominica's archaeological resources. At first, artifact collections of unknown or imprecise provenience were studied, such as a three-pointer zemi[9] found at Soufrière in 1878 (Honychurch 2000: 29, 37) and stone artifacts in the Roseau Public Library (Fewkes 1922; Honychurch 2000: 29; Petitjean Roget 1977b). In the late 1950s Marshall McKusick (1960: 19) tested the Au Parc (Vieille Case) site on the north coast.[10] During the first published surface survey, Clifford Evans (1968) identifies ten sites based on surface scatters of ceramic sherds. He concludes that pre-Columbian Dominica was unattractive for permanent settlement because food resources were limited (101). Evans posits "historic Carib" sites where he observed European and Amerindian artifacts (97–99). Robert A. Myers (1977) criticizes Evans's assertion that there was little pre-Columbian settlement by assembling a list of documented references to Carib occupation (see also Honychurch 2000: 29–35). A 1976–77 surface survey by Petitjean Roget (1977a) reports twenty-four sites that he assigns to phases borrowed from the Martinique chronology.

Lennox Honychurch (2000: 29–35) compiles a list of thirty-eight pre-Columbian sites by combining his own reconnaissance with earlier findings. Over a dozen more sites have been added to this list by my own work and an islandwide coastal survey by Benoît Bérard (2007). But a ceramic chronology tied to radiocarbon dates is still lacking. Historical archaeology has begun only in the last five years with excavations at forts and Jesuit mission sites (Lenik 2010b). Honychurch uses historical evidence to locate possible

Carib sites, several of which guide the work described here. First, documentary references to Caribs in Prince Rupert Bay and scatters of sherds near the Indian River suggest a site (Honychurch 1997, 2000: 44–47). Second, two British maps showing a Carib village directed field reconnaissance that identified a site near Grand Fond which includes the island's first recorded petroglyphs. Finally, John Davies's translation (1666) of Charles de Rochefort's (1665) history of the Antilles states that Caribs lived in elevated coastal areas (Honychurch 2000: 31). It is unclear whether such locations prioritized warfare, self-defense, trade, or other factors, but the "panoramic views" (ibid.) at Canna and Lahaut match these criteria. With site locations and material culture described in the ethnohistory, these expectations can be compared to archaeological data.

Indian River: Documented European-Carib Interaction in Prince Rupert Bay

In a *World Archaeology* article, Honychurch (1997) uses historical records to demonstrate that Prince Rupert Bay (see fig. 2) was a site of Carib-European contact and exchange. European sailors stopped to collect fuel and water and to rest in hot springs. Records of these landings describe instances of conflict, but also many episodes of peaceful trade for food, tobacco, and other supplies (Honychurch 1997; additional landings are listed in Boromé 1967, 1972; Hulme 2000; Hulme and Whitehead 1992; and Myers 1977). These sources record Caribs in Prince Rupert Bay until at least the 1640s and as late as 1700, when French families began settling the west coast (Honychurch 1997: 297, 2000: 44–47). Illustrating the material goods obtained by Caribs in Prince Rupert Bay is a late sixteenth-century account by a ship's chaplain, who describes an inland settlement on the Indian River as "a poore Towne . . . of some twenty cottages rather than Houses, and yet there was a King, whom they found in a wide hanging garment of rich crimson Taffetie, a Spanish Rapier in his hand, and the modell of a Lyon in shining Brasse, hanging upon his breast" (Hulme and Whitehead 1992: 60). This confirms the existence of permanent villages near Indian River and indicates some of the goods acquired by people known as Carib.

Honychurch found a surface scatter of earthenware sherds possibly indicating post-Columbian Carib settlement in a flat, wooded area on the Indian River's north bank (1997: 299–301). Based on the historical evidence and the site's location, between 2005 and 2007 I surveyed an area measuring approximately sixty-five hundred square meters using a nonrandom shovel test survey and test units[11] to record stratigraphy, search for occupation layers or features, and plot artifact distributions. Excavation in the sandy soil recorded that archaeological deposits had been mixed by crabs, roots, and activity related to building construction on part of the site.

Proximity to the sea and the river creates waterlogged conditions and suggests past flooding events.[12] Such sources of disturbance may account for the lack of housing areas or occupation layers.

The earthenware assemblage totals 373 sherds, of which 81.0 percent are undecorated.[13] Decoration types include slip/paint (14.7 percent), incised lines (3.5 percent), appliqué disks (0.5 percent), and notched rims (0.3 percent). Several vessels possess decorative and morphological attributes consistent with the Cayo and Koriabo types.[14] Though only a small percentage of the assemblage is classified as Cayo or Koriabo, it appears that the Indian River site was occupied during the pre-Columbian and/or colonial periods because of the absence of pieces from earlier phases. A ground stone fishing weight, a few chert cores, and flakes of chert, jasper, and obsidian were recovered. Most European ceramic sherds (n = 126) are of British origin, primarily pearlware and creamware, and were made during Dominica's colonial period (post-1763). Only a few pieces of tin-glazed delftware, Staffordshire combed slipware, and agateware have production dates ranging into the early eighteenth century. Pieces of French origin include Vallauris (Petrucci 1999) and Huveaune (Brassard and Leclerc 2001: 53–54). Iron artifacts are fragmentary, and none suggest cutting tools. Faunal remains are absent, and a single shell fragment was found.

If Caribs used a distinctive pottery type, which archaeologists call Cayo, in Prince Rupert Bay from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, then archaeology coupled with historical references would confirm that Indian River is a Carib site. As Boomert's (2009) efforts in northeastern Dominica show, searching for a specific ceramic type does work. Thus Indian River is a Carib site as long as this ware type was used exclusively by Caribs. But excavation failed to recover the trade goods that the documents described, which may have been brought in via this location. Except for a few ceramics with pre-1763 production dates, none of the objects of European origin overlaps with dates of Carib occupation. The coastal location and absence of trade goods suggest that this area on the Indian River may be a transshipment point or site of short-term occupation, since the sandy soil and flood-prone location may have impeded permanent settlement. Furthermore, many different people, including but not necessarily limited to those known to Europeans as Carib, may have frequented this coastal location while possessing clay pottery bearing decorations and forms that we know as Cayo.

Grand Fond: Carib Settlements on British Maps

A Carib village is represented on Dominica's north coast on two British maps dating to the 1760s, when formal colonization began. The anonymous "A Plan of the Island of Dominica" has the word "Caraibes" writ-

ten between the Taffia River and Reposoir,[15] a spit of rock jutting into the sea where small boats may land (see fig. 2). A second map of Dominica in Jefferys's West India atlas of 1775 has "Carabbe Indians" written alongside several shapes between the Taffia River and Reposoir.[16] Survey in this vicinity records an alternating series of ridges and ravines running north-south down to the sea and terminating in cliffs. In 2005 the author directed pedestrian survey toward ridge tops and flat areas between hills in the area indicated on the maps. North of the abandoned village of Grand Fond,[17] in Sibouli Ravine, a surface scatter of earthenwares and European artifacts was recorded on a hillside east of a freshwater spring. The site does not offer a panorama, but the ocean is visible through the trees to the north. Surrounded on three sides by steep hills, Grand Fond is poorly situated as a trade site because landing places are scarce; small boats may land at only a few precarious spots. Grand Fond is a place of refuge considering the site's hard-to-reach location and the dates of the maps, since by the mid-eighteenth century the Carib had retreated from European squatters and later colonial period settlers on the west coast.

Possibly influencing the placement of the village are petroglyphs discovered at the Grand Fond archaeological site (Lenik 2010a). To my knowledge these are Dominica's first recorded petroglyphs. Carved into a volcanic stone are seven individual petroglyphs, including six simple faces and one partial face (fig. 3). Six are oriented north-northwest and a seventh faces north. Weathering prevents determination of how the petroglyphs were made, and the rock has cracked in half. Examination of the fragment and nearby stones did not reveal additional markings. With a spring in the ravine below, this site matches the correlation between water and petroglyph sites noted by Cornelius N. Dubelaar (1995). A series of sites in southeast Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe, have simple faces similar to those of Grand Fond.[18] While the meaning of these petroglyphs is lost, knowledge of native Caribbean belief systems and other petroglyph sites in the region indicate the significance of the markings to native Caribbean people.

Surface collection, a nonrandom shovel test survey, and test units in a 220-square-meter area were used to search for evidence of a Carib village at Grand Fond. Excavation revealed a twenty- to thirty-centimeter layer of very fine clay above a dense deposit of stones. Neither housing areas nor middens were found. Excavation and surface collection recovered 239 earthenware sherds. Decoration types include slip/paint (11.0 percent), straight incised lines (1.7 percent), and flattened appliqué disks (0.8 percent). The predominance of thin walls, burnished surfaces, and decorative styles suggests a late Saladoid phase (AD 300–400 to 600–800) (Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 25–26). No European-made artifacts can con-

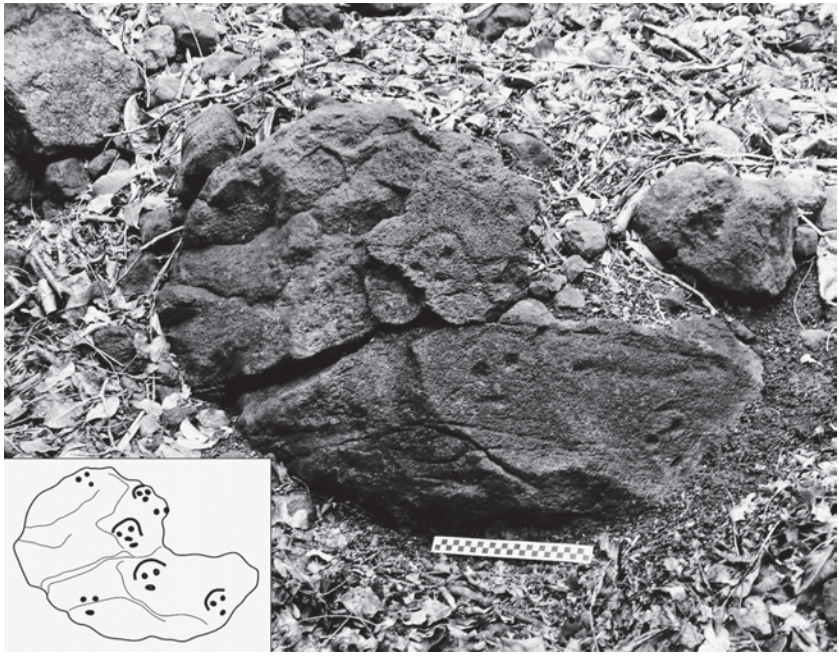

Figure 3. Petroglyphs at Grand Fond, Dominica. Photograph by the author

clusively be dated prior to 1763. European ceramics, all of which are British pearlwares and creamwares except for two undiagnostic tin-glazed sherds, range from ca. 1760 to 1860. Two wheel-made vessels of probable French origin, including the base of a bottle resembling forms seen in Martinique, were collected. A grater created by piercing a non-ferrous metal piece was found on the surface. Glass bottle fragments date from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, and iron fragments are unidentifiable.

Grand Fond is a compelling prospect for an eighteenth-century Carib habitation because of the presence of the village on British maps, the petroglyphs, and the site's concealment. But the archaeological data are frustrating. The burnished, thin-walled Saladoid vessels date much earlier than the mid-eighteenth century, and only a few thick-walled undiagnostic body sherds suggest later phases. Lithic objects are absent, and the petroglyphs cannot be assigned an absolute date. European objects indicate colonial-period occupation, and some of them may relate to the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantation located to the southwest. A resident of Capuchin whose family owns land in Grand Fond recalls that an animal mill had

once been located in the site area, but its founding date is unknown (Lipson Joseph, personal communication, 2006).

Despite the Carib village marked on the mid-eighteenth-century maps, it should not be assumed that people recorded by British mapmakers as Carib self-identified in this way. Any number of people living at Grand Fond may have used these objects. Fresh water was available, food could be grown nearby, and marine resources were within reach. It is notable that the 1776 Byres map, produced by the British government to sell land in the new colony, shows neither signs of human habitation nor surveyed land plots in this region.[19] Since this remote area was devoid of plantations, Caribs, maroons, or squatters of mixed ancestry could have concealed themselves on this hillside and used European-made objects. Grand Fond could have hidden Africans fleeing plantations, and Dominica's landscape sheltered bands of maroons during the colonial period (Marshall 1976). The difficulty in associating artifacts from Grand Fond with the village on the British maps relates to the broadly constructed "Carib" category. While European goods are temporal markers of colonial-period occupation, artifacts cannot be classified into broad Carib, European, or African categories. At present, the types of material culture used by Caribs in northern Dominica during the mid-eighteenth century cannot be confirmed. It is possible that European manufactured objects were exclusively in use at Grand Fond while low-fired pottery was absent. Grand Fond shows that there must be careful consideration of what objects are expected to be found at a site occupied by people known as Carib, for many people could have used these objects, which would otherwise be interpreted as European.

Canna and Lahaut: Historical References to Preferred Site Locations

Honychurch (2000: 31) cites Davies's (1666) translation of Rochefort's *Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles de l'Amérique* (1665), which states that Carib sites were located in areas offering panoramic views of ocean passages. Canna and Lahaut on the north coast (see fig. 2) are hilltop sites offering vistas of the Guadeloupe Passage and were tested for material remains of Carib occupation. While low-fired ceramics of probable Amerindian origin were collected, a Carib presence cannot be verified.

An archaeological site at Canna,[20] near the village of Capuchin, was found by Honychurch in the 1990s when local residents began developing Canna for ecotourism and community activities.[21] Canna overlooks the Guadeloupe Passage, with Les Saintes and Guadeloupe to the north and Marie Galante to the northeast. Below a clearing above a north-facing hillside is a scatter of sherds with decorative styles suggesting the late Saladoid

and Suazoid periods. Also present are ceramic and glass bottle fragments associated with a barracks from a British signal station (ca. 1770–1854), which was converted to a Catholic Church in the late nineteenth century (Moris 1925). Foundations of this structure are visible today. Fieldwork in 2005 and 2006 identified stratigraphy and sought to determine whether the surface scatter originated from an intact subsurface deposit. The site, comprising five hundred square meters, was mapped and a nonrandom shovel test survey and one test unit revealed a shallow stratum of loamy clay atop orange-brown volcanic tuff at ten to forty centimeters below surface. Tests on the hillside revealed wet loamy clay deposited to fifty centimeters in depth without encountering tuff. The origin of the earthenware scatter was not identified, and no additional structural remains were found.

Most of the diagnostic ceramics at Canna date to the late Saladoid period, but there is a fair amount of Suazan Troumassoid (AD 1000–1500) (Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 26–28) pieces, as indicated by the predominance of thick-bodied pieces and a few scratched surfaces.[22] Of the thick-walled, crudely finished sherds (n = 76), 78.9 percent are undecorated, and decoration types include slip/paint (10.3 percent), incised lines (9.1 percent), zoned-incised-crosshatch (2.6 percent), and punctations (1.3 percent). Seven sherds (9.2 percent) have scratched surfaces, and two griddle legs were found. European artifacts from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries correlate with the signal station. Ceramics (n = 66) are mostly pearlware, primarily blue transfer prints, as well as smaller numbers of creamware, salt-glazed stoneware, and lead-glazed earthenware. Bottle glass and tobacco pipes are also present.

A second archaeological site, at Jaco Point in the Lahaut section of Pennville, offers a panoramic view of Marie Galante to the northeast and Guadeloupe to the north. A 1991 ordnance survey map illustrates Carib Point east of Jaco Point, but the former did not yield artifacts.[23] During reconnaissance at Jaco Point in 2007 I found scattered sherds in the woods and fields below several houses, where some planting beds were dug out of the slope. Since the thick, coarse ceramics suggested Amerindian settlement, a 250-square-meter area was mapped, surface collected, and shovel tested. Lahaut is like Canna because there is no stratigraphy, as thirty to forty centimeters of loamy clay overlay a layer of stones. Only a few of the 119 recovered artifacts came from below surface. European artifacts date to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Analysis of the Lahaut ceramic assemblage (n = 70) recorded 85.7 percent undecorated pieces. Decoration types include slip/paint (7.1 percent), incised lines (5.8 percent), and appliqué coils (1.4 percent). One sherd (1.4 percent) has a scratched surface, and there is one griddle rim. Diagnostic pieces are insufficient to confirm an

occupation phase, but the thick-walled, crudely finished pieces suggest the Suazoid. Pre-1763 European objects were not recovered.

Rochefort (1665) refers to settlements of people that he and his contemporaries knew as Carib in areas offering panoramic views. But the Amerindian occupation of Canna and Lahaut cannot be dated, and no archaeological data can conclusively be linked to the Carib. Assuming that the Windward Islands chronology applies to Dominica, pre-Columbian settlement is indicated by what appear to be late Saladoid and Suazan Troumassoid wares. Canna and Lahaut exhibit a "gap" between the pre-Columbian and colonial periods, as sherds exhibiting Cayo traits and pre-1763 European artifacts were not recovered.

Discussion and Conclusions

Documents identifying settlement locations, combined with field reconnaissance and excavation, record three functions of Carib sites in northern Dominica: trade, observation, and refuge. First, Cayo pottery fragments at Indian River indicate a Carib presence, but neither trade goods nor evidence of permanent habitation were found. Before the colonial period, this site functioned both as a site of trade and as a lookout, as this area is suited for observing ships visiting the bay while deciding whether to seek contact, wait, or flee. Second, Rochefort indicates that Carib sites were placed in elevated areas for surveillance purposes. According to the Carib invasion narrative, such locations prioritize raiding and warfare; but these areas could suffice for communication or monitoring trade. The Rochefort reference appears verified by the Amerindian earthenwares at Canna and Lahaut, but neither Cayo pottery nor European trade goods were found. Soil erosion may have removed upper layers, but this absence may relate to Canna's and Lahaut's use as observation posts rather than for permanent settlement. Finally, Caribs relocated to refuges like Grand Fond and Salybia, an area on the rugged east coast that would later form the basis of the Carib/Kalinago Territory. These sites show that Caribs, by the eighteenth century, settled areas that offered concealment while remaining in sight of the ocean. Also, decisions about site placement may relate to nearby sacred sites like the Grand Fond petroglyphs or the Escalier Tete-Chien rock formation near Salybia.

Documents describe European trade goods acquired by Caribs, but the archaeological data from four sites in Dominica do not match these expectations. Variation among the sites shows a much more complex reality. All collected European ceramics date from after the colonial period, except for a few types at Indian River with production dates ranging into the early

eighteenth century. Also absent are iron tools, faunal remains of Old World origin, and personal items like beads. Part of the explanation may lie in the functions of these sites, as only Grand Fond may have been permanently inhabited. There is also a limited understanding of how and where Caribs disposed of garbage, and there are no shell mounds like those recorded on other islands. Ethnohistoric sources describe Carib pottery, but only a few Cayo vessels were found and only at Indian River. Cayo pottery has been found at a total of six sites in Dominica, but does not appear to be present at every Carib site. Further research along with the development of a chronology for Dominica may ascertain where and when handmade pottery was used. It is possible that alternative materials that do not preserve were used. Furthermore, if clay pots and griddles were used by Caribs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these wares do not necessarily fit into a type that applies to all of the Windward Islands. The prehistoric Windward Islands ceramic chronology is based on a sequence of types defined using distinctive decorative styles and vessel forms, but this approach was devised with *pre*-Columbian contexts in mind. It assumes a succession of types and cultures restricted to culture areas at the scale of the Windward Islands or individual islands. With the many disruptions during the post-Columbian period, a discrete pottery type may not have been in use at each site.

An avenue for research that might clarify the archaeology of the Carib would be to test nineteenth- or early twentieth-century housing areas in the Territory.[24] Caribs/Kalinagos with whom I have spoken know the locations of old house sites, and these oral resources may lead to sites that hold answers to these vexing questions about the colonial-period Carib and contribute to the ongoing formation of a Kalinago identity. Excavation of confirmed later colonial-period sites might reveal the variety of manufactured goods that were present and determine if low-fired pottery or stone objects were used. Though ethnographic observations of the Carib in Dominica were collected primarily to record evidence of Carib survivals (Honychurch 2000; Hulme 2000; Layng 1983; Taylor 1938), these can also be read as records of a "creole" population.

This discussion emphasizes that Carib ethnohistory can be read as evidence of a post-Columbian population having experienced many changes since precontact times. Others have argued that Carib is a colonial category (Whitehead 1995a, 1996) and that "dualistic analysis" (Whitehead 1996: 873)—assuming Carib versus Taino/Arawak as a starting point—is misleading. This can be extended to encourage consideration of the particular time and place of an observation, which may apply to specific islands or parts of islands; but expanding these observations too widely also can mislead. This problem of inadequate categories and blurry boundaries also

underlies many of the difficulties in identifying Carib sites and associating material culture with the Carib. Both the ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence show that the Carib identity determined by Europeans and later adopted by some native peoples obscures a more complex and multifaceted reality. Rather than imposing a regional identity after 1492, it may be more productive to work upward from individual sites. Dominica's north coast is now better defined, but other regions remain unexplored. The Carib problem could be clarified with a carefully constructed regional synthesis differentiating among pre-Columbian, frontier-period, and colonial-period occupations and by balancing the ethnohistoric and archaeological data as complementary sources.

Notes

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1 Controversy surrounding these terms is covered elsewhere (Oliver 2009: 6–7; Reid 2009: 49–57).
2 Taylor (1977) shows that this interpretation is incorrect. The Carib language is Arawakan, like the language of natives of the Greater Antilles (Davis and Goodwin 1990: 43–44; Honychurch 2000: 24; Rouse 1992: 37).
3 In Allaire's words, "The Carib problem consists of whether or not the latest prehistoric remains in the islands can be correlated with the historic population, the Island Caribs" (Allaire 1977: 5).
4 Kalinago Barana Autê, www.kalinagobaranaaute.com (accessed 18 August 2011).
5 Carnet de bord du projet youmoulicou, ioumoulicou.wordpress.com (accessed 18 August 2011).
6 Summarizing the Windward Islands chronology in one paragraph necessarily omits many details, so the reader should consult the sources cited here to learn more about these types.
7 Government of the Commonwealth of Dominica, "About Dominica," www.dominica.gov.dm/cms/index.php?q=node/8 (accessed 18 August 2011).
8 This area around Salybia is recorded as a Carib settlement since at least 1763 and is shown on the Byres map of 1776 (CO 700/DOMINICA6, National Archive, London [hereafter NA]).
9 Zemi are portable religious artifacts typically associated with Greater Antillean native peoples (Oliver 2009).
10 I have been unable to locate a copy of McKusick's Au Parc report.

11 "Unit" refers to a 1 × 1 meter square.
12 Additional disturbances were noted in February 2008. Bananas were planted throughout the site and a stone path had been built.
13 Percentages are calculated using artifact count. Mended sherds count as one.
14 These include one vessel resembling Cayo (Boomert 1986: 19–20, 23–24) and Koriabo forms from Suriname (Boomert 2004: 264, fig. 2); two vessels decorated with punctated knobs arranged in a triangle, similar to those seen on Cayo pottery (Boomert 1986: 27); two vessels with an incised line parallel to the orifice and a line of punctations on the lip (Boomert 1986: 27); and one vessel with a notched rim resembling "lobed rims" seen in Cayo pots (Boomert 1986: 29, fig. 10).
15 MFQ 1/1173/1, NA.
16 CO 700/DOMINICA5, NA.
17 This village was abandoned after Hurricane David in 1979. Another village named Grand Fond on the east coast is still inhabited.
18 The sites in Guadeloupe include Parc Archéologique, Derussy Plantation, St. Julien, La Coulisse, Anse Duquery, Petit Carbet River, and Duplessis River (Dubelaar 1995).
19 CO 700/DOMINICA6, NA.
20 This site has several names. "Canna" is the Creole adaptation of Connor, the eighteenth-century landowner's surname. British maps show a Cape or Point Melvill, or Melville. "Capuchin" derives from two rock formations resembling the hoods of Capuchin monks, but it is not known if missionaries lived nearby (see "Dominica: Art, Articles, Culture, History, and Resources," www.lennoxhonychurch.com/article.cfm?id=398 [accessed 11 June 2009]).
21 This development includes clearing brush, building trails and benches, and restoring a cannon platform. In anticipation of development, one purpose of this project was to direct proposed improvements away from significant archaeological deposits.
22 I am unable to differentiate between "early" and "late" Suazan Troumassoid (Petersen, Hofman, and Curet 2004: 28–29) in the collected pieces.
23 Permanent habitation of Carib Point is unlikely because it is very steep and subject to constant wind. Survey did not locate artifacts. Nineteenth-century materials were observed near the Reposoir Estate great house on the headland of Carib Point.
24 Today, Carib communities are found in St. Vincent (Gullick 1985), St. Lucia (Vérin 1963), and Trinidad (Forte 2005), as are the Garifuna in Honduras and Belize (Gonzalez 1988).

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