LAND TENURE AND KINSHIP

IN A JAMAICAN VILLAGE

Margaret Jean A. Besson

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

I hereby declare that the composition of this thesis
is my own work; the research on which the thesis is based also
being undertaken by me.

Margaret Jean A. Besson
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In writing this thesis my thanks are due to many, including: the people of "River Village", Jamaica, who allowed me to study their way of life; my Supervisor, Professor James Littlejohn, for his help and encouragement at all stages of this study; the various people who have helped with the typing of the thesis; and my family and friends both for their encouragement throughout and their help with the proof-reading and typing corrections.

MARGARET JEAN A. BESSON.
ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the patterns of land tenure and kinship in a Jamaican village, where field work was carried out for approximately one year from 1968-1969; these patterns being discussed in the light of previous contributions in the relevant fields.

After a general introduction to Jamaican society, outlining some of the main features of the contemporary social structure and the historical influences which have shaped this structure, some of the relevant contributions in the field of West Indian, and more specifically Jamaican, lower class family structure are considered. This provides both an ethnographic background to, and a theoretical starting point for, the study of family structure in the village.

The third chapter is an introduction to the village itself, outlining some of the main characteristics of its social organisation, and also of its inter-relationship with the wider society, specifically that of the parish in which it is situated.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the discussion of the general economy of the sample households with reference to the variables of house type and tenure; tenure of yard and ground; influence of land tenure on house type and land use; production goals and distribution of produce cultivated; employment opportunities; and savings.

The fifth chapter deals with the family structure of the sample households, viz.: the consideration of conjugal status and conjugal histories of the household heads and their spouses; and household composition. The features of household composition are then considered in the light of the conjugal status of the household heads, and the
phenomenon of fostering is also discussed. The 'explanation' of the
data on family structure is then considered in the light of the'
'economic determinist' hypothesis prevalent in current West Indian
kinship studies, and it is concluded that economic variables are an
insufficient explanation of the variations of family structure within
the sample. The inadequacy of an economic explanation of kinship
is further illustrated in the subsequent chapter in a consideration
of the complementary roles of kinship and the burial society in mortuary
ritual.

Chapters 7 and 8 deal with inheritance and descent among the
sample households, and the conclusions drawn are considered in the light
of recent contributions both in the field of West Indian, and specifically
Jamaican, land tenure, and also in that of cognatic kinship systems
in general.

Chapter 9 is simply a concluding note - 'rounding off' the study
as it were by taking a brief look backwards at the various aspects
of village life referred to in the previous chapters and attempting
to draw them together to present a unified picture of village life
in toto and of the relationship between the village and the wider
society.
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with the patterns of land tenure and kinship in a Jamaican village, where field work was carried out for approximately one year from 1968-1969; these patterns being discussed in the light of previous contributions in the relevant fields.

After a general introduction to Jamaican society, outlining some of the main features of the contemporary social structure and the historical influences which have shaped this structure, some of the relevant contributions in the field of West Indian, and more specifically Jamaican, lower class family structure are considered. This provides both an ethnographic background to, and a theoretical starting point for, the study of family structure in the village.

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Chapters 7 and 8 deal with inheritance and descent among the sample households, and the conclusions drawn are considered in the light of recent contributions both in the field of West Indian, and specifically Jamaican, land tenure, and also in that of cognatic kinship systems in general.

Chapter 9 is simply a concluding note - 'rounding off' the study as it were by taking a brief look backwards at the various aspects of village life referred to in the previous chapters and attempting to draw them together to present a unified picture of village life in toto and of the relationship between the village and the wider society.

After a brief outline of the main geographical features of the island, the rest of this chapter will be devoted to the consideration of the island's contemporary social structure, and the main historical influences which have moulded this structure.

Jamaica is the third largest of the Greater Antillean group of West Indian islands. Surrounded by the Caribbean Sea, it is situated at Longitude 77° - 78° West and Latitude 18° North, lying between the Equator and the Tropic of Cancer. (See Map 1). The island is approximately 144 miles from west to east, and 52 miles from north to south at its widest point, with an area of approximately 4,400 square miles and a population of 1,861,300 persons. 1)

Map 1.

BERMUDAS

NORTH AMERICA

ANNUAL RAINFALL
Scale 1:8,000,000

REFERENCE TO COLOURING

INDEX

1. Over 120

2. Over 60

3. 40-80

4. 20-40

5. 10-20

6. Under 10

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Map showing geographical locations such as Florida, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and South America. The map is marked with various cities and islands, including Miami, Havana, and Columbia. The map also includes various coastal regions and is labeled with river names and landmarks.
The island has a mountainous interior, consisting of the volcanic mass of the Blue Mountains in the east (rising to 7,402 ft. at Blue Mountain Peak), the central and western mountains being composed of a limestone plateau which covers half of the island's land surface and rises to its greatest height (3,000 ft.) in the unpopulated Cockpit Country of the parishes of St. James and Trelawny. This area takes its name from the numerous hills and hollows which give it the appearance of cock-fighting pits; other features of this typical karst topography being caves and underground streams. The mountainous interior is surrounded by a coastal plain, built up by the alluvium of the island's numerous rivers. (See Map 2). The mountains are forested, especially in the east; the coastal plains being covered in savannah grassland.

Temperatures are tropical rather than equatorial, varying little throughout the year due to the modifying influence of the sea. Lying in the Convection Rain Belt, the island has two rainy seasons (May and September/October), separated by two dry seasons which often turn to drought. This rainfall pattern is, however, modified by local topography and the influence of the North-East Trade Winds. In addition to the latter there are also local winds: the inward-blowing "sea-breeze" or "Doctor's Breeze" by day as the land becomes hot; and the outward-blowing "land-breeze" or "Undertaker's Breeze" by night as the land cools. 1) The island sometimes suffers from hurricanes, the "hurricane season" being from August to October.

1) These names originate from the days when Yellow Fever was prevalent in the island and the "land-breeze" was accompanied by the disease-bearing mosquitoes, while the "sea-breeze" drove the latter away. Regarding background information in general, my own knowledge of the island is supplemented by Cargill, M. (Ed.): Ian Fleming Introduces Jamaica (London: Andre Deutsch, 1965) and The West Indian and Caribbean Yearbook 1970.
The social structure of the island will now be considered, this being done under three headings: Economy; Ethnic Composition and Social Stratification; and Political and Administrative Structure. In each case the historical factors which have moulded the contemporary structure will be outlined, followed by a discussion of the contemporary structure itself.

**Economy**

Jamaica was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1494, and there followed a brief era of colonisation by the Spanish, the chief features of which were the lack of agricultural development and the eradication of the native Arawak population. The island was subsequently captured by the British in 1655 and it was under the latter that both the peasantry - in its various forms - and the plantation developed.

Despite the fact that Lewis states that "Modern West Indian history begins without a peasantry ..." and Marshall, that the West Indian peasantry starts at emancipation, there were in fact three types of peasantry which developed in Jamaica prior to emancipation, viz.: the "yeoman cultivators" of the early colonisation period; the "proto-peasantry", "which evolved under slavery, because of the particular circumstances which permitted or compelled the slaves to grow much of their own food, to produce many of their own necessities and, very importantly, to sell their surpluses and dispose more or less freely of their profits"; and the Maroons and other runaway slaves who established settlements in the mountainous interior. Each of these will now be considered in more detail.


The Development of the Peasantry and Plantation in the Pre-Emancipation Era

Subsequent to Cromwell's Proclamation of 1655 authorising the peoples of the Commonwealth and Dominions to plant in Jamaica, a homogeneous class of yeomen farmers came into being. This stage of peasant development was short-lived, however, due to the innovation and growth of the plantation system and accompanying slave trade.

Apart from an initial but abortive attempt on the part of the Spanish to introduce the plantation system into their colonies, the first colonising power to develop the sugar industry and the concomitant plantation system in the Caribbean were the Dutch, and in 1640 the first British sugar works were introduced in Barbados, influenced and financed by the Dutch in Brasil. The other British islands soon followed suit; - in the second half of the seventeenth century the industry developed in the Leeward Islands, and during the eighteenth century in Jamaica. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) certain of the Windward Islands passed from the French to the British, who subsequently developed the industry there also. There were various reasons for the rapid growth of the sugar industry in these islands. In addition to the suitability of climatic conditions (both for growing sugar and rearing

the cattle needed for the mills), the British West Indian colonies were given the virtual monopoly on the English sugar market (by the passing of the Navigation Act (1660); the Staple Act (1663); and the Plantation Act (1673);) the reason for this being, as Shephard points out, that "The old empire was overweighted on the temperate side, and the West Indies remained the 'pampered pets' of the British Empire throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." 1) In addition, there was an almost inestiable market for sugar in England. 2)

Reasons for the spread of the plantation which accompanied the development of the sugar industry in these islands were the complexity and subsequent cost of processing the sugar, and the fact that large units were required for raising the cattle for the mills (resulting in the pen system in Jamaica). 3) However, Mintz notes that the development of the plantation system with its reliance on slave labour was not in fact inevitable in the circumstances, and suggests that it was the nature of settlement in the Caribbean - one of "open resources", a condition which occurs when there are sparse areas of settlement and free men settle unoccupied and unappropriated land and avoid working for others, thus creating a scarcity of labour - which was largely responsible for this development. 4)

1) Shephard op cit: 61.
3) Leake op cit.
Wherever the plantation developed it resulted in the squeezing out of the small-holder; 1) despite this, however, two other types of peasantry emerged in Jamaica during the period of slavery, the first of these being the proto-peasantry; a development, which, as will be seen below, was (as in other parts of the Caribbean) closely inter-related with the variable of topography. The masters were responsible for feeding the slaves and had two alternatives for doing so; either to grow or import food. The former was cheaper, but was only expedient when the land used was unsuitable for sugar. Thus, "where land was flat and fertile the same was planted; where it was not, food was grown for the slaves ....". 2) Thus food was grown in the mountainous islands (and British Guiana) and imported in the flatter ones, Jamaica combining both methods; the coastal plantations importing, and the inland ones growing food. 3) Wherever food was locally grown it was done so by the provision ground system, whereby each slave household was given a plot or ground to cultivate in the hilly backlands of the estate (the method of cultivation used being an intensive four-tiered

1) Mintz, S. & Hall, D.: "The Origins of the Jamaican Internal Marketing System" in Papers in Caribbean Anthropology (Ed. Mintz), Y.U.P.A. nos. 57-64, 1960a; and despite Hoetink's argument to the contrary (Hoetink, H.: "Review" of Mintz & Hall ibid in Caribbean Studies I(2), 1961) this contention is widely supported in the literature on the Caribbean, see Guerra op cit; Leake op cit; Olivier op cit; Augelli op cit; Greenfield op cit; Patterson op cit; Marshall op cit. See also Mintz 1961 op cit for a further discussion of this point.


one of root crops, short and tall shrubs, and trees). Each household was also given a house-spot or yard in the flatter area of the estate on which small livestock was sometimes raised and additional cultivation undertaken. Although such produce and livestock were primarily for domestic use, the slaves soon began to produce and sell surpluses at Sunday markets (market-day later being changed to Saturday due to the protests of missionaries and shop-keepers). Even a division of labour in production emerged; some slaves rearing livestock, others growing food, some specialising in crafts, with yet others becoming middlemen. And by 1774 "the slaves were not only central to the economy as the producers of the cash export commodities, principally sugar, but had also become the most important suppliers of food-stuffs and utilitarian craft items to all Jamaicans." 1) The profits made from such sales could be kept by the slaves, and in this way many of them accumulated savings. 2)

The second type of peasantry which emerged in Jamaica during slavery were the Maroons and other runaway slaves. 3) The earliest references to the Jamaican Maroons were in fact before the plantation was fully established by the British; Olivier refers to an unsuccessful attempt by the Spanish to recapture the island in 1659, noting that "... in 1660 the invading force, accompanied by the residue of the earlier

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2) Mintz & Hall op cit; there is however some disagreement on this point, Patterson being of the opinion that very few of the slaves managed to save, op cit.

3) Mintz (1961 op cit) mentions similar peasantries in Brasil, the Guianas, and Cuba; cf. Frazier 1965 op cit on the Palmares Republic of Brasil, and Farley 1954 and 1964 op cit on the Bush Negroes of British Guiana. The slaves who escaped from certain of the Lesser Antilles, particularly Barbados, and joined the settlements of Island Carib in St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica could also be included here, see Taylor, D.: The Black Carib of British Honduras (New York: Viking Publications, 1951).
Spanish settlers, evacuated the island ..." and that "Their escaped slaves established themselves in the central wilds of the Island, ... and became known as Maroons". 1) Patterson also refers to these early Maroons and states that although "A section of them ... was eventually induced to surrender under the condition of pardon ..." the rest (about forty) continued to harass the British settlers until about 1670 "when they retreated to the north-eastern section of the island and for the next thirty years remained relatively secluded", 2) this being the origin of the Windward band of Maroons.

The first rebellion of the slaves of the English occurred in 1673, three hundred slaves subsequently fleeing "to the interior, different sections of them settling in various parishes to the south-centre of the island, ... These rebels ... [forming] the nucleus of what later became known as the Leeward band of Maroons". 3) Slave rebellions continued periodically, some of the rebels swelling the Leeward band, and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries two wars took place between the British settlers and the Maroons, the first being from 1725-1740. As a result of treaties signed in 1739 and 1740 the rebels gained their freedom and several thousand acres of land where they settled in villages, (such as in the Cockpit Country of Trelawny and St. James), with the right to their own administration. A condition of the treaty was that the Maroons should return any future runaway slaves. Despite these treaties, however, there was a second Maroon War in 1812, which resulted in many of the Maroons being deported. Despite the treaties, too,

1) Olivier op cit: 13.
2) Patterson op cit: 267.
3) Ibid.
"many [more] slaves did succeed in running away ..." 1) and establishing mountain villages.

(ii) The Development of the Post-Emancipation Peasantry

Farley's observation in his discussion of the British Guianese peasantry - that the rise of village settlements, rather than being a post-emancipation phenomenon, had their roots "in the days of slavery" and that:

"The forces which were fundamental to the establishment of these settlements were, for the most part, the same economic and social forces which led to the end of slavery ... The most decisive and continuous of these forces ... [being] the desire, on the part of the slaves, for personal liberty and for land of their own." 2)

- seems equally applicable to the establishment of the free villages in Jamaica. For just as the settlements of the Maroons and other runaway slaves had been a negative reaction to the plantation, so too were the free village settlements. 3) The free peasantry also had its roots in the proto-peasantry, for the skills of cultivation acquired by the slaves on their provision grounds were invaluable in the post-emancipation era, 4) and the money saved through the marketing of surpluses from these grounds enabled many ex-slaves to purchase land.

In his discussion of peasant development in the West Indies since 1830, Marshall has summarised the basic features of the West Indian peasantry as being: its recent origin (a point which, it has been seen, needs some qualification); the fact that "its growth - in numbers and in acreage controlled - was consistent during the first fifty or sixty years of its existence"; and that "it exists alongside and in conflict with

1) Ibid: 264.
2) Farley 1964 op cit: 52.
3) Mintz in Guerra op cit.
the plantation; and it did not depend exclusively on cultivation of the soil for its income and subsistence." 1) And he suggests a threefold breakdown of the stages in its development, viz.: the "period of establishment" from 1838 to 1850/60; the "period of consolidation" which "lasted to about 1900"; and the "period of saturation ... from 1900 to the present, ..." 2) This schema can be adopted as a suitable frame of reference for the discussion of the development of the post-emancipation peasantry in Jamaica specifically.

(a) The Period of Establishment

Opportunities for the acquisition of land for peasant development at this time varied throughout the Caribbean. Land was particularly scarce in the flat Leeward Islands and Barbados where almost all the land was appropriated by estates; but in the larger islands of Trinidad and Jamaica, and the smaller but mountainous Windward Islands, as well as in British Guiana, there was land available for rental or purchase. (There was also limited acquisition of land by ex-slaves in the American South after the Civil War, many however having to become tenants). In Jamaica some of this land consisted of abandoned plantations, and some was Crown land; squatting also occurring on both these categories of land. In addition, grants of land were made by some planters to their ex-slaves, "Such grants ... [being] the origin of the category of 'family land'." 3)

In his discussion of the growth of the post-emancipation peasantry in the Caribbean, Wolf states that where plantations have not been replaced by factories in the field, "we find today peasant holdings as 'residual bits' of former large-scale organizations which have disintegrated, as in Haiti or Jamaica." 1) However, Mintz has pointed out that "The creation of villages or communities of new peasants, rather than the random growth of scattered peasant homesteads" in Jamaica as elsewhere modifies "... Wolf's statement on 'residual bits'," and suggests "a more ordered and determinate process of economic and social change"; 2) and from Paget's study of the growth of the Jamaican free villages during this period, this does seem to be the case. 3)

Paget reports that by 1839 - only one year after the end of Apprenticeship - ex-slaves in Jamaica, who had saved sufficient money, were buying the hilly land that had previously been the grounds of the proto-peasantry, which was now being sold off by planters; and that wherever they could, these ex-slaves established villages. The increase in the number of freeholders during this period illustrates both the extent of this development, and the concomitant sub-division of land which took place in the island; - in 1838 there were 2,014 freeholders in Jamaica, and due to the establishment of the peasantry in the interim, this had risen to 7,848 by 1840. And by 1860 the number of holdings


of under fifty acres each was 50,000. 1) In general, however, the
freehold plots purchased by the peasantry were only big enough for house-
spots, and many of these proprietors had to depend on wage labour on the
estates to supplement their income. 2)

Several authors have noted the significant role played by the
Baptist Church in the development of these villages, and Paget and
Mintz both state that the Baptist Minister Phillippo was the originator
of the free village system. William Knibb was the second most important
figure in this movement, these two men being followed by others such
as the Reverends Burchell Abbott and John Clarke. Mintz notes that
the Methodist Church was also important in the development of these
villages, and that other villages grew up without church sponsorship. 3)

In 1846 the West Indian sugar industry lost its monopoly of the
English sugar market through the Equalisation Act, and although there
was a slight recovery of the industry, beet sugar was soon introduced
and by 1896 the West Indian sugar industry was on the verge of collapse.
This exacerbated the sale of marginal estates as many planters went
bankrupt, and many labourers had by now acquired sufficient capital
to buy small-holdings. 4)

(b) The Period of Consolidation

Marshall outlines three main characteristics of this phase of
development: the continued increase in the number of small-holdings
(they more than doubled in Jamaica); the increase "in the number of
substantial peasants or small farmers"; and, most important, "the

1) Ibid; Marshall op cit.
2) Lowenthal, D.: "Caribbean Views of Caribbean Land" in The
Canadian Geographer 5(2), 1961; Paget op cit; Mintz in Guerra
op cit; Marshall op cit.
3) Mintz 1958 op cit; Paget op cit; Marshall op cit; Henriques op cit.
4) Shephard op cit; cf. Augelli op cit.
emergence of ... a new peasantry"; - the latter emerging through the increase in the number of holdings over five acres, and the change from the almost pure cultivation of provisions to that of mixed provision and export crop production. 1) In Jamaica the estimated value of export crops in 1850 was £1,089,300 "of which 'small settlers' contributed £113,500 or just over 10 per cent." By 1890 this figure had risen to £2,028,300 with the small settlers contributing £798,600, about 39 per cent. There had also been an accompanying increase in the diversification of export crops. 2) In this period the peasants' ratio of crops produced for domestic use and internal sale as opposed to export crops had changed from 83% : 11% in 1850 to 74% : 23% in 1890, and Marshall states that the "national income estimates for Jamaica for the years 1850 and 1890 reveal a shift from mainly provision production to a mixed provision and export crop production by the peasants." 3)

(c) The Period of Saturation

Marshall depicts the third phase of development of the post-emancipation peasantry as one in which there has been a lack of expansion due to land shortage, 4) and where in fact the peasantry may even be declining. Although the pattern of peasant development varied according to the different islands, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados and the Leeward Islands have, according to Marshall, all experienced

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3) Ibid. Marshall notes a similar trend in the Windward Islands after 1850; Shephard's data qualifies this somewhat, however (op cit).
saturation of their peasantry; \(^1\) and the figures for Jamaica show a decline in the number of smaller holdings between 1930 and 1961. \(^2\)

With reference to the saturation in the above islands Marshall notes that:

"This suggests that the peasants' shift to cash crop production has operated in conjunction with other factors to exhaust the opportunities for peasant landholding in the larger territories of Jamaica and Trinidad as well as in the longer settled islands of Barbados and the Leewards." \(^3\)

In the case of Jamaica, these "other factors" include the post-emancipation expansion and consolidation of the estate; competition from industry "both for land and labour" \(^4\) and increased population pressure.

(iii) The Contemporary Economy

I will now consider briefly the main characteristics of both the contemporary economy in general, and the contemporary peasantry in particular; and finally, since much of this thesis is concerned with the subject of land tenure, the main forms of such tenure characteristic of the Jamaican peasantry will also be outlined briefly.

The most important features of the Jamaican economy are agriculture; the bauxite industry, which has been developed during the past three decades by North American Companies, the limestone plateau being rich with bauxite ore; the tourist industry, which thrives on the natural attractions of climate, scenery and good beaches; and more recently, various manufacturing and processing industries. These industries and agriculture being the main source of employment; the tourist and sugar

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1) Marshall contrasts this with the position of the peasantry in the Windwards Islands where there has been "a continuing and substantial increase in the number of smaller holdings especially" (op cit: 258). However see Shephard op cit; Finkel, H.: "Patterns of Land Tenure in the Leeward and Windward Islands and Their Relevance to Problems of Agricultural Development in the West Indies" in Economic Geography 40(2), 1964; Horowitz, M.: Morne-Paysan: A Peasant Village in Martinique (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967a); for qualifications of this.


4) Ibid.
industries, however providing mainly seasonal employment. ¹)

The main agricultural products are sugar-cane (an important by-product of the sugar industry being the distillation of rum) and bananas. Despite the vicissitudes of the sugar industry, it has made a considerable recovery in the island during the present century due to both technical and reorganisational improvements, and the improvement of the world market subsequent to 1914. ²) Regarding the reorganisation of the industry, two main trends can be noted. One is the retention of many smaller estates or properties, with a concomitant centralisation of factory processes; supplies for the latter also being drawn from "small" or peasant farms. ³) The other is the aggregation of estates and processing in the hands of large companies. Bananas, previously grown on large company-owned estates, are now grown mainly on both properties and small farms. Other important components of the agricultural sector are crops such as pimento, citrus and coffee (the latter grown in the Blue Mountains), and cattle-rearing.

Following the traditional pattern of land use, the flatter coastal areas of the island are devoted to large sugar estates and also to properties growing cane or bananas, or rearing cattle; while the peasantry is settled primarily in the hilly interior. ⁴) (Some properties, however, do extend into the interior). (See Appendix I, Table 1 for the number of farms and area in farms by size groups in Jamaica in 1968).

Two further sources of income are also important to the economy; migrant contract labour to the U.S.A. and Canada, and remittances from kin who have emigrated to North America and the United Kingdom. ⁵)

¹) For example the sugar industry employed 23,085 persons during crop in 1970, but this figure was reduced to 14,091 out of crop, giving a seasonal difference of 8,994; 1970 Year Book op cit.


³) The 1970 Year Book gives the total of small cane farmers in 1970 as 18,000; a "small cane farmer" being defined as "one who delivers less than 100 tons of cane to the factory during a crop, and probably farms less than 5 acres of sugar-cane." (Op cit: 116).


⁵) 1970 Year Book op cit; regarding remittances from kin in the U.K. see also Patterson, S.: Dark Strangers (Penguin Edition, 1965).
19.

(See Appendix I, Tables 2 and 3). Although these patterns indicate the placement of Jamaican migrants overseas, it must be noted that while the first source mirrors the current short-term migratory pattern to North America, that the migratory pattern responsible for the second source of income has now been considerably curtailed by the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act in the United States of America, and the recent Immigration Acts in the United Kingdom.

The main features of the contemporary peasantry include the combination of wage-labour with cultivation 1) - a pattern established from early post-emancipation times (this in turn being similar to the combination of labouring and cultivation among the proto-peasantry, with the exception that labour was now free rather than slave), and consolidated by increasing population pressure on the land.

The distinction between yard and ground still persists among the peasantry, with cultivation sometimes being carried out on both; and the four-tiered pattern of intensive cultivation noted for the proto-peasantry also remains a feature of much peasant cultivation. The inter-relationship between small-scale agriculture and the internal marketing system which emerged in the organisation of the proto-peasantry also persists, with the specialised role of the middlemen or higgler being one of its main characteristics. And in cases where sale is not made through a higgler, the traditional division of labour whereby the man cultivates and the woman sells, also remains. 2) In addition to production for domestic use and the internal market (the peasant still being the main supplier for the latter), the peasant now produces for a third goal - the export market, a pattern which developed during the Period of Consolidation. Crops grown for this purpose include sugar cane and bananas. More recently, however, food provisions are


also being cultivated for export due to the growing demand for such produce from West Indian immigrant communities overseas. 1)

The main forms of tenure characteristic of the peasantry are: cash tenancy; labour tenancy; share-cropping; free tenancy; and freehold tenure.

Cash Tenancy

This type of tenure has been common among the Jamaican peasantry since the early post-emancipation era, when the ex-slaves began to rent marginal land from the estates, and Davenport notes that the category "rented land" is so prevalent in the island that it should be accorded equal weight with Clarke's threefold classification of tenures extant among the peasantry (viz.: "bought", "inherited" and "family" land). 2)

And in her first report on Jamaican land tenure Clarke did in fact consider this type of tenure when she included a fourth community, Patentville, in her discussion. She outlines the effects of "short term leases" in this community as follows:

"The erection of permanent houses on the holdings is prohibited by terms of the lease; homes are usually one-room grass huts, sometimes divided by a bamboo screen. Cultivation is largely of local foodstuffs and there is no animal husbandry nor are permanent crops grown on rented lands." 3)

Comitas also notes this type of tenure in Jamaica, and correlates the presence of "make-shift housing" and the planting of short-term crops with rented land. 4) Edwards, too, in his extensive study of small farming in Jamaica notes the presence of this form of tenure, which he sub-divides into "renting" and "leasing":

1) "Of the 1970 root crops production, over seven million pounds (mainly yams and dasheen) with an estimated value of $662,000* were exported. ... The volume of exports of these products is expected to increase substantially during 1971." 1970 Year Book op cit.
(* One Jamaican dollar = 50 pence, following currency change in Sept. 1969.)

2) Davenport, W.: "The Family System of Jamaica" in Social & Economic Studies 10 (4), 1961; Clarke 1966 op cit. This type of tenure is common in other parts of the West Indies, see Leake op cit (who notes the importance of this type of tenure in association with cane farming); Shepherd op cit; Augelli op cit; Greenfield, S.: "Land Tenure and Transmission in Rural Barbados" in Anthropological Quarterly 33 (4), 1960; Horowitz op cit; Marshall op cit. And although Smith reports that "The renting of land between villagers is not common, since ... there is no real land shortage" (R.T. Smith op cit: 74), nevertheless this form of tenure is present to some extent in British Guiana (ibid).

3) Clarke 1953 op cit: 81

4) Comitas op cit.
"Leasing involves a definite agreement for a period of three years or more (up to eleven), which is nearly always recorded and signed. Renting covers shorter periods, from as little as three months up to two years, with a year to year agreement being most common." 1)

And he notes that while both types of tenure preclude the long-term investment of planting trees, that semi-permanent crops such as bananas or sugar-cane may be planted on leased land, while only short-term crops are generally planted on rented land.

**Labour Tenancy**

Edwards notes two variants of labour tenancy in his study: "rent on the half" and "grass ground". 2) In the former arrangement,

"The owners of the land agree 'to go on the half' with the tenants, for a period which normally covers two years. In September the tenant clears the land by cutting down the undergrowth and by hoeing the grass. This area is then divided into two equal parts, one of which is planted by the owner and the other by the tenant. They both cultivate and reap their crops independently. When the crops are reaped the land is allowed to return to grass. A few months later, at the beginning of the second year, the whole process is repeated, and after the second crop has been reaped the tenure ceases." 3)

In the latter arrangement,

"The tenant of a piece of 'grass ground' clears the land and cultivates it as he wishes. At the end of two years he has to return it to the owner, established in guinea grass." 4)


2) Shephard *op cit* and Frucht *op cit* both note labour tenancy as a form of tenure in Montserrat and Nevis.

3) Edwards *op cit*: 100

Since these forms of tenure are insecure, only short-term crops are generally planted on such land. The tenant however has more freedom regarding the choice of crop than in the share-cropping arrangements referred to below.

**Share-Cropping**

This is a form of tenure by which rental is paid in kind rather than cash, and from Edwards' report this seems to be a more common form of tenure than the labour tenancy referred to above. Two variants of share-cropping are found: one whereby the owner receives half the crop, the other where he receives a third. Again, tenure is insecure and short-term crops are therefore generally grown; there being the added disadvantage of the restriction of choice as to the type of crop cultivated.

**Free Tenure**

Two types of free tenure (that is, where the tenant pays no rent) are present in the island: that where the owner and tenant are relatives, and that where they are not. With reference to the latter, Clarke notes its origin in the pre-emancipation era: "the practice, begun in slavery, of granting back lands on the estates either free, or at peppercorn rental, for subsistence farming to employees, continues to the present day."  

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1) Davenport states that in Black Point and Negril (Jamaica) "Rents are many times calculated not in cash, but in percentages of the yield, and these seem to be highest between one small holder and another man of the same social and economic stratum, not between the larger, upper-class property owners and their tenants ..." (op cit: 450). See also Augelli op cit, who notes share-cropping arrangements in Antigua, and Horowitz op cit who notes the share-cropping system of colonage in Martinique, including the two variants of moitié-moitié and tiers.


Edwards notes that "the influence of the free land arrangement on land use depended very much on the particular circumstances obtaining." 1) For example, where the owner and tenant were related, "the arrangement was extremely informal involving no written agreement or any definite verbal one; even the period involved was not usually specified initially, though it was understood that the land would be given up when the owner required it. Trees of economic importance were not to be damaged."

And he remarks that "This form of tenure often represented a step towards leaving land to an heir." 2) On the other hand, especially when non-relatives were involved, such tenure might be extremely insecure, resulting in the planting of short term crops.

Freehold Tenure

Two types of freehold tenure are common in Jamaica: individually owned land (held in fee simple) which may be acquired through purchase or inheritance 3) - it being seen above that the purchasing of land by the peasantry began as early as 1839; and family land, 4) rights to which are inherited jointly by a group of heirs who are descended from a common ancestor. Since this latter type of tenure is discussed at some length in subsequent chapters, little else need be said about it at this point.

1) Edwards op cit: 112.

2) Ibid: 100


4) Clarke 1953 and 1966 op cit; Davenport op cit; Edwards op cit; Lowenthal op cit; Comitas op cit. Similar forms of tenure are noted elsewhere in the Caribbean, see Smith, M.G.: "The Transformation of Land Rights by Transmission in Carriacou" in Social & Economic Studies 5 (2), 1956 (a); Solien, N.: "The Nonunilineal Descent Group in the Caribbean and Central America" in American Anthropologist 61 (4), 1959; Greenfield 1960 op cit; Otterbein op cit; Finkel op cit (on the "Community Property System" of St. Lucia); Korowitz op cit. And although Smith states that "There is no conception of a collection of parcels of land being passed intact from one generation to another except at the level of the village itself ..." (Smith, R.T. op cit: 74), nevertheless a system similar in many ways is in fact seen to exist there (ibid).
stage except to reiterate the point that it has its origin in the grants of land made by some planters to their ex-slaves at emancipation.

Freehold tenure is the most secure type of tenure, and that which is held in fee simple is the least restricting of all tenures with regard to land use. While great value is placed on freehold tenure – both economically and socially – by the peasantry 1) (as indeed by peasantry throughout the world), numerous drawbacks have nevertheless been associated with this type of tenure in Jamaica as in the Caribbean in general. For example, due to historical reasons, the land available for purchase was, and may still be, of inferior quality; competition for land has led to high prices with the result that freehold plots may be extremely small; and in addition, rights to such plots may become increasingly fragmented due to the customary system of inheritance associated with family land. Further, lack of management, agricultural knowledge and capital for investment on small freehold plots are also major problems in peasant agriculture. 2) (Thus it has been suggested that when freehold is accompanied by such problems, this type of tenure may in fact be more restricting to land use than secure leasehold). 3)

Ethnic Composition and Social Stratification

The ethnic composition and stratification system of pre-emancipation society can be considered together as they are closely inter-related.

1) Clarke 1953 and 1966 op cit; Edwards op cit; Greenfield 1960 op cit; Otterbein op cit.

2) Leake op cit; Shephard op cit; Clarke 1953 and 1966 op cit; Augelli op cit; Comitas op cit; Finkel op cit; Horowitz op cit; Marshall op cit.

As Mason points out, everyone in the West Indies comes from somewhere else ¹) and Jamaica is no exception to this. The first imported inhabitants were Spaniards, and as mentioned previously, the native Arawaks were completely eradicated under Spanish rule. With British capture in 1655, the Spaniards were driven out; early British colonisation resulting, as indicated above, in a classless society of yeomen farmers, this non-stratified society however, being short-lived, due to the introduction and growth of the plantation system and accompanying slave trade. The importation of slave labour from West Africa formed the "Middle Passage" of the triangular trade route between Britain, West Africa and the West Indies, and the majority of slaves imported to the island were of Akan-Ashanti origin.

Plantation society was initially based on a two-tiered hierarchy of slave and free, which coincided almost completely with the dichotomy of black and white (the exception being white indentured labour), each tier, however, being internally stratified. However, by the time of emancipation, a third intermediary class of "free coloured" had emerged due to miscegenation between white men and African slave women. ²)

(The movement of women during the slave era - as concubines, not wives - being in one direction only, the lower-status group giving women to the higher status-group. ³) ) The offspring of such unions were legally free, but were socially second-class citizens until the Act affecting free

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³) This can be contrasted, for example, with the situation among the Kachin of Highland Burma, where it is the women-receiving group that is of lower status, Leach, E.: Political Systems of Highland Burma (London: Bell & Sons, reprinted 1964).
coloured persons was passed in 1830. (According to Mason, this class of free coloured was a more outstanding feature of West Indian society than in the American South, and does not appear to have been resented as much in the former as in the latter.) 1) Despite this three-tiered pyramidal structure of later plantation society, a more complex system of stratification also grew up, based on subtle gradations of colour, giving rise to the classificatory model of "black", "sambo", "mulatto", "quadroon", "mustee" and "musteffino". 2) The movement of ex-slaves from the plantations after emancipation resulted in further importations of labour; this being indentured East Indian and Chinese labour (in 1845; 1860; 1869; and 1854; 1884 respectively). After serving their indenture, the Indians tended to remain on the plantations, whereas the Chinese turned to retail trading. In addition to these ethnic groups, there were small numbers of Portuguese and German Jews in the island who had sought asylum there in the sixteenth century, and also a Syrian minority resulting from visitors to the Jamaica exhibition in 1891 3).

These patterns of immigration are reflected in the racial breakdown of the present population (See Appendix I, Table 4). It can be seen that the Africans and Afro-Europeans are the largest categories in the population (together comprising 1,472,200 persons of a total of 1,609,814 in 1960) 4), the other minorities being relatively insignificant (unlike the situation in Trinidad and Guyana where the East Indians form a substantial minority and a majority respectively 5)).

1) See Mason op cit for a discussion of the reasons for this.
2) Henriques 1968 op cit: 46
4) 1960 Census of Jamaica, (Department of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica).
5) Peach op cit.
The contemporary Jamaican stratification system is centered on the African, Afro-European and European elements of the population (1,484,628 persons of the total population 1), and Mason has referred to this as the "standard Creole structure" 2. Before describing the nature of stratification within this structure, it can be noted that while the minority groups do not figure prominently in the latter, that the Indians are in general considered as being below it (being still primarily associated with estate labour, which due to its association with slavery still carries a social stigma 3); the other ethnic minorities (who are primarily merchants) being regarded as having a similar status to the middle and upper classes in the standard structure. 4

Stratification within the "standard Creole structure" is essentially similar to that of the later pre-emancipation period in that it consists of a three-tiered pyramidal structure of lower/middle/upper classes which coincides roughly with the black/brown/white sections of the population, there being a positive evaluation of "whiteness" or "Europeanness" and a negative evaluation of "blackness" or

1) 1960 Census op cit.
2) Mason op cit: 274
4) Mason op cit.
"Africanness". 1)

Certain qualifications of this simplified threefold model must however be made. Firstly, that (as in the later pre-emancipation period) each tier is internally differentiated by subtle gradations of colour, so that the stratification system can also be seen as a continuum of colour, (Ellis' seven-point scale of colour gradation, however, viz.: "white", "fair", "light", "light-brown", "brown", "dark-brown" and "black", 2) though as he admits still a simplification, approximating more closely to the classificatory model current in the society than the more technical one reported for the pre-emancipation era, referred to above). Secondly, "colour" is itself a composite value comprised of the variables of skin shade, skin texture, and features and hair type 3). Thirdly, the system of stratification based on colour is not rigid, but is cross-cut by other variables such as wealth and occupational status 4), being further complicated by racial intermarriage.

Finally, as Mason has suggested, the two top tiers of the pyramid are, for various reasons (such as upper class absenteeism and the resultant


2) Ellis op cit: 356

3) Cf Henriques 1968 op cit; Ellis op cit; Mason op cit.

4) Ellis has in fact suggested that Henriques over-emphasises the role of colour in the ascription of social status in Jamaica, and in his own study of a Jamaican market town, argues that while colour is important in the ascription of social status, that it is neither the major determinant, nor the major correlate of social status, but simply "one of several traits" used in such ascription, others being house-type, occupation, level of income and education (op cit). It must be noted, however, that Henriques does in fact qualify his colour-class model in a somewhat similar way (1968 op cit).
promotion for members of the middle class) becoming more closely unified, so that this structure is gradually being reduced from a threefold to a twofold one. Looked at from a diachronic point of view, then, the class structure has moved from a two-tiered one based on the dichotomy of black and white in the early pre-emancipation period to a three-tiered one of black/brown/white in the later pre-emancipation, and earlier post-emancipation eras; back to a two-tiered structure at the present time, this however now being based on a dichotomy of white and brown vis-à-vis the predominantly black section of the population. 1)

Although there are some sociological differences between the middle and upper classes, 2) they can, then, for purposes of simplification be regarded as one main sub-culture as distinct from that of the lower class; and it can be noted that there are significant variations in social organisation and culture associated with these two main sub-cultures, for example in the spheres of family organisation, land tenure, belief systems and language. 3) Only a brief indication of these differences will be given here, although it will be the concern of this study at a later point to consider the nature of the inter-relationship of the organisation of lower class kinship and land tenure with that of the middle and upper classes.

1) Mason *op. cit.*

2) See e.g. Henriques 1968 *op. cit.*

The family organisation of the middle and upper classes closely resembles that of British and American society, with domestic organisation based on legal marriage and the nuclear family, while that of the lower class, though including these features, also includes alternate forms of mating and domestic organisation.

The land tenure system of the middle and upper classes is based on the legal code, while that of the lower class, although including aspects of this code, also includes those of a customary system of tenure.

The belief system of the middle and upper class sub-culture is based on Christianity (primarily Anglican and Roman Catholic denominations); while that of the lower class, although including Christianity (though primarily Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian denominations, since the missionary work among the slaves was carried out by these non-conformist churches) also includes various cults. And while making use of the facilities of western medicine used by the middle and upper classes, the lower class also holds 'non-scientific' beliefs regarding causation and curing.

The language spoken by the middle and upper classes is English; and while that of the lower class is also English, it is an English peculiar to Jamaica (or to the British Caribbean), being a dialect that is based on seventeenth century English, modified by African words (mainly from the Akan language); its greatest contrast with its English origins being the disappearance of inflections. This dialect becoming 'diluted', as it were, as one ascends the class ladder, so that in the middle and upper classes it becomes simply a 'Jamaican accent'.

Finally, it can be noted that, as Mason's designation "standard Creole structure" suggests, there is - despite important regional variations - a basic pattern of social organisation throughout the Caribbean, 1) of which Jamaican social organisation in general can be seen to be a part.

Political and Administrative Structure

Jamaica's political development starts in 1661 2) with the establishment of the island's first civil government under Cromwell, consisting of a Governor and an appointed advisory Council (this government having been preceded by military rule from 1655-1661). From 1664-1865, there was, in addition to the Governor and his Council - who acted as an Upper House - an elected legislature: the Jamaica Assembly, based on the structure of the British House of Commons. Elections were based on a property franchise, and in 1864 only 1,903 persons were entitled to vote out of a total population of 450,000 (the franchise having been extended to the "free coloured" in 1830).

In 1865 the Assembly voted itself out of existence as a result of the rebellion at Morant Bay by a group of former slaves, surrendering its authority to the direct rule of the British Crown. The period 1865-1938 has been described as Jamaica's "long twilight of pure colonialism" 3), with the island a Crown colony and the Governor a


3) Hill op cit: 75
British Civil Servant. In addition to the Governor's Privy Council, however, a Legislative Council was subsequently formed in 1884, which was to consist of nine elected members in addition to four ex officio, and five nominated ones. The Governor, however, still retained powers of veto.

In 1938 there was rioting due to discontent over wages and insecurity of employment. Two great Jamaican leaders emerged during this year - Alexander Bustamante, who formed the Bustamante Trade Union and later the Jamaica Labour Party; and his cousin, Norman Manley who formed the People's National Party, and later in 1949, the National Workers' Union.

In 1944 a new Constitution provided for universal suffrage, and the new government consisted of the Governor as Chairman of the Executive Council, a nominated Legislative Council, and an elected House of Representatives. In 1953 a Ministerial system was introduced, and in 1955 the Cabinet (as the Executive Council was re-named) became a completely elected body. In 1957 Jamaica was granted full self-government. The Governor still remained in the island, however, as the representative of British rule.

In 1958 the first Federal Elections were held; at first both parties supported the plan of the West Indian Federation put forward by the Colonial Office, and led by Grantley Adams, Prime Minister of Barbados, and by 1959 the Governor's powers in Jamaica had been restricted to foreign policy and defence. In 1960, however, the Jamaica Labour Party withdrew from the Federal Elections due to a disagreement with the Federal Government and Trinidad over taxation. In 1961 a Referendum was held, with the Jamaica Labour Party advocating secession from the Federation and the People's National Party supporting the Federation. The majority vote of 35,000 in favour of secession meant that inevitably the Jamaica Labour Party were elected in the 1962 Elections. Alexander Bustamante therefore became Jamaica's first Prime Minister when the island
gained Independence on 6th August 1962; Jamaica also being granted Dominion status in the Commonwealth in that same year, at this time also being admitted to the United Nations.

Jamaica is therefore now an independent nation with Dominion status in the Commonwealth, the present form of government being a democracy with a constitutional monarchy. Based on a two-party system, which is closely inter-related with the trade union movement, the political system is one of the primary bases for the integration of all sections of Jamaican society (through both consensus and conflict), since political awareness in all classes is high, and since, furthermore, the variable of political allegiance cross-cuts that of social class.

The legislative processes of the present government are carried out by the Senate (the nominated Upper House) and the House of Representatives (the elected Lower House). Named after the United States governmental bodies, the Jamaican Parliament is nevertheless based on the British House of Lords and House of Commons respectively.

The executive processes of government are carried out by the Cabinet, the Ministries and the various Departments within the latter, and various quasi-governmental bodies such as statutory bodies and voluntary organisations.

The Judiciary, the third facet of government, holds Courts at three levels: the Petty Sessions; the Resident Magistrate's Court; and the Supreme Court; each level being sub-divided into criminal and civil cases. In addition to this three-tiered structure there are two specialist Courts: the Traffic Court (in Kingston, the capital of the island) and the Coroner's Court. (It can be noted here that Jamaican Law is based on English Common Law and additional local statutes).

The island is divided into three counties: Cornwall, Middlesex and Surrey; and into fourteen parishes for the purposes of administration.
and the collection of taxes. Twelve of these are 'rural' parishes, the remaining two being the capital city of Kingston and its residential hinterland, St. Andrew. (See Map 3).

Each parish is represented in the legislative sphere of the Central Government through the election of Members of Parliament, one from each constituency of the parish (the number of constituencies in a parish being dependent on the size of the population).

The executive sphere of the Central Government is represented at the parish level by local branches of the Ministry of Communications and Works; these branches being known as Public Works Departments (P.W.D.). In addition to the P.W.D., other Ministries may also be represented locally in each parish, depending on the importance of the parish with reference to the work of particular Ministries.

Each parish is locally governed by its own Parish Council 1); Kingston and St. Andrew being treated as one parish for the purposes of local government, and being governed by the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation. These Parish Councils are under the authority of the Ministry of Local Government, although they do have certain powers of their own; the broad outlines of policy and the allocation of finances being under the authority of the Ministry, but within these spheres each Council having discretionary power.

Regarding judicial processes, Petty Sessions and the Resident Magistrate's Court are held in each parish, and a judge of the Supreme Court travels around the parishes to try criminal cases coming before the Supreme Court (this being the Circuit Court); each parish also having a Coroner's Court.

1) The name of these local Councils being changed in 1956 from 'Parochial Board'; they are governed by Chapter 271 of the Revised Laws of Jamaica, 1953.
At the time of field work the J.L.P. were the current Government; at the time of writing however, the P.N.P. are in power subsequent to the General Elections held in 1972.
"Perhaps there are few other tropical areas in which family organization presents as many academic and practical problems and opportunities as the West Indian area; and perhaps in no other comparable region has the family been studied so extensively over the past decade." 1)

This chapter does not attempt a comprehensive survey of the vast body of literature on West Indian or Caribbean family structure, but seeks rather to isolate certain basic trends in the literature which are of relevance to this study.

Five such trends emerge. Firstly, that the discussion of West Indian or Caribbean family structure has, with little exception, been focused on the lower class Negro family; (exceptions including the small number of studies of the East Indian family in Trinidad and British Guiana - now Guyana; Frazier's inclusive study of the American Negro family at all socio-economic levels of the society; and Henriques' study of the Jamaican family in terms of social class). 2)

The second is that a basic pattern of family organisation has been identified throughout the West Indian or Caribbean Negro lower class - although there are variations within this broader pattern. Thirdly, that there has been a profusion of hypotheses put forward to 'explain' either this basic pattern or the variations within it, with a resultant proliferation of cross-criticism (symptomatic, it may be pointed out, of a dynamic and progressive approach to the problem.) Fourthly, that despite this profusion of explanatory hypotheses, that with few


exceptions there is a basic trend common to these. And fifthly, the fact that the conclusions of some of these studies have varying and sometimes contradictory implications for the interpretation of the nature of integration between lower class Negro subcultures and the wider societies of which they are a part.

All but the first of these trends requires further discussion.

The Basic Pattern of Caribbean Negro Family Organisation

The first two features of this pattern on which attention will be focused are the nature of domestic and mating forms; inseparable from a discussion of these being the earlier trend - following Malinowski, Murdock and Lowie's arguments for the universality of the nuclear family 1) - of confusing the concepts of 'household' and 'family'; and the later counter-trend - following Linton, Gough, Fortes and Goody 2).

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1) See Malinowski, B.: The Dynamics of Culture Change (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945) p. 50, who argues that the nuclear family, based on marriage and co-residence, is the universal unit for the functions of procreation and socialisation of children, and joint production and consumption. Also Murdock, G.: Social Structure (New York: MacMillan, 1949), p.1, who states that "the family is a social group characterised by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction", and after going on to isolate three types of family organisation (the nuclear, polygamous and extended family) postulates that "the nuclear family is a universal human social grouping ... it exists as a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society" (ibid: 2). Lowie also supports this view, Lowie, R.H.: Primitive Society (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1921).

of emphasising the distinction between these. The former trend resulted not only in some cases in the pitfall of equating the non-legal union based on cohabitation with marriage, but also of ignoring the extra-residential mating relationship which is of such importance in this region. The qualification must be made that the dichotomy of earlier/later trends is only a rough guide to the analysis of the literature, since Herskovits, one of the earliest writers on the Caribbean family, does - despite R.T. Smith's valid criticism regarding his scanty treatment of household analysis - make the distinction between the two concepts: "ties of kinship and residence do not necessarily coincide." 1)

In his study of the New World Negro family Herskovits emphasises the mother-child unit as the functional one in family structure, also identifying a variety of mating forms: marriage; non-legal cohabitation ("keeping" and "placage" in Trinidad and Haiti respectively); and also non-residential mating. And while he does make some mention of plural (that is concurrent) mating, he notes that polygynous households do not form. 2)

Frazier notes the predominance of the matriarchal variant of family organisation in the American South under slavery (he refers to both the maternal family and household, thus using the concepts of household and family to some extent interchangeably) with the mother-child being the functional unit of family structure (mating being non-legal and often unstable), emphasising also the role of the grandmother in the extended family. He does also cite limited evidence of the existence of a patriarchal variant among the slaves, this variant

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however becoming more firmly established among the Free Negroes (mulattoes; black ex-slaves; and hybrid communities of mixed Negro-white-Indian ancestry). Subsequent to emancipation Frazier identifies a number of variants of family organisation among the American Negroes - both unstable and stable matriarchal variants (in the rural and urban contexts respectively), and in some cases the continuation of, in others the development of the stable patriarchal variant. 1)

Simey, in his classification of "the Jamaican family" - based on data collected by Mr. Lewis Davidson "in seven widely separated rural districts" of the island - puts forward the following fourfold classification in which he confuses household types with family types:

"(a) The Christian Family, based on marriage and a patriarchal order approximating to that of Christian families in other parts of the world;

(b) Faithful Concubinage, again based on a patriarchal order, possessing no legal status, but well established and enduring for at least three years;

(c) The Companionate Family, in which the members live together for pleasure and convenience, and for less than three years; and

(d) The Disintegrate Family, consisting of women and children only, in which men merely visit the women from time to time, no pattern of conduct being established." 2)

In conjunction with this classification, while Simey recognises three mating forms: legal marriage, non-legal cohabitation and 'visiting', he not only identifies the conjugal relationship which forms the basis of his type (b) "family" as the sociological equivalent of marriage ("this may in fact denote a stable relationship which amounts to an extra-legal form of marriage" 3), but in dismissing the type of mating

2) Simey op cit: 82-3.
3) Ibid: 82.
associated with his type (d) "family" as having no "established"
"pattern of conduct", he overlooks the institutionalised
extra-residential mating relationship.

Henriques, writing a few years later, while making the important
points that in the Jamaican lower class "The domestic group may, but
does not always, consist of the elementary biological family; ... "and
that in this class "A domestic group ... coincides with the legal
family only in a minority of cases", nevertheless follows Simey closely
in his fourfold classification of "family groupings" by using the
"domestic group as the unit of family structure ...":

"A: Christian Family  C: Maternal, or Grandmother Family.
B: Faithful Concubinage.  D: Keeper Family"

And furthermore argues that the "distinction between Christian marriage
and common law marriage is quite useless sociologically." 1) His
confusion of the concepts of household and family also leading him to
ignore the extra-residential mating form.

Cohen, too, in his discussion of the family in the Jamaican
community of Rocky Roads, uses Simey and Henriques' classifications
of "families" as his reference point, noting however that only two of
these four variants are found in this community, viz.: "the 'Christian
family' and the 'disintegrate' or 'keeper' family ..." 2) which he
relabels the "patripotestal" and "matripotestal" "family" respectively,
(these being cross-cut by the variable of generational depth (two and
three generations) to give four variants). In addition to
perpetuating the confusion between the concepts of household and family
Cohen also muddles the meanings of the above classifications, since

1) Henriques 1968 op cit: 109-110; see also Henriques 1949 op cit.
2) Cohen, Y.: "Structure and Function: Family Organization and
Socialization in a Jamaican Community" in American Anthropologist,
58(4), 1956: 667.
Henriques' "Keeper Family" is not synonymous with Simey's "Disintegrate Family", the former being the equivalent of Simey's "Companionate Family", and the latter of Henriques' "Maternal, or Grandmother Family"; (from Cohen's ethnographic material it seems that he is referring to the Disintegrate/Grandmother variant). Further evidence of Cohen's confusion of the concepts of household and family is his strange definition of the nuclear family implicit in the following statement:

"In Rocky Roads, the [incest] taboo includes cousins, uncles, and aunts, since they are often members of the same [i.e. ego's] nuclear family because of the structural responses to illegitimacy." 1)

Here he is referring to the three-generational household.

In addition, although perhaps implicit in his statement that:

"In Rocky Roads, an illegitimate child is one born to an unmarried woman, regardless of the marital status of the father, and who is not a sociological member of his mother's family of procreation. Thus, children of 'concubinage' marriage ... for example, would not be considered illegitimate by the culture." 2)

is the important distinction made by Clarke between children of a current union and "outside" children, yet he is in fact making this distinction simply with regard to the variable of the parents' residence, rather than to whether or not the child is a product of a current union, and further, is treating concubinage and marriage as sociologically equivalent as against non-residential unions. This is further illustrated by the fact that although he refers to the institution of concubinage as present in the community, with reference to the two variants of "families" present in the

1) Ibid: 675.
2) Ibid: 668.
community, he notes that all thirty-seven "patripotestal" "families" are based on marriage. For since his definition of the matripotestal variant is one which consists of "an unmarried woman, her illegitimate children, and her daughters' illegitimate children. The most striking characteristic of the matripotestal family ... [being] the absence of the husband-father", 1) couples living in concubinage must of necessity therefore be included in his "patripotestal" (Christian Family) household. His confusing and inaccurate terminology, then, may be concealing important differences in household variation as well as in mating forms.

Collins, in his study of a Jamaican village community, also confuses the household with the family in his classification of domestic forms:

"Three types of families are to be found. The first is the paternal, in which the couple are legally married. The second is called 'common law' family, in which the man and wife do not go through a legal form of marriage. In the third, the maternal family, a woman is head of the household and is usually related to the children under her guardianship as grandmother, mother, aunt or sister." 2)

Although Collins gives no extended discussion of these variants, he does, in this classification, indicate by his terminology "man and wife" with reference to the "common law" couple a certain sociological equivalence between this type of union and legal marriage, also ignoring the extra-residential mating form.

R.T. Smith puts forward an elaborate classification of domestic groups based on the relationship of members to the household head, and the conjugal status of the latter. Household heads may be male or

female; their conjugal statuses include: "Married"; "Common-law married"; "Single mother or single father"; "Single"; "Widower"; "Widow"; "Common-law widower"; "Common-law widow"; "Separated"; "Common-law separated"; and "Divorced"; while categories of kin in male- and female-headed households respectively include: "Spouses"; "Children"; "Grandchildren"; "Children's spouses"; "Kin of Head"; "Kin of Head's spouse"; "Adopted and non-kin"; and "Children"; "Grandchildren"; "Siblings and Siblings' children"; "Affines"; "Other miscellaneous". An even more extensive breakdown being subsequently given. However, in his analysis of these variations with reference to the concept of the developmental cycle of domestic groups (see below) he takes the household as the unit of analysis in family structure, assuming that "Most or possibly all households begin as domestic nuclear families and all share a common cyclical pattern of growth, expansion and decay which varies in its phases within fixed limits, ...". He not only confuses household and family, but also deals only with those conjugal unions based on cohabitation, thus ignoring the extra-residential mating relationship; and further treats marriage and the "common-law" union as sociologically equivalent. 1)

In her study of the Jamaican family, Clarke makes the important distinction between household and family, distinguishing between "Groupings based on kinship" (sub-dividing these into the "simple family, consisting of parents and children, and the extended family, which includes, in addition, kin of a higher or lower generation") and "residential groupings, or household types", distinguishing sub-types

1) Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit.
within these according to the relative importance of the conjugal or consanguineal bond as the basis of the household. The former category including "simple family type households" and "extended family households", these being further sub-divided according to whether the conjugal pair are married or living in concubinage, and with relation to the "simple family household", whether or not children are present, and if they are, whether they belong to both spouses or are "outside" children of one spouse, and if so, which spouse. Households based on the consanguineal bond include "demured family households, containing either a mother, or a father, living alone with his or her children. These might be either of the simple or extended type", and "sibling households". "Single person households" provide a residual category. 1)

She also makes several important distinctions between mating forms: marriage, concubinage, casual mating, promiscuity and prostitution, criticising both Henriques' treatment of "common-law marriage" as sociologically equivalent to legal marriage, since there are important social as well as legal differences between the two types of union; and concomitantly, his use of the term "common-law marriage" to refer to concubinage, because of these differences. However although she makes this valid distinction, and despite her distinction between household and family, Clarke nevertheless fails to deal satisfactorily with the extra-residential mating relationship, since she simply defines "casual mating" as "a sexual congress without cohabitation or any intention to form a permanent relationship." 2)

1) Clarke 1966 op cit: 30-31; see also ibid, Chapter 5.

Solien also points to the necessity of distinguishing between the concepts of family and household, discussing the importance of this distinction for the study of the family in the Caribbean in a wider theoretical framework, and illustrating her point with reference to her work among the Black Carib of Guatemala, where "The nuclear family unit ... may be scattered in several different households."  

Greenfield, too, in his analysis of family organisation in the Barbadian village of Enterprise Hall, not only makes the important distinction between household and family, but also between marriage and the family, pointing out that the latter can and does exist in the absence of the former. He distinguishes two basic types of family and three types of household in the village: families may be "complete" or "incomplete"; whereas households may be "nuclear", "joint", or "sub-nuclear". The majority of families in Enterprise Hall are "complete", and, for the most part, based on marriage; and the main categories of kin in the sample households are spouses, children and grandchildren of the household head, this providing evidence of both "nuclear" and "joint" households. Nevertheless "incomplete" families, contained in both "joint" or "sub-nuclear" households, form a substantial minority, and "matrifocality" is an important associated feature of such families.  

1) Solien, 1960 op cit: 104.

2) Greenfield, 1966 op cit; also Greenfield, S.: "Socio-Economic Factors and Family Form" in Social & Economic Studies, 10(1), 1961, and "Households, Families and Kinship Systems in the West Indies" in Anthropological Quarterly 35(3), 1962, in which he seeks to further Solien's "heuristic" discussion of the concepts of household and family (Solien 1960 op cit) by linking these - as concepts at the empirical level - to model building in kinship systems at the theoretical level.
In his study of the two Jamaican communities of Mangrove Beach and Black Point, Davenport notes the following bases of household recruitment:

"1) by the birth of children to the nuclear couple; 2) by the inclusion of children by previous marital unions; 3) by bringing in and supporting dependent children of close, but poorer, relatives; and 4) by incorporating older, dependent relatives of ascending generations." 1)

Noting that "kin of ascending generations tend to be those of the husband, while kin of descending generations are either children of both spouses or kin of the wife alone." 2) In addition to variations in household composition resultant from the above bases of recruitment, Davenport also notes a variety of mating forms:

"All polygamous forms of marriage are prohibited by law, but between this specific limitation and the regular, approved forms of Christian marriage, there is a permissible range of conjugal relationships which is neither illegal nor recognized by law. These variations will be called common-law and non-legal marriage." 3)

Despite the fact that he does initially refer to such non-legal unions as "variations in marriage", which leads one to expect a repetition of Simey, Henriques, Cohen and R.T. Smith's pitfall of regarding non-legal co-residential unions as the functional equivalent of marriage, Davenport does not in fact make this mistake; for he notes that non-legal unions,

"with and without the common co-residence of the partners, ... are not the functional or the subcultural equivalent of legal marriage. For this reason, the people do not even call them 'marriages' ..." 4)

1) Davenport on cit: 442.
2) Ibid: 444.
In addition, by recognising the institutionalised extra-residential mating form ("in some quite stable common-law unions, to which several children have been born, the spouses do not share a common residence at all" 1) he makes the important distinction between family and household. (It can be noted, however, that the use of "common-law" union to refer to an extra-residential mating relationship is most unusual in the literature).

In his comparative study of family structure in five negro lower-class sample populations drawn from various parts of the West Indies (Carriacou; Latante and Grenville - peasant and urban communities in Grenada respectively; and rural Jamaica and Kingston, Jamaica's capital city;) M.G. Smith finds that there is a basic similarity between them all, and concludes that they form a common system - they all "have a formal commitment to monogamy, a ban on polygany, a plurality of mating forms and of elementary and domestic family organisation alike." 2)

Briefly, the main differences in the family structure of the five samples is that that of Latante and rural Jamaica is stable as compared to that of Grenville and Kingston; and that that of Carriacou is anomalous vis-à-vis the other four in several respects, viz.: while the latter include three mating forms - extra-residential mating, consensual cohabitation and marriage, - there is a proscription against consensual cohabitation (except in "women's houses") in Carriacou; males must marry in the latter, and while they may mate extra-residentially concurrently with marriage, these two mating statuses

2) Smith, M.G. 1962 (a) op cit: 255.
are alternatives to females; this patrifocal domestic organisation being ramified at the extra-domestic level by the presence of "bloods" or patrilineages - which differ from the bilateral kinship systems of the other four samples - and are themselves supported by "an elaborate ancestor cult". 1)

In his consideration of mating forms Smith not only makes the important sociological distinction between consensual cohabitation and marriage; but his emphasis on the importance of the extra-residential mating form leads him to stress the distinction between the concepts of household and family, and the necessity of treating the entire sample population - rather than the household - as the unit of analysis in the study of family structure.

In his study of the family structure of the Andros Islanders, Bahamas, Otterbein isolates two mating forms: extra-residential mating and marriage; while a married man may have an extra-residential relationship, a woman may not. This mating system is somewhat anomalous to that generally reported for the Caribbean area in general in the absence (or extremely low incidence) of consensual cohabitation, being in this respect similar to the dual mating system reported by M.G. Smith for Carriacou. Otterbein isolates four main household types in Andros: "A. Nuclear Family"; "B. Grandparent"; "C. Denuded Nuclear Family" and "D. Single Person"; these being further sub-divided: in the case of type A, according to the presence/absence of children; in the case of type B to the presence of both or one grandparent; and in the latter variant of type B

1) Ibid: 247; for an extensive discussion of kinship in Carriacou see also Smith, M.G.: Kinship and Community in Carriacou (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962 (b)).
and in types C and D, according to the sex of the household head. 1)

In his analysis of family structure in the peasant village of Morne-Paysan, Martinique, Horowitz distinguishes "the family, which is based upon kinship, from the domestic group or household, based on coresidence and food-sharing" 2); the necessity of this distinction being reflected for example by the presence of the extra-residential mating form, and the fact that twenty-eight of the children in his sample reside with neither parent.

Horowitz identifies "Three types of household ... in the village: households of single persons; households headed by a single adult; and households which contain a conjugal pair"; 3) there being few single person households, the majority of households headed by a single adult being female-headed, and 61% of his sample households including "a conjugal or sexually cohabiting pair ..." And while many of the latter households include "members of three or more generations, they are not structurally 'extended' or 'joint' families, for they do not contain a nuclear family of orientation and a nuclear family of procreation", 4) this being due to the proscription against more than one conjugal couple living in the same household.

Horowitz identifies three mating forms in the village — consensual cohabitation (en ménage) and marriage, in addition to the extra-


2) Horowitz 1967 (a) op cit: 39

3) Ibid: 43.

4) Ibid: 45.
residential mating relationship referred to above. These mating relationships are - as those reported for M.G. Smith for rural Jamaica - arranged serially, with consensual cohabitation following on from extra-residential mating and preceding marriage.

The preceding discussion of some of the studies of Negro family organisation in the Caribbean - although by no means all-inclusive - is sufficient to make the point that a plurality of domestic and mating forms typifies such organisation. Other features closely associated with the above two which are mentioned throughout the literature are the phenomenon of fostering; the high illegitimacy rate; household heads of either sex; and late marriage - when it does occur at all; and a high incidence of half-siblingship with the concomitant distinction of children of a current union and "outside" children. The presence of a basic pattern of family organisation throughout the Caribbean negro population has also been noted by a number of authors. 1)

While from the above discussion a number of domestic and mating forms have been identified, however, the feature which has received most prominence in the literature in conjunction with the basic Caribbean pattern is the matrifocal/maternal/grandmother/matriarchal/matricentric/matrigroupal/matripotestal/consanguine/disintegrate household/"family", and the associated features of non-legal unions, - particularly that

based on cohabitation, known variously as 'common-law marriage', 'concubinage' and 'consensual cohabitation' - and the high illegitimacy rate, and in some cases the presumed 'instability' of family organisation.

For example Simey refers to the high illegitimacy rate and the "prevalence of the maternal family in the West Indies"; 1) and concludes that "in the majority of cases the relationships between the sexes which lead to the procreation of children are temporary, and the institution of marriage is unstable." 2) And in his reference to the historical influence of slavery on the contemporary family organisation, states that "The contemporary looseness of family structure in the British West Indies requires no further explanation than this." 3) (My emphasis).

Henriques also notes the high illegitimacy rate in Jamaica, a concomitant of the fact that the incidence of his types B, C and D 'families' outnumbers the type A (Christian Family) by approximately 75% to 25%, and that types C and D (Maternal and Keeper Families) outnumber type B (Faithful Concubinage) by 50% to 25%. 4) Collins too notes that "Common-law and maternal types of families predominate in the lower social strata ..." 5)

Cohen refers to "The statistical dominance of mother-centered families in the West Indies in general and Jamaica in particular

1) Simey op cit: 87.
2) Ibid: 84.
5) Collins op cit: 269.
[which] indicates the extreme degree to which the mother's centrality in the family is entrenched in the culture." 1) Noting also female dominance and male marginality even in the "patripotestal" variant in Rocky Roads. And while he notes that only the Christian and Disintegrate variants are found in the latter (see above) and that the former predominate by thirty-seven to five 'families', not only is there much evidence from his account of extra-residential mating, since he states that "Illegitimacy is the mainspring of the three-generation family", 2) and that thirty-one of the forty-two 'families' are three-generational; and because he defines illegitimacy solely with reference to non-residential unions; but also of concubinage, - for while one is unable to tell how many "patripotestal families" are based on concubinage, some must be because of reasons given above regarding his definition of both "marriage" (which includes concubinage) and the matripotestal 'family' (which excludes a residential male spouse).

Clarke, while giving an extensive morphological classification of households nevertheless stresses that it is "the kindred, the blood relatives and in particular the maternal kin, as distinct from the conjugal or the household group, [that] is the most important institution in our communities and often the only vital one." 3) And concubinage and unstable 'housekeeper' unions are seen to predominate in Mooca and Sugartown respectively.

And Kerr, who worked alongside Clarke in the Jamaican communities, defines the lower class Jamaican family as matrifocal, noting the contribution of this type of family structure in conjunction with


2) Ibid: 668.

other factors (such as the conflict of this actual model of family structure with the patriarchal model of family structure in the wider society) in producing role deprivation and non-integrated personality structures; (at a later stage comparing these conclusions with those drawn from a study of a Liverpool slum where a similar type of family structure and conflict of values is found). 1)

R.T. Smith's hypothesis is that the typical lower class Guianese household becomes matrifocal in the latter stages of its developmental cycle, and Greenfield notes the prevalence of "incomplete" families in Barbados as a whole vis-à-vis the United Kingdom and United States, and while "complete" families do predominate in Enterprise Hall (because it is a middle class community), nevertheless "incomplete" families form a substantial minority.

Throughout her study Blake emphasises the "disorganization" and instability of lower class Jamaican family organisation, concluding that non-legal unions are unstable: "Nondomiciliary unions are seen to endure for an average of 1.6 years, and common-law unions ... only last an average of two years longer"; and in addition, concluding that common-law associations do not generally lead to marriage: "About sixty per cent of all associations that ever attained common-law status simply dissolved; they did not move on to marriage." 2)

Otterbein states that "Caribbean family organization is characterized by a domestic system in which women play a dominant role", and Rubin remarks in her discussion of the Caribbean family that "one of the regularities of social organization, which has appeared in the literature from Herskovits to Henriques, is the concept of the 'matrifocal' family."

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And as will be seen below, Solien and Kunstadter are primarily concerned with the explanation of the 'matrifocal' variant of Caribbean family organisation. 1)

And N.G. Smith, in his discussion of the Herskovite-Frazier debate, remarks that

"Both ... agreed that the Negro family in the U.S.A. and Caribbean was especially distinctive in its high rates of illegitimacy, marital instability and 'maternal' households consisting of a woman and her children, with or without her grandchildren." 2)

Two qualifications of this emphasis on 'matrifocality' and instability in the literature must however be noted. Firstly that while some writers - particularly Bleke - emphasise the "disorganization" of such family structure, that others - for example Henriques and Roberts 3) - are concerned to show that the high rates of illegitimacy and associated family forms are not symptomatic of family disorganisation, (and several other authors note that illegitimacy is not a social stigma in the lower class). Roberts' argument is based on the premise that most lower class Jamaicans have one conjugal union which though non-legal in the earlier stages, eventually culminates in marriage; Henriques' argument being that while lower class Jamaican family structure is symptomatic of "dismomia" in the wider society, that this family structure itself is internally

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2) Smith, N.G. 1966 op cit: viii.

organised, illegitimacy carrying no social stigma and "common-law marriage" being the social as opposed to the legal norm of the lower class. Even Simey, despite his above mentioned remarks on familial instability, does note that the high illegitimacy rate throughout the West Indies

"is, of course, by no means as alarming a fact as might appear at first sight because many of the partners to the common-law marriage live in what is termed locally 'faithful concubinage', and this may in fact denote a stable relationship which amounts to an extra-legal form of marriage." 1)

An important related point is the nature of stability/instability of the non-legal union based on cohabitation as portrayed in the literature. For while it was noted above that writers such as Simey, Henriques, Cohen, Collins, and R.T. Smith - because of their identification of the concepts of household and family - regard such unions as the functional or sociological equivalent of marriage, while others such as Clarke and M.G. Smith who distinguish between the household and family criticise this functional equivalence hypothesis, the situation is not in fact as clear-cut as this. For example while Henriques emphasises the stability of such unions he also recognises unstable aspects in such a mating status; and Simey - despite his confusion of the concepts of household and family - in fact emphasises the instability of such unions, although qualifying his position by recognising a stable variant also. In the case of these two authors these respective qualifications lead to their dual classification of "Faithful Concubinage" and "Companionate"/"Keeper" 'Family' respectively. Further, while Clarke and M.G. Smith are opposed to the functional equivalence hypothesis, they too recognise both stable and unstable

1) Simey op.cit: 82.
variants in such unions, this being reflected in Clarke's distinction between "Housekeeper" unions and "Purposive Concubinage", M.G. Smith's interpretation being based on the structural position of this mating form vis-à-vis others (see below). Herskovits also distinguishes between stable and unstable variants of such unions. On the other hand, there is a clear-cut dichotomy of opinion between Blake on the one hand who emphasises the instability of this mating form, and Roberts on the other who emphasises its stability. The crux of these disagreements regarding the nature of such a mating status being illustrated in Blake's critiques of Henriques and Roberts, which will be referred to again in Chapter 5.

The Problem of 'Explanation'

The earliest hypotheses put forward to explain the form of the New World Negro family are concerned with the historical origins of the latter, the first systematic study in this field being made by Herskovits, 1) who argues that New World Negro family organisation—among other aspects of social organisation—retained much of the 'African cultural heritage'. Herskovits' thesis is aimed at dispelling the popular myth current at the time that the Negro retained none of his African past, except perhaps a few 'savage' survivals. A myth, which in a society such as the United States, which placed great emphasis on the legacy of the past, was the foundation of prejudice against the Negro.

This myth was based on four main premises, vis.: that the Negro's adaptation to slavery (as opposed to the Indian's lack of adaptation) was due to his childlike character; that only the less intelligent negroes had been enslaved; that the African slaves could not retain

1) See e.g. Herskovits 1937, 1941 and 1947 on cit.
a unified African cultural heritage because not only were they of
diverse tribal origins, but also because those who came from similar
origins were separated under slavery; and that in any case the
slaves' culture would be lost in the face of the 'superior'
European culture of the masters.

Herskovits bases his own hypothesis on the rejection of these
premises, viz.: that the Negro slave's adaptation to slavery was due
both to his greater physical resistance to the European diseases which
wiped out the Indians, and to the fact that the Negro "came from a
social order whose economy was sufficiently complex to permit him
to meet the disciplinary demands of the plantation system without any
great violation of earlier habit patterns ..." 1) Secondly, that the
methods of enslavement did not allow for selectivity regarding those
enslaved, and that in fact the younger slaves, and priests and rulers,
were the ones most likely to be sold into captivity. Thirdly,
he argued that the slaves in fact came from a specific part of
Africa - West Africa and the Congo - an area which had basic cultural
and linguistic similarities, and that a general culture could be
maintained in the New World situation not only through the merging
of the "least common denominators" of the specific tribal cultures,
but also through the provision of a common mode of communication by
the learning of the masters' language. And finally, with regard to
the fourth premise, Herskovits points out that this is an ethnocentric
argument, and that not only did the slaves come from cultures with
complex social organisations, but that the presence of priests and
rulers among the slaves "made it possible for the cultural lifeblood

1) Herskovits 1941 op cit: 293
to coagulate through reinterpretation instead of ebbing away into the pool of European culture", 1) also pointing to the characteristic adaptability of the African, which enabled him, in the context of slavery, to maintain the "inner values" of an institution while adjusting its "outer form", as, for example, in the "adaptation of African patterns of mutual self-help in matters pertaining to death to outward Euro-American conventions of lodges and funerals ..." 2)

Within the broader context of this hypothesis Herskovits does, however, recognise variations not only in the retention of African culture within different parts of the New World (due to variations in the slaves' natural and social environment), but also with regard to different aspects of culture and social organisation. The reason for the latter being that under culture contact the dominated culture borrows selectively from the dominant culture, there being most resistance to influence in the areas of "cultural foci" - that is, areas where the norms of the old culture are strongest; thus, for example, he postulates greater change in the sphere of the slaves' technology than in their religion.

Thus New World social organisation comprises not only retentions of African culture but also 'reinterpretations' and 'syncretisms', and with regard to the specific consideration of family organisation, Herskovits says, for example of the Negroes in the Trinidadian village of Toco, that:

1) Ibid: 297.

2) Ibid: 298.
"in considering the forms taken by the family and the
behaviour associated with it, we are faced with a
retention of African custom that has been reinterpreted
so drastically as to make the resulting institutions
not only susceptible of description as pathological
manifestations of the European family but ones which,
in fact, have been frequently so described. Nevertheless,
as we have seen, these forms of the family are not
pathological at all, but rather demonstrate how tenaciously
a tradition can be held to, and how the process of
reinterpretation can give to custom a resilience and
malleability in the face of new circumstances." ¹)

And specifically, he regards Toco family organisation as "a translation,
in terms of the monogamic pattern of European mating, of basic West
African forms that operate within a polygynous frame"; ²) the
feature of the man's marginal role in the family, for example, being
related to the fact that the matri-segment was the functional unit in
West African polygynous families.

Regarding the distinction between legal marriage and "keeping"
or "placage" Herskovits puts forward a largely economic interpretation
based on the economic prerequisites for marriage and the man's
inability to fulfil these. ³)

Frazier on the other hand - in his study of the United States
Negro - argues that the slave had been stripped of his African
cultural heritage by the traumas of enslavement, and more importantly
by the socio-economic organisation of plantation society. Thus, he
suggests - in contrast to Herskovits - there is little or no evidence
to be found of African "survivals" or influence in the social
organisation in general or family organisation in particular of the

²) Ibid: 293.
American Negro. 1)

More specifically, Frazier bases his hypothesis on the arguments that although the slaves came from a fairly uniform cultural area in West Africa, this cultural homogeneity was destroyed by factors such as the capture of slaves in inter-tribal wars; the selection of young men - who, he argues, are "poor bearers of the cultural heritage of a people" 2) - for the slave markets; and the dehumanizing effects of the baracoons or slave camps and the subsequent "Middle Passage". Important factors in the socio-economic organisation of plantation society which served to destroy the African heritage including the allocation of most of the slaves in very small numbers on small farms and plantations, resulting in the separation of kin; the socialization of the new slaves not only by their masters, but by the older slaves who treated the newcomers with disdain; the frequent interaction with the white masters and the subsequent acquisition of their culture resultant from the close supervision enabled by the small numbers of slaves on each plantation; the policy of separating those slaves who spoke the same

1) Frazier 1966 op cit, particularly Chapter One where he discusses the generally scanty recollections - where they existed at all - by the American Negro of his African past, and concludes that "These scraps of memories, which form only an insignificant part of the growing body of the traditions in Negro families, are what remains of the African heritage." (15); and Chapters II and XXII; also 1965 op cit, particularly Chapter One; and The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), Chapter One. Frazier and Herskovits also differed in their explanatory hypotheses regarding negro churches and lodges.


2) Frazier 1963 op cit: 1.
language; the fact that under the economic system of slavery the
slaves were chattles, which resulted in their sale whenever expedient,
as well as their separation in the settlement of inheritances; the
fact that the slaves were chattles also resulting in the prohibition
against legal marriage among them and the regulation of their mating
by their masters. The new organisation of labour was also a further
point acting against the retention of cultural homogeneity. 1)

Under slavery, as mentioned above, both unstable and stable variants
of family organisation emerged. Factors affecting the first were the
initial lack of social control due to the destruction of the African
heritage, as well as the initial excess of males; the disregard for
the slaves' private life and kinship ties which resulted from their
legal status as chattles; - concomitants of the latter being the
disregard of both the conjugal and father-child bond; the control
exerted over mating; the destruction of the husband-father role; -
and finally, miscegenation between the masters and slave women which
resulted, when based on an unstable union, in unacknowledged mulatto
offspring.

The mother-child unit was the basis of this variant, and the role
of the mother and grandmother as matriarch developed in this context,
the basis of such authority being the necessary child-rearing
activities; these being consolidated in the case of the grandmother
by her age and experience (as witnessed by her role of midwife among
her own people as well as "mammy" (nanny or foster-mother) to white
children.)

1) On this point of Smith, M.G. 1960 (b) op cit: 42.
Although marriage among the slaves was prohibited, nevertheless several factors contributed - under 'favourable' conditions - to produce a second variant, the stable family. These factors were the allowance by some masters of permanent conjugal unions which developed between the slaves on the basis of sentiment rather than impulse; the moral supervision of the slaves, resulting from the paternalism of plantation society, and the associated influence of white culture (these influences being strongest in the case of the house slaves and artisans); and where the family was allowed to become an economic unit to some extent, as, for example, through the cultivation of allocated land. The influence of the Baptist and Methodist Churches was also instrumental in this context, although Frazier notes that despite the undoubted influence on their sexual behaviour, "these churches did not develop moral conceptions and restraints" among the slaves "identical to those of the masters". 1)

Such various factors interacted, then, to produce a new form of social control, and it is to be noted, therefore, that non-legal conjugal unions and illegitimacy were not always, in the context of the plantation, symptomatic of total disorganisation; but rather, represented the development of new folkways.

A final factor mentioned in relation to the development of the stable family during slavery was miscegenation, resulting in the growth of stable (though non-legalised) conjugal relationships between white masters and slave women; or even where these did not develop, the acknowledgement of the mulatto offspring by the father. Concomitant with this was the increased opportunity for the adoption of 'white' culture by the slaves, and also the growth of the class of Free

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Negroes through manumission.

Among the free mulattoes Frazier explains the stable patriarchal variant as being a result of both economic security and their identification with white culture; among the black ex-slaves with reference to comparative economic security, these being slaves who had purchased their freedom (primarily artisans) and sometimes that of their families; among the hybrid communities this variant being explained with reference to the influence of the deep-rooted pioneering tradition and the institutionalisation of community life.

The primary effect of Emancipation on the family life of the American Negro was the development of promiscuous and unstable relationships due to the disruption of the master's authority over the many potentially unstable family ties of the slaves; and also to the ensuing mobility of the latter resultant from "the changing economic and social conditions in the South". 1)

This situation was somewhat modified, however, by a certain degree of continuity where stable patriarchal or matriarchal structures had previously existed under slavery:

"Among the demoralized elements in the newly emancipated Negroes promiscuous sexual relationships and frequent changing of spouses became the rule ... On the other hand, the disorders arising from the Civil War and Emancipation often provided a proof of the strength of marital [i.e., conjugal] and family ties that had developed during slavery." 2)

In addition, new order emerged from the initial disorganisation and resulted in the development of stable variants of both types.

With regard to the patriarchal variant, not only was the influence of the pre-Civil War Free Negroes (including the hybrid communities)

1) Frazier 1966 op cit: 209; see ibid, Chapter XIII for a detailed account of this trend.

2) Frazier 1965 op cit: 313; see also Frazier 1966 op cit, Chapter V.
important, but also the (admittedly limited) development of the 'husband'-father role which was sometimes permitted under slavery; - mentioned above as being based on the organisation of the family as a semi-economic unit (sometimes resulting in the purchase by the father of the family's freedom), and also influenced by the norms of the white culture.

Among such sections of the emancipated population there was often a rush to acquire land and where this was possible this consolidated patriarchal authority; and Frazier in fact notes that even farm-tenancy had this effect. Such factors resulted in the "economic subordination of the woman", 1) these bases of authority being further reinforced by the influence of the Church, whose organisation and doctrine sanctioned patriarchal authority.

Such families, then, formed an ever-increasing upper-class minority, differentiated from those still incorporated in the plantation system, or in camps and city slums, by "their higher economic status and their deeply rooted patriarchal family traditions"; 2) this class being characterised by their "puritanical outlook". The proportions and growth of these "Black Puritans" were indicated by the statistics for home ownership. Frazier notes that such a development was made possible "because economic conditions have permitted the germs of culture, which have been picked up by Negro families, to take root and grow." 3)

1) Frazier 1966 ibid: 140.
3) Ibid: see also ibid Chapters IX and XII for detailed analysis of these developments, and Frazier 1965 op cit: 314-15.
The second stable variant which emerged - the matriarchal (maternal/matricentric) family-characterised the plantation area of the South, and again there were obvious influences carried over from slavery in the sanctioned authority of the mother and also the grandmother, in her role as "guardian of the generations" in the extended family. Subsequently, the norms of maternal authority, "common-law marriage" and illegitimacy, rather than being symptomatic of disorganisation among these Southern Negroes, were in fact "supported by the folk ways and mores of the rural communities." 1)

The next stage in the development of the American Negro family was the disorganisation which resulted from the mass migrations to the cities, which "became a great folk movement during and following the first World War ..." 2) For this urbanisation of the Negro resulted in the disruption of the folk mores and a lack of social control which was portrayed by the large amount of desertion and delinquency; the high percentage of female household heads and of dependent families "under care"; and in these cities female headship and illegitimacy were symptomatic of family disorganisation, contrary to the situation described above for the plantation South.

Consistent with his methodological approach, Frazier emphasises that,

"The poverty and disorganization of Negro family life in the urban environment only becomes intelligible when they are studied in relation to the organization of Negro communities and the social and economic forces which determine their development", 3)

1) Frazier 1965 ibid: 320; see also Frazier 1966 op cit Chapters VI - VIII for detailed analysis.

2) Frazier 1966 ibid: 225; also ibid Chapters XIV - XVIII.

and these he relates to the socio-economic organisation of the wider American society.

So, for example, the symptoms of disorganisation referred to above are correlated with variables such as occupation and household tenure, and all these are significantly related to the socio-economic environment as witnessed for example by the zonal structure of some cities, such as Chicago and Harlem, New York, where the traits of disorganisation were seen to decrease from the central to the more peripheral zones.

A later development resultant from this urbanization (and which still characterised the period at which Frazier was writing) was the growth of occupational differentiation among the Negro population (itself influenced by national socio-economic trends) and the increasing adoption in the higher occupational ranks of the national cultural norms, and the resultant development of new socio-economic classes. These replaced the old, broadly dichotomous, division between the small Negro "aristocracy" and the rest of the population. 1)

The new socio-economic structure had obvious effects on the family organisation of the Negro; for example in the higher echelons the stable family emerged with the role of the husband-father being based on economic security; and even within these broad categories there were sub-variants which could be related to more detailed socio-economic variables. Female household headship and illegitimacy thus remained primarily as a correlate of the economic insecurity of the lower class, although this was somewhat modified by the influence of the Church.

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1) Ibid: Chapters XIX-XXI; and Frazier 1965 on cit: 328-332.
Much reference has been made in the literature to the Herskovits-Frazier debate and this debate has generally been presented in such accounts as a clear-cut opposition of views regarding the origins of New World social organisation in general and family organisation in particular. While this representation of the case is basically correct the qualification can be made that these authors' hypotheses are not completely irreconcilable in every respect.

For example, while Herskovits developed much of his argument with reference to the Negro in the West Indies and parts of South America, Frazier was primarily concerned with the American Negro, and in Frazier's discussion of the destruction of the African cultural heritage among the American Negro slave he in fact contrasts the lack of African influence there with the situation in the West Indies: "In contrast to the situation in the West Indies, African traditions and practices did not take root and survive in the United States."; noting that there was less opportunity in the latter than in the former "for a slave to meet one of his own people, because the plantations were considerably smaller, more widely scattered and, especially, because as soon as they were landed in this country, slaves were immediately divided and shipped in small numbers, frequently no more than one or two at a time, to different plantations." 2)

The scattering of the slaves in the United States not only operating against the retention of the African heritage but also accelerating the learning of the white culture. At another point Frazier echoes the above contrast comparing the American situation to that in the

1) See e.g. Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 228; 233; Greenfield 1966 op cit: 22; Smith, M.G. 1966 op cit: viii.
2) Frazier 1966 op cit: 5-6.
West Indies and Brazil, where "large numbers of African slaves were concentrated on vast plantations for the production of sugar"; pointing out that "Under such conditions it was possible for the slaves to re-establish their African ways of life and keep alive their traditions"; whereas "in the United States the slaves were scattered in relatively small numbers on plantations and farms over a large area." 1)

And with specific reference to family organisation, Frazier contrasts the American situation where there is virtually no evidence of African influence, with that of the West Indies, where "even today it appears that the African pattern of family life is perpetuated in the patriarchal family organisation ...", 2) adding in a footnote that

"In the following observations of a visitor to the French West Indies about the year 1700 we have, doubtless, an example of this patriarchal authority which had its roots in Africa ..." 3)


3) Frazier 1965 op cit: 13, Footnote (32). See also p. 306 for further reference to African influence on family structure in parts of the West Indies. Frazier also notes the presence of African influence on other aspects of New World Negro social organisation and culture, e.g. on the political organisation of the slaves in the West Indies and Brazil, ibid: 10, Footnote (22) and p. 92, Footnote (22); on language in the West Indies, Surinam and Brazil, ibid: 10, Footnote (21) and 1966 op cit: 5; also stating that "There is also impressive evidence of the fact that in the West Indies and in parts of South America, African culture still survives in the religious practices, funeral festivals, folklore, and dances of the transplanted Negroes." 1966 Ibid.
And although at one point Frazier opposes his hypothesis of African influence on male dominance in the West Indies to that of Herskovits regarding female dominance, nevertheless in some ways even this opposition may be reconciled in that each appears to be referring to different aspects of West African polygamous family organisation; - Herskovits to the matri-segment, Frazier to the patriarchal status of the father-husband who has many wives.

The obverse of this qualification of Frazier's position is the fact that Herskovits allows that the intensity of West African survivals in the New World varied from maximum retention in Surinam to minimum retention in the United States. \(^1\)

Despite this, however, and despite the fact that Herskovits admits the destructive influence of the Southern plantation on the African heritage of the slave, Herskovits nevertheless advocates "that a diluted form of the African family continued to exist" there, and could be "recognised ... in the so-called common-law marriages among Negroes." "Likewise", Frazier continues,

"he sees in the so-called 'matriarchal' or 'maternal' family among [United States] Negroes, in which the mother and grandmother play important roles, evidence of the continuation in a diluted form of African traditions"; \(^2\)

and in addition attempts "to show that African survivals can be discovered in practically every phase of Negro life in the United States." \(^3\)

And although, in fact, Frazier does admit the presence of a small number of African survivals in the United States, he argues that:

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1) See e.g. 1965 op cit: 6, Footnotes (9) and (10); and Frazier 1963 op cit: 1, Footnote (1).

2) Frazier 1965 op cit: 12.

3) Ibid: 4, Footnote (3).
"These rare and isolated instances of survivals associated with the Negro family only indicate how completely the African social organization was wiped out by slavery." 1) 

The basic opposition between these two protagonists therefore remains.

Some qualification can also be made regarding the portrayal in the literature of the place of Frazier's work in the development of the explanation of New World Negro family forms; for his work is often dismissed as purely "historical". 2) While as seen above that he is concerned with the origins of the American Negro family, his work is not confined to the consideration of origins. For using the two main factors in his methodological approach to the study of the slave family, viz.: the influence of white American culture and the socio-economic organisation of the community, which in turn was influenced by that of the wider society, Frazier analyses the development of variants in the American Negro family right up until the time at which he was writing.

Simey and Henriquez both combine the consideration of the historical influence of slavery with that of contemporary economic factors - themselves rooted in slavery - as the determining variables in West Indian and Jamaican family structure.

Simey, in rejecting Herskovits' hypothesis of African cultural continuity as the moulding influence on West Indian family forms, apart from criticising his methodology for its failure to study the process of selection of culture-traits, notes that while

1) Ibid: 11.
2) See e.g. Smith, M.G. 1962 (a) op. cit: 6; Greenfield 1966, op. cit: 20.
"West Indian society may be in some respects matriarchal so far as the functions and responsibilities of women in the community are concerned, ... it is patriarchal in so far as the status of the woman in society is not specially protected in any way. In public the man reigns supreme." 1) 

Apart from this important difference with regard to the respective statuses of the sexes regarding any supposed West African 'matrilineal' influence, Simey also notes an important difference between the West African polygamous family and the West Indian family:

"it is a far cry from the state of affairs in Africa, where the children of any mother are usually by one man, to the West Indies, where the children in any West Indian family group may be by several fathers, and even if the West Indian family is matrilocal, it is nevertheless patrilineal. Moreover, the characteristic feature of the West Indian family is that in one of its prevailing types no man stands in the relation of a father to the children; in this case the sole bond which keeps the family together is the mother." 2)

He concludes that it is slavery, then, with its absence of marriage, encouragement of promiscuity, and bolstering of the maternal role and complementary undermining of the paternal role among the slaves, as well as the establishment of the female slave's economic independence from the male that has moulded the basic structure of the West Indian family, and he argues that the post-emancipation period simply consolidated the main trends in family organisation which existed prior to emancipation. He also notes that in the early post-emancipation era a second variant of family structure emerged centred around the father wherever the latter could consolidate his economic foundations, his fourfold classification of "family types" mentioned above being simply a further breakdown of these two main

1) Simey op cit: 44.

variants in family structure. Thus he argues that the distinction between Faithful Concubinage and Marriage is economic, due to the economic prerequisites of the latter, and also explains the prevalence of the "maternal family" on economic grounds, since "There can be no doubt that when a West Indian prospers he tends to marry and live a 'respectable' life ..." 1)

Henriques likewise notes the influence of slavery on the instability of contemporary Jamaican family structure, noting that while "The possibility of African influence on the pattern of sexual promiscuity cannot altogether be ignored", that "The evidence seems to suggest that the direct encouragement of promiscuity by the planters was sufficient to establish a cultural pattern which has persisted to the present day." Other factors of plantation society influencing the slaves' family organisation being the masters' discouragement of Christianity among the slaves, "which might have led to monogamous marriage," and also the masters' practice of taking concubines from among the slaves. 2)

Despite his emphasis on the historical influences on lower class family structure, Henriques also relates such patterns to the contemporary socio-economic structure of the wider society, particularly its stratification system, which he shows is itself rooted in pre-emancipation society; the general contention which runs through his book being that although specific aspects of lower class Jamaican social organisation such as family structure are internally organised, that they are symptoms of structural aspects in the wider society

2) Henriques 1968 op cit: 34-5.
that are essentially "disnomie".

His economic interpretation of family organisation with reference to the contemporary society is presented in two ways. The first is an economic interpretation of the variants within his fourfold classification of domestic groups referred to above, whereby he postulates "a scale of poverty ... made on the level of income" concomitant with the decreased incidence of types A to D. His interpretation with specific reference to the presence or absence of Type A, based on legal marriage, likewise being primarily economic. In addition to this structural-functional hypothesis, Henriques also puts forward a functional hypothesis whereby he interprets the variants of lower class family structure, with their prime emphasis on consanguineal rather than conjugal bonds, as a 'functional response' to class-engendered socio-economic anxiety and insecurity, these latter being due to the frustrations of poverty and colour, the extended kinship group functioning in this context to provide mutual socio-economic aid. This is contrasted with the situation in the middle and upper classes where the prevalent form of the domestic group is the "Christian Family", and where "There is no necessity ... for a family structure which caters for the majority of the social needs of the individual, as satisfaction for those needs is supplied from outside the family." Thus, he argues, "The different response of the society, according to the class in question, is determined in part by the difference in economic level."
We are therefore provided with a functional hypothesis regarding the variations in the functions of, and the concomitant stress on, kinship - reflected in the forms of kinship groupings - in the respective subcultures of the society. It can be noted that while at one point Henriques couches this hypothesis in terms of a simple correlation between decreased socio-economic insecurity and diminished stress on kinship up the class ladder, 1) at another point he postulates a more complex model, with the variable of economic insecurity diminishing steadily up the class ladder, but with social insecurity (resultant from concern with colour) being greater in the middle and upper classes than in the lower class, 2) so that there is a shift of cultural focus from the extended family in the lower class to "colour" in the middle and upper classes; obsession with colour, and concomitant anxiety, being greatest in the middle class. 3) This difference in cultural foci he illustrates with regard to mortuary ritual, arguing that whereas a funeral in the middle and upper classes is the concern primarily of the elementary family, with wide public attendance - which he interprets in terms of social prestige - that the funeral and wake in the lower class emphasises the solidarity of the extended kinship group. A hypothesis which will be examined in detail in Chapter 6. "This economic interpretation of kinship", notes Henriques, "does not discount the historical factor, but that which may have had an historical

1) Ibid: 140.
3) Ibid: 162.
causation is now supported and controlled by the economic fabric of the society."

The most important determining variable in Clarke's explanation of Jamaican family structure is that of land tenure. Thus in her first field report on four Jamaican communities, her aim is to show that there is a customary system of land tenure in the village which differs considerably from the legal system of tenure and inheritance in the island; and that this system, through its influence on residence (and even through the conflict often associated with it) is functional in maintaining the solidarity of the kinship group - the "kindred" or consanguineal "family" as opposed to the conjugal or nuclear family:

"Our evidence goes to show that the kindred, the blood relatives and in particular the maternal kin, as distinct from the conjugal or the household group, is the most important institution in our communities and often the only vital one." 2)

In her later report - which deals with only three of these communities: Mocca, Sugartown and Orange Grove - Clarke develops her explanatory hypothesis of the Jamaican family more fully, arguing that the variations in family structure are determined by the variable of socio-economic community ethos, the main factor of which is land tenure; - there being a greater prevalence of bought land and individual ownership associated with a higher socio-economic ethos, than of family land and customary tenure. She illustrates her hypothesis with the comparative analysis of the three communities, showing that the incidence of consanguineal (matrifocal and sibling) as opposed to conjugal and nuclear households varies

1) Ibid: 141.
according to the type of tenure predominant in each community, and taking the incidence of marriage in each as indicative of the influence of socio-economic variables on family structure. 1)

For example, Orange Grove, with the highest incidence of bought land and the highest percentage of small farmers, is in fact "the only one of our Centres where the majority of the population had the necessary social and economic security to satisfy" 2) the prerequisites for marriage, and accordingly has the highest incidence of marriage for the three communities (75%), marriage being the rule rather than the exception - contrary to the other two Centres - marriage also occurring at an earlier age than in the latter.

In Sugartown, due to the combination of the fact that there is only a core of family land, which, in addition, has become increasingly fragmented and infertile due to customary transmission, with the fact that there are opportunities only for seasonal employment in the area due to the latter's ecology, results in the seasonal emigration of the Sugartown males in search of work, much of the family land subsequently being left in the hands of the women. These women, who are the core of the descendants of the old families of the community, are related to each other through cognatic kin ties, and so the phenomenon of matrifocal extended families which grow up on family land (sometimes contained in separate households) are the predominant feature of family structure here. Due also to the seasonal immigration of outsiders in "crop-time", there is also

1) Clarke 1966 op cit.

2) Ibid 79.
a prevalence of unstable "house-keeper" unions between these immigrant men and the Sugartown women, such unions being generally matrilocal due to the male's dearth of land, the latter factor also resulting in his marginal role in the family. Marriage here accounts for only 26% of conjugal unions, this being the lowest incidence of all three Centres.

In Mocoa the results of the land tenure system are that most villagers are related to each other through cognatic kin ties, and that there is less migration than in Sugartown. The latter factor means that the man therefore plays a greater part in domestic organisation in Mocoa than in Sugartown, and conjugal unions can therefore be expected to be more stable, which they are: compared to Sugartown's 26%, 35% of unions in Mocoa are based on marriage. This is still a low incidence, however, when compared to that in Orange Grove, and this Clarke explains with reference to the poverty of the villagers of Mocoa - family land having become increasingly fragmented and infertile, and being used primarily for house-spots, small farming therefore being very restricted. She points out, however, that the "family" is nevertheless the most important social institution in Mocoa, using the term in this context to denote not only the consanguineal kin, but also the stable concubinage on which many households are based.

Comitas supports Clarke's hypothesis in his study of five Jamaican communities; with reference to Long Hill, he notes that

"I found here the highest rate of legal marriage of the five settlements which, following Clarke ... would indicate the highest level of social and economic security of the five." 1)

1) Comitas op cit: 140.
Nearly every household owns or holds on a rent-free basis the house-spot it occupies.

Kerr explains the matrifocal nature of Jamaican lower class family structure with reference both to the historical influence of slavery, where "the woman and children were of necessity the family unit", 1) and the persistance of this pattern due to the continuation of depressed economic conditions among this class - for example the man may have to leave the village to seek employment; and also to the economic prerequisites of marriage that few can fulfill.

While Collins gives no explicit explanatory hypothesis regarding the form of the lower class family in Jamaica, his statement that "Common-law and maternal types of families predominate in the lower social strata of the society and decrease in the upper strata where paternal families predominate" 2) implies that he regards income level as an important causal factor in family form.

Cohen explains the variants in Rooky Roads "family" types with reference to economic variables and the nature of socialisation. With reference to economic variables, he explains the matripotestal variant as being in part due to "a recurring core of economically insecure men who must defer marriage, ..." 3) this phenomenon being due to the illegitimate status of such men, such status restricting their rights of inheritance. Illegitimacy itself being a result of the "peripheral role of the father", and in turn also strengthening

1) Kerr 1952 op cit: 93.
2) Collins op cit: 269.
the dominant role of the mother. The predominance of the patripotestal variant in the community being in part related to the relatively secure economic foundation of the male in the community - one of independent farmers.

Cohen interprets the nature of socialisation found in Rocky Roads as "a pattern of training which is a function of the historically determined structural centrality of the mother ...", describing the main features of such socialisation as the confinement of the child within the nuclear family until the age of seven years, and the socialisation of children of both sexes by their mother rather than father until the age of ten years. This type of socialisation "can be carried out equally well in both the patripotestal and matripotestal families" 1) and it reinforces the structural importance of the mother, this having further ramifications in the continuation of this type of family organisation. For it results in the establishment of early socio-economic independence of the male from his father; a prolonged dependent relationship on the part of the male with his mother, which in turn contributes to the deferment of marriage on the part of the male; and the splitting up of the male members of the patripotestal family at the time of inheritance through the lack of an "emotionally charged internalised authority" associated with the father. 2)

In his study of British Guiana, Raymond Smith analyses the interrelation between family structure and social status in three negro villages. Smith takes the household as the sociological unit

1) Ibid: 682.
2) Ibid: 678.
of analysis in the family structure, explaining the variations in household structures with reference to the developmental cycle of the domestic group and the male's socio-economic status in the wider society. 1)

Smith's argument is that the adult male links the sub-system of the family to the national occupational/stratification system, and that since the lower class male occupies a marginal position in the latter, this results in the failure to provide economic support and the concomitant social prestige for the family. The male therefore becomes marginal to the family, particularly after the reproductive stage, tending to depart towards the later stages of the developmental cycle. "Matrifocality" is therefore a subcultural norm functionally related to the wider socio-economic system.

He suggests that there is a similar structural interrelationship "between low social status in a stratified society, and a type of family system in which men seem to lack importance as authoritarian figures in domestic relations. These are facts of social structure, and the arrangement of these structural elements is basically similar despite marked variations in their corresponding cultural complexes in different societies. We are really dealing with sub-systems of the several societies, although certain aspects of the total societies are basically comparable." This hypothesis he suggests being applicable to sub-systems not only in other parts of the Caribbean, but also in Latin America and Britain as well.


Greenfield conceptualises his own approach to the study of the Barbadian family as nearer to Raymond Smith's structural-functional analysis of Guianese family structure than to the methodology of any of the other students of New World Negro family structure. Greenfield's approach is not, however, completely synonymous with Smith's, for he criticises the latter's analysis for being purely synchronic, quoting Radcliffe-Brown to support his contention that a diachronic analysis of structure and function is also necessary. His own methodology, therefore, combines a structural-functional approach with a historical-cultural one. His further criticisms of Smith's analysis are that he equates the family with the household; and attempts to explain the variation in household (supposedly synonymous with family) types with reference to the concept of the Developmental Cycle, which, Greenfield argues, is an attempt to explain specific forms by an abstract ideal type.

Greenfield sees the alternate forms of the family in Enterprise Hall as being directly related to the variable of socio-economic resources; for he not only argues that marriage "is the ideal and norm for the community" and that "Families based on all other forms of union are modelled on the organisational norms for the legally based union", 1) but that there are certain "economic prerequisites" necessary for marriage. These are the attainment by the adult male of the "minimal economic success" necessary to support a family, and, as this increases, the concomitant status to give the family prestige. Since such prerequisites are "beyond

the reach of many individuals" marriage is "restricted to the fortunate few." 1)

Greenfield therefore conceptualises the typical conjugal career as a striving towards marriage, on the part of the woman; and, on the part of the man, towards the economic success necessary for marriage. Families not based on marriage are therefore symptomatic of the low socio-economic status of the husband-father.

This low status results in the necessity for the mother and possibly children to work for wages, and therefore destroys the familial division of labour, weakening the "conjugal bond" and resulting in the matrifocal family. Not only may the adult male become marginal to the family in this respect, but he may also leave the family completely. Thus matrifocality is symptomatic not only of the male's low socio-economic status, but also of familial instability.

The fact that most of the families in Enterprise Hall are based on marriage is therefore related to the fact that most of the population there are "middle class".

Greenfield compares the articulation of the nuclear family in Barbados with the wider national occupational/stratification system, to the similar structural interrelationship existent in modern American society, and traces the introduction of this form of the family in both societies back to the cultural influence of seventeenth century industrial England.

1) Ibid
In the case of the United States this type of family was introduced during the earliest colonising period prior to the development of the farm family; the subsequent reversion to the nuclear family in modern times being due to its compatibility with the urbanisation and industrialisation of the society.

In the case of Barbados, the nuclear family was also introduced by the early English colonisers in the seventeenth century; and although during slavery this form of the family was not adopted by the African population (due to the denial to the slave of the husband-father role) nevertheless at Emancipation the English model of the nuclear family was the only available model for the emancipated slaves to adopt, their traditional norms of social organisation having been destroyed during slavery, and being in any case too diverse to have been maintained in any kind of unified form.

Not only is the Barbadian nuclear family similar to that found in America and England, but the alternate form of the Barbadian family - the matrifocal family - is also present in these other societies. In these latter, this type of family can also, as in Barbados, be accounted for by the low socio-economic status and resultant marginality of the adult male, this interrelationship again being traceable to seventeenth century English industrial society.

To further support this cultural-historical hypothesis, Greenfield draws attention to the correlation - similar to that existent in Barbados - between property - specifically land - and marriage, which also existed in seventeenth century England, stating that "Thus in both societies, 'no property, no marriage' became the rule". ¹)

¹) Greenfield 1966 op cit: 165.
He likewise notes the similarity of the Barbadian custom of receiving "permission to 'be friendly' with a woman" ¹ to the early English trothplight ceremony, noting that in both instances cohabitation outside of marriage was subsequently sanctioned, and that in the latter as in the former case the culmination of the union in marriage did not necessarily occur.

The difference between the statistical distribution of the two forms of the family in Barbados - where the matrifocal type predominates - and the other two countries is explained with reference to the relative wealth of these nations.

In combining the structural-functional and the cultural-historical approaches in the study of the Barbadian family, then, Greenfield aims to supplement R.T. Smith's hypothesis regarding the "significant relationship between social structure and family form", ² by showing that the variants in Barbadian family structure are directly related to the variable of socio-economic resources rather than to the ideal type concept of the Developmental Cycle of the household; and that both variants are completely understandable within the context of the English cultural influence. In addition, the latter is related to the African heritage and the institution of the plantation.

Nevertheless, Greenfield does not claim to put forward a general explanation of West Indian matrilocality, for he points out that in each society a similar structural feature - in this case 'matrifocality' - may have a different "raison d'etre".

Davenport's analysis of Jamaican family structure is aimed at reducing "the number of household variables which have already been studied in detail ... to what seems to be the most salient

¹) Ibid: 164.
few." ¹ He relates the variables of household size and composition to economic factors - the "expansional tendencies" of the household being directly related to "the ability to support and maintain a number of persons collectively in a single household unit" ² - and concomitantly, to the variable of conjugal status which forms the basis of the household, since this variable is itself related to economic factors: "Only socio-economic security enables a man to head his own household group and to achieve a stable marriage". ³ However, the presence of family land may also enable matricentric households to develop.

In his discussion of the economic influence on the expansional tendencies of the domestic group Davenport places a great deal of emphasis on the importance of the variable of land tenure; and although he uses Fortes' concept of the developmental cycle in analysing this interrelationship, he suggests that there are two "separate but complementary cycles" applicable to the lower class: the cycle of the household group "with its capacity for household expansion and absorption of less stable households ..." ⁴ adding that the phase of expansion in such households is not, as Fortes' model suggests, limited by the duration of the woman's fertility; (the bases of recruitment, where economic variables permit expansion having been referred to above; the skewedness of such extended households being due - in the case of kin of ascending

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1) Davenport *op cit*: 441.
generations - to the man's obligation to support his mother; and - in the case of descending generations - to the prescription that "there must be a responsible woman present to care for ... [the children] and this woman must be consanguinely close to them and cannot be a stepmother ..." 1). And secondly, the cycle of the "bilocal" extended group, which is contained in separate households on family land, such groups having a patrilocal bias with "virilocal residence ... the preferred rule," 2) although uxorilocal residence may also occur.

Davenport further qualifies Fortes' model by continuing his biological analogy and adding the Darwinian concept of natural selection, pointing out that in both cycles "only those units reproduce themselves which achieve the necessary foundations for maintaining their members." 3)

Blake's thesis is that marriage is the ideal norm in lower class Jamaican mating relations (for following Malinowski she argues in favour of the importance of legal marriage as the basis of the nuclear family), but that the majority of this class are prevented from attaining this ideal - at least not until late in life - by a variety of factors. These latter include the fact that parents do not encourage their daughters to marry early because they feel that a young girl cannot cope with the demands of home-making which are concomitant with the prerequisite of neolocal residence in marriage; and also because they are reluctant to lose her domestic

assistance in their own household. Added to this is the fact that in this interim prior to the desirable age for marriage, the young girl, due to the nature of socialisation in this class, remains ignorant of the facts of life, an ignorance which leads to the birth of an illegitimate child at an early age. This in turn lowers the woman's 'bargaining position' in the 'marriage market' since a man does not want to support another man's child. 1) This pattern becomes self-perpetuating through socialisation.

These factors are exacerbated by the man's 'wariness' of marriage, Blake's interpretation being that it is the woman in general who wants marriage, and the man who resists it; and that even where the desire to marry is mutual, marriage is often prevented because of the man's low socio-economic status in the society and his resultant inability to meet the elaborate economic prerequisites for marriage as it is defined in the lower class, viz.: an elaborate wedding; neolocal residence in one's own home; improvement of housing and furnishings; with the man as the main bread-winner supporting his wife and family at a higher level than in non-legal unions. Seen in this light, then, the "common-law" union is interpreted by Blake as a 'second best' to marriage in the face of the failure to achieve the latter; and as such has "little institutional support or form", 2) and therefore represents an

1) See Clarke 1966 op cit: 95 for a diametrically opposed opinion on this point: "it is unnatural not to have had a child and no woman who has not proved that she can bear one is likely to find a man to be responsible for her since 'no man is going to propose marriage to such a woman'."

2) Blake op cit: 168.
actual or statistical norm only. And with regard to the reason why she argues that 'common-law' unions do not generally lead to marriage, she states that this type of union, for a variety of reasons, does not make a good "trial marriage":

"It has low status in the eyes of both men and women and entails few mutual obligations. ... Although eager to marry somebody, [then] the common-law partners may nonetheless be unwilling to marry each other. They may even become so embittered and warped as to be overtly cautious about marrying anyone." 1)

In addition, this type of union performs neither the function of insulating the couple from each other's faults, not from environmental interference, functions performed in most other societies either by romantic love or the role of the match-maker. And she concludes that nondomiciliary unions are therefore just as likely to result in marriage as common-law ones. "Marriage is thus not in most cases a product of common-law unions," she states, "and most common-law unions do not result in marriage." 2)

As a result of her interpretation of common-law unions, she concludes that illegitimacy is not socially sanctioned in the lower class and is an index of the latter's disorganisation.

In his comparative study of the five West Indian sample populations referred to above M.G. Smith locates the most important variation in the family structure of the samples in "their organisation of mating and parenthood", 3) and the crucial variable in his explanation of these variations is the mating form of consensual cohabitation - its presence or absence, and when present its structural relationship with regard to the other two mating forms.

1) Ibid: 147.
3) Smith, M.G. 1962 (a) op.cit: 245.
To begin with, the absence of consensual cohabitation in Carriacou means that there are only four parenthood roles - "married and extraresidential fathers and married and single mothers" 1) - as opposed to six such roles in the other four samples - those of consensually cohabiting couples in addition to the four outlined for Carriacou.

Smith describes consensual cohabitation as an "ambiguous" and "inherently dynamic" status, a fact which is reflected both in the proliferation of terminology used to refer to it in the literature, and in the actual relationship between the couple. It is because of this characteristic that "Mating systems which include consensual cohabitation will vary ... according to its structural position within them"; and it is just this which differentiates the mating systems of Latante-rural Jamaica from those of Grenville and Kingston. For in the former, consensual cohabitation has a fixed structural position intermediate to the other two statuses: "it can neither follow marriage nor precede extraresidential relations", the three statuses therefore having a "serial arrangement", while consensual cohabitation has no such fixed position in the latter two samples. Accordingly, mating patterns in the former samples are stable, while in the latter they are unstable. 2)

Smith considers the relevance of the hypotheses put forward in the literature on West Indian family structure to the explanation of the variations of family structure in his samples, distinguishing between the earlier "diachronic speculations" and the later

"synchronic analyses", 1) but finding even the hypotheses put forward in the latter either irrelevant or insufficient to explain these. His alternative hypothesis is that it is the above-mentioned variations in mating organisation and parenthood which are responsible for these. And to support his hypothesis he demonstrates that the variations in domestic organisation are positively correlated with those in mating organisation and parenthood. For example, the domestic organisation of Carriacou is simpler than that of the other four samples, and this accords with its simpler mating organisation. Similarly, the uniformly higher ratio of households "containing members of three lineally successive generations" based on matrilineal kinship to those "having a similar depth without the intermediate generation" 2) is greatest in Carriacou due to the fact that extra-residential mating, which is responsible for this phenomenon, is most prevalent in Carriacou. This factor in turn being related to the absence of consensual cohabitation there. And the instability of consensual unions in the two urban samples can be seen to be responsible for the similarity of their ratios to that of Carriacou. Likewise the per centage of elementary families contained in the same household is highest in the two rural samples as a result — vis-à-vis the two urban samples — of the greater stability of mating relations in the former samples; and — vis-à-vis Carriacou — of the higher incidence of consensual cohabitation in the two rural samples.

1) Ibid. 6.
2) Ibid.
Horowitz explains the variations in household composition in Mome-Paysan with reference to land tenure (as in his case study of the Navarre family, where

"While most of the households [on the Navarre land] are nuclear, joint and extended household settlements are found, the result of fractionalisation of holdings and the construction of a new house on family land when a boy starts a maison."

And where division of family land has resulted in a quartier comprised of "a number of related households in close proximity" \(^1\); the sex of the household head (for example there is a greater incidence of "collateral kin, particularly siblings and their descendants ..." \(^2\) in female-headed households, also a much greater incidence of grand-children and great grandchildren in the latter than in male-headed households; and by conjugal status of the couple ("The households of married persons tend to have a simpler structure than do those of consensually wed couples." \(^3\).

In his explanation of variations in mating, land tenure is the crucial variable. For he argues that in a peasant economy there are two factors which lead to a greater percentage of legalised unions than in an agricultural proletariat. One is that a woman is an economic necessity for the peasant farmer - to market the surplus crops; this encourages stability in the union and thus there is a greater chance of marriage in later life than among the agricultural proletariat who have little to gain from marriage. The other is that the peasant often marries to ensure his children's inheritance of his land, as at marriage he can legitimise his children.

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1) Horowitz 1967 (a) op.cit: 46.
2) Ibid: 44.
member of the agricultural proletariat has no land to pass on to his children. And he concludes that:

"If peasantry loses out in Morne-Paysan there will be a corresponding decline in marriage and legitimacy, and an increasing fragility to conjugal relationships." 1)

And regarding the difference between consensual cohabitation and marriage, he also notes that "Inability to afford the wedding reception is the most frequently cited reason for not marrying." 2)

Thus while he accepts - in accordance with M.G. Smith's study of West Indian mating patterns - the association between mating patterns and the developmental cycle in Morne-Paysan, he argues that Smith's hypothesis that mating patterns determine family structure is an insufficient explanation of the latter; - it is a circular explanation: because the mating patterns exist they are normative, and they are normative because they exist. And he notes that although there is a sequential pattern of these mating forms in rural Jamaica and Latante, there is no such sequential pattern in the urban areas of Kingston and Grenville. He argues that as Smith himself points out for these latter areas, the mating pattern is not haphazard, but rather each form has equal validity for an individual at all stages of the developmental cycle. Thus there is in fact no normative place for a particular mating form in the developmental cycle. By using Smith's concept of normative mating patterns to explain family structure, he concludes that only those patterns which conform to the norms are explained.

Horowitz points out that there must be some factor to explain both the "normal" and random patterns. Using Berth's concept of

1) Ibid: 57.
2) Ibid: 54.
the Utility Model in Game Theory, Horowitz argues that it is the distribution of resources that determines mating patterns. At a given time there is a limited choice of mating forms to be made; this choice is determined by the distribution of resources, and the choice made aims to maximise the values of the society. If there is unequal distribution of resources, then a range of behaviour can be expected. This concept, then, he argues, explains both "normal" and random patterns. If there is in fact a normative sequence, as in Morne-Paysan, then this can be related to a regular distribution of resources at various stages in the life cycle, so that at an early stage all members of the society can be expected to make a certain choice; this choice will change at a later stage, and so on, as the distribution of resources themselves change at a later stage. If, however, there is no regular distribution of resources at given stages of the developmental cycle (as in Kingston and Grenville) there will be free choice, and this accounts for the random pattern.

Otterbein initially attempts to explain the variations in Andros Island household composition by combining Clarke's taxonomic approach with R.T. Smith's developmental cycle methodology, for he argues that Clarke "neglects to show the development of one type [of household] into another" and that Smith's use of one ideal type developmental cycle results in over-simplification. Accordingly, Otterbein suggests that Andros household variation can be explained with reference to five developmental cycles, the most common of which


2) Otterbein 1963 *op cit*: 81.
is that of the household which

"begins as a nuclear family household without children ... becomes a nuclear family household with children ... then becomes a grandparent household in which both grandparents are living ... eventually becomes a grandparent household headed by a grandmother ... and finally ends as a single-person household headed by a female ..." 1)  

On the basis of census data collected in Andros seven years later, however, Otterbein rejects the above explanatory hypothesis, noting that not only does this material fail "to confirm the typical Andros developmental cycle", but that there may in fact be "perhaps as many as forty different possible household cycles that households go through." 2) He therefore rejects his previous concern with the typical developmental cycle(s) turning his attention for future research to "an analysis of the social and economic factors influencing the domestic system of the Andros Islanders." 3) And for example he notes that the increased emigration of young people to Nassau has resulted in "a decrease in nuclear family households and an increase in grandparent households ..." since young adults fail to return "to establish households on southern Andros, while at the same time the children of these young adults are reared by the older generations." 4)  

His explanation of mating patterns can be found in an article with a wider focus than the Andros Islanders - one which seeks to explain the variations in Caribbean family organisation as a whole (but which in fact only deals with the ratio of consensual to marital unions, and the incidence of female household heads - this latter in turn influencing the incidence of extra-residential mating).

2) Ibid: 1418.  
3) Ibid.  
4) Ibid: 1413.
His explanation of the first phenomenon is that "the greater the number of men who earn and save money to build a home, the lower the percentage of consensual unions" ¹) in view of the prevalence of the "housebuilding requirement" for marriage: (the opportunity to save being related to the phenomenon of migrant wage labour). And of the second, "the greater the surplus of females, the higher the percentage of female-headed households" ²) in a society which does not provide for the support of surplus females either through polygyny or their incorporation in extended family households.

Furthermore, Otterbein finds a significant relationship between the association of "a high percentage of female-headed households ... with a low percentage of consensual unions, and ... a low percentage of female-headed households ... with a high percentage of consensual unions." ³) For opportunities for migrant wage labour are likely to cause both "low frequencies of consensual unions for the young men who return, ... [and] also ... a shortage of men" ⁴) due to the fact that some migrants may never return at all; the prevalence of marital rather than consensual unions reinforces a high percentage of female household heads since extra-residential mating is more likely to exist concurrently with marital rather than consensual unions, due to the fact that it is less likely to disrupt the former than the latter type of union. "Thus poor opportunities to earn and save money result in both high frequencies of consensual unions and low percentages of female-headed households." ⁵)

¹) Otterbein 1965 op cit: 73.
²) Ibid: 75.
³) Ibid: 77.
⁴) Ibid: 78.
⁵) Ibid.
Otterbein regards this hypothesis as a reformulation of the functional approach existant in the literature on the Caribbean family through the combination of R.T. Smith’s and Clarke’s "low economic status" hypothesis with Solien and Kunstadter’s "male absenteeism" hypothesis to produce an economic-demographic explanation ("opportunities to earn and save money and the sex ratio" 1).

Mention has already been made of Clarke and Smith’s hypotheses, and brief reference can here be made to those of Solien and Kunstadter who are both concerned with the explanation of matrifocality - Solien with regard to the "consanguineal household" which she notes exists "most commonly, although not exclusively, in the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean regions"; 2) and Kunstadter with regard to the "consanguine or matrifocal family", 3) of which he cites the Caribbean as an example.

Solien, in a paper which aims "to reduce the apparent diversity in ... [descriptions of migrant wage labour] to manageable categories, and to assess the effects which each type of migrancy appears to have upon the institution of the family", 4) relates the consanguineal household to the specific phenomenon/ Recurrent Migration. In this type of migration, "men make irregular journeys, of varying lengths of time, to obtain wage labor throughout their productive years", 5) and as a result "are absent not only during their youth but for periods of varying lengths after they have reached maturity." 6)

1) Ibid: 77.
2) Solien de Gonzalez, 1961 op cit: 1273.
3) Kunstadter op cit: 56.
5) Ibid: 1268.
6) Ibid: 1269.
Although such migrants "retain ties with their home villages" their "social identity can no longer be separated completely from ... [their] work identity." 1)

Consonguineal households, through the socialisation of the children who remain with the mother, and the incorporation of the woman "into a cooperative group larger than ... the nuclear family" 2) provide security for the migrant's mate and offspring; and the migrant himself, in a situation which in addition to recurrent absences from the village "provides little job security and a low economic return for ... labor", 3) tends to be given a home by his own consanguines rather than those of his mate if he returns "to the village penniless, having lost his job". 4) Hence the formation of consonguineal rather than matrilocally extended family households.

Kunstadter's hypothesis is an expansion of the functional hypothesis of "the relationship between economic structure and family structure" put forward with reference to the Caribbean variant, which he considers "to be partially true, but too specific in the form in which it has been stated by students of the Caribbean family." 5) He concludes that the matrifocal family is directly related to the separation of spouses which results from the division of labour in a complex economy, and not, for example as Solien suggests, from the influence of a money economy; - for "The traditional Mayars", for example, - the archetype of the matrifocal family - "were only

1) Ibid: 1273.
2) Ibid.
4) Ibid: 1273.
5) Kunstadter op cit: 60.
marginally involved in a money economy while living in their villages, and the traditional family system actually broke down at the time a money economy was introduced at the village level." 1) Rather,

"The importance of a money economy for the matrifocal family seems to be that money is associated with complex economies, and complex economies are necessary for the type of division of labor which separates most adult males from adult females within the local community.

To summarise, the proportion of matrifocal families in the community appears to be a function (in the mathematical and social sense) of the degree of physical separation of adult males and adult females involved in the division of labor. In order for this physical separation to take place, the group in question must be a part of a larger economic system, and that system, as a concomitant of its complexity, usually will use money as a medium of exchange." 2)

Kunstadter states that the wider implications of his hypothesis are, firstly, that the matrifocal family, far from being a 'primitive' variant of family organisation, is associated with complex societies; and secondly, that the nuclear family is not universal.

This profusion of explanatory hypotheses has, as mentioned above, led to a great deal of cross-criticism in the literature. Yet despite this, there is - with a few exceptions, notably K.G. Smith - a basic trend common to these hypotheses, viz.: that of 'economic determinism'; either in the explanation of lower class New World Negro family structure in general (or in a particular area of the New World) or of the variations within this structure. The most common specific determinants in this general explanatory trend being, as seen from the preceding discussion: variations in income level (Simey; Henriques; Collins; R.T. Smith; Greenfield;) "economic prerequisites" for marriage (Simey; Henriques; Clarke; Kerr; Comitas; Cohen; Davenport; Greenfield; Otterbein; and even

2) Ibid.
Herskovits, despite his emphasis on African cultural continuity supports this point) low socio-economic status of the male in the wider society (R.T. Smith; Greenfield) the specific variable of land tenure (Clarke; Comitas; Cohen; Davenport; Horowitz) a 'functional response' to anxieties engendered by socio-economic insecurity (Henriques). Frazier's explanation including among other things, the economic basis of the family and the economic conditions of the wider society.

This basic trend in current studies of family structure has also been noted by Benedict in a Review of one of the most recent studies on the subject, that of Horowitz's study of Morne-Paysan, Martinique:

"As in many West Indian studies there is an assumption of economic determinism behind the material on domestic groups."

And yet, despite this emphasis in the literature on the economic 'explanation' of Caribbean family structure, there is found in several of these same studies an admission at one point of the failure or inadequacy of such an explanation to account satisfactorily for the data.

Simey, for example, having differentiated between Faithful Concubinage and Marriage on economic grounds (the economic pre-requisites for marriage), and also accounted for the "prevalence of the maternal family in the West Indies ... on economic grounds" since "There can be no doubt that when a West Indian prospers he tends to marry ...", and noting that "It has been observed that it is usual for peasants owning more than twenty acres of land to be married, and that it is unusual for peasants owning less than ten acres to be

1) Benedict, B. "Review" in Man (N.S.) 3 (1) 1968: 156.
married"; 1) nevertheless notes that marriage does not always occur when the necessary economic foundation is present: "though the paternal family is most frequent amongst the landowning peasantry and the upper classes generally, 'faithful concubinage' is also an accepted practice among these classes ...". 2) And he goes even further than this in remarking that:

"there is but little identification to be observed between, on the one hand, social standards in general and the prevalence of marriage in particular, and on the other, the fertility or economic prosperity of any area. In the towns, where wages and standards of living are highest, the instability of the family is most obvious."

And in view of these contradictions he concludes that "The problem is a complicated one, and deserves patient investigation." 3)

Henriques, too, having explained the variations in lower class domestic groups according to "a scale of poverty ... made on the level of income" 4) and accounted for the presence or absence of marriage on economic grounds, nevertheless notes that there are in fact "many instances of better-off couples in the lower class who are not married" 5) as there are also "examples of Christian families in as great poverty as keeper families ...", 6) finally concluding that "It is ... impossible to say what are the precise motivations which cause one section of the lower class to adopt the manners and morals of the middle class as opposed to the majority of its own class." 7)

1) Simey op cit: 87.
2) Ibid: 80.
4) Henriques 1949 op cit: 36.
6) Henriques 1949 op cit: 36.
Clarke, also, despite her emphasis on the economic prerequisites for marriage and the fact that her entire thesis is aimed at the correlation of socio-economic variables with variations in family structure, remarks at one point that "In Sugartown and Mocca there is, in fact, no apparent real association of marriage and concubinage with economic status or class structure." 1) And Kerr notes, despite her emphasis on the economic prerequisites of marriage, that "Men and women, however, are both reluctant to marry at once even if the economic circumstances permit." 2)

And R.T. Smith, although he explains the "matrifocality" of Guianese family structure with reference to the socio-economic insecurity of the male in the wider society, notes that with reference to the distinction between "common law" unions and marriage, that:

"Wealth in itself is not a determining factor, for one finds cases where the wealthiest villagers may be living in a common law union ... Within the village the question of choice between marriage and common-law marriage is entirely a matter for the couple involved ..." 3)

Cohen, who emphasizes the importance of the "economic insecurity" of the male in the "deferment of marriage", notes at one point that in fact even when men have a sufficiently secure economic basis for marriage they still defer the latter; and at another point even refers to his informants' statements regarding the need for economic security for marriage as "rationalizations", subsequently resorting to a psychological explanation for the deferment of marriage:

"marriage arouses anxieties about his [the man's] ability to succeed economically. The avoidance of marriage, generally until his late twenties or early thirties, is in part an avoidance of these anxieties."

1) Clarke 1966 op cit.
2) Kerr 1952 op cit: 86.
And he goes on to illustrate his argument with reference to

"a man’s behavior - his extreme tension, nervousness, and
generalized anxiety - two or three days before his wedding
... The symptoms ... treated ... were severe and chronic
headaches and sleeplessness. These are accompanied by a
remarkable rise in pulse rate, generalized irritability,
and an incapacity to work. These symptoms seem to disappear
within a few days after the wedding."

And despite her emphasis on the prevention of marriage among
the Jamaican lower class by the man’s low socio-economic status in
the society and his resultant inability to meet the economic pre¬
requisites for marriage, Blake notes however that "We cannot assume
that economic inaccessibility is the sole explanation of either non¬
marriage or late marriage". "Rather", she continues, "we must ask
why there is no intense pressure on the part of discontented males
to alter the elaborate definition of getting and being married."
She finds the answer to this "in the man’s non-marital situation",
where, because of a double standard governing sexual relations, this
situation is so attractive that there is no pressure on him to marry,
unlike the situation in many other societies where an unmarried
male suffers various deprivations. 2)

And while Horowitz, who not only explains the greater incidence
of marriage in Morne-Paysan vis-à-vis other Martiniquan communes
with reference to economic factors, and states that in Morne-Paysan
"Inability to afford the wedding reception is the most frequently
cited reason for not marrying", in fact indicates by his comment
that other informants "claim that women who are docile and self-effacing
while en ménage, become arrogant and demanding when married", that
this economic explanation of marriage may not in fact be the valid one. 3)

1) Cohen op cit: 676.
2) Blake op cit: 142.
3) Horowitz 1967 (a) op cit: 54-5.
In some of these studies which first emphasise the importance of an economic explanation of lower class family structure and then realise the inadequacy of such an explanation, an alternative explanation is sometimes offered regarding religious influence as the factor responsible for marriage, (for example Simey; Henriques; Clarke; Cohen.) Nevertheless Henriques notes the contradiction inherent in such an explanation, for while he suggests - because of the failure of economic factors to account for the presence of marriage among some of the poorer sections of the lower class - that:

"It is possible that the section of the lower class which comes in category A [Christian Family] may have preserved some of the traditions of the groups of peasant people which after emancipation were filled with religious enthusiasm."

he also makes the very valid point elsewhere in his book that among the lower class:

"There is no moral sanction against concubinage. Church congregations addressed by a priest on their sexual immorality will appear shamed, but it is a momentary feeling and their behaviour will continue as before. ... the black people have an entirely different conception of sexual morality from the coloured and white sections.

To the average black man the fact that he lives contentedly with his woman without the benefit of Church or Law cannot conceivably be immoral. He may be an assiduous churchgoer and he sees nothing contradictory in the two types of behaviour." 2)

And he notes the influence of the Old Testament - with its references to concubinage and its "many injunctions to 'go forth and multiply' ..." - "which support the attitude of the people." 3)

1) Henriques 1968 op cit: 112.
2) Ibid: 93.
3) Ibid.
While 'economic determinism' has been isolated as the predominant trend in the 'explanation' of Caribbean family structure, two other points of importance can be noted with reference to the problem of explanation. The first is that despite the movement away from the emphasis of historical tradition in the influencing of contemporary family structure in the more recent studies, and the concomitant criticism levelled by these later authors on the earlier studies, that in fact many of these later writers have used the influence of slavery on the 'matrifocality' or 'instability' of Caribbean family structure as a reference point for its origin. 1)

The second point is the place of the concept of the developmental cycle of domestic groups in the analysis of Caribbean family structure. It was seen that the first anthropologist to develop this methodological approach fully with reference to the Caribbean was R.T. Smith, although the latter in fact does note that while Henriquez, like Simey, put forward a purely synchronic classification of household types, that the former was nevertheless "fully aware that these categories are not rigid, and mentions, without much further demonstration of the point, that any given household could experience all four categorical states during its existence through time." 2) Smith's methodology of the developmental cycle of domestic groups has been criticised for the rigidity which it imposes on the interpretation of family structure, 3) and it was seen that both Davenport and Otterbein attempted modifications and extensions of this approach, although the latter finally abandoned the concept as being of any real relevance.

1) See e.g. Clarke 1966 op cit: 19; Horowitz 1967 (a) op cit: 57-8.
2) Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 239.
3) See Smith, M.G. 1962 (a) and 1966 op cit; Greenfield 1966 op cit.
K.G. Smith uses the concept of the developmental cycle in relation to the ordering of mating patterns rather than with reference to the domestic group; and while Horowitz agrees with this association between the developmental cycle and mating patterns, he regards both as dependent variables on that of economic resources.

The Nature of Integration between the Negro subculture and the wider society.

The last point arising from the literature to be discussed is the implications of some of the analyses of family structure for the interpretation of the nature of integration between the lower class Negro subculture's social organisation and concomitant value system with that of the wider society. On the one hand are the analyses of Blake and Greenfield, who argue that marriage is the ideal norm in lower class mating organisation, the actual organisation of mating being simply a statistical norm which deviates from the ideal due to the failure to achieve marriage. This view is also expressed to some extent by R.T. Smith:

"we have mentioned the ideal pattern of domestic organisation, and there is no doubt that the norm in this sense is that which is common to the total Guianese structure. It is a feature of the primary value system of Guianese society that the ideal family type is that consisting of a man and woman, unrelated by kinship, and married according to the rites of the Christian Church, who share one dwelling with their own offspring. No one would dispute this as the ideal pattern ..."

Cohen also argues that this is the ideal type of domestic organisation in Rocky Roads.

1) Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 149; see also M.G. Smith's criticism of Smith on this point, 1966 op cit: xv.

On the other hand is the view, expressed most explicitly in M.G. Smith's 'plural society theory', subsequently adopted by Comitas, but also implicit to some extent in the analyses of Henriques, Clarke, Horowitz, Collins and Kerr, that the Negro subculture has a different ideal norm governing mating and domestic organisation (as well as other aspects of social organisation) from that of the wider society.

Conclusion

While, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, a comprehensive survey of the literature on Caribbean family organisation has not been attempted, attention has been focused on certain basic trends which typify the literature on the subject. First it was seen that such studies have focused almost exclusively on lower class Negro family organisation; secondly, that a basic pattern of family organisation has been identified among such populations; thirdly that there has been a proliferation of hypotheses put forward to explain either this basic pattern or the variations within it; fourthly, that despite this, there is a basic trend common to the majority of these hypotheses - that of economic determinism. It finally being noted that the various explanatory hypotheses have varying and sometimes contradictory implications for the interpretation of the nature of integration between lower class Negro subculture and the wider societies of which they are a part.

1) For example Henriques postulates this with regard to the belief system, 1968 op cit; and Clarke with regard to land tenure, 1953 & 1966 op cit. For a similar conclusion regarding the work of some of the above-mentioned authors see also Braithwaite, L.: "The Present Status of the Social Sciences in the British Caribbean" in Rubin op cit: 101; Smith, M.G. 1966 op cit. xxx - xxxi.
This analysis of the literature raises certain empirical and methodological questions of relevance to the study of family structure in the village studied - the latter (as will be seen from the next chapter) being a predominantly Negro lower class village, viz.: does the picture of family structure within the village approximate to the basic pattern described for the area as a whole? Closely related to this question being that of whether the family coincides with the household, and the nature of consensual cohabitation. Is the concept of the Developmental Cycle of relevance to understanding family structure there? Is an economic explanation of family structure or its variants in the village valid? For its inadequacy has already been indicated to some extent by some of those very authors who put forward such an explanation. If not, is M.G. Smith's explanatory hypothesis of family structure with relation to the variable of mating patterns sufficient? Does the historical influence of the instability of family structure during slavery have a place in the explanation of family structure? And finally, what relevance, if any, do my conclusions regarding the nature of family structure in the village have to the interpretation of the nature of integration between the social organisation and value system of the villagers with that of the wider society?

Before proceeding to the examination of family structure in the village, the village itself and the general economy of the villagers will first be discussed.
CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION TO THE VILLAGE

The village where field work was carried out will be referred to by the fictitious name of "River Village". It is situated in a rural parish, two miles inland from the north coast town of "Maintown", the capital of the parish. The actual site of the village is on the west bank of a river, at a point where the latter is bridged; the village being bounded on its western edge by the main road running from Maintown into the interior.

River Village, although now a predominantly negro village, did not in fact originate as a post-emancipation "free" village of the kind described in Chapter 1 (although other villages in the parish did originate in this way). Rather, it was founded in the pre-emancipation era by planters as a convenient storage point for supplies transported on the river for their estates further inland, the site being the furthest unloading point up the river. However when Maintown was built some few years afterwards as a sugar port many planters who had bought lots in the village sold out, buying lots in the former instead with the result that the village soon fell into decline.

Although the actual details of the subsequent transformation of the village into a negro village are not known, it seems likely that ex-slaves from nearby estates settled there in the early post-emancipation era, and the length of the genealogies of some of the older informants traced in connection with their inheritance of land in the village indicates that this is probably the case; one informant actually tracing the origin of his family land in the village back to an ancestor who was an ex-slave and purchased land after emancipation.

The population of the village and the number of households in it changes constantly due to the high incidence of both in- and out-migration (discussed more fully below), this movement of persons sometimes
being accompanied by the actual movement of houses both to and from the village (see below). It is therefore difficult to give an exact estimate of the population, but a rough estimate is in the region of 400 persons contained in approximately ninety households.

Before going on to discuss the social organisation of the village and its inter-relationship with the parish, it is necessary to give some indication of the methods used for the collection of the data on which this study is based, and my role of field worker. It should be mentioned from the outset that I am myself a participant of the wider community of which the village is a part (as described below in this chapter and discussed in Chapter 9) being a member of the local middle/upper class, having lived just outside the village since I was a child (although with long absences due to my schooling elsewhere in the island and my subsequent emigration to the United Kingdom to study at University). This resulted in both disadvantages and advantages for the study.

The obvious disadvantage was that I was known to the villagers as belonging to the middle/upper class subculture and this would have posed many problems if I were to have attempted to re-define my role to that of participant in the village, that is to that of lower class villager. (However this problem would have arisen in any Jamaican village which I chose to study since by virtue of the national colour-class stratification system I would immediately be placed as a member of the middle/upper classes, being fair-skinned). However this situation had the advantage of dispensing with the search for an appropriate field work role which generally typifies the anthropologist's entry into the field, since my role was defined for me by the villagers in accordance with my status in the community - that of 'interested middle/upper class observer of lower class life'. A further concomitant of my status in the community - many of the older villagers having
known the older members of my family for very many years - was that
my anthropological investigations were not regarded with suspicion
or apprehension (as again is frequently the lot of the anthropologist
when he first enters the field) and I was in fact made to feel very
welcome by my informants whenever I visited them, some villagers simply
being surprised that I was not doing a "bigger job" as they regarded
field work as a rather menial occupation!

The nature of the study required the collection of factual information
in depth on the subjects of kinship and land tenure, particularly on the
details of the developmental cycle in relation to conjugal histories,
and on inheritance, and therefore called for some kind of interview
situation; this was compatible with my assigned role of 'interested
observer'. My intention was first to take a census of the village
covering basic factual information and then to select a smaller random
sample, and with this in mind I began to collect information with the
use of a structured questionnaire. However after completing a small
number of interviews in this way I decided to experiment with a
tape-recorder as a method of data collection, although I was not certain
whether or not this would be a success. However it soon became
apparent that this method did in fact have several advantages.

Contrary to my expectations, the recorder did not make informants
self-conscious - partly because it looked very like the kind of
transistor radio owned by many of the villagers and therefore its
appearance aroused little curiosity; and partly because of the more
informal atmosphere which developed as a result of my dispensing with
the need for note-taking (which of necessity had to be fairly
extensive due to the factual nature of the data being collected). In
such an atmosphere Jamaicans make excellent informants because they
really enjoy being interviewed; - as Henriques has remarked,
"There is always time for the Jamaican to enjoy conversation no matter what hour of the day or night it might be. He has learned through experience that the greatest amusement comes from the discussion of everything under the sun".  

Rapport became markedly improved, then, with the use of this new technique and because of this opportunities arose in interviews to collect information in depth. It seemed pointless to miss such opportunities simply to hurry through a census, and so I changed the form of the interview from a structured questionnaire to a "focused" interview and began collecting information in depth almost from the beginning of field work.

The "focused" interview is one of four types of interview which Moser classifies along a continuum of increasing formality: the "non-directive" interview, the "conversational" or "casual" interview, the "guided" or "focused" interview and finally the most formal of all - the "structured questionnaire".  

Moser defines the focused interview as a "situation in which the interviewer, whilst allowing the respondent a good deal of freedom, aims to cover a given set of topics in a more or less systematic way. ... there is no set questionnaire and most of the questions are open ones, designed to encourage the respondent to talk freely around each topic."  

An "open question" being defined as one in which "the interviewer's job is to record the answer as completely as possible, and in the respondent's, not her own, words."  

The tape-recorder was therefore ideal for this.

1) Henriches 1968 op cit: 86.
The focused interview particularly suited my purpose as although I wanted full information on, for example, the details of inheritance, which was best provided by allowing the informant to talk at length on the subject, guided by probes or questions when necessary, I also wanted to cover a set number of topics such as land tenure, family structure and kinship, marketing patterns, migration, etc. And while the focused interview "gets away from the inflexibility of formal methods, ... [it] gives the interview a set form and ensures that all relevant topics are discussed". 1) The use of the focused interview also resulted in informants volunteering certain information, and introducing concepts with which I was not familiar into the discussion which I was then able to follow up. For example I learned of the institution of "pardner" (see below) in this way.

As a result of the improvement in rapport and change of interview technique so early in the field work, I was not able - though still intending to - to collect information on all the households in the village due to the limited time available. However information was collected from the vast majority of households - seventy-eight households comprising three hundred and sixty-five persons. One hundred and seventy-six of these individuals are male and one hundred and eighty-nine female; seventy-two of the former and eighty of the latter being twenty years of age or older, with one hundred and four males and one hundred and nine females being under that age, totalling one hundred and fifty-two persons aged twenty years and over and two hundred and thirteen under that age. All figures given below refer to these seventy-eight households unless otherwise stated.

Information was collected on all three hundred and sixty-five persons interviewed in these households and were conducted with one or more of the adult members of each household, such interviews taking place either inside

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the informant's house or outside in the yard. I continued to live just outside the village but used the premises of two villagers as a "base" from which to work. These villagers (both women) are both well-known in the village, and have kin ties with other households there; both have lived in the village for very many years, one having been born there and lived there all her life. Both are shopkeepers, and as such have a central role in the village; (the shopkeepers in River Village being, like those described by M.G. Smith for the rural Jamaican communities which he studied, "creole rather than Chinese". 1)

Henriques has discussed the problems inherent in cross-cultural interviewing among West Indians due to the "acute colour consciousness" of the latter, suggesting that the European (and by inference the fair-coloured middle/upper class West Indian) investigator is at a disadvantage in studying the lower class West Indian subculture. While this is a valid observation, two qualifications of his argument of relevance to my own field work situation can be made.

Firstly, that due to the very nature of the national colour-class stratification system described by Henriques himself, colour is not the only index in the ascription of social status; therefore a middle/upper class West Indian investigator of dark colouring is also likely to be at a similar disadvantage (this point being taken up again in Chapter 5 with reference to the implications of the social status of the interviewers used for Blake's study 3) on the latter's

1) Smith, M.G., 1956(b) op cit: 307.
2) Henriques 1968 op cit: 53.
3) Blake op cit.
interpretation of her material). Further, any anthropologist who attempts to study the lower class West Indian subculture is in fact going to be faced with this problem whether local or foreign-born, since by virtue of his education he will automatically be identified with the "white" subculture. 1)

Secondly, because I was a participant in the wider community to which the village belongs, my informants were well aware that although not a member of their subculture I was familiar with their way of life, and therefore the problems envisaged by Henriques as occurring in the cross-cultural situation (and which appear to have occurred in Blake's study) did not arise.

The household interviews were supplemented by observation and some degree of participation, thus my role as field worker can be placed somewhere in the middle of Junker's continuum of the four theoretical roles of the field worker. 2) In addition interviews for the purpose of collecting background information on certain aspects of the social organisation of the parish were undertaken with officials from the Parish Council, the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, and the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board. The Member of Parliament for the constituency to which the village belongs was also interviewed. A pilot study of the Maintown market was also undertaken to supplement information on marketing given by the villagers, and the Market Clerk was also interviewed. In addition, documentary information on certain

1) Cf Mason op cit on this point.

2) Junker, B.H.: Field Work (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962). Junker deals with the role of the field worker in some detail in this book, suggesting that the ideal role of participant-observer may in fact be unattainable, suggesting a continuum of theoretical roles between complete participant and complete observer, outlining the advantages and disadvantages of each, and suggesting that in practice the field worker may shift from one position to another, or in fact along the whole continuum, in different stages of field work.
115.

Although the majority of the material on which this study is based was collected, as mentioned above, during a period of approximately one year from 1968-1969, I returned to Jamaica for a short (three-week) holiday in the summer of 1972 during which time I re-visited as many informants as I could. While life in the village had remained basically the same, a few informants had emigrated from the village, either to elsewhere in the parish or abroad, and a number of older villagers had died; the accounts given by villagers of the mortuary ritual surrounding these deaths providing further confirmation of the hypothesis regarding mortuary ritual, kinship and community which I had initially formulated from the discussion of the subject with informants during the first field trip (see Chapter 6).

River Village is a picturesque little settlement with its diminutive houses set among the trees in the little fenced yards. Several roads run through the village and these are named after various prominent persons or families of local importance, such as the M.P. for the constituency to which the village belongs and some of the "old families" of the village. Two buildings stand out as being larger and more durable than the rest: The Community Centre and the Hall of the Burial Society, the former being situated in the centre of the village, the latter at the edge of the village near the river. The size of these buildings in contrast to the rest of the houses in the village indicating their importance in village life (these voluntary associations being discussed in more detail below).

The village has six small shops, a Basic School and a recently established Postal Agency (prior to this the villagers collecting their mail from the Maintown Post Office). Recently, a fee-paying school which prepares pupils for the Jamaica School Certificate examinations
has been established just outside the village.

Ironically, though situated on the bank of a river, the village - like the rest of the surrounding area - suffers from water shortage, the water supply being available only for a few hours each morning and evening. Water must therefore be caught in containers for the rest of the day's supply.

The population of the village can be divided into two main categories: "born ya" and "strangers". The former are those born in the village, often being members of the core of "old families" who have been resident in the village for several generations. "Strangers" are immigrants to the village - from other parts of the parish or elsewhere in the island. Many of those born in the village have rights of ownership to land there, in the case of the "old families" such rights being inherited. Some of the immigrants have been settled in the village for several years and have therefore "come like 'born ya' ", and in many such cases have purchased a house-spot there. Others, particularly those who have come to live in the village more recently, rent a house-spot on which to put their house, or alternatively rent a house or room.

Table 1 shows that the majority of the principal adults were born outside of the village, the largest single category being born elsewhere in the parish: fifty-eight persons, thirteen of which were born in one of the two nearest settlements - Maintown and "Friendship", the latter being a small village one mile further inland. The next largest category are those born in one of the four neighbouring parishes: thirty-two persons. Those born in the village itself form the third largest category: twenty-four persons; followed by those born in any other than the above-mentioned rural parishes. Only one person was born in Kingston; three persons being born elsewhere in the Caribbean.
Table 1 shows the birth-place of the principal adults, that is household heads and their resident spouses, (see Chapter 5).

Table 1: Birth-place of Principal Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>River Village</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship (one mile away)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere in Parish</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbouring parishes *</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other rural parishes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere in Caribbean</td>
<td>1 **</td>
<td>2 ***</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* of which there are four
** Barbados (of a Jamaican mother and Barbadian father)
*** Cuba (of Jamaican parents); and Costa Rica (of Jamaican parents).

Regarding the simple dichotomy of those born within the village ("born ya") and immigrants, only twenty-four fall into the former category as opposed to one hundred and five persons in the latter.

The sex ratio regarding the various birth-places is relatively even; for example the majority of both males and females were born elsewhere in the parish, with the second and third greatest numbers
in each case coming from the neighbouring parishes and the village itself respectively. The most outstanding difference is between the numbers of the respective sexes coming from elsewhere in the parish; - twenty-eight females as opposed to seventeen males. This contrast can be explained with reference to two points. Firstly, there are more women than men in the sample concerned (seventy-one female principal adults as opposed to fifty-eight males). Secondly, since the majority of migrants come from elsewhere in the parish, it can be expected that this excess of females over males in the sample might make itself shown in this category.

Two main points are indicated by these figures on birth-place. The first is the extent of immigration to the village from other rural areas, particularly from elsewhere in the parish. The main reason for this being that due to the historical circumstances surrounding the origin of the village, the latter is, unlike most other peasant villages, situated in the coastal plain rather than the mountainous interior. Thus, although, as will be seen below, employment opportunities for the villagers are limited, the area around the village does nevertheless provide more opportunities for employment due to its proximity to properties and to Maintown than the more isolated inland areas from which many of the migrants come. In addition to this, River Village has better amenities (such as electricity and a water supply) than some of the more isolated inland villages.

Further, while attracting migrants from more isolated rural areas, River Village, despite its land shortage (see below), is not as overcrowded as Maintown, and is therefore not only a pleasanter place to live than the latter (while still being in easy reach of it) but migrants can obtain accommodation and land for cultivation more easily
in and near the village than in the town. Yet another reason for immigration to the village simply being that individuals may come there to co-reside with a mate who is a resident of the village.

The second point indicated by the figures is the almost complete absence of immigration from Kingston, the island's capital city. The pattern of immigration to the village, then, mirrors on a small scale that for the island as a whole, which tends to be inter-rural or rural-urban rather than urban-rural. ¹)

The pattern of international migration affecting the island earlier in the century (discussed more fully below in Chapter 4) - from the island to other parts of the Caribbean - is also reflected in the figures to a very slight extent by the birth of a few informants to Jamaican parents in other Caribbean territories.

The high incidence of in-migration to the village results in a wide network of kin ties extending beyond the village to other parts of the parish and elsewhere in the island, and migrants may have few or no relatives in the village. On the other hand several adult members of the same family have in some cases migrated to the village setting up separate households there. "Born ya" villagers have extensive kinship ties in the village, and this is also the case with some long-term residents there who were not born in the village. Some "born ya" villagers also have extensive kin networks beyond the village resultant from the emigration of relatives to other parts of the island such as Kingston. And both categories of villagers have kin abroad, such kin having emigrated from the village or elsewhere in the island; almost

90% of households having relatives abroad, many households having several relatives overseas. (The emigration patterns affecting the village are discussed more fully in Chapter 4).

Although there is a certain degree of racial and socio-economic differentiation within the village, the majority of villagers nevertheless fall into the lowest category of the national colour-class stratification system. Racially, the majority are of negro descent, although there are finer differentiations within this category regarding the component variables which make up the composite variable of 'colour', such as skin shade, features, hair type etc., as well as there being a few villagers who are either East Indian or Chinese. Also, while there are variations in occupational status, the majority of villagers have manual occupations, many also carrying out own-account cultivation on a small scale. Again, while there are differences in house-type and size, and house and land tenure, the villagers nevertheless form a fairly homogeneous category in this respect vis-à-vis the middle/upper class. However, there is a small élite in the village, who, with respect to occupational status, control of resources, and style of life, can be classified as middle class.

Since empirically the village is, in many respects, a part of a wider local social system, and since various aspects of its economy and social organisation are affected by, and integrated with, that of the surrounding region, some background information will now be given on this local area of which the village is a part. 1) While the parish will be taken as the basic unit for the context of this discussion -

1) Although Manners questions the validity of the community study in Caribbean societies due to the importance of extraneous influences on community life, Arensberg points out that the community study is a method of data collection, and while the importance of extraneous forces in the life of the community cannot be ignored, they may be regarded as background information to the study of a particular community and do not invalidate the community study method.

Manners, R.: "Methods of Community Analysis in the Caribbean" in Rubin on cit; Arensberg, C.: "Discussion" in Rubin ibid.
as it is an important political and administrative sub-unit in the national society - it can be borne in mind that the village is more closely integrated with its more immediately surrounding locality (which includes neighbouring villages, the nearest of which is Friendship; Maintown; and the middle/upper classes resident in the rural areas in the immediate vicinity;) than with the rest of the parish. The following discussion will be organised under three main headings: social stratification; political and administrative organisation - this leading to a consideration of political organisation and leadership roles within the village itself; and ecology and economy.

Social Stratification in the Parish

With regard to its position in the national colour-class stratification system River Village is one of several similar villages in the parish, which - although there is reason to conclude that certain variations in social organisation do exist among them 1) - nevertheless share a roughly similar subculture, also shared in many respects by the lower class segment of population in the towns 2) (see Chapter 1), it having been seen that many of the River Villagers are in fact migrants from such areas.

Intra-class interaction takes place between the inhabitants of River Village and those of neighbouring villages and of Maintown on a variety of bases, such as common membership of voluntary associations; attendance at mortuary ritual; common schooling in the case of the children (children from River Village generally attending the primary schools in either Maintown or Friendship); and on market days in

1) See for example M.G. Smith's distinction between the rural hill communities and those situated in the plains near sugar estates, 1956(b) op cit; and Mintz suggests that the Church-Founded free villages (of which there are several in the parish) are likely to have certain peculiar aspects of community organisation, 1958 op cit.

Maintown; kinship also being another important basis for interaction between such persons.

The middle and upper classes in the parish tend to live – as elsewhere in the island – either in the towns or on properties dispersed throughout the countryside. 1) These properties do not fit either model in Mintz and Wolf's dichotomy of Plantations and Haciendas, 2) and although these authors mention this in passing they do not elaborate the point. The difference is that the property falls between this dichotomy in that while unlike the Plantation in that it is not a large-scale corporately owned institution, it is unlike the Hacienda in that it is run as a business with re-investment. Further, although labour relations are more personalistic on the property than the plantation, the owner of the former does not seek to incorporate all potential labour on the fringes of the property in a relationship of paternalism as in the case of the Hacienda.

Some of the professional persons who work in the towns also live in the rural areas of the parish.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to consider the differences between the middle and upper classes in the parish, it can be noted that such differences do exist. For the purpose of the study however they are treated as a homogeneous subculture vis-à-vis the lower class (as in Chapter 1).

A certain amount of inter-class interaction takes place between River Villagers and the middle/upper class individuals in the surrounding rural areas and in Maintown; for example on the bases of employer-employee and landlord-tenant relationships (see Chapter 4); as customers in the Maintown shops where most of the shop-keepers belong to the middle/upper classes; and in other interpersonal relationships discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

1) Cf Smith, M.G.: 1956(b) op cit; Collins op cit; Comitas op cit.
Political and Administrative Organisation of the Parish

As the capital of the parish Maintown is its administrative and political centre, being a town of approximately 4,000 persons. Each political party has a branch office in the town and branch offices of the Central Government (P.W.D.) and certain other Ministries represented in the parish are also situated there, as is the office of the Parish Council; various voluntary and quasi-governmental organisations such as the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board, Chamber of Commerce and the Jaycees also having their headquarters there. The town has a Court House; market; Post Office; Hospital (which serves the whole parish); Public Health Office; Police Station, Poor House; a few large groceries (all owned and managed by Chinese) and some smaller shops; three schools (two primary - one a Government School and the other a Baptist School - and an Infant school); and several churches of various denominations including the Parish Church which is Anglican, (others being Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian) which draw attendants from the surrounding regions.

Some of the work of the Government Ministries and associated quasi-governmental and voluntary organisations of particular importance in the parish will now be outlined briefly.

There are various schools in the parish under the Ministry of Education, the majority of these being non-secondary, although Junior Secondary schools are now being introduced. Various housing developments are being undertaken in the parish under the Ministry of Housing. The Ministry of Youth and Community Development organises Adult Literacy programmes and teaches sport throughout the parish, and cases concerning legal adoption and fostering come under its jurisdiction, adoption cases being held in a special court in the Maintown court house and cases of fostering coming under the Children's Officer for the parish. In conjunction with the Social Development Commission, a statutory body, the
Ministry has also set up Community Centres in various villages throughout the parish.

The Social Development Commission, which is responsible for the establishment of co-operatives, has also set up local branches of the Peoples' Co-operative Bank at various points in the parish; these banks are credit banks providing loans for farming and house-building, and are an extension service of the Ministry of Agriculture. Other co-operatives set up by the Commission in the parish include savings societies in various villages. The Jamaica Agricultural Society is another extension service of the Ministry of Agriculture and has several local branches throughout the parish including one in River Village. Local officers representing the service travel around the parish visiting these branches, but the main organisation of these branches rests with the small farmers themselves; the vigour of such branches therefore varies.

Associated with the Ministry of Rural Land Development is the parish Land Authority established in July 1969. The Authority is responsible for the development of small farms 1) in the area under its jurisdiction and farm development is to take place under the newly established Farmers' Development Program 2) whereby new cropping patterns are to be implemented on small farms with the help of subsidies and loans; land for development also being purchased under this program, the aim of which is to increase agricultural production and to produce certain crops which at present have to be imported.

1) Although the Authority does deal with farms up to 100 acres in size, it is primarily concerned with five acre units, the aim being to build them up to viable units producing an income of £500 per annum. Farms below this size are not considered viable units from the economist's point of view, but certain aid can also be received by such units.

2) This Program replaces the Farmers' Production Program introduced in 1963.
The Agricultural Marketing Corporation is a statutory body whose function is to provide a guaranteed market for farmers producing cash crops such as pumpkins and corn in amounts too large to be disposed of by the family or through a higgler (see below). Such farmers are able to contact the Corporation before they reap their crops and the A.M.C. then sends a truck to collect the produce.

The work of the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board, a statutory body linked with the Sugar Manufacturers' Association, is very important in the parish as the latter is a 'sugar parish' (see below), there being two large sugar estate/factory complexes situated there. The aim of the Board is to help community development in the sugar areas, and to this end several Community Centres (in addition to those set up by the Ministry of Youth and Community Development) have been set up in various villages throughout the parish including River Village. The Senior Community Development Officer for the parish supervises these Centres, holding annual meetings with the various Village Councils which form the executive committees for the Community Centres. Each of the two estate/factory complexes also has a Community Development Officer who supervises the Centres in the vicinity of the respective estates, visiting the Centres regularly and attending meetings of the various clubs that use them. In addition to the Senior C.D.O. and the two C.D.O.s the parish also has a Junior C.D.O. Other facilities in the parish set up by the Board are clinics at both sugar estates, each with a trained nurse.

The Chamber of Commerce and Jaycees are voluntary associations whose aims are to further the welfare of the parish. The Chamber of Commerce looks after the general welfare of the parish, concerning itself with such matters as water supply, roads, trade, housing and tourism (some aspects of these matters also coming under the various Government
Ministries). The Jaycees' main concern is collecting money for local charities, this being done mainly through the annual island-wide "Suggets for the Needy" campaign; they also help with the organisation of various public events such as the Agricultural Show.

For the purpose of representation in the Central Government the parish is divided into two constituencies, there being a further subdivision into Electoral Divisions for the purpose of representation in the Parish Council. Each constituency is also divided into several Polling Districts for the actual process of voting.

Political Organisation and Leadership Roles in River Village

River Village cuts across the boundaries of two Electoral Divisions and three Polling Districts. This means that during an Election - General or Parish Council - the River Villagers vote at three different Polling Stations along with persons of the middle/upper classes who live outside the village but are included in the same Polling Districts. Two of the three Polling Stations at which the villagers vote are actually in the village, the third station being some three miles from the village.

In this way, then, River Village - like villages throughout the island - is integrated into the national political system. Nor is this simply a formal or superficial integration; for political awareness is high in the village (as it is throughout the island as a whole). This is shown for example by the high per centage poll (over 70%) in the three Polling Districts to which the villagers belong in the Parish Council Elections held in 1969 (the figures for votes cast in the Polling District to which the majority of villagers belong showing an almost even balance of political opinion). During these elections the village was a hive of activity as people turned out to vote, and for weeks beforehand cars with loud-speakers representing
both political parties drove through the village canvassing votes.

Political participation on the part of the villagers is further illustrated by recent incidents involving the mobilisation of the political channels of communication, one such being a report by villagers to their M.P. that the bridge at the edge of the village was thought to be cracking; another being a Petition to the Government from squatters cultivating on Government owned land (see below) for permission to purchase the land: "Plenty of us write up to the Government already and ask them to see if they could sell us; we send up names to them about it. Each person would go and purchase a piece". Yet another example is of a woman who has received a house free from the Government due to the fact that she is incapacitated. Before she received this house, which is built on her sister's land in the village, she was living in a rented house in Maintown. She explains the processes involved in her application for the house as follows:—she first applied to the Parish Council, which deals with Poor Relief, to obtain a house on the Pauper Role, but since she did not in fact qualify to be a pauper, was unable to get one in this way. She then contacted her M.P. who recommended her to the Parish Council for Poor Relief although she was not in fact a pauper. The Council then sent an official to see her, who told her that the Inspector of Poor would subsequently come to visit her. When the latter came, the applicant sent her to see her sister, who lives in River Village, in order that the question of the ownership of the land on which the house was to be built could be established. This being done, the house was then built.

While the above discussion has shown that integration into the national political system is an aspect of the actual social organisation of the village as well as of its social structure, there are nevertheless voluntary associations within the village which provide opportunities for leadership and decision-making within the sphere of the village.
itself. I will now turn to consider some of these associations and some of the aspects of village leadership.

Such voluntary associations within the village include the Community Council and the associations which use the Community Centre; the local branch of the Jamaica Agricultural Society; and the Burial Society—a savings society. The functions and organisation of the latter will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, but certain aspects of leadership in this association can be considered below in conjunction with that of these other associations. First, however, the basic organisation of the latter will be outlined.

As mentioned previously, the Community Centre is organised under the auspices of the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board, the Board being represented by the C.D.O. for the area, who makes periodical visits to meetings held at the Centre.

The Centre—which was built (as a job) by one of the villagers—is, as mentioned above, a large building which stands in the central area of the village. It consists of a large hall, furnished with benches and a T.V.; a kitchen; two lavatories; and a dressing room. The kitchen, though small, is well equipped with a modern kerosene-gas stove, a sink, working surfaces, cupboards, and various utensils. There is running water inside the building, and the latter is being wired for electric light.

The Centre is run by the Community Council, an elected committee consisting of a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and also a "Syndicate" or group of Committee members. Apart from this council, which meets there periodically, the Centre is also used by two voluntary associations: the Women's Group and the Boys' Youth Club, as well as by the village's basic school previously held under an ackee tree. An Adult Literacy class was also held there at one time, but this eventually dissolved due to the fact that those attending were embarrassed by the ridicule of some non-attenders. The Boys' Youth Club is sponsored by the
Ministry of Youth and Community Development, the leader of the Club being a man from the village.

The Women's Group, which meets regularly at the Centre every Wednesday afternoon, consists primarily of adolescent girls, although this in fact is not intentional, being due to the fact that the adult women cannot spare the necessary time from their own domestic chores. 1) There are, however, a few adult women who are very active in the Group, one being President and another Treasurer. Even the latter, however, finds it difficult to attend all the meetings because she is busy with her own domestic chores and has no-one to relieve her. The Secretary is one of the teenage girls. Neither the membership nor attendance of the Group is in fact very large (nine or ten maybe attending a meeting; one member estimating the membership at twelve persons, another at twenty-one). There is no standard subscription to the Group: "Children to give a threepence or so; adults give what their conscience [dictates] every week." One member says that adults pay sixpence a week. In addition, however, the members contribute towards whatever materials or ingredients are required for the particular project chosen for the meeting.

The C.D.O. for the area plays an important part in the organisation of the Women's Group: "She come around and teach us things." However she does not attend all of the meetings, coming to every third one, and her role is intended to be essentially supplementary to that of local self-help, rather than paternalistic or authoritarian. 2) In her absence, the President guides the meeting. The Group is taught how to make wines

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1) Cf Katzin 1959 op cit and Davenport op cit who note the restricting effect of the Jamaican village woman's domestic chores on her social life.

2) Cf Smith, M.G. 1956(b) op cit who states that in the rural communities which he studied the role of extension officers was "conceived as catalysis rather than direction." (305).
and preserves from local products (such as pimento and orange wine; Guava jelly and paw-paw jam); how to bake, cook and sew; and to make articles such as hats and bags out of straw, and then to embroider these with brightly coloured raffia — a traditional Jamaican craft. The C.D.O. or President gives out notes and recipes so that the members can also try out these projects at home after the demonstration at the meeting. It can therefore be seen that not only does the Group provide informal education to the women and young girls who attend, the influence of which extends beyond the actual meetings into the sphere of the home (for example at the homes of two of the members I was offered a recipe which the informant had obtained from the meeting in one case, and in another was given a present of a bottle of home-made wine), but is also trying to perpetuate crafts which are traditional to Jamaican culture and in tune with the local environment. The importance of this can be appreciated when the criticisms of formal education in the past are noted, such education having been criticised as unrealistic as it is related to the metropolitan rather than the local culture.  

At the present time, the River Village branch of the J.A.S. is virtually defunct. It did however function in the past, originally meeting in the Baptist Class House in the village, and efforts are being made by the J.A.S. official for the area to revive the association. Through the branch, villagers were able to get officials to instruct them on agricultural matters, and to obtain certain plants such as coffee, cocoa and mango, the rearing of white pigs also having been introduced. One of the members — a small farmer who in fact lives outside the village — winning the Prize for the best small farmer in the parish at the Agricultural Show held in the vicinity, while belonging to this branch. The past President and Secretary of the branch are

1) See Kerr 1952 op cit; Smith, M. G. 1960 op cit.
still referred to as office-holders in the association.

Certain aspects of village leadership will now be considered in the light of M.G. Smith's hypothesis - subsequently also adopted by Comitas in his study of Jamaican fishing co-operatives - that leadership roles in voluntary associations in the Jamaican lower class are filled by "marginal individuals". 1) This hypothesis is a concomitant of Smith's 'plural society' interpretation of Jamaican society - also adopted by Comitas in which he suggests that the society can be divided into "three distinctive institutional systems which can be differentiated into three social sections" 2) between which there is little integration; the exception to this being the few "marginal individuals" who integrate the sections at the level of inter-personal relations. Such individuals are defined by Smith as "persons who habitually associate with others who carry a different cultural tradition more regularly than with those of their own cultural community ..." 3) And elsewhere, in his analysis of rural community organisation, Smith makes a distinction between informal leadership and formal leadership in voluntary associations, noting that the latter tends to be taken on by prominent persons who are strangers or outsiders to the community, such as teachers. 4)

Comitas found Smith's model of the "marginal individual" to be applicable to the Whitehouse fishing co-operative. The co-operative itself was composed of persons from the lower class, but since the

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1) Smith, M.G. 1965 *op cit.;* Comitas *op cit.*
2) Comitas *ibid,* 119.
3) Smith, M.G. 1965 *op cit.;* also quoted in Comitas *op cit.* 120.
4) Smith, M.G. 1956(b) *op cit.*
association

"is tied to a variety of national organizations, all staffed primarily by individuals from the brown intermediate section, it needs for its effective functioning, these 'marginal individuals' who can straddle two sections. For most fishermen, the prospect of representing the co-operative in the outside world is a frightening one. Consequently, the co-operative, with its lower section membership, is receptive to such 'marginal individuals'." 1)

While there are one or two examples of such persons in leadership roles in the River Village voluntary associations, the majority of office-bearers in these associations cannot be described as "marginal individuals" since while being well-known and respected in the village, they are of average social status in the latter. Two concomitants of the criteria for choosing such leaders - that the villager is well-known and liked - are firstly, that leadership is often associated with maturity - middle or advanced age; and secondly, with long-term residence in the village. For example, the man who is Secretary of both the J.A.S. and the Community Council is in his sixties and a member of one of the old families of the village; the President of the Burial Society is likewise a man in his sixties who was born in the village. The Leader of the Boys' Group is in his late forties, also having been born in the village, both his parents belonging to old families in the village. The woman who is both Secretary of the Burial Society and Treasurer of the Women's Group and of the Community Council is in her fifties and is a member of another old family - the latter having belonged to the village for at least four generations. And the Chaplain (an important ritual role, see Chapter 6) of the Burial Society, though an immigrant to the village, is married to a woman who belongs to an old land-owning village family, he himself being "a ripe man" in his seventies.

1) Comitas op cit: 120.
Associated with these bases of leadership are two further trends. Firstly, that persons chosen to be leaders generally remain in office for an extended period of time, sometimes for very many years. For example the President of the Burial Society has been President for the past fifteen years, and although the Society has been functioning for twenty years, it has only had two Presidents to date, the first having been the founder of the Society, the current President having taken over after the former's death. Likewise, the current Treasurer of the Society has been in office since the Society's inception, and its Secretary has been in office for the past three years having previously been Assistant Secretary for a year and Acting Secretary for six months prior to that. On my return in 1972 the current President of the Burial Society was still in office, having then been in office for nineteen years, certain other office-bearers also still being in office.

Secondly, leadership roles tend to form clusters around certain individuals \(^1\) or even families. For example one villager is Secretary to three local associations; another is Secretary to one and Treasurer to another two, her husband being on the Community Council; yet another was Secretary to the Burial Society in the past and is now Leader of the Boys' Group. The President of the Burial Society and the latter's Presiding Daughter (another important ritual role) are brother and sister (the latter also being on the Community Council) being members of an old village family. This man's daughter and his sister's husband also holding important offices in the Society. In addition his sister's teenage daughter is Secretary to the Woman's Group (leadership at such a young age being unusual and being influenced by the fact that, as seen above, there are few adult women in this association).

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\(^1\) Smith also found this to be the case in the rural communities which he studied; however such persons he found to be outsiders to the community, Smith, M.G. 1956(b) *op cit.*
Such leaders, then, in no way seem marginal to the village, typifying rather the concept of well-known and respected citizen of the village, long involved in village affairs. The opposition postulated by Smith, then, between formal and informal leadership, and his concomitant suggestion that the formalization of informal leadership stifles the latter, is not supported by the River Village data, and in Chapter 9 it will be seen that this difference can be related, at least to some extent, to the difference in community organisation between River Village and the communities studied by Smith.

While the leadership roles discussed above are an important element of village social organisation, the maintenance of egalitarianism (rather than authoritarianism) in the context of leadership is an important factor in such roles. This is reflected for example by the use of the prefixes "Brother" and "Sister" to refer to the President and other office-bearers in the Burial Society as to the other members of the Society, \(^1\) such kin terms denoting equality; and the incumbent of one of the most prominent ritual roles in the Society is referred to as the "Presiding Daughter", the use of fictive kinship terminology again denoting familiarity and equality.

Further indication of this concern with the maintenance of egalitarianism is seen from various incidents which occurred in the village during field work. One of these was when the President of the Burial Society was approached by a stranger regarding the entry of a float by the Society in the national Festival celebrations to be held in Main town. In reply the President stressed that he could make no decision on this matter without first consulting the Society's committee as "the Society is an organisation". And at a meeting of the Women's

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1) Cf the use of such terms in wakes and revivalist meetings reported by Clarke 1966 *op. cit.*
Group which I attended, during the demonstration of a recipe by the President, one of the members suggested that everyone should crowd around the President as though she were a teacher; in reply to which the President pointed out that "There is no teacher here." The latter's desire for egalitarianism being further demonstrated by her wish to be referred to as "Leader" of the Group rather than by the more official-sounding title of "President". A further example is the Secretary of the J.A.S. branch who suggested to the official trying to revive the association that the election of officers should be postponed until a larger meeting could be convened in order to see who the people in the "community" wished to choose.

Another of Smith's hypotheses regarding voluntary associations in the Jamaican lower class seems inapplicable to the River Village data, viz.:

"... as long as poverty is widespread or intense, utilitarian groupings (i.e. formal associations) will not, as a rule, function satisfactorily. For this reason, most of the energy devoted to organising the farmers into voluntary groups is lost energy." 1)

This hypothesis seems to be invalidated, for example, not only by the successful functioning of the River Village Burial Society which has been functioning for twenty years, with a growing membership; but also with reference to similar benefit societies in other nearby villages, one of two such societies in the neighbouring village of Friendship for example having been functioning for twenty-two years. On the other hand it is possible that this hypothesis could account for the failure of the local J.A.S. branch, and also of the local branch of the Woman's Federation, which ceased to function some time ago; although if this

1) Smith, M.G. & Kruijer, G.J.: A Sociological Manual for Extension Workers in the Caribbean (Kingston, University College of the West Indies, 1957); also quoted in Comitas op cit: 309.
were the case, such an explanation would be seen to have no consistency in view of the above-mentioned success of other associations. And the hypothesis put forward by Comitas as an alternative explanation for the failure of some such voluntary associations seems to provide a more plausible and consistent explanation of this apparent contradiction in the River Village data.

In his study of Jamaican fishing co-operatives, Comitas suggests that "it is the rare person who joins a fisherman's co-operative feeling that co-operation per se will bring self-betterment", 1) and that the variable of successful co-operation is directly dependent on the variable of the fulfillment of the needs of the members of such associations. He goes on to suggest that the reason for the failure of many voluntary associations in the Jamaican lower class is that

"In most cases, these voluntary groups do not provide adequate vehicles for co-operation in Jamaica. The co-operative idea, therefore, has yet to be completely translated into Jamaican terms." 2) 

For example, with specific reference to the fishing co-operative movement which he studied, Comitas notes that all eighty-seven of these co-operative groups, which were widely scattered throughout the island, were all "based on the same plan regardless of the type or extent of fishing practiced by each group." 3) The significance of this point can be more fully understood in the wider context of his study as a whole, which demonstrates that the variables of fishing patterns and dependency on fishing as an occupation, were directly related to

1) Comitas _ibid_.
2) _Ibid_.
3) _Ibid_; 306.
"local land resources and local land-based employment opportunities" rather than on "local sea conditions". 1) Jamaican fishermen may therefore be full-time or part-time fishermen, and the latter may, for example, be "fishermen-cultivators" or "fishermen-sugar workers". 2) Consistent with his hypothesis was the fact that the co-operatives at Whitehouse and Rocky Point - which served full-time fishermen - functioned more effectively than those at Lances Bay and Duncans, where the fishermen were only part-time fishers, being "fishermen-cultivators" and "fishermen-sugar workers" respectively; and even at Rocky Point, where the co-operative's relative success could be attributed to the need for rope and wire for the fish pots used in "outside" fishing, these being obtainable through the association, the latter was conceived of by its members "as a primary form of disaster insurance rather than as a focus of innovation and change." 3) Comitas' conclusion then is that "The diversity of occupational combinations almost obviates the need of fishermen's co-operatives", and he suggests that "What seems to be required is a co-operative form which will encompass the variety of economic activities of the participants." 4) Despite the above-mentioned conclusion drawn by Smith and Kruijer that voluntary associations in the Jamaican lower class are doomed to failure because of poverty, in another paper 5) Smith in fact draws a somewhat similar conclusion to Comitas, suggesting that in Jamaican

5) Smith, M.G. 1956(b) op.cit.
rural communities - where he attributes the failure of voluntary associations to the fact that the village is used by officials as the basis for such associations, when in fact the village does not coincide with the community - "multi-functional" associations should be allowed to develop on a community basis, rather than clubs designed formally for specific purposes.

As mentioned above, the River Village branch of the J.A.S. is virtually defunct. The Secretary of the branch thinks the reason for this decline is that the association was only of any real importance to farmers who were fairly well established, with sufficient land to invest improvements in. As will be seen from Chapter 4, the majority of villagers do not fit into this category, for while some villagers do own land in the village, many are migrants who own no land there; and among the former category, most of this land is used for house-spots, few owning any land for cultivation in the general vicinity of the village. And while it will be seen that some cultivation is carried on on house-spots, nevertheless such plots are generally too small to permit households to earn a living through cultivation alone. In addition, all these factors are exacerbated by the low level of soil fertility and frequent drought in the area (see below). Thus not only is farming not a flourishing occupation in the area, but villagers tend to be only part-time cultivators, supplementing cultivation with one or more other occupations, or vice versa. Thus the J.A.S. is of limited value in this context as compared for example with some of the small-farming communities further inland where soil and climate are more conducive to successful farming (see below), and where there are fewer landless migrants.¹)

¹) Ibid; of "Orange Grove" in Clarke 1953 and 1966 op cit.
The Secretary of the association is not very optimistic regarding the attempts to revive the association, since these are being made from the official level, and has conveyed this sentiment to the visiting J.A.S. official, telling the latter that the branch has "gone to sleep" and that "Time will take care of it; because the chief thing is that necessity is the mother of invention. - When you really need the thing, then you start to use your talent." This echoes Comitas' hypothesis. And in fact when the J.A.S. officer attended the first meeting held to revive the branch, only about a dozen people attended, this being reminiscent of Comitas' account of the successive attempts and failures to revive some of the fishing co-operatives. 1)

Seen in the light of Comitas' hypothesis, the failure of the local branch of the Women's Federation could also possibly be attributed to the same reason for the low attendance of adult women at the Women's Group, viz.: that these women cannot find the necessary time to attend since they have no-one to relieve them of their domestic chores at home.

The failure of the J.A.S. branch and the Women's Federation can, as mentioned above, be contrasted with the success of the Burial Society. It will be seen from Chapter 6 that this association not only provides a practical economic function in providing funds for crisis spending, but also serves an important social function by ensuring that members receive a "proper" funeral - a consideration of great importance among Caribbean peasaintries. Not only has this Society been functioning for twenty years (and was still functioning in 1972 with an increase in membership from less than fifty in its early years to over one hundred), but in addition the initiative for starting the Society came from

1) Cf Smith, M.G. 1956(b) op cit.
within the village, the Society being founded by a villager (this also being the case with at least one of the Burial Societies in the neighbouring village of Friendship where some persons "had some idle hours and they suggest" that the Society should be started). Likewise, the Community Centre (which can be conceived of as an association in itself apart from the various clubs that use it) although associated with a national organisation (the S.I.L.W.B.) was also initiated from within the village. Discussing the innovation of the Community Centre I was told by an informant that:

"It takes a lot of your own self [own effort] to bring something to yourself. Because you see the Community Centre there - we get it of our own [effort], it's not a Government Centre. We had a Jamaica Agricultural meeting over the Prayer House there, and one man move that the Prayer House is not the place for social activity; we should have a Community Centre - why not write to the Parish Council and get that piece of land."

The Parish Council subsequently gave the land on which the Centre was to be built as their contribution to the project. The history of the financing of the Centre also shows the involvement of the villagers in the raising of funds; two informants describe this process as follows:

"We was fortunate enough at the Centre, now, that we raise a loan [grant] from the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Board; They gave us £600. They grant it to us to carry it on, because they help all the Societies around here [in the vicinity], and as we get to find out that, we make representation and they come to our rescue. The last half now, Mr. 'X' [a politician in the Government], he belong to the district here, a native, so well he throws in his lot with us and we have it completed." (My emphasis).

And:

"The community collect from many, many gentlemen around here; write and beg local gentlemen, and raise four hundred and odd pounds to put it to a stand before the Sugar Welfare gave us that [£600]. We build foundation and the big hall, two sewer, a dress room and kitchen. Then now, when we bring it up to build it up, the Sugar Welfare came in and give us that to help. But it couldn't finish, so [the above mentioned politician] was born at River Village here and he gave us the balance of money - over £200 - to close it. He gave the windows and he gave the other money. So that's the way the Community Centre came up."
In addition to collecting donations, the villagers also organised fund-raising entertainments and fairs, with even the children joining in these efforts, such as the 'surprise concerts'. One of the above informants, who is now Secretary of the Community Council, describes his own efforts in the project as follows:

"I go all to the Sugar Board Conference in Kingston, up at U.C. 1) campus; - well the Welfare lady down here carry me up. And Miss'X.' [another middle/upper class lady from the area] take me up another time. I went all to [to other places] when they have conference there, because we was trying to plunged to see what we could get to make the Centre. Well it so happen now that we are fortunate that we get the Centre complete." (My emphasis).

And another villager, now a member of the Council's Committee, also played an important part in the organisation of the project and has continued to do so:

"Since we fixing up this Community Centre, me do everything, in the find towards making the building. I buy these things, go do the business for them; I buy all the things and look after everything!"

The photographs of the opening of the Centre (which took place prior to field work) - which the Prime Minister; the Chairman of the Sugar Board; and some of the ladies from the local middle/upper class (referred to as the "organisers") attended, and at which "local gentlemen" giving donations laid foundation stones - also show the villagers who had been the main "work group" for organising the opening function; and the floral decorations for the function were made by "the citizens".

Those associations which function successfully, then, are those which fulfill the needs of the villagers - this being underlined by the fact that the latter initiate them - while those which collapse are

1) That is, University College (of the West Indies), now University of the West Indies.
those which fall to fulfill these needs.

To summarize then, the fact that the incentive for voluntary associations which are felt to serve the needs of the villagers comes from within the village, combined with the fact that in most cases leadership roles reflect the identification of their incumbents with village life, rather than their marginality, shows that formal associations among the lower class in rural Jamaica may not only be successful, but may also reflect community involvement rather than being simply "artificial groupings". 1)

To conclude this discussion of leadership roles in the village, such roles will be examined briefly in the light of the concept of entrepreneurship as applied to political leadership. 2) The essential elements inherent in entrepreneurial activity are outlined by Barth as: the creation of felt needs, which the innovation can be shown to satisfy; the element of risk; the concepts of "social assets" and "social costs"; and the making of profit, which in turn can be liquified and transferred from one sphere of exchange to another, or stored in terms of social assets. 3) Each of these aspects can now be considered in relation to above-mentioned aspects of leadership in River Village.

While in the preceding analysis of village associations, certain of the latter - such as the Burial Society and Community Centre (which can be conceived of as an association in its own right apart from the constellation of associations or institutions which use it for more specific purposes) - were seen to reflect village values and involvement, nevertheless in at least some cases such involvement

1) Smith, M.G. 1956(b) op cit: 304.

2) See Barth, F. (Ed.): The Role of the Entrepreneur in Social Change in Northern Norway (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1963), particularly Eidheim, H.: "Entrepreneurship in Politics".

3) Barth, F.: "Introduction" in Barth op cit.
was the second stage in the innovation; this stage being preceded by the suggestion from particular individual(s) that the village needed the innovation to satisfy some need, as in the case of the Community Centre where "One man move that the Prayer House is not a place for social activity; we should have a Community Centre"; this also being followed by particular effort on the part of certain individuals who are members of the Community Council. The Burial Society was likewise started by a particular villager. Other sentiments expressed to me by persons holding leadership roles also indicate that particular individuals may be responsible for making needs felt to fellow villagers. For example the villager who is Secretary to three local associations told me that:

"You get out from the Government what you put in. If you come together co-operatively, and you file a petition to the Government for certain things, fifty, sixty of us, then the Government come to you' rescue ..."

And the President of another association told me that: "The first thing you need in the village is co-operation; people united together, you know."

Social assets are also involved in the leadership of such associations. This is suggested by the constellation of leadership roles around certain persons. And even where this is not the case, the persons chosen as leaders are seen to be those well-known and respected in the village. The assets of such individuals are utilized, and in turn more assets are produced as the individuals are seen to handle their responsibilities efficiently; this therefore snowballs, and profit is accumulated in the form of confidence and respect. This can be liquidated and transferred to another sphere of circulation if necessary, such as leadership in another association. Social costs can also be seen to be involved, for egalitarianism must be maintained and the
equality of villagers reasserted even within the context of leadership. 1) It is rather more difficult to identify the element of risk. 2) Perhaps the above-mentioned case of the office-bearer who suggested that the election of officers be postponed until a larger meeting could be convened can be interpreted in this light in that he possibly stood less chance of being re-elected due to greater competition. (This can also be seen in terms of social costs). It might also be suggested that in any society where egalitarianism and individualism are important social norms, any leader runs the risk of being accused of being too authoritarian.

In conclusion, however, it can be noted that while certain of the concepts associated with entrepreneurial activity can be seen to be of possible relevance to leadership in River Village, that caution must be exercised here - as in all analyses which attempt to explain social factors by resorting to the consideration of the individual's motivation for action 3) - for while important points regarding the dynamic aspects of inter-personal relations may be brought out in this way, such analyses may come too close to subjective value-judgement or

1) The maintenance of egalitarianism is a social cost widely cited in the literature on entrepreneurial activity, see e.g. Paine, R.: "Entrepreneurial Activity without its Profits" in Barth ibid; Eidheim op cit; Nash, M.: "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society" reprinted in Dalton op cit. Egalitarianism is, in addition, an intrinsic element in the social organisation of many societies even outside the context of entrepreneurship, see e.g. Wolf op cit; Howes op cit; Pitt-Rivers, J.: The People of the Sierra (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1954).

2) In Eidheim's account (op cit) risk was in fact absent in one case.

3) For example J. Boissevaine's analysis of the "broker's" role in terms of self-interest: "Patronage in Sicily" in Man (N.S.) 1(1), 1966, and "The Place of Non-Groups in the Social Sciences" in Man (N.S.) 3(4), 1966; and R. Paine's analysis of gossip as information-management: "What is Gossip about: an alternative hypothesis" in Man (N.S.) 2(2), 1967.
psychological explanation, - levels of analysis to which the anthropologist should not resort.

Ecology and Economy of the Parish

The mainstay of the parish's economy - as in most areas of the island - is agriculture. Since the variations in the latter are closely associated with the ecology of the parish, these two aspects will be considered together.

For purposes of simplification, the parish can be roughly divided into three main ecological areas, viz.: the infertile coastal plain, in which River Village is situated; the fertile inland region; and the limestone plateau in the interior of the parish.

Table 2 shows the pattern of land use for the area as a whole. 1)

Table 2: Pattern of Land Use *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Land</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsh and Swamp</td>
<td>2,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Farms</td>
<td>3,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grassland</td>
<td>7,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>4,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cane</td>
<td>31,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrub Woodland</td>
<td>64,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest</td>
<td>88,173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>202,462</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* "Acreages do not represent the area planted to the particular crop: instead they show how many acres of the Land Authority lie within an area in which any particular crop is dominant ..." 2)

1) This Table is taken from the Government Pamphlet on "Land Authority Background Information", (July 1969) prepared by the Agricultural Planning Unit for the Ministry of Rural Land Development; (This Table was in turn based on "Maps prepared from aerial photographs by Town Planning Department." Ibid.) The Parish Land Authority coincides approximately with the parish boundaries.

2) Ibid.
Table 3 shows the number and acreage of farms for the parish.  

Table 3: Number and Acreage of Farms for the Parish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Farm</th>
<th>Number of Farms</th>
<th>Acreage of Farms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 acre</td>
<td>3,868</td>
<td>1,588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - under 5 acres</td>
<td>5,145</td>
<td>10,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - under 10 acres</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>7,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - under 25 acres</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>6,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - under 50 acres</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>2,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - under 100 acres</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - under 200 acres</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - under 500 acres</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 acres and over</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>61,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Farms</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,829</strong></td>
<td><strong>103,525</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that farms of under ten acres account for the majority of farms in the parish, the largest single category being those between one and under five acres, this being followed by those of less than an acre. It can also be noted that concomitant with a movement from the smaller to larger farms, there is, in general, a decrease in the number of farms. Finally, it can be seen that the

1) This Table is compiled from Tables 17-26 (pp. 27-36) of the Jamaica Agricultural Census for 1968. (The figures refer to the parish rather than the area under a Land Authority).

2) "Land rented out or let free is not included in the area defined as the Farm" (Agricultural Census ibid: 9). The minimum defining criteria for a farm used in the Census were: "(a) One square of cultivation (b) Twelve economic trees (c) One head of cattle (d) Two heads of pigs, goats or sheep (e) One dozen poultry (f) Six bee hives". It can therefore be seen that "A Farm Operator may own little or no land, but, under criteria (c), (d), (e), or (f), above is considered to operate a Farm. Such Farms are defined as Landless Farms. Operators of these Landless Farms may graze their animals along the sides of the road, or on other people's land. Bearers of poultry may also be included in this category" (Ibid). This phenomenon of the Landless Farm, then, can be seen to account for the discrepancy between the actual sum of the farms listed by acreage in the above Table - which is only 10,788 - and the total number of All Farms actually given in the Table (10,829).
largest farms (500 acres and over) account for the greatest percentage of total acreage - there being two sugar estate/factory complexes included in these figures.

The comparative rainfall figures \(^1\) for three of the parish's towns, as well as for the parish as a whole, are given in Table 4. The figures for Location (c), a town on the coast, can be taken as roughly representative of rainfall in the coastal plain, although there is some increase in rainfall as one moves further south. The figures for Locations (b) and (a) can be taken as representative of the fertile inland region, specifically of the eastern foothills and western valley (see below) respectively. Rainfall is heaviest in the mountainous interior.

The influence of the Convection Rainbelt pattern can be distinguished by the two peak rainy seasons in May and October/November, this pattern being less marked as one moves further south due to the influence of topography.

**The Infertile Coastal Plain.** This plain stretches westwards, eastwards, and a few miles inland from Maintown. Not only does this area of the parish have a low level of soil fertility - a shallow layer of sand and loam covering the underlying marl, the top-soil often stony in places - but it also has a low average rainfall, frequently suffering from drought.

Part of the more coastal regions of this area consist of marsh and swamp.

Agriculture in this area of the parish consists primarily of cattle-raising and sugar-cane farming, the latter being a crop suited to sandy soil. Cattle-raising is confined primarily to the larger

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\(^{1}\) This Table is taken from the Government Pamphlet *ibid.*
Table 4: Rainfall For the Parish (inches).

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<td>6.25</td>
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<td>(c)</td>
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<td>2.59</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>5.46</td>
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<td>5.49</td>
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<td>6.01</td>
<td>7.24</td>
<td>9.39</td>
<td>6.34</td>
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<td>63.87</td>
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<td>Rain</td>
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properties, and includes both beef and dairy cattle. Pasturage consists mainly of 'Guinea' grass, and the guango trees which grow prolifically in the area serve as both shade and fodder (the pods) for the cattle. Cane is grown by both the larger property owners and the peasant farmer, but since irrigation is needed to produce two annual crops, the peasant can only produce one crop each year. Coconuts used to be an important crop in the area, but have been badly affected by coconut disease. Peasant farmers also carry out mixed farming, planting small and diversified quantities of subsistence crops such as yams, cocos, dasheen, as well as plantains and bananas, peas, beans, corn and vegetables. Pumpkins and corn are also sometimes grown as a cash crop, the former primarily by the small farmer, and the latter by both types of farmer. Due to the above-mentioned factors of low soil fertility and rainfall, however, farming is not a flourishing occupation in this area, and for the peasant is generally supplemented by, or supplementary to, some other occupation(s).

The newly established Land Authority for the parish is planning to introduce hybrid corn in the vicinity of River Village, as well as onions - a crop suited to the stony soil. The Authority is also of the opinion that with fertiliser and irrigation, the area would be suitable for high yield crops such as vegetables and tomatoes, and a feasibility study had been carried out regarding a scheme to irrigate the area from the river.

Other aspects of the economy of this area include fishing (undertaken from several of the beaches along the coast); the quarrying of marl; and tourism - this industry however still being in the early stages of development.
The Fertile Inland Region. This region includes the western valley (which merges with the foothills of the limestone plateau to the south) and the eastern hills. The former is the most fertile agricultural region in the parish and is primarily a cane farming area with one of the parish's two sugar estate/factory complexes being situated here (this estate using Main Town as its port), the second being situated on the lower slopes of the eastern hill region. Both estates grind cane grown by local property owners and small farmers in addition to their own, both estates exporting sugar and one exporting rum. In addition to cane, property owners in these areas raise cattle and grow corn (and occasionally bananas). Small (mixed) farming is also a flourishing occupation in these areas (in contrast to the coastal plain) and there are many peasant settlements in the hills, the names of many of the latter bearing the suffix "Mountain" which indicates that they were once the backlands of estates in the pre-emancipation era. ¹) Small farmers in this region provide the majority of the parish's foodstuffs: plantain, yams, dasheen, cocoas, vegetables and red peas. Irish potatoes (which are not grown on the coastal plain) also being grown in this region.

The Limestone Plateau. This region is heavily wooded, its main importance being for timber, the topography making it unsuitable for farming.

The Disposal of Agricultural Produce in the Parish. Three main patterns of crop disposal can be identified within the parish - as in the island as a whole - viz.: through the world export market; the Agricultural Marketing Corporation; and the internal marketing system.

¹) Paget op cit; Cumper, G. "A Modern Jamaican Sugar Estate" in Social & Economic Studies 3(2), 1954(b).
With reference to the first of these, it was seen from the preceding discussion and the figures on land use for the parish, that sugar cane is the most widely produced crop there, and that this is grown at three levels: by the peasant farmer; large-scale property owner; and the estate/factory complexes; cane from all three sources being ground at the latter, sugar and rum then being exported for the world market.

The role of the A.M.C. in providing a guaranteed market for large quantities of cash crops such as corn and pumpkins has also been outlined above. There are six A.M.C. collection points in the parish and the produce collected by this body is subsequently sold either in the domestic market (for example supplying hotels or hospitals where there is a fixed demand) or in the export market, there being (as mentioned in Chapter 1) a growing demand for produce such as root crops from West Indian immigrant communities overseas, the A.M.C. being the main exporter in this trade. 1)

Much of the food crops produced in the parish for the domestic market are, however, produced in quantities too small to merit the use of the A.M.C. as a source of disposal, such quantities being traditionally disposed of in the local market places - of which there are five in the parish, all but one of which are in the fertile inland region, the exception being the Maintown market - either by a member of the producer's household, or through an intermediary. The latter is referred to as a "higgler", the local definition of this being a person who "buys and sells", that is re-sells. Since the Maintown market is the leading market of the parish, and since it is the market used by the River Villagers, a brief outline of its organisation will now be given.

1) 1970 Year Book op cit.
Like all the markets in the parish, this market is under the jurisdiction of the Parish Council, the day to day administration being the concern of the Market Clerk. The market (which was built at the end of the nineteenth century) is situated to one side of the central square. The market opens every day except Sundays, and stays open all Friday night for the mastering of sellers from various parts of the parish and of the island, (some of whom sleep overnight in the market) in preparation for the main market day on Saturday. Apart from Saturdays, Wednesdays and Fridays are also important market days in the town.

The market is a large covered building divided into two main sections which are on different levels. On Fridays and Saturdays the main goods sold are foodstuffs, and such produce fills both sections of the market. On Wednesdays, however, such produce is confined to the upper section, while the lower one is devoted to the sale of cloth. A wide variety of food produce is sold in the market - bananas, plantains, root crops of all kinds, vegetables and fruit. Meat and fish are also sold, as well as spices and an assortment of dry goods such as crockery ware, haberdashery, hats and shoes.

The Market Clerk is in charge of assessing each seller's goods for the levying of an entrance fee, and of allocating each seller a stall or place to sit, regular sellers being given regular stalls or spots. In practice the sellers are generally allowed to enter the market and make a sale before the entrance fee is in fact collected; and many sellers in fact remain outside of the market to sell, spreading their wares in the adjacent corner of the square.

Although it will be seen from the subsequent discussion of the villagers' land use and marketing patterns (Chapter 4) that some of them do make small sales of surplus crops in the Maintown market, nevertheless the infertile coastal region of the parish in which both River Village
and Maintown are situated does not provide much of the foodstuffs sold in the market. Maintown sellers, for example, therefore tend to be higglers who buy produce from elsewhere, rather than producer-distributors; many of the other sellers in the market in general also being higglers rather than producer-distributors.

The market serves a wide hinterland - the fact that it is situated in an infertile area providing a good market for the crops grown in the more fertile interior of the parish, as well as being a general centre where persons from one area may obtain produce not grown in his own area, but grown in another part of the parish or in another parish.

Persons who live near enough may walk to market, those who live further away coming by bus, van or truck. River Villagers generally either walk or take the bus.

Agricultural produce comes from the parishes to the east, west and south as well as from the fertile inland region of the parish itself. Most of the root crops come from the latter and the parishes to the east and west, and such produce may be sold by the cultivator or a member of his family, much of it however being sold by higglers. The parish to the south provides mainly vegetables, fruit and thyme; such produce being brought to the market by higglers.

Cloth and dry goods come from Kingston, and to a lesser extent from the other cities. The cloth trade has been built up to its present volume in the fairly recent past - since about 1963. It is carried on primarily by "outsiders" - mainly higglers from the cities. A few local higglers do however take part in such trade. The cloth is generally purchased in Kingston on a Monday, the higglers coming to re-sell in the Maintown market on a Wednesday (this involving a long and tedious journey), often having been to another market on a Tuesday. They may then go on to markets elsewhere in the island during the remainder of the week. This pattern of cloth higgling brings out

1) Cf Comitas op. cit who states that "cloth pedlars" come to the Whitehouse market on Wednesdays.
two important points regarding the internal marketing system in general. Firstly, the distance which higglers are prepared to travel both to amass their goods, and then to re-sell them, food higglers probably having to make even more tedious journeys to amass their load. 1) And secondly, the staggering of market days throughout the island 2) - other than Saturday, which is the main market day throughout the island.

The individual seller fixes her own margin of profit. However, prices are influenced by competition with other sellers, by variations in supply and demand - in turn influenced by the seasonal variations in the case of crops - and by the type of seller; higglers tending to sell at a slightly higher price than producer-distributors. Food prices tend to be more uniform than those of dry goods. Credit is not generally given; and where it is, is generally for small amounts only, and is dependent on the establishment of a stable relationship between higgler and customer. 3)

3) This material is based primarily on an interview with the Market Clerk, who has worked in the Maintown market since 1963 (prior to this working in one of the bigger markets elsewhere in the island), this also however being supplemented by data collected in River Village. While no generalisations are based on the pilot study conducted in the market (this being very small, only covering eighteen sellers), nevertheless the results of this study support some of the above generalisations. For example, of the eighteen sellers ten are higglers, five are producer-distributors with three combining both roles. The higglers fall into two categories; those coming from Maintown or the infertile region round about, illustrating by the absence of the sale of their own produce, that small farming is not very prosperous in this area; and those coming from a great distance (from 35 to 100 miles away), illustrating that it is the higgler rather than the producer-distributor (see below) who travels furthest to distribute goods. The five producer-distributors all come from fertile farming regions which though some distance away are not excessively far (7-16 miles), some from the fertile inland region of the parish, others from a neighbouring parish. Two of the three cases of sellers who combine both types of role come, like the producer-distributors, from fertile farming regions which are not excessively far away, being however sufficiently far to encourage higglng (12 and 14 miles).
It can be seen from the above account that Mainstown serves as an important market centre for the surrounding region, of which River Village is a part. The resultant contrast between the slow, quiet pace of life in the town on non-market days, with the noise and bustle of the three main market days, can be compared with that noted by Comitas for the south coast market town of Whitehouse, which serves a similar role with regard to the regions surrounding it:

"Whitehouse is a market town. During much of the week it is quiet ... However, on market days - Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays - the town is transformed into a vibrant center of commerce and social activity, drawing to it like a magnet rural folk from nearby hamlets and properties as well as tradespeople from the more distant reaches of Jamaica ...

To the outsider, then, Whitehouse can present two diametrically opposed aspects depending on the day and even the hour of the week - one of an existence which is quiet and even-paced, the other pulsating and high-pitched. It is this latter aspect which differentiates Whitehouse from hundreds of physically similar settlements in Jamaica. Even though the Whitehouse market is not large when compared with those in many other towns or in Kingston, its importance regionally is substantial ...

The organisation of the Mainstown market described above can be seen to fit the basic organisational pattern of Caribbean internal marketing described by the many anthropologists who have written on the subject; the main features of which can be summarised as follows (an indication of the historical influences on this pattern having been given in Chapter 1). 2)
The internal marketing pattern is closely interrelated to the system of small scale agriculture, and while trading may be carried out by producer-distributors (the traditional division of labour between the man as cultivator and woman as distributor still persisting), the greater proportion of trading takes place through a large number of intermediaries or higglers, who are generally women. While there are a number of variants of this latter role (Mintz identifies three and Katsin eight, the latter also showing that there may in fact be several transactions involved before the goods are distributed from the producer to the ultimate consumer \(^1\)), nevertheless there is one basic model relevant to the activities of the higgler, viz.: a dyadic transactional model. This has two variants: that between the producer and higgler, and that between the latter and the consumer. A more complex model of a triadic relationship can therefore be constructed from these two dyads, \(^2\) the higgler being the person common to both. The higgler works on a very small scale; handling small but diversified loads; working with a small amount of capital; paying a high cost for services (such as transport); making enormous investments of labour; operating with a low margin of profit; the main function of the higgler being to bulk and break bulk. The processes of buying and selling thus take place through a series of small discrete transactions, which are based on the use of a "standardized medium of exchange - money ..." \(^3\)

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1) Mintz 1956 *op cit*; Katsin 1960 *op cit*.
This basic organisational pattern, typical throughout the Caribbean, can be seen to fit Wolf's model of the "network market". This model is based on Barnes' concept of the network which Wolf adapts to the market setting, viz.:

"In our use of the image, the points in the network are economic agents, and the lines which join them are ties of economic exchange ..."

qualifying his use of the concept by stating that in contrast with the enduring nature of "kinship, friendship, and neighbourhood ... ties, ... the economic ties we speak of may be purely temporary". 1) While, relatively speaking, this may be a valid qualification, the analyses of Caribbean marketing networks have shown that rather than the shifting, unstable ties which Wolf suggests, each dyadic relationship in the network is generally built up into an enduring relationship over time, based on the strategy of creating stable channels of supply and demand through the consolidation of "customer" or "pratik" relationships. This is effected through buying consistently from the same persons; reserving supplies for regular customers even if a quicker or more profitable sale could be made to someone else; and by giving concessions - in quantity ("a little extra" - "brawta", "degi", "pratik") - rather than in price. 2)

The organisation of such internal marketing has been criticised as "uneconomic". 3) The analyses of Mints and Katzín have, however,

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2) Katzín 1959 and 1960 op cit; Mints 1961(b) op cit; Belshaw op cit.

3) See Mints 1955 op cit on this point.
been concerned to show that this organisation - centred around the role of the middleman - is both rational and economic when considered in the context of the socio-economic organisation of the wider society. For example, the features of small and diversified loads which typify the higgler cater exactly to the organisation of small-scale agriculture; for the peasant farmer produces small quantities due to the diversification of production, which in turn is a rational strategy in response to a situation of unstable demand and possible glut of particular items. Regarding the higgler's investment of labour, this too is economic, for the higgler both saves the time and energy of the peasant farmer, and with regard to the customer both collects and distributes goods more efficiently than truckers, bearing in mind the small quantities involved and the perishable nature of much of the produce. The staggering of market days ties in with this as it enables maximum circulation of higglers and goods. Neither can such an enormous investment of labour in relationship to the size of the profit margin be considered uneconomic in the context of the national economy, since labour is cheap and unemployment and underemployment high. In addition, the higgler's costs are re-invested in the economy.

This interpretation of Caribbean marketing organisation can be seen to coincide with the Formalists' view that - in contrast to the Substantivists' argument that formal economic theory is rooted in the emergence of nineteenth-century markets, and is therefore not applicable to small-scale primitive or peasant 'non-market' economies - economising is related to scarcity, which is a universal phenomenon, and therefore that 'economising' and 'rationality' are applicable
concepts to the analysis of small-scale economies. 1) And while
"customer" relationships could be interpreted in the light of Nash's
argument for the greater constraints provided by the consideration of
social costs in peasant societies, 2) it could in fact be argued
that such strategies are in fact purely economic since the considerations
of social costs involved in the maintenance of such relationships are
secondary, or possibly even largely incidental to the rational goal
or guaranteeing stable supply and demand channels in a situation of
unstable supply and demand.

Finally, it can be noted in relation to Caribbean marketing
organisation, that Mints has suggested that the "group approach" used
in the analysis of primitive societies is not as effective a tool in
the study of peasant societies, pointing rather to the role that the
analysis of markets may play in the understanding of the latter; for

1) See Cook, S.: "The Obsolete 'Anti-Market Mentality" in American
Anthropologist 66(2), 1966 for a discussion of this point. Bohannan
and Dalton have also suggested that the relative importance of the
market place is inversely related to the degree of integration to the
market principle, Bohannan, P. & Dalton, G.: Markets in Africa
(Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962) referred to in
Ortiz, S.: "Columbian Rural Market Organisation" in Man (N.S.)
2(3), 1967. The universality of this hypothesised inverse relationship
has, however, been rejected by Ortiz in his analysis of Colombian
rural market organisation, where he shows that the market place is
more important for the larger-scale middlemen than for the peasants
themselves, Ortiz ibid. While his rejection of this hypothesis can
be accepted in the light of the analyses of Caribbean marketing,
the Columbian situation can be contrasted with the position in the
Caribbean, where the market place can in fact be seen to be of
immense importance to the peasants themselves in their various roles
of producer-distributor or middleman.

2) Nash suggests that peasants do act on a 'rational' basis, but with
a greater awareness of 'social costs' than in large-scale societies,
demonstrating this with reference to a Guatemalan community, op cit.
A similar point is also brought out by Ortiz with reference to his
Columbian material, op cit.
markets provide the arena for the articulation of the various segments of the society, and provide informal channels of communication. ¹)
(This may nevertheless be qualified to some extent by the fact that middle/upper class households may send their domestics to market rather than going themselves).

¹) Mintz 1960(b) op. cit.: 112. Cf. Henriques 1968 op. cit.; and see Katzin 1959 op. cit. for a detailed illustration of this point.
CHAPTER 4: ECONOMY

Houses

Houses in the village are made out of wood or stone (concrete or daub). Some stone houses have wooden floors, houses of both types generally having zinc roofs. Many houses are built on stilts. In fifty one cases (65.4%) houses are made of wood, the remainder being made of stone (in most cases concrete). A few stone houses are made from both concrete and daub, this mixture being due to the fact that part of the house has been added at a later date.

The size of the households' accommodation varies from one to nine rooms, (the average being 2.7 rooms \(^1\)). Many of the larger houses have verandahs.

Table 1 shows the correlation between the type and size (in rooms) of the households' accommodation. While larger houses tend to be made of stone, smaller ones are generally made of wood.

Table 1: Type and Size of Households' Accommodation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size in rooms</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 room</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 rooms</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 rooms</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 rooms</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 rooms</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 rooms</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 rooms</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 rooms</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 27 51 78

\(^1\) In three cases where the household has 1-roomed accommodation in a large house this is in fact a room in the house of another household in the sample.
Some of the houses have been built in conjunction with the Government's "Farm House" Scheme. In this Scheme application is made to the Government for a house (it being necessary to own the land on which such a house is built) and if the application is successful the Government provides the materials for the basic structure of the house, such as the supporting posts and roof; the applicant paying a certain sum depending on the standard of the house being built (sums of £10, £20 and £30 being mentioned). The basic structure is erected by the Government, and the applicant is then responsible for building around this framework. Loans may be obtained for this purpose from a branch of the People's Co-operative Bank at a nearby village; a Title for the land being required for such a loan.

The labour for house-building (apart from the erection of the foundation of the above type of house) may be secured by hiring a carpenter or mason; or if a man in the household requiring a house is competent to do so, he may do some or all of the building himself. A kinsman might also help, especially if he has one of the above skills. ¹)

The building of a house may take place in stages over an extended period of time, ²) the occupants sometimes living in it before it is finally completed. Additional rooms are sometimes built at a later date.

Houses are sometimes transported from one house-spot to another by truck.

The furnishing of houses varies to some extent according to the resources of the household, but certain basic trends are noticeable.

¹) There was no mention of co-operative labour groups for the purpose of house-building, although such a phenomenon is sometimes described for other parts of the Caribbean. It is possible that such groups may have been prevalent in the past, now being replaced by wage-labour, as is tending to happen with regard to agricultural labour (see below).

²) A phenomenon reported for other parts of the Caribbean due to the shortage of savings; see e.g. Smith, R.T., 1956 op cit.
For example, there is generally a glass-fronted cabinet in which items of crockery and glass-ware are displayed. ¹) Photographs—generally of relatives (who are often abroad), but sometimes of political figures—and religious pictures adorn the walls of most houses. In some of the poorer wooden houses magazine pages are pasted all over the inside of the walls, serving the dual purpose of decoration and of sealing the cracks between the boards against mosquitoes and wind.

The presence or absence of six attributes regarding facilities in the households were taken as indices of their relative standard of living, viz.: a water supply inside the house; electric light; a gas or electric stove; a kitchen inside the house; sanitary convenience inside the house; and the possession of a radio. Table 2 shows the number of households possessing each facility.

**Table 2: Presence or Absence of Various Facilities in Sample Households**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>No Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Running Water in House</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric Light</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas/Electric Stove</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Inside House</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitary Convenience Inside House</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only eight households have a water supply inside the house, seventy (89.7%) being without this facility. The vast majority of households, then, have to catch and carry water from the nearest standpipe which might be in the yard or on the road. In some of the tenant "compounds" (see below) several households sometimes share one standpipe.

¹) Smith notes a similar style of furnishing in Guianese Negro villages; ibid.
Thirty-nine households are without, and thirty-eight with, electric light; the presence and absence of this facility, then, being approximately 50% each way. Kerosene lamps are used in households with no electricity.

Only two households have a gas stove (none having an electric stove), the other households using either a kerosene-oil burner stove, a "coal pot", or a fire-place. Charcoal is used as fuel in the coal pot, and either this or wood in the fire-place. Some households possess more than one type of cooking facility, such as both a coal pot (which may also be used for heating irons) and a fire-place; or one of these along with an oil stove.

At least sixty-four (82.1%) of the sample households have no inside kitchen, the majority having an outside kitchen shack built of one or more of the following materials: bamboo, wattle, wood, stone, zinc, (and frequently with just a dirt floor). (See plates 1 and 2). In some of the tenant compounds such shacks may be shared by more than one household, but this is not always the case. Of the remaining fourteen households, seven have an inside kitchen, there being no information on this point for the other seven households. However on the basis of other data for these seven, it seems extremely unlikely that more than two of these households would have the resources for an inside kitchen.

Seventy-two (92.3%) of the households are without sanitary conveniences inside the house (having only outside "pit" latrine huts, frequently shared by more than one household in the tenant compounds) only six households having such inside conveniences.

Fifty-seven (73.1%) of the households possess a radio and twenty (25.6%) do not. The percentage of households owning a radio is high when the general level of income for the village is considered, and is indicative of the urban influence of Main town which characterises many aspects of village life.
Plate 1: Outside Kitchen: Board and Zinc.

Plate 2: Outside Kitchen: Stone.
House- and House-Spot Tenure

Table 3 shows the variations in house tenure.

Table 3: House Tenure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owned</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented House</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented Room</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fifty-four households live in their own house (that is, owned by one or both of the principal adults in the household); twenty-three live in a rented room or house; and one lives in a house owned by the (female) household head’s adult daughter (the latter being absent, living in another parish).

Of the twenty-three households that live in rented premises, twelve live in a rented room and eleven in a rented house. The difference between these two types of rented accommodation being sometimes simply one of definition (that is, a house stands separate from other accommodation) as in many cases such houses in fact only consist of one room, as in seven of the eleven cases. And in an additional case, although a two-roomed house is rented, one room is in such bad condition that the informant told me to "call it one room".

Of the twelve households which live in a rented room, seven live

1) Principal adults are defined as household heads and their resident spouses, see Chapter 5.

2) A household is only defined as female-headed if the woman has no resident spouse; see Chapter 5.
in houses let entirely to tenants, four in houses in which the landlord also resides, the remaining household living in a room in a shop.

House-spots in the village tend to be extremely small, being frequently less than an acre in size, and often only a few "squares" (that is, square chains. 1) . Table 4 shows the variations in the combination of House and House-Spot tenure.

Table 4: House/House-Spot Tenure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own House/Own Land</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Bought Land</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Inherited Land</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own House/Lent Land</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own House/Land held under cash tenancy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented House/No Land</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented Room/No Land</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>78</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the fifty-four households who live in their own house, in thirty-eight cases the house-spot is also owned by one or both principal adults. In twenty-two of these cases the land was purchased by the present owner, and in sixteen cases it was inherited. In the latter category the land was inherited by the male principal adult in eight cases, and by the female also in eight cases. Of the cases where inheritance was by the male, seven of the households can be classified

1) Ten square chains = one acre.
as male-headed and one as female-headed (the man's widow having remained on the land after his death). Of the cases where inheritance was by the woman, six of the households can be classified as male-headed and two as female-headed.

In all three cases of female-headed households on inherited land, the house was also in fact inherited by the respective heir; and in one additional case of a male-headed household on land inherited by a male, this is also the case.

In an additional six cases the household lives rent-free on land belonging to a relative, and in five of these cases the said relative also lives in a separate house on the same land, in the sixth case living elsewhere in the village. In two of these six cases this tenure of the 'free tenant' is on a secure basis due to the fact that either the tenant or his children have been designated heirs to the land by the owner, and in both cases the latter states that the tenant can live there permanently. Both these cases are of sons living on their mother's land. In one of these cases the land was purchased by the son's father, who subsequently made out a Title in his concubine's name, also adding the names of certain of their children including that of the son residing there. The father has since died, and the mother has added more of their children's names to the Title. None of these children will, however, actually inherit the land until the death of the mother, who considers herself the sole owner at present. Regarding the position of the land and of the son living there, she told me:

"It belong to me. But him can live there till him dead. But him can't do nothing to it. Him can't sell it, and him can't borrow nothing 'pon it."

In the second case the son's children have been designated co-heirs along with the rest of the owner's grandchildren (thirty in all): "All of them [to] go over and pick". In this case another of the
owner's sons (whose household is not in the sample) also lives on this land in another house. Regarding the rights of these two children (who are maternal half-brothers) with regard to the land, their mother states that they can continue to live there but cannot exclude the future heirs from "partaking" of the land. In both these cases the tax on the land is paid in the mother's name.

In the other four cases of households who live rent-free on a relative's land, the tenure is insecure in that neither the tenant nor his or her children have been, nor can expect to be, designated heir to the land. And in fact on my return visit in 1972 I found that two of these households had removed their houses from such land.

In three of these four cases the owner of the land is half-sister to a member of the tenant-household, (the related tenant being a woman in two cases - in one, the household head, in the other the wife in a male-headed household - and a man in the third case). Of these tenants, two (the man, and the woman who is a household head) are also in fact half-siblings to each other, both having been allowed to put their houses on the same piece of land. These two and the owner are all maternal half-siblings, each having a different father. Although the two half-siblings have been permitted certain rights of use to the land in addition to living there, such as permission to pick from the fruit trees or to plant a few crops, they have no rights of inheritance to the land. For their sister inherited it from her paternal uncle, the latter being no relation to the tenants. The owner herself also lives on this land in a third house with her husband and some of her grandchildren; and there is a fourth house, which is rented to a tenant. This land is one of three plots owned by this woman in the
village, (one of these being the land referred to above where her
two sons now live).

The third case involves a plot of purchased land, where the
owner, who also lives there in a separate house with two of her children
(a third child living with her husband in yet another house on the same
land, this latter household not being in the sample) has permitted
her half-sister's household to put their house on the land. (This
case and the one cited below being the two who had moved their houses
by 1972).

In the fourth case the tenant (the wife in a male-headed household)
and the owner (male) - who had purchased the land - are described as
"cousins". There is some contradiction in their respective accounts
of the exact relationship, but both agree on the point that it is a
matrilateral one on both sides (the owner's mother and either the tenant's
mother or maternal grandmother being matrilateral parallel cousins).

The tenant and her husband had asked the owner if they could rent
the land, an arrangement he refused because "we is family". Instead,
he has allowed them to live there rent-free, and in return they acted
as care-takers for the land while he lived elsewhere, also paying
the tax. They are allowed to pick from the trees on the land, and also
to plant there. Later, the owner returned to live on his land but
the arrangement continued. In five of the six cases where households
live in their own house on land belonging to a relative, then, the
owner of the land is a woman; being in at least five cases either the
mother or a matrilateral relative of the tenant, (it not being known in
the sixth case whether the owner and tenant are maternal or paternal
half-sisters). Both these factors point to the importance of kinship ties
either between, or traced through, women.
In all the remaining ten cases where households live in their own house, the house-spot is held under some form of cash tenancy, there being variations in the actual terms of arrangement between landlord and tenant. In some cases the arrangement is for no definite period, rental being paid half-yearly, although in at least some of these cases the landlord states that the tenant may remain on the land indefinitely. In other cases the landlord has leased the land for a stated period of three or five years, and in some of these arrangements there is the further condition that the tenant may either renew the lease at the end of this period, or have the option to purchase the land. In three such cases the tenant is in fact purchasing land in this way.

In the one case where the household lives in the head's daughter's house, the house-spot likewise belongs to the daughter.

In none of the twenty-three cases where the household rents accommodation is the house-spot also rented.

The combination of long-term residents in the village (some of whom are in the "born ya" category, others being settled migrants) who own land there, and more recent migrants, many of whom do not own any land in the village, results in the presence of landlord/tenant ties among the villagers themselves. These may be the result of a variety of arrangements, viz.: the renting out of rooms in the landlord's own house; the renting out of houses (by the room or the whole house) either on the landlord's own house-spot or on another plot which he owns elsewhere in the village; or the leasing of land for house-spots. Several cases of such ties are found among the sample itself.

For example, one married couple who are landlords to three other households in the sample originally came to the village as immigrants from other parts of the parish. After living as tenants elsewhere in
the village, they moved to their present house-spot in 1921, also as tenants, renting the house only. About a year and a half later they purchased both the house and the surrounding land (about one acre). In the two years preceding field work the husband had had two one-roomed cottages built on the land for rental. In addition, the couple rent out a room in their own house. None of the tenants rent any of the land, but if they wish to pick from the trees on the land they are generally permitted to do so. I was told by the landlords that the tenants would be allowed to plant a few crops on the land if there were sufficient space, but that it is only a yard, and the children (thirteen between the various households) would destroy any attempt at cultivation. All four households have separate outside kitchens, all provided by the landlords. All the principal adults in the three tenant households are immigrants to the village. While this couple are landlords in their own right, they are themselves also tenants with regard to another piece of land at the edge of the village which they cultivate rent-free.

A cluster of households similar to that just described has also grown up around the household of another married couple. The latter, both immigrants to the village several years ago, purchased two adjoining holdings of land in the village some years ago. They themselves live on the larger of the two plots (½ acre) renting five additional houses to tenants (three on the plot where they live, and two on the adjoining plot, which is smaller). Some of these houses are rented in toto, others being rented by the room. Outside kitchens are provided for the tenants on the smaller plot, but not on the larger. In 1972, however, one of these tenants was building his own. None of the land is rented to the tenants, and the latter are not
allowed to pick from the few trees on the land, neither are they allowed to plant anything there as "there is not enough space".

In a third case a man who was born in the village and inherited his 1/2-acre house-spot from his father, rents house-spots on it to other villagers on which to erect their own houses. He rents these spots on a six-monthly basis, each party having to give six months notice, the rental also being paid every six months. He says his tenants can stay there as long as they want to so long as they live in a "peaceful manner". He has several fruit trees on the land, but the terms of the rental do not permit the tenants to pick from these because the sale of such produce is needed to help him pay the tax on the land. The tenants are, however, permitted to plant a few crops.

### Influence of House-Spot Tenure on House-Type and House-Size.

The kind of tenure of the house-spot influences both the type and size of the house built. Tables 5 and 6 show the correlations between the kind of house-spot tenure and the type and size of house respectively, of the fifty-five households which either own their house-spot, hold it under some form of cash tenancy, or live rent-free on a relative's land (the household where the head lives in her absent daughter's house also being included in this total). In addition to the more detailed breakdown of types of house-spot tenure: "Own: Bought or Inherited"; "Daughter's"; "Relative's: Secure"; "Relative's: Insecure"; and "Cash Tenancy"; - the first three categories are further grouped together to form the inclusive category "Secure Tenure" as against the last two ("Insecure Tenure") to facilitate comparison, since although there are variations in the degree of insecurity in the latter type of arrangements, all can be regarded as relatively insecure since
Table 5: Correlation Between Tenure of House-Spot and House-Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House-Type</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secure</td>
<td>Insecure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Own</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bought</td>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Daughter's</td>
<td>Relative's</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Relative's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: Correlation Between Tenure of House-Spot and House Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Size: No. of Rooms</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secure Total</td>
<td>Insecure Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Own Bought</td>
<td>Inherited</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Daugther's</td>
<td>Relative's (Secure)</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Relative's (Insecure)</td>
<td>Cash Tenancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the tenant is unsure of how long he may be allowed to keep his house on the land. This being so even in the case of "Lease and Sale" arrangements, since at the beginning of these the tenant may also be uncertain of his financial ability to purchase the land in the future.

The type of house built on securely held house-spots is seen to be relatively evenly divided between wood and stone, there being all slightly more built of stone. However, houses built on insecurely held house-spots are made of wood. In other words wherever land is not securely held by the tenant he builds his house of less durable material so that it may, if necessary, be moved from the house-spot. The type of accommodation built by landowners for rental also tends to be of wood; of the eleven rented complete houses, ten are of wood, five of the seven houses let by the room to tenants, and in which the landlord does not himself reside, also being of wood. (See Plates 3 - 7).

Plate 3: Own House (Stone) on Inherited Land.
Plate 4: Own House (Sturdy Wood) on Inherited Land

Plate 5: Own House (Sturdy Wood) on Bought Land
Plate 6: Wooden Houses Built for Rental
(note dirt yard of "tenant compound")

Plate 7: Village Landlord's Own House (Sturdy Wood) on Bought Land
with Wooden Houses (see Plate 6) Built for Rental
in Background.
Of the forty-one houses on securely held house-spots only three are one-roomed, thirty-three being of three rooms or more; whereas of the thirteen houses built on insecurely held house-spots, five are one-roomed with only four being of three rooms or more. In other words larger houses are built on securely held land, smaller houses being built on insecurely held land as they may have to be moved from that spot in the future. The type of houses built by landowners for rental also tend to be small, seven of the eleven such houses being one-roomed, two being two-roomed, with only two being three-roomed.

In addition to this influence of house-spot tenure on the type and size of house, persons who are unable to afford to purchase a house-spot are unlikely to be able to afford to build a large strong house; and the fact that a title for the house-spot is needed to get a loan for house-building means that those villagers least able to afford to build a house are the ones least able to obtain financial aid for house-building.

Influence of House-Spot Tenure on Land Use

Many households cultivate or raise small livestock on the house-spot. Such livestock generally consists of a few chickens or a pig, a common practice being to rear pigs one at a time in succession, buying a piglet for about 30/-, rearing it "to perfection", and then selling it for about £10. Small herds of goats may also be kept (sometimes being pastured out on the banks of the roads or on someone else's land); and occasionally a cow is kept. Livestock is sometimes given to children by a parent or grandparent.

The type and intensity of such land use varies, depending to some extent on the kind of tenure enjoyed by householders. For example, those with secure tenure tend to make long-term investments by planting "economic" trees such as ackee, breadfruit, mango, paw-paw, sour-sop, star-apple,
annatto, coconut, naseberry, avocado pear and citrus (grapefruit, orange tangerine and lime); sometimes with more limited investment in short-term crops such as bananas, plantain, yam, dasheen and cocos (taro), corn, cane, cassava, peppers and vegetables (chow-chow, calalloo, beans, peas, okra, pumpkin and tomatoes) (see Plates 8 and 9). In cases of intensive cultivation the multi-tiered pattern characteristic of the proto-peasantry is sometimes still found. On the other hand, householders with insecure tenure make little or no such although long-term investment, short-term subsistence crops may be cultivated and small livestock kept. Tenants are so aware of the implications of insecure tenure for land use that in one such case when I enquired if the tenant had planted any trees or crops on the land, I was told: "We wouldn't worry to do that, because it's not our place and we're looking to leave it anytime".

Although none of the households who live in rented accommodation rent the house-spot, some of these tenants are in fact allowed to plant a few short-term crops on the land and sometimes to pick fruit from the landlord's trees; in some cases also being permitted to keep a few chickens or a pig on the premises. However in cases where several such households share a common yard, there is generally a complete absence of cultivation (apart from trees belonging to the landlord), such yards being worn down to bare earth due to their constant use by the several inhabitants (for example for domestic chores such as washing clothes, which are generally performed outside the house) and by the children who use it for play (see Plate 6).

1) Persons who keep livestock in this way may be referred to as having "landless farms"; see Census of Agriculture 1968-1969, Jamaica.
Plate 8: Intensive Cultivation on House-spot: Bought Land

Plate 9: Intensive Cultivation on House-spot: Inherited Land
Thus the opportunity to make some contribution to their food supply is denied to those villagers who most need it, while other villagers who are relatively well-off, owning their house-spots, have most opportunity to cultivate. In this way the pre-existent differentiation within the village regarding control over resources is re-enforced, as in the context of house-building referred to above.

Other Land Used for Cultivation

Twenty-two households use land outside the village for cultivation, the distance of such land from the yard varying from just outside the village to some miles away. One household cultivates three such plots, another two households cultivating two plots each, making a total of twenty-six plots cultivated outside which the village. Thus the traditional distinction between yard and ground/characterised the proto-peasantry still persists in the case of approximately one-quarter of the households. Further, since much of this land outside the village is hilly land often being the marginal land of Government owned or middle/upper class owned properties, the traditional distinction between yards being on flatter, and grounds on hillier land also persists, the need for grounds being still related to the small size of house-spots.

The tenure of the plots outside the village varies. Some are owned by the cultivator or a relative; some are held under cash tenancy; others are "free" land, yet others being "captured" - to use the local term for squatting. Although Edwards 1) notes that the term "free" land includes land used free of charge belonging to either a relative or non-relative (see Chapter 1), in this part of the island the term in fact only applies to land held free from an unrelated landlord.

The difference between such free tenants and squatters who both use land rent-free, is that in the former case the landlord's permission for the use of the land is sought and obtained, while in the latter it is not. Nevertheless

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1) Edwards op cit.
it seems that in the case of the squatters the landlords are in fact aware of their presence on the land, (some of the squatters having petitioned for the purchase of such land which is Government owned) and therefore tacitly agree to such use of the land.

Thus although there is land shortage in this area, this is off-set to some extent by the practices of obtaining "free" land and squatting, a situation which bears some similarity to that described by Firth for the Tikopia whereby a man who needs land simply cultivates that of another, sometimes without obtaining his permission. 1) The two situations further being similar in that such practices co-exist with the concept of private property.

"Free" tenure may involve the condition of leaving the land "in grass" when the cultivator has finished with it, although in such cases it might not be necessary to plant the grass since it often grows back when the land is left fallow. While free tenure is to some extent insecure from the point of view of holding a particular plot, since the landlord may require the plot for his own use after a period of time, this insecurity is off-set by the practice of giving the tenant an alternate plot to cultivate; and, in this way stable asymmetrical dyadic relationships may develop over time between a middle/upper class property-owner and a villager. Such a relationship may be concomitant with an employer/employee relationship, or may originate in this way, an employer giving his employee free land to cultivate, but may persist even if the tenant no longer continues to work for the landlord. Thus while some informants' work histories provide evidence of shifting from one ground to another, this sometimes reflects the pattern of land use associated with a stable landlord/free tenant relationship rather than the dissolution of a particular landlord/tenant relationship. (In addition, such histories sometimes reflect the tenant's own geographical mobility as in the case of villagers who have migrated to the village from elsewhere in the parish or another parish). Free tenure does not, however, always

necessitate the tenant moving from one plot to another; for sometimes, if when the landlord is ready to use the plot himself, the tenant informs him that his (the tenant's) crops are still on the land, the landlord lets him "stay there for years".

Table 7: Tenure of Plots Cultivated Outside the Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Number of Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owned by Cultivator or Relative</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Bought land</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son's Bought land</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Inherited land</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squatted</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free (unrelated landlord)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held under cash tenancy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Size of Land Cultivated Outside the Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Number of Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quarter acre (2.5 squares) or less</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sqs. - ½ acre</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5½ sqs. - 1 acre</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 1 acre - 5 acres</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 5 acres</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subsistence crops are grown on most of the smaller plots (see Plates 10 - 11), while cane, the main cash crop grown in this...
area, is associated with the few larger plots, being grown on four of the six plots over one acre in size, on one one-acre plot, with another one-acre plot being partially planted in cane. The traditional pattern of land use - the cultivation of subsistence crops on grounds - which characterised the proto-peasantry can therefore still be seen to persist in the majority of cases; the limited incidence of cash-cropping (a feature introduced into the Jamaican peasant economy in the Period of Consolidation, see Chapter 1) showing the limited extent to which these villagers have been incorporated into an agricultural market economy; (this being further emphasised by the fact that of the six plots cultivated in cane, three are in fact cultivated by the same person).

The correlation between subsistence agriculture and small plots, and cash-cropping and larger plots, shows that cash cropping is unlikely to develop further in the absence of the consolidation of the smaller plots which typify the peasantry; and such consolidation seems unlikely not only because if a peasant farmer has insufficient land himself for cultivation he may not be able to afford or obtain large enough plots from other persons, but also because of the principle of joint inheritance operating among the peasantry which results in either multiple claims to one plot of land, or in the sub-division of plots among co-heirs, as will be seen from the subsequent discussion of inheritance.

While in the case of the house-spots it was seen that the kind of tenure affected the kind of land use, a further indication that size of plot might be the crucial variable in the presence or absence of cash-cropping rather than tenure alone, is the fact that
three of the four plots owned outside of the village by the cultivator or a relative are in fact planted in subsistence crops, only one being planted in cane. However even when size and tenure are both in favour of cash-cropping the latter may not in fact develop, as in the case of one of the six largest plots which is also owned, where only a small portion/cultivated, this being in subsistence crops; and this indicates that other problems such as lack of capital for investment (for example, for the irrigation necessary in this area or for obtaining wage labour) may further prevent the peasantry from growing cash crops.

The various factors mentioned above as operating against the introduction of cash cropping among the peasantry point to the advantage of the type of secure leasehold land settlement schemes advocated by past writers such as de Frampton. 1)

Other informants who no longer cultivate land outside the village have done so in the past. While it is outside the scope of this study to enquire into the changing patterns of land use in the area, informants observe that it is not as easy as it was in the past to obtain land for cultivation. An important factor in this situation is the increased population pressure which has resulted in increased land scarcity throughout the island in general; a phenomenon, which as noted in Chapter 1, has contributed to the "saturation" of the peasantry.

1) de K. Frampton op cit.
Sale of Produce

The goals for which the various crops are cultivated by the villagers on yard and ground can now be considered. Subsistence crops cultivated on both such types of plot are cultivated primarily for domestic use; but in approximately one-quarter of the households small surpluses of such crops are sold either to other villagers who come to the yard to buy, or in the Maintown market. In the latter case it is almost always the woman of the household who sells the produce, this complementing the role of the man as main cultivator in the domestic group (as will be seen below), this division of labour based on the conjugal relationship therefore remaining the same as among the proto-peasantry.

In addition, four of the women in the sample are hugglers (another role which has its roots in the proto-peasantry) and a fifth huggled in the past, having now retired. The case histories of these five women are given below in order to illustrate both the nature of the network organisation of Jamaican internal marketing (see Chapter 3) and also some of the variants within this basic pattern. Three of the five cases concern women who actually sell in the market-place, one dealing in agricultural produce, another in dry goods, and a third in both types of goods; one of these three women combining higgling with her primary role as producer-distributor, selling produce cultivated by her husband. The remaining two women show further variants in that the process of higgling in these cases is largely independent of the market-place, one of these women dealing in agricultural produce, the other in fish. 1)

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1) Cf Comitas' description of the fish hugglers who buy fish at Whitehouse, op cit.
Despite the presence of such higglers however most villagers, as indicated above, dispose of their surpluses directly to the consumer. This seems to be related to two factors. Firstly, the infertility of the region in conjunction with the relative shortage of land available for cultivation results in a ready market for food produce in the village itself, villagers who need such supplies therefore sometimes buying it from others' yards. This situation can be expected to differ, for example, from that in the more remote settlements of the island's interior, where due to historical reasons more small farmers are likely to own their land, (there also being fewer immigrants as opposed to landed natives in such settlements 1) and where, in addition, small farming can be expected to be more prosperous due to the improved climatic and soil conditions.

Secondly, due to the proximity of the village to the parish capital, and the easy communication between the two, villagers frequently go to Maintown for a variety of purposes - such as to buy produce or dry goods from the market or shops - and can therefore easily take their own surpluses there to sell. The high proportion of villagers who make their own purchases directly from the market rather than buying regularly through a higgler (as in the remote country district studied by Katzin 2) being likewise due to the village's proximity to the town.

In addition to selling in the yard or local market, surpluses such as pumpkins or corn may be disposed of through the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (as mentioned in Chapter 3), only a few

1) See Smith, M.C., 1956(b) op cit.
2) Katzin 1959 op cit.
villagers however selling in this way.

In the very limited number of cases where cane is cultivated as a cash crop for the export market, the crop, which is reaped by the farmer, is sold (either by the "ton" or the "heap and Bundle") to one of the sugar estate/factory complexes; the latter often providing the transport for the cane, the cost of transportation being deducted from the purchase price.

Case 1. Miss L. is a retired fish higgler; she started higgling when she was twelve years old, while living in a neighbouring parish, buying fish from fishermen at 6d a string and then re-selling it. She continued in this business after moving to the village, buying fish from the fishermen at a beach some miles away at 6d or 1/- a string. She would then re-sell the fish in either the village, Maintown or a neighbouring village, making between 3d and 1/- profit per string. Sometimes she sold in the market, but she never had a permanent stall there, preferring to walk around the town or villages to sell, or alternately, have customers come to her yard. Sometimes she would supplement her income with the re-sale of breadfruit (purchased at the market) in the village. Occasionally she was able to sell a little produce which she cultivated on her house-plot, such as bananas, coconuts or limes. Several years ago Miss L. emigrated temporarily to Port Lewont, Costa Rica, where she also made a living by higgling.

Case 2. The Ns cultivate a variety of subsistence crops both in their yard and ground, and Mrs. N. sells some of this produce at the market on a Saturday whenever there is enough. Such sale is augmented occasionally by that of grapefruit, which she buys from another woman to re-sell. She is in this limited sense, then, a higgler, although she does not in fact consider herself to be one as her main role is that of producer-distributor.
Case 3. Miss S. is a shipchandler, working on a small scale
taking orders for fruit and vegetables from the ships which dock
in the Maintown harbour. She is the only person who fills these orders,
and has been a shipchandler for over twenty years. She fills these
orders from one of two alternative sources; either she grows her
own vegetables (when finances and rainfall permit) on her own
house-spot, in which case she emphasises that this is not 'higgling',
but 'farming'. Or she buys produce from the market, re-selling
to the ships. She has to buy from the market as there are "no small
farmers around here". She does not re-sell any produce in the
market but sometimes sells her own vegetables (and fruit from the
trees on her house-spot) in the yard or in the town.

Case 4. Mrs. T. is a higgler who deals in the buying and re-sale
of children's clothes. She finds this occupation "very hard" as she
has to travel to Kingston at night to purchase her goods. She goes
by truck or whatever transport is available, sometimes leaving the
village at 2 a.m. and arriving in Kingston at dawn. There she buys
the clothes from dressmakers who sell at wholesale prices in the
streets. She could buy such garments in the market in Kingston, but
only at retail prices. She does not travel to Kingston every week,
only when her stock needs replenishing, and will then go either on
a Monday or Thursday night, returning the same day by whatever
transport she can get.

She re-sells the clothes at a higher price in the local market
on Wednesdays and Saturdays, primarily the latter. However she does
not go to sell every week, for since she might sit in the market for
an entire day without making a sale, if she can spend the time more
profitably she stays at home. For example for the past month she
had not been to the market to sell as she had been helping her husband
to reap peas from their cultivation.

At the present time Mrs. T. deals only in clothes. However she has previously higgled in food produce, giving this up only very recently because she found it too "hackling" buying and carrying the food. Her account of this work is nevertheless included here as it gives some idea of the processes involved in the bulking and re-sale of such produce which is the most typical load handled by the Jamaican higgler.

Mrs. T. would purchase produce from farmers in two different areas - the fertile, hilly interior of the parish, and a neighbouring parish, buying mainly bananas from the former, and bananas, coconuts and breadfruit from the latter. She sometimes also purchased yams. She would travel to the neighbouring parish by van on a Wednesday, returning the same day. On the return journey the van would stop whenever passers-by were sighted, and most of the produce was sold in this way. On a Friday she would go to the interior of the parish, also by van and returning the same day, and would then re-sell her produce in the local market on Saturdays. She did not sell in the village.

Case 5. Miss B. higgles in dry goods, vegetables, spices and Irish potatoes, selling in the local market on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of every week. She has been a higgler for twelve years. The major bulk of her goods are purchased on her behalf by another woman higgler who lives in Maintown, but who travels to Kingston every Thursday to buy goods. Miss B. gives her the money to buy the goods, which she does from wholesale sources. Whatever is left after sale at the local market, Miss B. brings back for sale in the village. She also buys yams, bananas and small amounts of sweet potatoes and coconuts in the local market for re-sale in the village. She has six regular customers in the village (five of whom are in the sample)
to whom she sells every week, but other villagers also come to her yard and buy. Although she lives on family land in the village and has sometimes cultivated in the past both there (vegetables) and on free land (corn), she seldom grew sufficient produce for sale.

The data on the sample's marketing patterns illustrates in a more specific way the general points made with regard to the organisation of the Maintown market, as well as the latter's integrating role for the surrounding region of which the village is a part. The inter-relationship between small-scale agriculture and the internal marketing pattern, for example, is seen in the case of those villagers whose agricultural activities produced surpluses sufficient to sell in the market. The case histories of the higglers, who are all women, shows not only the variants in this role, but also the small scale on which such individuals operate, and the extent of the investment of their labour in such work. The case of Miss B. also illustrates the kind of regular 'customer' relationships on which these networks are based.

The arguments referred to in Chapter 3 in support of the economy of such a marketing system are given validity here by the fact that unemployment and under-employment exists in the area, the main alternative occupations for women - apart from that of housewife - being domestic, cultivator, or self-employed seamstress. Higgling is a more independent occupation than the first of the above three occupations; there is only limited scope for the third of these; and with regard to the second, it is seen that cultivation is not a very successful occupation in the area.

The data also shows that while much of the trading activities of the villagers take place in the context of the market-place, that
nevertheless some of this does occur independently of the latter - as when cultivators sell their produce in the yard, or when higgers operate independently of the market place.

Finally, the data on land use and marketing illustrates Mintz's point that the Caribbean peasant produces for three goals 1) subsistence; the internal market; and - to a very limited extent only in this particular context - for the world export market.

None of the households is self-sufficient, those who do not cultivate having to purchase all their food and other necessities; those who do, supplementing their cultivation with the purchase of additional "food" 2) in some cases, as well as items such as flour, cornmeal, milk, cooking oil and tinned goods. Clothes and other such items also need to be purchased, or in some cases villagers buy cloth and sew their own clothes. "Food" and various dry goods such as cloth may be purchased from the market, and almost every household makes some purchases from the latter. However a limited range of dry goods and groceries may also be purchased from the village shops, and villagers may also buy "food" from another person's yard or from Miss B, the higgler mentioned above, who lives in the village and sells some of her goods there. Only a few individuals, however, making the majority of their purchases from this higgler.

As with selling, the woman is the chief buyer for the household (being the main or only buyer in approximately three-quarters of the households). However children are often sent to make purchases from the village shops, the expression "old enough to send to shop" being

1) Mintz 1956 op cit.
2) The word "food" is used locally to designate subsistence produce as opposed to other kinds of food.
one of the ways of indicating a child's age.

**Employment Opportunities**

Until recently the main avenues of employment for males in the village were either on the surrounding properties or with one of the Government Departments in Maintown, such as the Parish Council or Public Works Department. Now work can also be obtained at one of the two tourist projects recently opened some miles from the village. Another source of employment is that of stevedore, loading sugar ships which call at the Maintown harbour. A few men are employed as Special Constables.

Most of the jobs available are labouring in one form or another, frequently agricultural, and are often temporary and irregular. In the case of agricultural labouring on properties this irregularity is due to the seasonal nature of the main cash crop harvested in the area—cane; labour being required mainly at times of planting and harvesting. Cattle-rearing however does provide more regular employment for pen-men.

The job of stevedore, though well-paid, is irregular due both to the fact that ships only call infrequently, and because labour is operated on a rota system.

Both the local properties and the Government Departments provide limited openings for more regular supervisory jobs, such as headman in the former case and foreman in the latter, and Government work also has limited openings for skilled manual labour such as truck- or steam-roller drivers.

Jobs for women may be obtained as domestics with middle/upper class households in the rural areas surrounding the village or in Maintown, but such opportunities are limited; women sometimes also doing light agricultural labouring on the properties.
Self-employment is another source of employment for both men and women, such as a trade for the former and dress-making for the latter. Opportunities for regular employment in such lines however are limited in rural areas. Shop-keeping provides a reasonably secure livelihood for either men or women, but again the opportunities for this are limited.

There are hardly any full-time cultivators in the sample; nevertheless as indicated above, a large proportion of households carry on a variable degree of cultivation. The household is the basic productive unit, and while both sexes may cultivate, the man is generally the main cultivator, doing the heavy work such as cleaning the land of grass and bush by chopping and burning and preparing the ground for planting, while the woman and children may sometimes help with the lighter tasks of weeding, planting and reaping; the marketing of any surplus generally being the woman's responsibility. Nevertheless there are cases of women who have cultivated their own grounds in the past with little or no help from a man, either because they were not co-residing with one or because he was otherwise employed. In such cases women are sometimes very proud of their skill at cultivating, as in the case of an old woman who cultivated a ground on her own when she was young, who told me: "When me work ground and in a me strength me no work little bit a ground! Because me can work, you know!"

Two variants of co-operative labour for the purpose of helping with the various stages of cultivation are reported by informants: "day fe day" and "digging"; ¹) neither type of labour is mobilised

¹) For similar forms of co-operative labour reported for elsewhere in the island and in other parts of the Caribbean see Simey op cit; Clarke 1966 op cit; Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit; Smith, M.G.: A Report on Labour Supply in Rural Jamaica (Kingston: Government Printer, 1956c); Horowitz op cit.
on a kinship basis.

"Day fe day" is based on the obligation to reciprocate each day's labour given, either the same or the following week, such labour being exchanged between persons who "move together", that is who are friends. Although the basis of this institution is a dyadic relationship, such arrangements may involve more than two persons, sometimes groups of three to twelve persons forming a "round" similar to that formed in the short-term savings association of "pardner" mentioned below, each person in turn receiving help on his ground. Such labour involves a variety of tasks: chopping grass or bush, preparing the ground and planting or harvesting (as in the case of cane). The "ground-master" as the individual mobilising aid is called, provides food for those helping him, which his mate prepares at the ground, or alternatively each helper may bring his own uncooked "food" which the ground-master's mate then cooks for them, the ground-master himself providing fish or meat. Both sexes may partake in "day fe day" arrangements.

"Digging" is group labour and does not necessarily involve the concept of reciprocity. Such groups may be as many as sixty strong, community ties involving both the village and the surrounding "district" being mobilised for such labour, a few weeks notice being given in advance by the ground-master. On the morning of the digging a conch shell is blown, a signal which can be heard for miles around, and this summons those helping to gather at the ground. The labour involves digging holes for planting (a yam hole needing to be about two feet in diameter) with mattocks or iron "jammers", and such digging may be accompanied by singing, a lead singer sometimes being employed; thus digging is a more spectacular occasion than "day fe day". A big "breakfast" is held at midday with a goat being killed for the occasion, the ground-master being under obligation to provide such meat as well
as "food" for the helpers, rum generally also being provided. The women do the cooking and carry water, while the men dig, everyone stopping for the midday meal, after which work is resumed until nightfall.

"Digging", mentioned mainly by the older informants is however dying out, being replaced by wage-labour, this also being the case to some extent with "day fe day".

Because of the temporary and irregular nature of much of the employment available to villagers, there is a tendency for individuals, especially males, to have more than one or sometimes several occupations which may be undertaken either simultaneously (that is within a limited time span) or sequentially over their life-time. Thus a man who is listed as say "stevedore" on the Electoral List may in fact have one or more other occupations. Part-time cultivation may be seen in this context of plural occupations as both cause and effect. It may be carried on as a side-line to supplement irregular income from wage-labour; or the latter may be undertaken to supplement the produce and proceeds from cultivation. Cash is needed by all peasant farmers to purchase goods which they cannot produce themselves, and they are well aware that the stony soil and small plots of the district, frequently moreover affected by drought, cannot produce surpluses sufficient to bring in an adequate income. Thus the inter-relationship between cultivation and wage-labour which has typified the peasantry since the early post-emancipation era still persists.

The limited opportunities for well-paid regular employment are reflected not only in the occupational pluralism of the villagers, but also in the high incidence of migratory wage-labour overseas reported in the work histories of many of the villagers, particularly the men. Two main trends can be identified in such emigration. Firstly, that among the older villagers who emigrated primarily to other parts of the Caribbean such as Cuba, Costa Rica and Panama in the earlier part
of the century, often staying abroad for several years. Secondly, that among the younger villagers, who have been on short-term labour contracts to North America (generally the U.S.), some individuals having made several such trips.

These patterns of emigration affecting the village show that while the various local economic factors outlined above are undoubtedly important in triggering off such emigration, that, as Peach suggests in his study of West Indian migration, 1) "pull" factors (that is conditions in the receiving countries) are of considerable importance in influencing migration, and as he suggests, such "pull" factors may in fact be considered the dynamic ones in influencing migration trends, local economic factors simply being "permissive" to such emigration. For the earlier migration pattern among the villagers coincided with the period of high demand for immigrant labour to work on the Panama Canal and the banana and sugar plantations of Costa Rica and Cuba respectively. Whereas the current trend has coincided first with the need for "manpower" labour in the United States contingent on the Second World War; and subsequently with the need for immigrant labour for the harvesting of certain crops in North America, this being the basis of the Farm Work Schemes whereby thousands of contract labourers emigrate to the United States and Canada annually on a temporary basis (see Appendix I, Table 2).

Although there are very few villagers who have been abroad to the United Kingdom and returned to live permanently in the village, several villagers have (as mentioned in Chapter 3) relatives who have emigrated there to work and have remained there, some having been there for several years, some villagers likewise having relatives who have emigrated to the United States and have remained there and remittances

1) Peach on cit.
from such relatives are an important source of income to some village households. Such migrants have generally emigrated to these two countries several years ago, prior to the restrictions placed on long-term immigration in the United States and immigration in general in the United Kingdom. (See Chapter 1). The importance of "pull" factors in influencing migration can again be seen here in relation to these two trends, for of the latter emigration to the United Kingdom was by far the most important, opportunities for employment in the United Kingdom being created by the enormous demand for both skilled and unskilled labour contingent on the industrial expansion of the British economy in the 1950s, a corollary of this being that this expansion "has created gaps at the lower end of the occupational and residential ladder [in Britain] to which West Indians and other coloured immigrants have been drawn in as a replacement population." 1) Thus the diversion of emigration from the United States to the United Kingdom resultant from the McCarran-Walter Act in the former can be seen, as Peach suggests, as a passive factor only, for the emigration of West Indians to the United Kingdom in the 1950s and 1960s was far greater than previous emigration to the United States, being the largest net outward movement from the former British Caribbean.

The case histories given below illustrate both the nature of occupational pluralism in the village and the related phenomenon of migrant wage labour, also showing the variations within the latter resultant from changes in international migratory trends. Cases one and two concern elderly men who emigrated in the earlier part of the century to other parts of the Caribbean. Cases five and six concern younger men who typify the contemporary trend of short-term recurrent migratory labour to North America (in both these cases to the United

1) Ibid: 92
States). And cases three and four show middle-aged men whose migratory histories included both the above types of migration. Cases ten and eleven provide evidence of long-term emigration to the United Kingdom, a phenomenon which, as mentioned above, is now considerably curtailed; case eleven also provides an example of one of the very few villagers who has been to the United Kingdom and returned to the village to live permanently. These two cases also illustrate the importance of remittances from relatives overseas, and, along with case nine, illustrate the variations in means of support for female-headed households.

The cases further illustrate the fact that despite the overall pattern of occupational pluralism, that there are differences within the village with regard both to the nature of occupations – their relative security/insecurity and status – and bases of livelihood. For example the men in cases one, two, four and eight, while having to turn to a variety of sources of employment, have, or have had a trade or some other relatively high status occupation; and the man in case three has been regularly employed for some years prior to his retirement. Such cases can be contrasted with those of the men in cases five and seven, and the women in cases eight to ten, who have done a variety of irregular labouring jobs. Further, the men in cases one to four and the women in cases eight, ten and eleven, all live on bought or inherited land which not only provides some degree of security (especially important in old age) but also a source of income through the renting of rooms, houses or house-spots on the land to tenants; with trees and subsistence crops cultivated on the house-spot supplementing the households' food supply. Whereas
cases five, six and nine show villagers who have to pay rental for their accommodation or house-spot (although in fact two of these villagers own land elsewhere in the parish). While such distinctions again illustrate the point made earlier that internal differentiation within the village with regard to control over resources and making a living is to some degree re-enforcing, case ten shows how a villager with little initial resources has, with the help of her employer, been able to make a relatively secure livelihood for the rest of her life.

Case 1. Mr. R. began his working life as an apprenticed carpenter in Maintown. In 1911, when he was nineteen years old, he emigrated to Panama where he remained for the next twenty-two years. There he worked at a variety of occupations: switchtender on the railway; then hotel work - as a waiter, bartender and porter; and finally as a taxi driver in the tourist business. He returned to the village in 1933 and has never been abroad since then. When he first returned he continued in the tourist taxi business, working at a hotel some miles from the village. As a side-line he also did a little cultivating and stock-raising (cows and horses) on free land on a local property, selling both corn and milk. During this time he was also a District Constable in the Maintown Police Force. In 1940 he sold out his taxi business, just continuing to cultivate and raise stock. He never practised his trade of carpentry abroad, and after his return to the village only practised it sporadically, for example doing odd jobs on the property where he obtained his free land. He lives on his own house-spot and rents two rooms in his house to boarders.

Case 2. Mr. A. is an elderly man who has now retired. When he was a young man he emigrated to Cuba where he first worked as a janitor in a hospital and then as a carpenter. After a year he returned to
the village, making a second trip to Cuba the following year, where he again worked as a janitor for over a year, after which he returned to the village where he has lived ever since. His main source of income since his return has been from carpentry - doing various jobs for local property-owners and sometimes for the Government Departments in Maintown. Now that he is retired his main source of income is from leasing house-spots to tenants on the $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of inherited land on which he and his family live, this being supplemented from the proceeds from the occasional sale of fruit from the trees in the yard, and a small Government pension.

Case 3. In 1921, when he was eighteen years old, Mr. O. emigrated to Cuba, where he remained until 1938, working for much of the time as a labourer on the cane farms. Such work involved preparing the fields for planting, and planting itself, (such work being generally done by Spaniards and Jamaicans) rather than harvesting (which was done mainly by Haitians). In addition, he occasionally worked on the railway:

"But being the foreigners, you couldn't get the railroad job. The principal jobs in the country belong to the natives. And finally, they bring in a law that every job that is going to be done, you have to have eighty natives to twenty foreigners. Well, among the foreigners now, you have Jamaicans, Trinidadians, Barbadians, Spaniards and Haitians."

When he returned to the village he cultivated yams, bananas, plantains and pumpkins on land which he obtained on one of the local properties, his sister selling some of the produce for him. Then towards the end of the Second World War he emigrated to the United States for fifteen months, where he first did farm work, subsequently working in a paper mill. In 1946 he returned to the United States for a second time, this time for six months, where he again did both farm and factory work.

When he finally returned to Jamaica he went to live in Maintown. In 1959 he returned to the village, where he is co-heir to one acre
of family land, deciding that as the land was there he might as well use it as he now had a wife and children to support. So, having built his own Farm House on the land, he has continued to live there until the present time, cultivating the house-spot intensively with the help of his wife and children, recently also cultivating a ground elsewhere.

In addition to such cultivation, Mr. O. worked with the P.W.D. for twenty-four years; – for the first sixteen of these as a "casual worker" doing road work; and for the next eight years on the "staff" working as a side-man on the steam-roller. The change in the nature of employment resulting not in a rise in pay, but in a change from irregular to regular work. Since retiring from this job a few years ago, he has gained irregular employment with the Parish Council, also doing road work.

The intensive use of his family land by Mr. O. and his household alone is itself related to the long-term emigration of his siblings. The emigration of these co-heirs as well as that of his maternal half-siblings illustrating both the pattern of migration between the Caribbean territories which typified the earlier part of the century, and also the cumulative nature of such emigration within individual families. ¹) For the eldest brother first emigrated to Costa Rica and subsequently sent for four of his siblings in succession, some of whom eventually returned to Jamaica after periods of thirty to forty years abroad. One of these five was also responsible for Mr. O.'s emigration to Cuba, for the former had later emigrated from Costa Rica to Cuba, subsequently returning to Jamaica for a short period to collect Mr. O., the youngest sibling.

¹) A feature which is also present in the more recent emigration to the United Kingdom. (See e.g. Patterson, S. op cit.)
Case 4. Mr. P's occupations have included Army Instructor, Special Constable, van-driver, flagman and cultivator. He has also been abroad three times as a migrant labourer - once to Panama, during the Second World War, for a period of eighteen months, where he first worked guiding ships through the canal and then as cook; and twice to the United States on the Farm Work Scheme. His first trip to the United States also being during the war. He lives with his wife and family on his wife's inherited land.

Case 5. Mr. M. is a young man in his twenties and so far he has already been to the United States twice for contract labour on the Farm Work Scheme, and is planning to return a third time in the very near future. Both times he has worked as a cane cutter, for three and four months respectively. When in the village, he has no regular job, just "anything he reaches"; he is at present working as a pasture chopper. Although he has recently purchased land elsewhere, he lives as a boarder in another villager's house.

Case 6. In the past few years Mr. W. has been to the United States on three different occasions (of six months each) working as a contract labourer in the Florida cane harvest. Now he is working as a foreman at the building site of one of the new tourist resorts in the vicinity, supplementing his income with a little subsistence cultivation on his ground. He lives in his own house on rented land.

Case 7. Mr. X. makes his living from a variety of occupations, none of which provide regular employment. During crop he sometimes obtains work as a stevedore loading the sugar ships which call at the Main town harbour, but although this is relatively well-paid (about £10 per week) this may provide as little as three weeks' employment a year, since not only do the ships dock very infrequently (about six times a year), but due to the rota system regulating this work not all
stevedores are able to obtain work each time a ship docks. He also
does labouring jobs such as road-weeding for both the P.W.D. and the
Parish Council, but this is irregular as again there are more persons
wanting such work than there is work available for. His third
source of income is selling "snow-cones" from his ice-cart in
Maintown on market days, and from this he might make a pound a week.
He lives in his own house (for which he had to obtain the timber on
credit) free of charge on a relative's land.

Case 3. Although Mrs. Z. no longer "works out", she used to do a
variety of labouring jobs when she was younger. These included planting
corn and "carrying cane" (from the field to the truck) on one of the
local properties, and although such work was irregular, being seasonal,
she worked on and off for the same property-owner for several years,
also selling milk for him. Out of cane crop she would do "road work"
for the Parish Council weeding the road-sides. She also cultivated
a series of grounds (the latter ones with the help of her present mate
to whom she is now married) much of which was free land, sometimes
selling surpluses in her yard or in the market. As a cultivator she used
to enter into co-operative labour arrangements (both "day fe day" and
"digging") with other cultivators. Although she still cultivates a
ground, she no longer exchanges co-operative labour, employing people
instead to help with the digging required for planting. Her present
sources of income are rental from houses both on her house-spot and on
another piece of land which she owns in the village, and from the sale
of starch which she makes from the cassava she grows, selling the starch
in her yard at 7d per quarter pint. In addition to subsistence crops
from her ground she also has some cultivation (fruit trees and
subsistence crops) on her house-spot and sometimes sells a few ackees
in the market. Mrs. Z's husband is also retired, previously working at various labouring jobs, supplementing this with irregular work as a carpenter. He is unable to help his wife much on their present ground as he suffers from ill-health.

Case 9. Miss E. describes her occupation as "anything me catch, any little work at all". Sometimes she works as a domestic, at other times doing seasonal work on one of the local properties "breaking" corn or planting. Although she no longer cultivates she has cultivated several grounds in the past when she lived in her natal village further inland, all of which were on free land from the same property-owner. None of her past mates (all of whom were extra-residential) ever helped her with such cultivation as "me and them wasn't together in the home". For help on these grounds she would sometimes enter into "day fe day" arrangements, at other times employing labour. Now that she no longer cultivates she has to buy all her food, but in the past she not only grew sufficient food for her household, but was able to sell surpluses such as corn in the market. Although she no longer cultivates she does have rights to family land near her natal village which others in her family cultivate. She lives in a rented house.

Case 10. Mrs. G., now an elderly widow, no longer works. When she was younger, however, she did both domestic work and agricultural labouring, the latter on one of the local properties, the owner of which allowed her to cultivate an acre of free land on which she planted corn. From the proceeds of the sale of this corn she was able to buy 2½ squares of land for a house-spot in the village (from another villager, she and her late husband both having immigrated to the village from another parish over twenty years ago); and with the help of a loan from the Peoples' Co-operative Bank, she and her husband were
able to build a house on this land. However, when her husband died he had not finished repaying the Bank loan, and Mrs. G. had to sell her pigs and goats in order to repay this debt.

She used to cultivate vegetables on her house-spot in the past, which she would sell to her previous employer, another regular customer in Maintown, and also in the market itself. And although she can no longer cultivate as she is old and sickly, her house-spot is still a source of income in that she leases a part of it to an immigrant household for them to use as a house-spot, and the various fruit trees growing on the land help to supplement her food supply. Apart from these sources of income, her only other means of support at the present time is from remittances which her son, who has been working in England for the past six years, sends her every few months. If these are delayed, however, she has to borrow money.

Case 11. Mrs. P. is a female household-head and though she herself no longer "works out" she has various sources of income. These include remittances from her husband and daughter who are both working in England (her husband having been there for several years); weekly contributions from an adult daughter who lives in the household and has regular employment in a shop in Maintown; occasional contributions from a relative whose child is fostered in the household; and monthly rental from a tenant household who rent a house in her yard (the latter being bought land belonging to herself and her husband). Mrs. P. herself cultivates a few subsistence crops in the yard and keeps a pig. Some years ago she did in fact emigrate to England to join her husband, and while she was there she worked in a factory. However she found the climate unsuitable and soon returned home.
Due to the low economic level at which the villagers live, few can produce from their own resources the cash required to see them through those crisis situations which every family has to meet at some time or another. Well aware of this, their response is to support savings societies providing insurance against sickness and the cost of funerals. In addition to their ostensible aims, such societies also have an important social function, and both these aspects are considered in some detail in Chapter 6 with particular reference to the burial society in the village.

Another savings institution entered into by some villagers is the short-term savings arrangement of pardner, 1) involving a group or "round" of people, one of whom acts as a "Banker", each contributing say £1 per week until everyone in the round has collected the total weekly sum in turn.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter various aspects of the economy of the households have been considered with an aim to providing a general picture of the economic standard at which the villagers live, and the ways in which they make a living.

Various points mentioned in the discussion of the contemporary Jamaican peasantry in Chapter 1 were also illustrated. For example a number of features which characterised the proto-peasantry are seen to persist in the economy of the villagers, viz.: the distinction between yard and ground, and their association with flat and hilly land respectively; the nature of cultivation, this being primarily of subsistence crops, there being only a very limited amount of

1) Cf Katzin 1959 op cit; a similar institution is also reported by Herskovits for Trinidad, Barbados and British Guiana, 1947 op cit.
cash-cropping; the inter-relationship between small-scale agriculture and the internal marketing system and the associated division of labour based on the conjugal relationship, with the man as cultivator and the woman as seller; the alternative marketing role of the middleman or higgler also persisting. The inter-relationship between cultivation and wage-labour which has typified the Jamaican peasantry since the early post-emancipation period has also remained.

Most of the types of tenure mentioned in Chapter 1 as characterising the contemporary peasantry were also seen to exist among the villagers, viz.: cash tenancy; free tenure - both on the land of a relative (both secure and insecure variants) and a non-relative. The latter variant sometimes being accompanied by the condition of leaving the land in grass, in which case it has some similarities with the variant of labour tenancy called "grass ground". And it was seen that while the tenure of free land from an unrelated landlord might be insecure with regard to a particular plot of land, that the practice of giving the tenant alternative plots to cultivate results in stable landlord-tenant relationships. While there is no evidence of the share-cropping noted by Edwards as a form of tenure typifying the peasantry, an additional form of tenure among the villagers was noted, that of squatting; this practice, in conjunction with that of obtaining "free" land, to some extent alleviating the land shortage suffered by the villagers. Freehold tenure was also seen to be present, although the problems which have been associated with this form of tenure among West Indian peasants in the past still persist. Land held under such tenure being acquired through both purchase and inheritance, (an extensive discussion of family land as a variant in the latter category not, however, being undertaken here, being deferred to a later chapter dealing with inheritance).
The discussion of the forms of tenure enjoyed by the villagers in this chapter has, however, been confined to the tenure of house-spots within the village and land used for cultivation outside of, but in the general vicinity of, the village; that is to yard and ground. The consideration of other land to which villagers have rights either elsewhere in the parish or in other parishes being postponed to the chapter on inheritance.

While co-operative labour - an institution widely reported both throughout the island and for the Caribbean area in general - does to some extent occur among the villagers, it was seen that there has been a movement away from such co-operative labour, particularly "digging", as the basis of peasant cultivation to that of wage-labour, indicating to some extent a movement from community to association or contractual ties. 1)

The limited opportunities for well-paid and regular employment were seen to result in occupational pluralism among the villagers and migratory wage-labour overseas; the variants in the latter (which reflect island-wide trends) being influenced by conditions in the receiving countries.

Finally, it was seen that while the villagers live in a situation where resources are scarce and opportunities for making a secure livelihood limited, that there is nevertheless some degree of differentiation among the villagers themselves in this respect, for example with regard to tenure of house, yard and ground; the size and type of house and its facilities; and sources of income; such distinctions being to some extent re-enforcing.

In this chapter the family structure of the River Villagers will be examined, and the conclusions drawn will then be considered in the light of the questions raised in the discussion of the literature in Chapter Two.

In discussing the family structure of the villagers, the sex and conjugal status of the household heads will first be considered, with an examination of the features of the current co-residential conjugal unions. This will be followed by a discussion of the 'conjugal careers' - that is conjugal histories - of the principal adults (that is household heads and their resident spouses). Household composition will then be considered: first in isolation, and then in relation to the conjugal status of the household heads. The phenomenon of fostering will then be discussed. Finally, the 'explanation' of River Village family structure will be considered.

Sex and Conjugal Status of Household Heads.

Table 1 shows the classification of the seventy-eight household heads by sex and conjugal status, the categories 'Married', 'Consensually Cohabiting', and the initial residual category of 'Single' being used with regard to the latter variable.

Table 1: Classification of Household Heads by Sex and Conjugal Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Status</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensually Cohabiting</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the seventy-eight households, fifty-eight are male-headed and twenty female-headed; a household being defined as female-headed only if the woman has no resident mate. In fifty-one of the fifty-eight male-headed households the man has a resident spouse. There are thus one hundred and twenty-nine principal adults in the sample (fifty-eight males and seventy-one females), a principal adult being defined as either a household head or the latter's resident spouse.

The conjugal unions of the principal adults in the fifty-one male-headed households which are based on a co-residential union can be divided into two main types: consensual cohabitation, whereby the couple live together in the same house without being legally married (twenty-one cases); and marriage (thirty cases). The remaining seven male household heads and the twenty female household heads are initially classified as single.

However, of these twenty-seven single household heads, only two have no children and can therefore be classified as single with no further qualification. One of these is a young man aged nineteen—the youngest principal adult in the sample. The other is a woman in her fifties who has been maimed from the age of fourteen. The subdivision of the remaining twenty-five 'Single' household heads into further categories is given in Table 2. In addition to the two categories used above for classifying conjugal status a third is here added—extra-residential mating; that is, where a conjugal relationship exists between persons not residing in the same household. (In the case of those classified as 'Separated/Extra-Residential or Consensual Cohabitation', the most recent productive union is referred to.)
Table 2: Further Classification of 'Single' Household Heads by Sex and Conjugal Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Status</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra-Residential</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Extra-Residential</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Consensual Cohabitation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed/Consensual Cohabitation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed/Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/ER or CC *</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The informant would not discuss the details of this union, but it was a non-legal one.

The current co-residential unions which form the basis of the majority of the sample households will now be considered in more detail.

Current Co-Residential Unions

Table 3 shows the total duration of the fifty-one current co-residential unions (the duration of such unions being correlated with the age of the respective parties at a later point in this discussion, see Table 5).
Table 3: Total Duration of Current Co-Residential Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Years</th>
<th>Durations of Unions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 19</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 or over</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The duration of the twenty-one consensual and thirty marital unions ranges from 2 - 25 and 6 - 57 years respectively, the range of all fifty-one current co-residential unions therefore being from 2 - 57 years. The average duration of these consensual and marital unions is 11.1 and 25.2 years respectively, that of all fifty-one unions being 19.4 years. The modal duration of the consensual and marital unions is six and twenty years respectively, that of all fifty-one unions being both six and twenty years (each occurring in four cases). While the median duration of the consensual unions is ten years, half of the marital unions have a duration of twenty-one years or less, half having a duration of more than twenty-one years, the median duration of all fifty-one unions therefore being seventeen years.
Two main conclusions can be drawn from these facts. Firstly, that the overall picture of current co-residential unions is one of stability (the latter being here defined with reference to the duration of the union, although at a later point in this discussion it will be seen that the type of union is also an important index of stability) - only eleven unions (21.6%) having a duration of less than ten years, and only two (3.9%) having a duration of less than five years.

Secondly, that marital unions are more stable than consensual unions - the range of the former extending more than thirty years beyond the longest consensual union, thirteen marriages having lasted longer than the longest consensual union; ten of the eleven unions with a duration of less than ten years are consensual ones, with both of those with a duration of less than five years being consensual. Finally, the average, modal and median duration of marital unions are all more than double that of the consensual ones.

Furthermore, in view of the much greater duration of those unions in which the couple is married rather than living consensually, and in view of the balance which occurs in the incidence of the respective types of union in the period 10 - 19 years (see Table 5) intermediate between the swing from shorter consensual unions to longer marital ones, it can be postulated that marriage might in fact be a more stable stage than consensual cohabitation in the typical conjugal union, and might in fact succeed the latter. This hypothesis can be tested by looking at the developmental pattern within the unions based on marriage.
Developmental Pattern of Current Marital Unions.

In twenty of the thirty marriages (66.7%) marriage has in fact been preceded by a period of consensual cohabitation. And whereas the total duration of such unions ranges from 6 - 57 years, with an average duration of 25.3 years, modal durations of twenty, twenty-one and twenty-six years, and a median duration of twenty-one years, the period of actual marriage in such unions only ranges from 1 - 30 years, with an average duration of only 15.9 years, a modal duration of six years, and a median duration of fourteen years. These differences indicate that marriage in many cases only took place after such unions had been in existence for a number of years. This conclusion is further supported by the data on the periods of consensual cohabitation in such unions. Data on this stage in nineteen of these twenty unions shows that the duration of this period also ranges from 1 - 30 years, but with an average duration of eight years, a modal duration of three years, and a median duration of five years. (In the twentieth case marriage was preceded by a union of at least twenty-three years, but it is not clear whether or not the couple had been living in consensual cohabitation for all of this period.)

Further information on seventeen of the above nineteen cases shows that the period of consensual cohabitation had itself been preceded by periods ranging from a few months to six years during which the couple had been friendly. No questions were asked as to the exact nature of such friendships, but in some cases the birth of children during this preliminary period provides evidence of an extrareidential mating relationship.
Table 4 shows the developmental breakdown of these unions.

Table 4: Developmental Breakdown of Marriages Preceded by Consensual Cohabitation *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preliminary Period</th>
<th>Consensual Cohabitation</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th>Total Union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>9 yrs</td>
<td>10 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>8 yrs</td>
<td>12 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>14 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>15 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>10 yrs</td>
<td>16 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
<td>13 yrs</td>
<td>20 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>16 yrs</td>
<td>20 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
<td>14 yrs</td>
<td>21 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
<td>17 yrs</td>
<td>26 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>25 yrs</td>
<td>26 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 month</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>21 yrs</td>
<td>29 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>31 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>9 yrs</td>
<td>26 yrs</td>
<td>36 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>17 yrs</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
<td>47 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
<td>26 yrs</td>
<td>57 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete Information:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>13 yrs</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>19 yrs at least</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>23 yrs</td>
<td>25 yrs at least</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 yrs (some may have been preliminary stage)</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
<td>53 yrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The totals are made up from including the months in excess of years; but for purposes of simplification the component periods are stated only in years, unless less than one year.
In nine of the remaining ten cases where the couple is married, the consensually cohabiting stage was either very short-lived or completely absent. (In the tenth case information on the developmental breakdown of the union is incomplete, but it had lasted at least ten years.) Two main variants can be identified in these cases. One is where the duration of the preliminary period during which the couple had been friendly was of three years or less (six cases), giving a developmental pattern not unlike that of the average middle/upper class marriage (which as mentioned in Chapter 1 is similar to that in British and American society), whereby marriage generally occurs at a fairly early stage in the relationship. In these cases none of the children born to the couple (at least none of those alive) are reported as being born prior to marriage. The second variant (three cases) is where the period during which the couple had been friendly prior to their marriage was so long (six, twelve and twenty-one years respectively) that it is apparent that the stage of consensual cohabitation identified in the developmental pattern of the majority of marriages had here been replaced by an extended extra-residential stage. The birth of children during this latter period confirms this conclusion in all three cases.

Of the twenty-nine cases of marriage where details on the developmental breakdown of the union are available, then, twenty-three cases show evidence of a progressive development from an earlier non-legal state during which the couple either mated extra-residentially or lived in consensual cohabitation (or both), to a legal stage. In these cases, then, marriage is seen to consolidate a pre-existing conjugal union, and the legalisation of a conjugal
union can therefore be taken as indicative of increased stability in the latter.

In the remaining six cases evidence of such a progressive developmental pattern is absent. Nevertheless, it can be mentioned in passing (the discussion of the sample's overall conjugal careers belonging to another section) that in three of these cases at least one of the spouses has had outside children by at least one previous non-legal union; the fact that they are now married, then, provides evidence of a progressive developmental pattern in their overall conjugal career.

**Conjugal Unions based on Consensual Cohabitation.**

As seen from Table 3 above, consensual unions are in many cases relatively stable unions, in nineteen of the twenty-one cases having lasted for five years or more; and in ten of the twenty-one cases for ten years or more; the average duration of such unions being 11.1 years.

Information is incomplete on the developmental breakdown within five of these consensual unions. In fifteen of the remaining sixteen consensual unions, however, a progressive developmental sequence is apparent, the setting up of a consensual union coming after a preliminary period of friendship ranging in duration from a few months to seven years. In the majority of cases this period was short, being one year or less (twelve cases), in two cases being two years, and in one case seven years. In the sixteenth case the developmental pattern has been somewhat disrupted by the woman's migration to Kingston to work for some years, her spouse having an
outside child during this time. Nevertheless consensual cohabitation was in this case also preceded by a period during which the couple "sort of go and come" - as extra-residential mating is often referred to.

It can be concluded from the developmental pattern within these consensual unions that consensual cohabitation is a more stable mating relationship than extra-residential mating, the transformation of an extra-residential into a consensual relationship indicating that a certain degree of stability has been achieved in the relationship.

In these sixteen cases the actual period of consensual cohabitation ranges from 3 - 19 years. If the period preceding actual marriage in the twenty cases referred to previously where marriage had followed on from consensual cohabitation is compared with the duration of the twenty-one current consensual unions, it can be noted that in many cases the latter are comparable in stability with the equivalent period in the former type of union. For the average duration of the period preceding marriage in these marital unions is 9.9 years, while that of the total duration of the consensual unions is 11.1 years. There is therefore reason to conclude that many of the more stable current consensual unions will in fact be later consolidated by marriage. And by 1972 this was in fact seen to be the case in three unions, these couples finally marrying after being friendly for periods of at least twelve years; fifteen and twenty-one years; and having lived consensually for periods of twelve, fourteen and twenty years respectively.
To summarise: from an analysis of the developmental pattern of those unions in which the couple is now married, it was seen that twenty-three out of thirty cases show evidence of a progressive developmental pattern of which actual marriage is only the final stage. And that in an additional three cases, marriage followed a progressive developmental overall conjugal career. It was also seen that in the majority of the twenty-three cases where actual marriage only accounted for the later stage of the union, the couple had first lived in consensual cohabitation.

This conclusion that the typical mating pattern is a progressive developmental one is further supported by considering the duration of the twenty-one current consensual unions, many of which were seen to show as much stability as the equivalent stage in those unions where the couple is now married. This points to the likelihood that many of the stabler consensual unions will probably be eventually consolidated by marriage, this prediction being borne out by 1972 in three cases.

Finally, the examination of the developmental pattern of both the current marital and consensual unions indicates that a preliminary period of extra-residential mating is the norm in a conjugal relationship.

In addition to using the variable of duration as an index of stability of a conjugal relationship, then, the nature of the latter — that is, extra-residential, consensual or marriage — can also be taken as an index of relative stability; consensual cohabitation being a more stable mating status than extra-residential mating, and marriage a more stable status than consensual cohabitation.
Age and the variations in co-residential unions.

Table 5 shows the ages of both males and females in the two types of co-residential union: consensual cohabitation (twenty-one cases) and marriage (thirty cases).

Table 5: Correlation Between the Variables of Age and Type of Co-Residential Union.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Consensual Cohabitation</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 &amp; Over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consensual Cohabitation. In the consensual unions eighteen of the men (85.7%) and nineteen of the women (90.5%) are younger than fifty. Of these, eleven of the men (52.4%) and fifteen of the women (71.4%) are also younger than forty, four of these men and six of these women being in fact in their twenties. Only three of the men and two of the women are fifty or older, only one of these (a man aged sixty-four) being sixty or over; this man being in fact married by 1972. Of the forty-two persons living in consensual cohabitation, then, thirty-seven (88.1%) are younger than fifty; with twenty-six
of these (61.9%) being younger than thirty. Only five persons are fifty or over with only one being sixty or over.

Marriage. In those unions based on marriage, on the other hand, twenty-six of the men (86.7%) and twenty-one of the women (70%) are forty or older. Of these, nineteen of the men (65.3%) and fifteen of the women (50%) are fifty or older, with eleven men (36.7%) and seven women (23.3%) being in fact sixty or older.

Only four of the men and eight of the women are younger than forty, and of these only two of the women are younger than thirty, none of the men being below that age. In one case the age of the woman is not known, but she appears to be in her late thirties or forties.

Of the sixty persons living in marital unions, then, forty-seven (78.3%) are forty or older; with thirty-four of these (56.7%) being fifty or older, and with eighteen (30%) being in fact sixty or older. Only twelve persons are younger than forty, with only two being younger than thirty.

A comparison of the ages of persons living in consensual and marital unions shows that older persons tend to be married, while younger persons tend to cohabit consensually. This supports the previous conclusion that marriage tends to come fairly late in life, tending in fact to consolidate a union which has already lasted several years, the stage immediately preceding marriage in such unions generally being consensual cohabitation rather than extra-residential mating.

On comparing the ages of males and females within each type of union it can be concluded that in both types the overall age of the women tends to be younger than that of the men. It follows then that women not only enter consensual unions at a younger age than men,
but that they also tend to consolidate their conjugal careers by marriage at an earlier age than men. 1)

**Overall Conjugal Career of all Principal Adults.**

Over half (seventy-one out of one hundred and twenty-nine - 55%) of the principal adults in the sample have had two or more conjugal unions. Table 6 shows the number of such unions. (Since in the majority of cases these figures are based on the number of productive unions, this may well be an understatement of the case.)

Table 6: Number of Conjugal Unions for Principal Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Unions</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male-Headed Households</td>
<td>Female-Headed Households</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of unions for all one hundred and twenty-nine principal adults ranges from 0 - 7 with those for the fifty-eight males and seventy-

1) M.G. Smith comes to a similar conclusion in his study of Jamaican rural communities, 1962 (a) on cit.
one females ranging from 0 - 7 and 0 - 4 respectively; a subdivision of the females into those in male- and female-headed households (fifty-one and twenty respectively) showing that the range is from 1 - 4 and 0 - 4 for the respective categories. Only one female and one male have no conjugal careers, these being the same persons referred to above as the only two in the sample of principal adults who can be classified as 'Single' with no further qualification.

The range in the number of unions is biggest for the males, being the same as that for the total number of adults, the range for females being less than both. The average number of unions for the total number of principal adults is 1.9, with that for the males and females being 2 and 1.9 respectively, (the average being 1.9 for females in both male- and female-headed households). The average number of unions for females then coincides with the average number for all adults, with that of the males being slightly higher.

The mode for all the adults, as well as for both males and females, is one union. This is also the case with those females in the female-headed households; but for those in the male-headed households the mode is two unions.

The median for all adults is two unions, this also being the case both for all the females, and for females in the male-headed households. In the case of the males, exactly half have had one union or less (twenty-eight having one union, only one having none,) the other half having had two unions or more. The median number of unions is least for the females in the female-headed households, being only one union.

Despite this evidence of plural unions, the ideal union is monogamous, and an unfaithful partner may be referred to as "wild".
Not only does this appear to be the ideal, however, for - apart from a limited number of cases where there is evidence of concurrent unions (generally in the past history of conjugal careers) - the majority of unions do in fact appear to be, or have been, monogamous. The combination of these two characteristics, then, (that is plural unions and monogamy) results in a mating pattern which can be designated "serial monogamy", monogamous unions occurring sequentially.

Where concurrent unions were seen to have occurred, one at least was always an extra-residential one, unless one mate was absent for a time. While it was seen that in some cases the more stable union survived the outside union - the latter, for example, occurring in the earlier unstable stage of the former - in other cases the presence of an outside union had resulted in the break-up or at least temporary disruption of the stabler residential union. For example in two of the female-headed households female headship has resulted from the fact that the woman had recently left her consensual mate because the latter "kept another woman".

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1) The term 'serial polygyny' could have been used instead, but Freilich uses this term with reference to the mating pattern found among negro peasants in Anamat, Trinidad, to refer to the widespread characteristic of individuals having concurrent unions: Mr. X visiting Mrs. Y while Mr. Y is out visiting Mrs. Z, thus leaving Mrs. X free to be visited by Mr. Z, etc... (See Freilich, M. "Serial Polygyny, Negro Peasants, and Model Analysis" in American Anthropologist 63(5), 1961.

2) It can be noted that Otterbein found in his analysis of Caribbean family organisation that the outside unions of males are more commonly associated with marriage than consensual cohabitation, as such a union would be more disruptive to the latter; 1965 op cit. Note also that M.G. Smith found that in Carriacou males - due to the high excess of females - are permitted to mate extra-residentially concurrently with marriage; 1962 (a) & (b) op cit.

3) Cf. Clarke 1966 op cit: 77, "Unfaithfulness on the part of either the man or the woman is one of the most frequent causes for the breakup of irregular as well as of regular unions."
cases the residential union had lasted just under ten years (eight and nine years respectively). In another case, the extra-residential mating of the man had resulted in the temporary break-up of the stabler consensual union, the woman leaving him for one year. The consensual union was however resumed after this period, and was eventually consolidated by marriage, the couple having now been married for twenty-six years, the total union having lasted for over fifty years. It might seem that the component features of the serial monogamous pattern (that is plural unions and monogamy) represent contradictory values held by the villagers, but this in fact does not appear to be so. For the combination of these factors, resulting in the norm of serial monogamy, is typified by a progressive developmental pattern whereby the individual moves from less stable to more stable unions throughout his mating career, this movement paralleling that within individual unions described above. As with the analysis of the developmental pattern of the current co-residential unions, the indices of relative stability used in the analysis of the overall mating career are those of (a) duration and (b) nature of the union, extra-residential mating being considered the least stable and marriage the most stable mating form. Increased stability in a conjugal career regarding the movement from one union to another may be indicated by either index; that is either by a longer lasting union or by the adoption of a stabler mating form, - in many cases the two going together.

Table 7 shows the developmental breakdown of the mating careers of the principal adults according to the nature of unions. The abbreviations 'ER', 'CC' and 'M' - used in the table and elsewhere - stand for extra-residential, consensual cohabitation and marriage
respectively; the abbreviation 'ER/CC' indicating that although the union was non-legal, its exact nature is not known. (Concurrent unions are not included in the table; as stated above, however, they appear to be few.)

Since the proliferation of actual variants with regard to specific conjugal careers is too great to be shown in tabular form, these have been simplified into the main variants shown below by presenting only the basic pattern. For example if two conjugal histories showed the following variations: ER - CC - CC - ER and ER - ER - CC - ER, then they would both be classified according to the basic pattern which is ER - CC - ER. If the movement from one union to another in a conjugal career has only been between unions of the same type however, this is represented, e.g. CC - CC. In addition, each union is only represented in its final form, although in many cases the individual unions themselves may also have had a progressive developmental pattern of the type described above for the current co-residential unions, marriage having been preceded by extra-residential and consensual stages, and consensual cohabitation by an extra-residential stage.
### Table 7: Developmental Variants in Overall Conjugal Careers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male-Headed Households</td>
<td>Female-Headed Households</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - CC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER/CC - M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - CC - M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - ER - M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - CC - ER - M</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regressive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M - CC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - M - ER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - M - CC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M - ER</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral:</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M - M</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional:</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER/CC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - ER</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER/CC - CC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - CC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - ER - CC</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - ER</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER - CC - ER</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC - ER - CC - ER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As noted previously two of the principal adults have had no conjugal unions. The conjugal histories of the remaining one hundred and twenty-seven adults can be classified under twenty-two variations, these in turn being grouped under four headings according to their developmental pattern.

The first of these is the Progressive pattern. This includes all variations where the individual's present or most recent union is typified by a more stable mating form than his preceding union(s). The actual variation may include a movement through all three types of union (ER, CC and M) or simply through two (ER and CC; ER and M; or CC and M). In addition the variation may be consistently progressive throughout (ER - CC; ER - M; ER/CC - M; ER - CC - M; CC - M) or may have regressed temporarily or oscillated in the way which typifies some of the transitional variants described below, before progressing (CC - ER - M; or ER - CC - ER - M).

The second pattern is Regressive, occurring when the Progressive pattern described above is reversed, the individual having moved from marriage to a less stable union (M - CC; ER - M - ER; CC - M - CC; M - ER). The parallel movement from a consensual union to an extra-residential union is, however, interpreted as Transitional rather than Regressive for reasons given below.

The third developmental pattern is a Neutral one. This has two variations - that where marriage has taken place without the progressive overall developmental sequence described in the first pattern. And secondly, where such a marriage has been followed by another marriage. Both these patterns are similar to those found in the middle/upper classes.
The fourth pattern can be described as Transitional. This is taken to indicate that the individual has embarked on the typical progressive developmental pattern described above, but is still in the earlier stages of this. Such variations include those where there have been more than one such union, these however being of the same type (ER - ER; CC - CC; ER/CC - CC being also included here in case the first union was not extra-residential, though if it were it would be classified as progressive, this adding more weight to my argument); where there has been an oscillation between the two less stable types of union - sometimes involving a regressive movement which can be interpreted as temporary - (ER - CC - ER; CC - ER - CC; CC - ER - CC - ER); and where this variation is more abbreviated and may therefore give the superficial impression of being regressive (CC - ER).

It can be pointed out that where a present union is recorded as extra-residential, it may of course develop into consensual cohabitation or marriage.

It can be seen that a large proportion of these conjugal histories (forty-two - 33.1% of the one hundred and twenty-seven adults with conjugal histories) show a progressive developmental pattern, while only four (3.1% of the one hundred and twenty-seven conjugal histories) show a regressive pattern. And it can be noted that of these latter four, two in fact show a progressive pattern prior to marriage. In addition, in one of these cases a neutral pattern was eventually attained when a subsequent union was entered into which culminated in marriage subsequent to field work.

A further forty-three cases (33.9% of the one hundred and twenty-seven histories) show the transitional pattern typical of the earlier
stages of the progressive pattern. Thus progressive and transitional patterns combined account for 66.1% of the total one hundred and twenty-seven histories.

The remaining thirty-nine cases (30.7%) are neutral, but while these variations have been compared to middle/upper class patterns, it must be noted that in most cases this resemblance is only superficial, since the analysis of the developmental pattern within the current marriages shows that most of these internal patterns are progressive, involving a development from an extra-residential or consensual stage (or both) to marriage.

The excess of females over males makes itself shown in the difference in the numbers of males and females who have progressive patterns (thirteen males as opposed to twenty-nine females); otherwise there are no marked differences between the sexes for the other patterns. It can be noted at this point, however, that the majority of female household heads have transitional patterns, a phenomenon which will later be related to the variable of the developmental cycle.

Whereas the analysis of the current consensual and marital unions shows that the typical conjugal union tends to have a progressive developmental pattern, then, the analysis of the overall conjugal histories shows that the typical conjugal career also tends to have such a developmental pattern. Thus extra-residential and consensual mating tends to characterise not only the earlier stages of the individual union, but also the earlier unions of the overall conjugal career. And while marriage typifies the later stages of the stable conjugal union, it also characterises the later stage of the overall conjugal career.
While marriage generally indicates stability, and extra-residential mating generally indicates instability (itself varying from very casual encounters - "just an accident", "never in friendship", "teef pass" - to more regular visiting: "coming and going"), consensual cohabitation can be seen to combine both aspects, and is therefore essentially transitional, indicating varying degrees of stability/instability in specific cases. 1) Thus in a particular union consensual cohabitation may indicate only slightly more stability than the extra-residential stage if the consensual stage has only been in existence for a few years or months. On the other hand, if the consensual stage has lasted for several years it may indicate the increased stability of a union which may eventually be consolidated by marriage. Similarly, short-lived consensual unions may typify the earlier stages of the overall conjugal career (hence the reason why oscillation between consensual and extra-residential unions or a regression from a consensual to an extra-residential union is considered as typifying the transitional stage of many conjugal careers.) Or, on the other hand, a consensual union may indicate that the overall career has attained a stability only slightly less than that shown by marriage.

It would seem to be precisely this dual nature of consensual cohabitation which has resulted in Blake's argument with Henriques and Roberts regarding the interpretation of such "common-law unions" (as she refers to them); for while Blake concentrates on the unstable aspects of such mating, the latter two concentrate on the

1) Cf Smith, M.G. 1962 (a) op cit, who found a similar normative mating pattern in Jamaican rural communities.
stable aspects. 1) This point will be discussed more fully below.

This movement towards stability in mating relationships in association with the individual life cycle in River Village is similar to the pattern of mating found by M.G. Smith to typify the Jamaican rural communities which he studied. Some qualification of this similarity must however be made. For Smith regards the mating statuses of extra-residential mating, consensual cohabitation and marriage as "irreversible", and he notes that:

"each of the three alternative mating forms has its proper place in the individual life cycle, and couples may ideally move from extraresidential mating into consensual cohabitation and so to marriage." 2)

And he notes elsewhere with reference to males that:

"The analysis of male mating patterns ... demonstrates a serial arrangement of extraresidential mating, consensual cohabitation, and marriage, which has high actual observance." 3)

And with reference to a similar serial arrangement of mating forms among females that "The irreversibility of this mating order is neatly illustrated by the data at hand." 4)

While the "irreversibility" of mating forms noted by Smith does occur in some cases in River Village where an individual has only had one conjugal union which has progressed to consensual cohabitation or culminated in marriage, the situation is in general - as the

1) Blake op cit.
2) Smith, M.G. 1962 (a) op cit: 143-4.
3) Ibid: 130-1.
4) Ibid: 133.
discussion of the overall mating careers of the principal adults has shown - more complex than this. For in the early unstable and transitional period of the individual's mating career not only may the individual regress temporarily or oscillate from a short-lived consensual union to an extra-residential one, but since individual unions typically have a progressive developmental pattern themselves, and since many individuals do have more than one conjugal union, a later stabler union - even one which culminates in marriage - will generally itself go through an initial extra-residential stage, so that the adoption of a less stable mating form may occur temporarily if the individual has had a previous consensual union(s), without upsetting the overall movement towards stability in mating relationships. Thus the consensual union is not necessarily - contrary to Smith's suggestion - "much more likely to develop into marriage than to dissolve, in rural Jamaica." 1) for while marriage is generally proceeded by a stable consensual stage, short-lived consensual unions may also occur in the early unstable stage of the mating career. And in this stage, since the individual may temporarily regress to an extra-residential relationship, Smith's qualification of his above statement, - that "Alternatively persons whose consensual unions have broken down re-enter others shortly after" 2) - also seems to be an over-simplification of the case.

1) Ibid: 130.
2) Ibid.
It is perhaps this complexity at the empirical level which has led to the disagreement between Blake and Roberts as to the nature of the typical overall lower class Jamaican conjugal career. For while both identify marriage as occurring late in life, Roberts argues that the individual has one conjugal union which increases in stability and finally culminates in marriage, while Blake argues that the individual has a series of unstable unions, both extra-residential and consensual, with the latter no more likely than the former to result in marriage. The pattern isolated by Blake seems to be typical of the earlier unstable and transitional stage of the overall conjugal career in River Village only, while Roberts' model - while applicable in some cases - in general typifies the later stage of the overall conjugal career.

That this complexity could be responsible for this disagreement is further supported by the fact that Roberts' analysis is not based on actual field work, and Blake's study appears to have focussed on a relatively youthful sample; - one component group of the latter being attendants at a family planning clinic and therefore being still of child-bearing age, with the average age of the rest of the sample being only thirty. 1)

The conclusion that not only the current co-residential unions but also the typical conjugal career tend to have a progressive developmental pattern - with a movement from instability to stability - is diametrically opposed to R.T. Smith's conclusions on Guianese family structure. For Smith postulates a movement, concomitant with the developmental cycle, towards greater instability in conjugal

1) Blake, op cit: 31.
CC (three years) - CC (six years). Her present and fourth union, which is extra-residential, has so far lasted for three years and she is at present expecting a child by her present mate. This union has, from the latter's point of view, overlapped with a more stable consensual union with another woman. This latter union had lasted eight years, during which four children had been born. This consensual mate, accompanied by the children, having very recently moved out of his house (setting up a female-headed household) due to his outside association with Miss CI. The latter's overall conjugal pattern to date (ER - CC - ER, specifically: ER - CC - CC - ER) illustrates the oscillation characteristic of the transitional stage of the normal conjugal career. Her three previous unions have not only shown a progressive developmental pattern in moving from an extra-residential to more stable consensual unions; but have also shown increasing stability in terms of their duration. Increasing stability has also been shown by the fact that whereas she had one child by each of her first two unions, she had two children by the third. This transitional stage might be prolonged, with her present union dissolving, or the latter might become more stable, developing into consensual cohabitation or even to marriage.

Miss CK's (thirty-seven) extra-residential mate lives in a nearby village, and she goes there regularly to visit him. This association has so far lasted for over a year, the couple not having any children together so far. Miss CK, however has had nine children by three previous unions. Her first child was by a short-lived casual extra-residential union which never became firmly established. Her next five children (only four of whom are alive) were by her second mate. Although this was also an extra-residential union, it
was much more stable than the first, lasting nine years. The next three children were by her third mate; this union was the same length as the second, but showed increased stability in that it evolved into a consensual union. While Miss CK's overall conjugal pattern (ER - CC - ER, specifically: ER - ER - CC - ER) is classified as transitional due to the oscillation between extra-residential and consensual unions, it can in fact be seen then that a progressive developmental career is well under way, increasing stability being shown in the transition from her first to second union on the index of duration, and from the second to third on the index of mating form, that of duration being equal in these two unions. It can be noted that in fact Miss CK's first mate had wanted to marry her; such developmental overall conjugal patterns as here therefore do not necessarily result from a lack of opportunity to marry as Blake suggests.

The fourth of these four women, Miss CW. (thirty-five), though also mating extra-residentially presents a more unusual variant than the extra-residential unions of the above three women. In the latter cases extra-residential mating typifies the early stages of a second union in the first case and of a fourth union in the other two cases, whereas such mating in Miss CW's case represents a transitional period within a previously stable first union which had temporarily broken down; for she is in fact mating extra-residentially with her previous consensual mate. This couple have had twelve children together, having been associating for twenty years. After a preliminary extra-residential period of about five years, they had lived in a consensual union for the next fourteen years.
The union however broke down, and it was at this point that Miss CW. moved to River Village with nine of her children, leaving her mate for some months: "Me and him couldn't in a no peace, so me just tak' a change." The association has however since been resumed, with her mate visiting her regularly although he still resides in Maintown where they had previously lived together.

Matrifocality in these four cases, then, results not from the woman being deserted, but is rather symptomatic of the earlier relatively unstable stage of the normal conjugal developmental pattern, with that of the youngest woman being in fact the most unstable. The next two cases show women in their early and middle thirties embarking on relatively new unions after a longer and more progressive conjugal history; the fact that these are relatively new unions however, indicating that they are still in the transitional stage of their conjugal career. The fourth case is anomalous in that it represents a regressive step in an otherwise relatively stable union which had up till then followed a progressive pattern. The previous stability of the union is characteristic of the woman's age group, but the oscillation of the union indicates that she is not yet out of the transitional stage of her conjugal career.

Discussion of their current unions with the last three informants brought out the difficulty inherent in classifying unions, which, though the couple reside in separate households, have taken on some of the characteristics of a consensual union due to the regularity of the association. This difficulty in classification exists not only from the observer's point of view; for example Miss CK, the visiting partner in her union, explained that although she still retains her rented room in the village, she spends most of her time
at her mate’s house, also taking many of her meals there: "I stop here, but I sleep up there, so I don’t know how you’d put that."

In the final analysis such unions were defined as extra-residential since the couple still maintain different residences. While such unions pose a problem in classification, however, they also illustrate the gradual way in which the transition from a less stable to a more stable stage within a union may be effected.

The nine women in the next three categories ('Separated/ER;' 'Separated/CC'; 'Separated/ER or CC') can be classified together and then subdivided into two sub-categories. The first of these includes the four women who are aged forty or less; the second, the five who are aged fifty or more.

All four of the younger women display overall conjugal patterns that are transitional and therefore characteristic of their age group. Even the differences in the details of these histories are seen to be correlated with the differences in their ages. For example Miss AW, (twenty-one), the youngest of the four, has had the most unstable pattern, having already had three short-lived extra-residential unions (two of which were productive), this pattern showing that she is in the very early stages of her conjugal career. Two of the other women are in their late twenties and both have similar conjugal histories, both having left a previous consensual mate after a relatively stable union, but one which has lasted for under ten years (eight and nine years respectively), one woman having two children, the other four. Though still in the transitional stage of their careers then, these women had previously achieved a certain degree of stability in their mating.
The oldest of these four women (forty), though also in her transitional stage, has a conjugal history which shows a rather longer developmental pattern - as would be expected from her age - she having had five children by four productive unions: CC (three years) - CC (ten years) - ER (six months) - ER (two years). Two of her children were by the second union, the stablest of the four.

Matrifocality in these four cases, then, is seen to be the side-effect of the transitional stage of the normal mating career, the woman living alone with her children in the interim period between unions.

The five older women do not in fact fit into the normal developmental pattern which has been described above, tending rather to support R.T. Smith's interpretation of matrifocality.

Four of these women show an overall developmental pattern which has been classified as transitional. However in view of their ages (which range from 52 - 84) it would appear that their conjugal careers in fact came to a halt several years previously while still in the transitional stage (some in the very early stages of this, having only had one productive union) resulting in the kind of matrifocality described by Smith.

In two cases the woman has had only one child, this being by a short-lived unstable union in her youth. In a third the woman's overall developmental pattern is much fuller, she having had five children by four extra-residential unions. But although she associated with her third mate for several years, having two children by him, neither this nor any of the other unions had ever developed into a more stable consensual union.
The conjugal history of the fourth woman shows a relatively stable association with one man who had fathered her three children. This union however had not been consolidated by marriage, the couple separating instead.

The fifth woman has had an overall progressive conjugal career, having had one child by a short extra-residential union, and eleven children by a subsequent consensual union which had lasted about twenty years. After the birth of ten of these children, however, she was deserted by her mate; their eleventh child being born during the last regressive extra-residential stage which marked the last faltering stage of this union.

While I have stated that these cases represent the kind of matrifocality described by Smith, it can be noted that the two cases in which the woman has only had one child by a short-lived union do not in fact represent the increasing marginality of the male as much as the short-lived unions which characterise the beginning stage of the typical conjugal career.

The remaining six female household heads have all been married, three being separated and three being widowed. The three women who are separated are all aged sixty or over (two being in their seventies) and their matrifocal status at this age therefore supports Smith's interpretation of matrifocality. The two older women have been deserted for several years (eighteen and fifty-one years respectively both as a result of the permanent emigration of their husbands). In the latter case it can be noted that marriage took place at an unusually early age, (when the woman was twenty-three), - an age when unions are typically unstable; and in fact the woman was deserted after only four years of marriage and the birth of one child. (She has had another child by a subsequent short-lived extra-residential union.)
In the case of the youngest of the three women, the separation has been shorter—about eight years. However, while at the time of field work this case appeared to support Smith’s hypothesis of matrifocality, I learned on my later visit that the husband was in fact soon to return home. He has been abroad for several years, and after joining him for a short while the woman had returned home, due, as she had told me in 1969, to the fact that the climate did not agree with her. The eight-year separation following her return, then, has only been temporary. Had field work been carried out a few years later, then, this household would have been classified along with the other thirty households based on a marital union. In addition, the union would have shown an even stabler progressive developmental pattern than at the time of field work, which, now viewing the eight-year separation as only temporary, shows both the progressive developmental pattern of: ER (three years) – CC (two years) – M (thirty-two years), and the long overall duration (of thirty-seven years) which characterises most of the marital unions, this case also supporting the correlation between marital status and advanced age.

The three widows are aged fifty-nine, sixty-five and eighty, having been widowed for eighteen, three and seven years respectively, in each case after a long stable union. (The youngest woman had been widowed at an early age, her husband being much older than her.) In at least two of these cases the union had followed a progressive developmental pattern which had culminated in marriage, in both cases the total duration being over twenty years. In the third case, that of the oldest woman, the actual developmental details are not known (the widow being very ill) but the union had lasted at least fifty-one years prior to her husband’s death. Matrifocality
in these three cases, then, results simply from the death of the husband at the end of a long stable union. 1)

Of the nineteen 'Single' female household heads who have a conjugal history, then, the careers of twelve of these (63.2%) can be fitted successfully into one of the component stages which characterise the progressive development of the typical overall conjugal career, while only seven (36.8%) cannot.

'Single' Male Household Heads. The 'Single' male household heads will now be considered to see whether their conjugal careers can be successfully fitted into the normal progressive developmental pattern, or whether they form the obverse to Smith's interpretation of matrifocality. One of these 'Single' males (nineteen) has, as mentioned previously, had no productive union. All the remaining six 'Single' males are aged sixty or over.

Four of these cases do in fact represent the obverse to Smith's matrifocal household, being men who have separated from one type of union or another, the later stages of their conjugal career therefore

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1) Cf. Patterson, O. op cit; 166, who notes that in the developmental mating pattern among the slaves, a final "matriarchal phase" sometimes resulted from "the death of the husband." He adds however that this phase might occur even when the male was present, due to the decrease of his authority at the expense of the increase of that of the woman; this in turn being resultant from "the fact that none of the children in their household would have been his own since his union with his last 'wife' began after her child-bearing period, and his own children would be living with their mothers (his former wives), often on another estate ..." In River Village, however, this basis for the growth of matriarchal authority frequently does not occur, since stable unions resulting in marriage have often been productive ones.
being typified by marginality vis-à-vis any family of procreation of which they may have been a part. (One of these men, however, does have one of his children living with him, another having a grandchild with him; the other two live alone.) Two of these have had overall transitional patterns; one a neutral pattern; and the other a regressive pattern. Mr. CH's present conjugal status for example is classified as 'Separated/ER', since his most recent productive union was extra-residential. His overall career however shows a transitional pattern, - having had several children by six unions, the nature of the latter oscillating between extra-residential mating and consensual cohabitation - a stage beyond which his mating career has never progressed although he is now in his seventies. Mr. BJ's overall pattern is also transitional, having had three children by a consensual union, but again this pattern was never consolidated. Mr. X's overall pattern is classified as neutral (Marriage); however he has had another (non-legal) union by which he had three children, but from his discussion of his conjugal history this union appears to have been concurrent with some stage of his marital union. Although the second man who is 'Separated/ Married' has an overall regressive pattern, having had two productive extra-residential unions subsequent to his marriage, up until his separation his mating career had been progressive, having had four productive extra-residential unions prior to marriage.

The overall mating pattern of the remaining two men supports the conclusion that the typical conjugal career is based on increased stability in conjugal relations. In one case the man's mate had died while they were in a stable consensual union, the couple having been together for fourteen years and having had three children.
They had in fact planned to get married. In the second case the man has been widowed for five years subsequent to a marriage which had lasted for forty-seven years.

Of the twenty-five 'Single' household heads who have conjugal histories, then, the overall mating patterns of fourteen of these (56%) can be fitted successfully into the typical progressive developmental pattern; and in fact a higher per centage of the males than the females do not conform to this pattern, 63.2% of the latter conforming. When the remaining two 'Single' household heads are included, it can be seen that only eleven of the total of twenty-seven 'Single' household heads (40.7%) provide any support for Smith's interpretation of matrifocality, and that in fact two of the seven women included in this per centage show careers which are more typical of the very early stage of a normal career which has never developed than the final stage of the type of career described by Smith.

From an analysis of the developmental breakdown of the current conjugal unions of the principal adults in the sample, and also of their overall conjugal careers, then, it can be concluded that the typical conjugal career for both men and women involves a progressive development from instability to stability in conjugal relations. Stable unions are frequently preceded by one or more less stable unions, and the stabler unions generally themselves display a progressive developmental pattern.

Thus while this analysis has relied on the use of the concept of the developmental cycle - as does R.T. Smith's analysis of Guianese family structure - the conclusions of this analysis do not in general support Smith's conclusions that the typical conjugal
career involves a movement towards greater instability in conjugal relations resulting in matrifocality in the later stages of the developmental cycle.

Having considered the conjugal status of the household heads in relation to the developmental cycle, the composition of the sample households will now be considered; this being followed by the consideration of household composition in relation to the conjugal status of the principal adults.

Size of Households.

The number of persons in the seventy-eight sample households ranges from 1 - 12, the average being 4.7 persons per household; the modal household having three persons and the median household having four persons. Table 8 shows the distribution of households by size.

Table 8: Distribution of Sample Households by Size.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of persons in household</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Household Composition.

Tables 9 and 10 show the various categories of kin found in the seventy-eight households. Relationships are reckoned with reference to the household head. (The numbers refer to the number of households where each attribute is present and therefore do not refer to exclusive categories.)

Table 9: Categories of Kin in Male-Headed Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Kin</th>
<th>Number of Households where attribute present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Children of both spouses (under 20)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Children of both spouses (20 or over)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His outside children (young)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her outside children (young)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her outside children (adult)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchildren of both spouses</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His grandchildren</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her grandchildren</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her great grandchildren</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her siblings</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His cousin's children (MBSS)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her siblings' children</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her maternal kin (ascending generations)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In one case this is an unrelated girl of about eleven yrs old; in another an 'adopted' son on the Government Foster Scheme; the other the woman's granddaughter's adopted daughter.
Table 10: **Categories of Kin in Female-Headed Households**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Kin</th>
<th>Number of Households where attribute present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children (under 20)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children (adult - 20 or over)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchildren</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great grandchildren</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings' grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other *</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* An unrelated girl referred to as an 'adopted daughter'; being fostered by the household head from babyhood.

The combinations of these categories of kin in the actual households give twenty-five variations in household composition in the male-headed households and ten variations in the female-headed households. (Young and adult children are, as in the above tables, classified as separate categories. This is due to the fact that the presence of adult children in the household is significant in relation to the question of 'matrifocality', a question which will be discussed later.) These variations are shown in Tables 11 and 12 respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse only</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ children (young)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ grandchildren</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both spouses</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + grandchildren of both</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + children (young &amp; adult) of both + grandchildren of both</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her grandchildren + her great grandch. + her sib's child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her grandchildren</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both + her adult children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both + her grandchildren + her adult children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both + her young children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + adult children of both + grandchildren of both</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + his young children + her sib</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her young children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + his young children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her children (young &amp; adult) + her sib's children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her sib's children</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both + her grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both + her young children + her mother + other *</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young children of both + grandchildren of both</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her young children + her grandchildren + his cousin's child (MBSS)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young &amp; adult children of both + her sib</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + young &amp; adult children of both</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ spouse + her great grandchild + her grandchild's adopted child + other **</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Unrelated girl of about eleven years old; ** 'adopted' son on Government Foster Scheme.
Table 12: Variations in Household Composition in Female-Headed Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variations</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ young children</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ young &amp; adult children</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ grandchildren + great grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ adult children + grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ adult children + sib's grandchild</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ adult children + grandchildren + great grandchild</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ young children + grandchildren</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ other *</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* An unrelated girl referred to as an 'adopted daughter' (see Table 10).

Table 9 shows that the commonest category of kin found in the male-headed households is the spouse (present in fifty-one households), the second commonest being young children of both spouses, that is children common to both spouses, not "outside" children ¹) (present

¹) As with Clarke (1953 op cit: 118) "outside" children are not defined according to the question of legitimacy; the term denoting children born outside of the current union.
in twenty-six households). Young outside children of the man and woman being found in only three and six cases respectively, with adult outside children of the woman being found in three cases. Grandchildren common to both spouses is the third commonest category, but such kin are present in only eight cases. The woman's grandchildren are found in seven cases, and adult children common to both spouses are found in six cases. Great grandchildren are present in only two cases, in both cases being those of the woman.

While there is some evidence of extended family households, then, the predominant picture of household composition in the male-headed households is of a man, his spouse, and their young children (that is children under the age of twenty). These salient characteristics are reflected in Table 11 where the commonest variation in the household composition of the male-headed households is the man, his spouse and their young children (occurring in sixteen households); the second commonest being the man and his spouse only (seven households). These two variations plus that where the household head lives alone (four households) account for twenty-seven of the fifty-eight male-headed households, that is for 46.7% of these households. All other variations (twenty-two) being found in 1-3 households only, most (sixteen) being found in one household only.

The overall picture derived from this data then is not one of extended family households nor of 'matrifocality', and it is only when we turn to consider the categories of kin which occur in a limited number of cases that there is evidence of either the extended family household, or of a matrifocal bias in household composition; for example, the woman's young outside children are found in six cases as opposed to three cases where the man's
outside children are present; the woman's grandchildren in seven cases as opposed to the man's grandchildren in two; the woman's adult outside children (three cases), great grandchildren (two cases), siblings (two cases), and sibling's children (four cases), all these categories in relation to the man being absent. There is one case where the man's matrilateral cross-cousin's child (MBSS) is present. With reference to kin of ascending generations, such kin are present in only one case, (being the mother of the woman.)

Table 10 shows that the most prevalent category of kin found in the female-headed households is that of young children (in ten cases, or 50% of such households). Adult children, grandchildren and great grandchildren only appear in four, five, and two cases respectively. There is, then, only limited indication for the interpretation of female-headed households as matrifocal extended family households. Rather, most of the female-headed households can be seen to be the residual core of the nuclear family household - the latter having been found above to be the most prevalent type of male-headed household - such a core consisting most frequently of the woman and her young children (ten cases), or less frequently of the woman alone (three cases). (It was noted above that one of the four cases of 'Single' female household heads is in fact single with no further qualification.)

These salient characteristics are reflected in Table 12, where the most frequent variation in household composition is seen to be that of the household head and her young children (eight cases), the second commonest being that of the household head alone (four cases). These two variations account for 60% of the female-headed households, all other variations (eight) occurring in only one household each.
Regarding all households, then, the most prevalent types of household composition are seen to be that of a man, his spouse, and their children, or the residual core of this nuclear family structure - either the woman and her children, or the woman alone.

The number of generations represented by the various categories of kin in each household is correlated below with the nature of these generations, (that is first/second/third/fourth ascending/descending generations, these being reckoned in relation to the household head). Tables 13 and 14 refer to male-headed and female-headed households respectively; Table 15 refers to the total number of households.

Table 13: Generational characteristics of Male-Headed Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>No. of generations</th>
<th>Nature of generations /no. of households( )</th>
<th>No. of variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ego’s only (II)</td>
<td>2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 1D (28)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ 2D (8)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 1D + 2D (8)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 1A + 1D (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ 1D + 3D (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ 1D + 2D + 3D (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td>(58)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Alone; and + spouse.
Table 14: Generational characteristics of Female-Headed Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>No. of generations</th>
<th>Nature of generations /no. of households</th>
<th>No. of variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ego's only (4)</td>
<td>1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 1D (10)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ 1D + 2D (3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ 1D + 2D + 3D (1)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Alone

Table 15: Generational Characteristics of Total No. of Sample Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>No. of generations</th>
<th>Nature of generations /no. of households</th>
<th>No. of variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ego's only (15)</td>
<td>3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ 1D (38)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ 1D + 2D (11)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1A + 1D (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1D + 3D (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2D + 3D (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ 1D + 2D + 3D (2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Male alone; male + spouse; female alone.

In the cases of unrelated foster children these are classified as first descending generation (i.e. in the role of 'child') regardless of the age of the foster parent.
Of the fifty-eight male-headed households, eleven are comprised of only one generation (that of the household head); thirty-six are comprised of two generations; ten are three-generational; and only one is four-generational. Of the twenty female-headed households, four are comprised of the household head's generation only; eleven of two generations; four of three generations; and again, only one is four-generational. Of the total number of seventy-eight households, fifteen are comprised of only one generation; forty-seven of two generations; fourteen of three generations; and two of four generations.

The average, modal, and median male-headed household are all comprised of two generations. In the female-headed households the average is 2.1 generations, and the modal and median household are both comprised of two generations. With reference to all households, the average, modal and median household are all two-generational.

The variable of household composition will now be considered in relation to that of the conjugal status of the principal adults.

Household Composition considered in terms of the Variable of Conjugal Status

Male-Headed Households. The most prevalent variation — that of the male household head with his spouse and their young children (sixteen cases) — is distributed equally between the households where the principal adults are married, and those where they are cohabiting consensually (eight cases each).

The next most prevalent variation — that of the household head and his spouse only — is distributed almost equally between these two types of household, the variation being present three and four times
in those households based on marriage and consensual cohabitation respectively.

The basic variation of the household head with spouse and their young children - which is a basic component in another ten households - is present in six and four cases in 'Married' and 'Consensual' households respectively. This is not a significant difference when the excess of the former type of household over the latter is taken into consideration.

There is a wider range of additional categories of kin and also of variations in the 'Married' households than in the 'Consensual' ones. This is not surprising in view again of the excess of the former over the latter type. Despite this however, some of these differences appear to be significant, viz: Whereas the categories "Adult Children of Both" and "Grandchildren of Both" appear in the 'Married' households six and seven times respectively, the former category does not appear at all in the 'Consensual' households, with the latter category appearing only once in these households. The explanation for this would appear to be, firstly, that married persons are more likely to have adult children and grandchildren than consensually cohabiting ones because of the tendency for the former to be older than the latter. And secondly, that married couples are more likely to have adult children and grandchildren belonging to them both than consensually cohabiting couples, since those unions in which the couple is married tend to have had a greater duration than those in which the couple is not.

That these explanatory hypotheses are in fact valid can be seen from the fact that firstly, the ages of the household heads and their spouses in those 'Married' households where "Adult Children of Both"
are present range from 43-74 and 36-64 respectively, with those of the household heads and their spouses in the 'Married' households where "Grandchildren of Both" are present ranging from 49-74 and 47-72 respectively (both categories in fact being common to four households). And secondly, that the durations of the unions concerned range in the first case from 20-42 years, and in the second from 26-53 years.

The greater joint incidence of the categories "Adult Children", "Grandchildren" and "Great Grandchildren" of one spouse only (in all cases, in fact, those of the woman) in 'Married' rather than 'Consensual' households (one, six and two cases and two, one and no cases respectively) is again related to the fact that married persons tend to be older and are therefore more likely to have both adult children and second and third generation descendants than persons who are cohabiting consensually. That this is so is seen from the fact that whereas the ages of the household heads and their spouses in those 'Consensual' households where these categories are present range from 39-54 and 38-40 respectively, those of the equivalent persons in the relevant 'Married' households range from 52-72 and 44-75 respectively.

This conclusion is further borne out by the fact that the category of young outside children (that is children belonging to one spouse only) is more prevalent in the 'Consensual' households than in those where the couple is married (the woman's young children being present in four and two cases respectively; the man's in two and no cases respectively), this being more significant when the excess of 'Married' over 'Consensual' households is considered. This relative incidence can be seen to be related to the
likelihood of a previous union(s) being more recent in the case of consensually cohabiting rather than married persons. This is in fact supported by the relatively short duration of the relevant consensual unions, which range from 3-16 years. (And omitting the union which has lasted for sixteen years, where the outside child is in fact only four years old - indicating a concurrent union - the remaining unions in fact only range from 3-12 years.) In the two cases where young outside children are present in 'Married' households the unions are also relatively short (twelve and sixteen years) when compared with the majority of unions in which the couple is married. The ages of the household heads and their spouses in the above 'Consensual' households - which range from 30-64 (but omitting the one man aged sixty-four - the oldest consensually cohabiting male who is over thirty years older than his mate - only 30-54) and 28-39 respectively - further supports the above conclusion since it indicates that such couples are likely to be in the early or transitional stages of their overall conjugal careers. And the two relevant cases of married couples in fact show that these persons are younger than the average married person, (the men being thirty-five and forty-two, the women thirty-one and thirty-six.)

The final significant comparison between these two types of household is that whereas in the 'Married' households all categories of kin that are not common descendants of the couple are the woman's kin, in the 'Consensual' households, although the woman's kin are more prevalent than the man's, the latter are also present, - and these additional categories despite the smaller number of 'Consensual' households.
The maternal bias in household composition which has so frequently been taken in the literature on Caribbean kinship organisation as representative of the 'matrifocal family/household' then, is in fact seen here not only to be present in some of the male-headed households, but of these, to be more predominant in the stabler households, that is those based on marriage rather than consensual cohabitation; - households which cannot, therefore, be termed 'matrifocal'. It will also be seen from the data on fostering that the latter phenomenon - which is also frequently taken as indicative of matrifocality - is most prevalent in male-headed households based on marriage.

Of the seven households where the male has no resident spouse, the commonest variation in household composition is the man living alone (four cases). One of these is the youngest principal adult in the sample, - the only 'Single' male who has not yet had any children. Hence his living alone is a direct result of the fact that he is either at the very beginning of, or has not yet started on, his conjugal career. Another two are two of the 'Separated' males, who fall into the category of Smith's 'marginal' male. And the fourth is the man classified as 'Widowed/CC', whose children are now adult and living neolocally, one in fact having emigrated abroad.

Of the other three males, two are 'marginal' - one of these having one of his outside children (a daughter, seventeen) and the other a granddaughter (twelve) living in the household. So in fact despite the 'marginality' of these two men vis-à-vis their past mates, they are in fact involved to some extent in child rearing and domestic duties. The third man ('Widowed/Married') has three of his grandchildren living with him. This household is therefore the
residual core of what would have been an expanded stable 'Married' household if his wife were alive.

The household composition of these seven male-headed households, then, can all be related to their conjugal status - itself related to the developmental cycle. One man is seen to live alone because he has not yet embarked (or possibly is only just doing so) on his conjugal career, a fact compatible with his age (nineteen). The household composition of another four of the men is seen to be related to their 'marginality' in the sense typical of the type of developmental cycle described by Smith. And the remaining two show the alternate ways in which a household based on a stable union can develop - either dispersion, due to the neolocal residence of the children when they reach adulthood; or a second stage of growth due to the addition of grandchildren to the household (in this case also following dispersion of the children). The composition of these two households being seen, however, to be modified by the death of the spouse.

In conclusion, then, it can be seen that the most basic component of the male-headed households is: the man, his spouse and their young children, this being so regardless of the couple's conjugal status, thus indicating the basic structural similarity between households based on marriage and consensual cohabitation. However certain significant differences between these two types of household are also seen to exist, and these are related to the respective stages of the developmental cycles of the principal adults which tend to be associated with the variation in their conjugal status.

The household composition of the seven 'Single' male-headed households is also seen to be related to the variable of conjugal
status and the associated stage in the developmental cycle.

**Female-Headed Households.** It can also be seen that the variable of conjugal status - which has been shown above to be significantly related to the respective stages of the developmental cycle - is also responsible for the variations in the household composition of the female-headed households, viz:

The only female who is classified above as 'Single' with no further qualification, lives alone.

The households of all eight women who are seen to be in the early or transitional stages of their conjugal career (that is the four mating extra-residentially, and the younger group of four women in the category 'Separated/ER or CC') all have the same variation: the household head and her young children; the variable of whether the latter are full or half-siblings reflecting the details of each individual's conjugal career.

Three of the four cases where the woman lives alone, and all the more complex variations, occur in the three categories of older women.

The variations in the households of the group of the five older women in the category 'Separated/ER or CC' who are classified as the obverse to Smith's 'marginal male' have the following variations:

In one case the woman lives alone, her only child (by an early consensual union) being now in his fifties and living abroad in the U.K. In a further two cases the woman has either her children or a foster child living with her; one of these - the woman who has had three children by a relatively stable consensual union - has two of these children still living with her (one young, the other adult).
In the case of the second woman, her only child (by an early non-
legal union) is now in his forties and lives neolocally in the
village. The child who actually lives with her - though she refers
to her as "my own dear child" - is actually an 'adopted' daughter
who was given to her as a baby by "a stranger". The daughter is
now adult.

Co-resident with the other two women in this category are a
young child and a grandchild in one case, and grandchildren and a
great grandchild in the other. In the former case the child still
living at home is the youngest of the woman's five children (nineteen) -
which were born by four extra-residential unions - two of these other
children having died, and the other two living neolocally in the
village; the grandchild who lives with her being the child of
one of these daughters. The latter case (this being the woman who
has had one child by a short-lived extra-residential union, and
then eleven children by a stable consensual union, being however
finally deserted,) is perhaps the most typical 'matrifocal' household
in the sample in the sense generally referred to in the literature,
since female headship results from desertion and the household is
a three-generational extended one. (It is interesting to note that
in fact the great grandchild (fourteen) is the oldest of the five
children fostered there, which illustrates how the variable of
generation may cross-cut that of age when the person has had a large
number of children over an extended period of time; - this "great
gran" being the grandchild of the second of this woman's twelve
children.)
The two of the three women classified as 'Separated/Married' who complete the total of seven women who fit Smith's model of matrifocality have two adult grandchildren living in the household in one case, in the other living alone. In the latter case the woman's two adult children (half-siblings) both reside neolocally in the village.

In the third case in this category - where the separation was later seen to be only temporary - the woman has two of her adult children living at home in addition to her brother's grandchild. This household, along with two of the three households where the head is 'Widowed/Married', (with adult children and also grand-children living in the household in one case, and an adult child a grandchild and a great grandchild - the latter two being descendants of her resident son - in the other) being the residual expanded cores of stable male-headed households based on marriage; the male being absent in one case through temporary emigration, and in the other two due to death.

It can here be pointed out that although these three households are structurally similar to the case singled out above as being most 'typically matrifocal' - in that these are also multi-generational extended households with a female head - that these three households have a different *raison d'être* for their matrifocality than the former. For in the typical case female headship results from male marginality, while in these three cases this is not so.

In the third case where the woman is 'Widowed/Married', she lives alone, her children - now adult - living elsewhere neolocally; this household then representing the residual dispersed core of a stable male-headed household based on marriage, the man being absent through death.
In the female-headed households, then, the most common variation — that of the household head and her young children — is seen to coincide with the younger women who are in the early or transitional stage of their conjugal careers; while the presence of adult children, or second and third generation descendants (or the equivalent) is seen to be correlated with the household heads who are more advanced in age, single female headship in these cases being due to a variety of reasons — also associated with the variable of the developmental cycle and the concomitant variable of conjugal status.

From the analysis of the household composition of the seventy-eight sample households, then, the variable of the structure of the household is seen to be significantly associated with that of the conjugal status of the principal adults, which in turn was seen to be closely associated with the respective stages of the developmental cycle. And in the majority of cases both the variable of conjugal status and that of the associated household composition of the individual cases are seen to be compatible with the model of an overall conjugal career whose basic characteristic is a progressive movement towards greater stability in conjugal relations.

The conclusion that household composition is related to mating patterns, and that this in turn is influenced by the developmental cycle, is supported by M.G. Smith's work on West Indian family structure. It was noted above, however, (in Chapter 2) that M.G. Smith's explanation of West Indian family structure has been criticised as tautologous by Horowitz; (this explanation, however, being from Smith's point of view one that correctly confines itself to independent variables within the system he is trying to explain.)
While Smith's explanation can be criticised as tautologous if the system he is explaining is taken to be family structure (since mating patterns are a part of family structure), a hypothesis which purports to explain the variable of household composition by that of mating patterns is not. Nevertheless, this is not a sufficient explanation, for it is family structure as a whole which needs explaining. It is therefore necessary to consider what determines mating patterns. Horowitz suggests that it is the variable of control over resources (more specifically the variable of peasant/proletarian status). This too is the explanation put forward by the majority of the current anthropological studies of Caribbean family structure, as was seen in Chapter 2. It will therefore be necessary to consider the hypothesis that mating patterns in River Village are economically determined.

Before doing so, however, the phenomenon of fostering in and from the sample households will first be considered.

**Fostering.**

Of the fifty-eight male-headed households, fostering is present in twenty-one households, being absent in thirty-seven; and of the twenty female-headed households, is present in six households, being absent in fourteen. With reference to the total number of sample households, then, fostering is present in twenty-six households and absent in fifty-two. (Fostering is here defined as the placement of children in a household where neither parent is present). Table 16 shows the number of children fostered in the relevant households.
Table 16: Children Fostered in Sample Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children fostered</th>
<th>Number of households in which fostering occurs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male-headed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This gives a total of fifty-nine children fostered in twenty-six households, forty-eight of these children being fostered in male-headed households and eleven in female-headed households. 1)

Fostering can be correlated with the conjugal status of the household heads of the households where it occurs as follows: (See Tables 17 and 18).

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1) Fostering was also a common feature in the life histories of many of the principal adults.
Table 17: Conjugal Status of Household Heads in Male-Headed Households where Fostering occurs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Status of Household Head</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensually Cohabiting</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed/Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/CC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Conjugal Status of Household Heads in Female-Headed Households where Fostering occurs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Status of Household Head</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Separated/ER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/ER or CC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/CC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed/Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Married</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from Tables 17 and 18 that fostering occurs most frequently in male-headed households where the principal adults are married (forty children in fifteen households); to a limited extent in male-headed households where the principal adults are living in consensual cohabitation (four
children in three households) and in female-headed households (eleven children in six households); and is almost absent in the 'single' male-headed households (four children in two households). It can be concluded therefore that fostering in the sample is not in fact indicative of 'matrifocal' households, but rather of the expansion of the most stable households, that is those based on marriage.

Relationship of Foster Children to Household Head. As seen from Tables 9 and 10 on household composition, many of the children fostered are grandchildren (generally of both principal adults or of the woman) although in some cases they are great grandchildren (of the woman) or a sibling's child or grandchild. There are in addition a few cases where the fostered child is not in fact a relative; - in one case of a female-headed household (where the woman has herself only had one child by a non-legal union long since dissolved) the girl whom she referred to as "my own dear child" had in fact been given to her as a baby by a "stranger". In another case, that of a male-headed household based on marriage, one of the three children fostered there is the 'adopted daughter' of the woman's granddaughter, the latter having had no children of her own. The child has been fostered in the present household since its previous foster mother's death. Another of the children in this household is a little boy fostered out on the Government's foster scheme (operated through the Ministry of Youth and Community Development). The foster mother - who says that children are her "delight" - had, although she is now in her seventies and has had children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of her own, applied to the Government for a child. She has not legally adopted him: "Only take care of him", receiving £5 monthly towards his support. Regarding his future, she told me: "Either I die and them [the Government] take him; or if him becomes a man in me hand them give him a trade." In yet another case of a male-headed household, a
married couple had been asked, about a month prior to the interview, to take care of an unrelated schoolgirl who was "just around."

Kinship Terminology. Grandparents may be addressed by grandchildren fostered in their household by a variety of kinship terms, such as: mama/aunt/nana for the grandmother, and papa/dada/tata 1) for the grandfather. The use of parental terms of address in some cases reflects the structural aspects of a relationship where, in many ways, the grandparents are the 'social' parents of the child. This is clearly illustrated, for example, in the case of a male-headed household based on marriage, where nine of the couple's grandchildren (four through one daughter, and five through another) are fostered with them. All nine children (whose ages range from three to seventeen) were born in the grandparental household and have lived there all their lives. They all address their maternal grandmother as mama, calling their own mothers (who do not live there), aunt, thus distinguishing to some extent between mater and genetrix. In another case, however, also of a male-headed household based on marriage, the woman's two grandchildren (through one of her daughters) fostered there — who were likewise born in her house — call their grandmother 'Aunt Sally'.

In the ACs' household — male-headed, based on marriage — the grandparents are addressed as papa and mama by their grandchild fostered there, while their great grandchildren, one of whom was later fostered there, address them as dada and nana.

In another case of a male-headed household based on marriage, the woman's grandchildren fostered there do call her grannie, but so, she pointed out, do several unrelated adults in the village! 2)

1) Cf Patterson, O. op cit:172 who states that among the slaves "The word 'tata' meant father and was a common mode of expression for the master, especially among the slave children."

2) Cf Henriques 1968 op cit:139, who states that "All old women are addressed by both children and adults as 'granny'."
It must be pointed out, however, that while such distinctions mentioned previously between social parent and *senitor/genertrix* exist to some extent, that this distinction would seem to be only partial, and to apply more to the child-rearing role of the foster parent rather than to the actual ascription of social parenthood *per se*. For unlike many tribal societies where the role of social parent may be taken over completely by a *pater* or *mater*, for example for the purposes of legitimising the child in accordance with the norms of the particular society, the *genertrix* is, in the Jamaican case, universally recognised as *mater*, and the *senitor*—as long as he admits paternity—is always recognised as the *pater*, regardless of the question of legitimacy, this being reflected by the fact that even illegitimate children take their father's surname.  

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1) And for example among the Nuer even a woman can assume the role of *pater* to a child in certain circumstances, see *Evans-Pritchard, E.E.: Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951).

2) Cf. Clarke 1953 *op cit*:112 who notes that "children take the name of the father even when illegitimate..."; Blake *op cit*:128-9 who notes that "regardless of whether the union is casual or concubinal, the mother almost invariably gives the child the surname of its biological father. This occurs even when the father has disappeared during pregnancy."; Davenport *op cit*:123 who states that "every child bears the surname of its father—except when there is some reason to hide the identity of the father—regardless of the marital status of the mother and father."; and Smith, R.T. 1956 *op cit*:158 who observes a similar situation in British Guiana: "most children...take the name of their *genitor*...The derivation of the surname from the *genitor* is obviously an important social recognition of paternity and it serves to distinguish half-siblings even though they grow up together." Henrique, however, states that "when the father is absent the child will take the surname of the mother...", 1968 *op cit*:128.

There are a few cases in the sample of persons who have been given their mother's surname. For example, in the case of a woman who has had seven children by three unions prior to her marriage (none being legitimate), while six of the children have their respective father's surname, the seventh child was given his mother's surname because the woman's current spouse at the time of his birth (whom she states is the father) had not 'owned' him, although he owned three other of her children. Such exceptions are also noted by Smith, R.T. 1956 *op cit*:158 who states that "the child takes the *genitor's* name unless he has denied paternity and the courts have upheld his denial." And Blake also notes a few exceptions where a child was named after the mother, *op cit*:129.
Children fostered in their grandparent(s)' households may be referred to as a **grandchild**, **cousin** or **gran**, or sometimes as "my [own] child". Great grandchildren may also be referred to as a **grandchild** or **child**, reflecting the telescoping of generations resultant from the structural parent-child child-rearing relationship inherent in fostering. And even in the case of the little boy fostered on the Government scheme, the foster mother said: "That is not my grandchild, but he is along with me, so I have to call him my child, because he have no mother and father."

In another case, where one of the two children fostered in a male-headed household based on consensual cohabitation is the man's mother's brother's son's son (that is his matrilateral cross-cousin's son) the child is referred to as his **nephew**, thus telescoping the relationship for purposes of simplification.

**Financial Support.** In some cases the foster parents support the child completely, but in several cases the real parent(s) make either regular or irregular financial contributions to the household. In some cases specific expenses may be covered by particular persons; for example, in one male-headed household based on marriage where four of the woman's grandchildren are fostered (one through an outside son, three through an outside daughter) the woman's son pays his daughter's school fees, all her other expenses being covered by the foster parents. While the daughter, who comes to visit her three children monthly, clothes two of them, their remaining expenses, as well as all the expenses of the third child being the responsibility of the foster household. And in another case, for example, a child fostered with his maternal grandmother - a female household head - is supported jointly by his father (his mother's previous extra-residential mate), his step-father (his mother's husband) and his maternal grandmother.
Reasons for Fostering. Some of the fostered children are children of their parents' early unstable unions, the parents no longer being together. This is not always so, however. The case of the AKs, a married couple who have nine grandchildren fostered with them, illustrates the variation in this respect. All nine of these grandchildren are descendants of both spouses, four being through one daughter, and five through another. In the former case, the daughter's first three children are by two early unions, the fourth child being by her current spouse to whom she is married. In the latter case, the five grandchildren all have the same father, although they are not legitimate.

In many cases the mother of the fostered child is in another part of the island, for example in one of the larger towns or in Kingston, where she may be working. For example in one male-headed household based on marriage, the woman's young grandson is fostered there, the mother (who is in her twenties) working as a domestic in Kingston ever since he was a baby. As the grandmother explained, it is easier for her daughter to get employment in Kingston. In yet other cases one or both parents may have emigrated abroad to work. For example in the case of the AKs referred to above, the mother of four of the grandchildren fostered there has gone to the United States with her husband to work on a contract scheme for a family who wanted a couple for domestic help.

In two cases of male-headed households (in one case based on marriage, in the other on consensual cohabitation) where fostering occurs, the couple themselves have no children (although in one case the man has an outside child by a previous extra-residential union, the child not however living in the household) and a child of the woman's sibling is fostered with the couple. In one of these cases the child is the woman's brother's, and its parents are not together. The future residence of the child is
uncertain, as she will just stay there until one of her parents is ready to take her away, - "It can be tomorrow"; the child having already been taken away and returned once before. In the other case the child is the woman's sister's, the latter having "plenty children and the father not minding".

Fostering is not, however, always seen to be for such practical reasons as those indicated above - that is, not always 'crisis fostering'. For in some cases a grandchild is fostered with its grandparent(s) primarily for sentimental reasons; this being particularly so regarding the "first grannie" - the first grandchild. For example, in the case of one of the female household heads who has a son and a young grandchild living with her, the reason given for the latter's residence there is: "Is just through the first grannie; - he just have a love [for the grandmother]". In this case the child happens to be the outside child of a woman now married to her current spouse, but as mentioned above, this child is in fact supported by his own father (weekly) and his step-father as well as by his grandmother, so there is no financial crisis or lack of acknowledgement of the child by his parents.

In another case - of a male-headed household based on marriage - the woman's two grandchildren fostered there (both having been fostered there since they were babies) are both "first grannies", in this case each being the eldest child of its mother; (in one case in fact, the second child, the eldest having died.) That this had been the main reason for fostering is confirmed by the mother of the older boy who lives elsewhere in the village, being also a principal adult in the sample. For she said that she had not, when she first fostered the child, been working, and that her mother "Just take him through is the first grandchild she did have." In this case the fact that it is not crisis fostering is
underlined by the fact that this boy has ten full siblings younger
than himself, the parents having been together for about twenty years,
fourteen of which have been spent in consensual cohabitation.

Nevertheless the custom of taking the first grandchild does have some
practical basis, as the foster parents in the above case explained:

"Most people do that; we just come to the conclusion
that we know better to take care. And we have no small
children in the home, so therefore they both keep our company
and we get around with them."

The arrangement is therefore of mutual advantage, the foster parents being
more experienced in child-rearing, and in turn receiving companionship and
help from the grandchildren, none of their own children still living
at home (or perhaps being there but now adult). (It can be noted however
that in the case just cited the older grandchild (seventeen) is in fact only
one year younger than the mother of the younger grandchild.)

In yet another case it is the woman's brother's grandchild who is
fostered in this way - for "no particular reason": "But seeing that I
have all my children deh grow big and gone, so I just take her" (from she
was a baby). The child's parents are living together and have two other
children, while the foster mother is living as a female household head,
being temporarily separated from her husband. So in fact the child is
fostered in a household with a 'Single' woman, while she could have been
with both parents, thus emphasising the point that this is not crisis
fostering.

In some cases a distinction may be made between the grandchildren
fostered in a household regarding who they "belong" to. For one child
may have been "taken" by the grandparent(s) 'for themselves', being
exclusively supported by the latter as a result of this, the parent(s)
however contributing to the support of the others. This is so, for example,

1) Kerr notes that a child may be fostered for the purpose of
providing help for its foster mother, 1952 op cit:64; but
she also makes an important qualification to this point, see
below Footnote (1), p. 284 of this chapter. And Blake notes,
in a more general context, the importance of children as
in the case of two of the male-headed households based on marriage, the grandchildren in each case being the woman's. In one of these cases two of the woman's daughter's children by an extra-residential union are fostered in the household, the father supporting one, the foster parents the other; the grandmother saying of the latter: "Me have one fe meself - take him from him [mother's] belly - so from him born him don't nurse from him mother."

In other cases it may be a great grandchild that is 'just taken' to live in a household. For example in the case of one of the male-headed households based on marriage, one of the three children fostered there is the woman's great grandchild (her DDD) who is one - not in fact the oldest, being in fact the fifth child - of a number of children born to the woman's granddaughter and mate, this couple living together in a stable consensual union elsewhere in the village. The fact that the child is supported by its own parents as well as its foster parents also underlining the fact that this is not a case of crisis fostering.

There are four households where the persons counted as foster 'children' are in fact aged twenty or over, but in at least two of these cases the child concerned has been fostered there from it was either a baby or a very young child. (In one of these cases the grandchild in fact now only lives in the household sporadically, having very recently started to teach elsewhere in the parish.) In the other two cases information on this point is not clear; but in both these households there are two grandchildren living there (in one case both being aged twenty or over, in the other only one being that age) this indicating that fostering proper probably did occur.

There are also other cases where young grandchildren or great grandchildren are present in the household but are not counted as foster children because one of the parents is also resident there, this resulting in a three-generational extended family household. This is so, for example, in
one of the male-headed households based on marriage where seven other children (the woman's grandchildren) are also fostered, the eighth and youngest child living there being the daughter of the eldest grandchild resident there. (The mother of this great grandchild is still in her teens, and had to leave school because of the baby.)

This, too, is the case in one of the female-headed households, where the household head (Widowed/Married) has one of her granddaughters living there, the latter's father however also being resident. There is, in addition, also a great grandchild fostered there in the true sense, this child being the grandchild of the woman's resident son through another of his children. (These two children were born to the son in a fairly stable extra-residential union which has since dissolved.)

Then there are other cases where a young daughter of the household head and his spouse has embarked on the early stages of her conjugal career, still living with her parents while mating duolocally, the child or children of such unions also living in the household. In one such case the household consists of the principal adults - who are living in a stable consensual union (the consensual stage of which has so far lasted for eighteen years), the couple's seven children, whose ages range from seventeen to five years, and the baby daughter of the seventeen-year old daughter. In a second case the household consists of the principal adults (a married couple) their adult son and daughter (both in their twenties) and the latter's three small children - each by a different short-lived extra-residential union. By 1972 the daughter had had another two children by a fourth union, which had evolved from a duolocal into a consensual one. The young couple had first lived in a rented house, subsequently building their own house on the girl's father's land. The daughter's three older children have been left to live with their maternal grandmother, now
widowed, while the younger two live with their parents. These two case histories illustrate how such three-generational extended family households may simply be due to the combination of the later stage of the developmental cycle of the elderly couple with the early duolocal mating stage of one of their children; the household simply being the extension of a stable nuclear family household rather than due to any recurrent 'matrifocal' residential principle.

In the households with adult children still living there, then, such children are generally young adults - some of whom have started having children - who will most likely move out of the household in the relatively near future when their conjugal careers begin to develop in the typical fashion. For it can be noted that there are no cases among the sample households where two co-residential couples live in the same household,^1) neolocal residence being the norm for both consensual as well as married unions. (And as seen from the analysis of household composition, young 'Single' women may also live neolocally with their young children while mating extra-residentially or in the transitional stage between early unstable unions.)

That three-generational extended family households may only be temporary is further indicated by the conjugal histories of many of the principal adults who had themselves had their first child or children while mating duolocally and still living in their parental household, later moving out to live neolocally, generally in a consensual union. When such a move does occur, the children may be taken, but as the diachronic case history above shows, the potential for the fostering of such grandchildren is inherent in such a situation. A similar situation has also occurred in another male-headed household based on marriage, only

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^1) The absence of more than one conjugal couple in any one household has also been noted both for other parts of the island and of the Caribbean; see e.g. Davenport op cit:446; Horowitz 1967(a) op cit:45.
in this case with reference to a grandchild (fifteen) who has been fostered with her paternal grandparents from she was a baby. By 1972 she had had two children while still living with her grandparents, subsequently having emigrated to a neighbouring parish taking the second child with her, and leaving the first with the latter's great grandparents.

Although, as mentioned above, adult children can generally be expected to move out of their parental household when their conjugal careers develop, there are in fact two households - both female-headed by 'Married/Widowed' women - where middle-aged children are still residing in the household with one or more of their children. One such household consists of the elderly widowed mother, her middle-aged daughter and son, the former's four children (by three different unions, the last two children being by her husband) and one of the son's children by a non-legal union subsequent to his marriage. As seen from this account, both adult children have in fact been married, the son being widowed and the daughter separated. Although their residence there may therefore be influenced by these circumstances, it is also possible that such residence may be influenced by the variable of land tenure, the land being the siblings' family land, - because the case is further unusual in that both the son's wife and the daughter's husband had also resided there at one point. This may, however, have been due to the fact that the elderly mother is sickly and needed someone to look after her, for in general it is seen that the typical conjugal career develops relatively independently of the influence of family land.

The other household consists of the widowed mother, her son - in his late thirties - one of the latter's children (aged / ), and also one of his grandchildren (nephew to the / year old child.) The grandchild resident there is one of five children (one of whom had died) which the son had by one woman in a relatively long and stable extra-residential union, which has since dissolved. The reason why this union (which had
lasted nearly nine years) did not evolve into a consensual one probably being due to the fact that the woman lived virtually next door.

The placement of this woman's various children, including her other three by the above man, is illustrative of the influence of mating patterns on household composition, including the phenomenon of fostering. This woman, who is in her late thirties, has had a transitional overall conjugal pattern of ER - CC - ER, at present being in the early stages of her fourth union (extra-residential). She and her present mate have had no children together, but she has had nine children (eight alive) by her three previous mates. The oldest of these is a son (aged twenty-one) by a casual extra-residential union which lasted "no time at all". The son lives elsewhere in the village where he rents a room. Her next five children, four of whom are alive, were by the man referred to above who is still resident in his mother's house. The eldest of these (aged sixteen) (the mother of the great grandchild fostered in the above-mentioned household) has left school and is at present living with a friend of her mother's in another parish; she does, however, come to River Village to visit, and when she does so she stays at her paternal grandmother's. This child is supported by her mother. The second of these children lives with her "auntie" (PZ) in Kingston, where she has been for ten years: "She actually grow there". The aunt supports her, although her mother gives her presents when she goes to visit, and for birthdays and Christmas. The third of these children is the one referred to above who lives with her father and paternal grandmother. She is supported by her mother. The youngest of the four children in this union, as well as the youngest from the third union (a relatively stable union which had evolved from a duolocal to a consensual one) live in their mother's rented room (the mother at present, however, spending much of her time at her mate's house.)
These two children are also however looked after by their paternal grandmother, who, for example, cooks for them. The other two children from the third union live with their father elsewhere in the village; he supports them, but their mother gives them presents.

There is in fact also a third case where a middle-aged child continues to reside in the household; he has no children residing there however.

The preceding discussion of the phenomenon of fostering in the sample households has not only shown the influence of mating patterns on household composition, but also that fostering may be interrelated with stable as well as unstable aspects of these patterns - for example fostering is seen to occur most frequently in stable male-headed households based on marriage, and the fostering of the child is not always due to some financial or other crisis resultant from the breakdown of an unstable conjugal union.

While Davenport's amendment of Fortes' model of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, viz - that "the duration of a woman's fertility" does "not necessarily limit the phase of household expansion..."¹ - can be seen to be applicable to household composition in River Village, it can be pointed out that household composition is not, as Davenport suggests, always a correlate of the economic resources of the household, and may have a closer relationship to the age of the respective parents and foster parents concerned, and the associated stage of the typical conjugal career, than he allows for. For while households in which children are fostered have often embarked on a new phase of expansion, the parents of such children may in fact - either individually or together - go on to establish stable households of their own; the progressive developmental pattern of the typical conjugal career being an important factor to consider in this respect. Other non-economic factors to be considered are also a strong affection for children, and the absence of the household head(s)' own children in the household due to

¹) Davenport op. cit. 454.
childlessness or other reasons such as neolocal residence. Rural-
urban differences as well as international migration trends are also
important associated factors.

In addition, it can be seen that the households in which fostering
does occur, do not always have a "secure economic foundation".1) For
example, a consensually cohabiting couple living in a rented room have
the woman's brother's child fostered with them because the latter's parents
are not together and the couple themselves have had no children together.
In another two cases children are fostered with 'Single' household heads
(in one case male, the other female) who live in rented accommodation;
in one of these cases the fostering being because the child is a "first
gran". In another case one of the two children fostered with a married
couple has been fostered there for almost seventeen years because he is
a "first gran", the couple - who now live in their own house on the woman's
family land - only moving their own house (built only six years ago) to
this family land three years ago, having lived for much of the preceding
period in a rented house elsewhere. And in another two cases children are
fostered with married couples who, though they own their houses, live on
insecurely held land. Finally, the fact that fostering is often seen not to
be correlated with the exclusive or sometimes even primary support of the
foster child by its foster parents also indicates that non-economic
factors may be important.

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1) Ibid. My point is supported by Kerr who notes, despite her
primarily economic interpretation of Jamaican family structure,
that non-economic factors may be important in fostering: "In
cases where a childless woman may have a piece of land to
work it could be said that the child is taken for economic
reasons as a potential helper, but it seems to happen with
nearly as great a frequency in the case of women living in one
rented room with no permanent job. In this latter eventuality
the extra mouths to feed must be a great liability." 1952
op cit:64. Her explanation for such fostering being that "A
Jamaican woman, especially among the poorer people, seems to
feel that there is something wrong if she does not have children
in the house." Ibid.
Children belonging to one or both of the principal adults in fifteen of the sample households are fostered elsewhere. In thirteen such cases these are from male-headed households, and in two cases from female-headed households. Eighteen children are involved; fifteen from male-headed and three from female-headed households. These figures are correlated with the conjugal status of the parent(s) in Tables 19 and 20.

**Table 19: Conjugal Status of Parents in Male-Headed Households who Foster Children Elsewhere**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Status</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Total number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consensually Cohabiting</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20: Conjugal Status of Parents in Female-Headed Households who Foster Children Elsewhere**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjugal Status</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Total number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extra-Residential</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 indicates whether the children fostered from the male-headed households belong to one parent only or both in that household, and if to one parent, which one.
Table 21: Parentage of Children Fostered From Male-Headed Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of Parent</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>Number of households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjugal Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensually Cohabiting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fostering occurs mainly from male-headed households, and here it applies primarily to outside children (eleven households and thirteen children) rather than to children who belong to both spouses (two households and two children). Among these households, fostering occurs slightly more frequently from households where the child's parent(s) is living in consensual cohabitation rather than married (seven cases and nine children of the former as opposed to six cases and six children of the latter).

No children belonging to both spouses are fostered out from households based on marriage, but few belonging to both spouses are fostered from households based on consensual cohabitation either (only two cases and and two children).

The same number of cases and of children (one each) fostered out occur with reference to the man's outside children from both types of household. And in both types of household the majority of cases of children fostered out are of the woman's outside children; the number of households from which this occurs being slightly higher among those based on marriage.
(five as opposed to four based on consensual cohabitation), but the actual number of children fostered being slightly higher among those households based on consensual cohabitation (six as opposed to five from those based on marriage).

Apart from the absence of fostering of children of both spouses from households based on marriage, then, the conjugal status of the parent is not seen to be particularly significant regarding the fostering out of children. The most significant clustering is rather seen to be around that of the woman's outside children, virtually regardless of her present conjugal status (nine households and eleven children as opposed to two households and two children in the case of the outside children of men).

The predominance of the fostering out of the woman's outside children in such households might lead one to expect that there would be a higher percentage of the man's outside children living in the home. As was seen from Table 9 however, this is not the case. These two apparently contradictory trends can be explained by the fact that the outside children of males generally remain with their mothers, (such an arrangement not being considered fostering). This tendency is supported by the data on 'Single' household heads which shows that while a large percentage of such female heads have their young children living with them, four out of seven such male heads live alone.

Table 22 shows with whom the eighteen children fostered out from both male and female-headed households are fostered.
Table 22: Classification of foster parents with whom children are fostered out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of foster parent</th>
<th>Number of children fostered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Grandmother</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Grandfather</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Uncle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Grandmother</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Aunt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified &quot;relatives&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's friend (unrelated)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the eighteen children from sample households who are fostered out elsewhere, seven are fostered with their maternal grandmother; two with their maternal grandfather; one with a maternal uncle; four with their paternal grandmother; two with a paternal aunt; one with "relatives" whose actual relationship was not specified; and one with a friend of the mother. Of the seventeen children fostered with relatives, then, ten are fostered with maternal relatives, and six with paternal relatives, with one case not classified. And of the sixteen classified, eleven children are fostered with a grandmother, two with a grandfather, and three with a parent's sibling. The two main trends in such fostering can therefore be isolated as fostering with a grandparent (thirteen cases), and fostering with a maternal relative (ten cases), (this bias towards the maternal side being further supported by the case of fostering with the mother's friend). These conclusions are supported
by the fact that the inclusive category of 'maternal grandparent' as foster parent occurs nine times, that is in fifty percent of such cases, and that the largest single category of foster parent occurring is that of maternal grandmother (seven cases).

Table 23 shows where the eighteen children fostered out live.

Table 23: Place of Residence of Children Fostered Out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>River Village</td>
<td>3 + probably 2 more*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere in Parish</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parishes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Rural Parishes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The place of residence was not stated with regard to these two children; however they both live in the same household, and since one of these children attends the River Village infant school, it is likely that they live in the village.

Table 23 shows that thirteen of the eighteen children fostered out live outside the village, and that of these only four live elsewhere in the parish, nine living in other parishes. Such fostering is indicative of the wide spread of kinship ties beyond the village, and of the mobility of the population.

The 'explanation' of family structure

The 'economic' explanation of mating patterns will now be considered.

The various economic prerequisites for marriage which have been suggested in the literature include one's own house; own land; the man's
regular employment and higher than average occupational status; and a sufficient income for the wife not to go out to work, as well as to enable the wife not to have to do any housework, employing a servant instead.

Due to the difficulty of quantifying the interrelationship between these several variables, my argument will be illustrated by cases rather than tables. The variable of house ownership as an economic prerequisite for marriage will first be considered.

While the data on current house tenure of the thirty married couples strongly supports the economic determinist hypothesis - twenty-eight out of the thirty couples (93.3%) owning their house - twelve of the twenty-one consensually cohabiting couples (57.1%) also own their house, some having done so for many years. A thirteenth consensually cohabiting couple also owns a house (the man's), in which they had lived for a time, having however since moved, now living in a rented house and renting his own house out.

In addition, not all of the married couples who now live in their own house have in fact lived in their own house for the entire duration of their marriage. The Os, for example, live in their own house - built on the Farm House Scheme - on one acre of family land inherited by Mr. O. from his father. However, the building of the house was not even begun until four years after they married. During these four years they had lived in Maintown in a rented house; and during the period when the house was being built they lived elsewhere in the village, also as tenants.

The AFs are another example of a couple who lived in a rented house when they first got married, although they have their own home now, built on half an acre of land inherited by Mr. AF from his maternal aunt. Although he had inherited this land about five years before his marriage he did not build his own house until two years after the marriage, the couple living meanwhile in a rented room; they had not rented the house-spot,
The Ps have been married for twenty-five years and now live in their own home on Mrs. P's family land. This house, however, was only built six years ago; for the first three of these years they had lived in Maintown, where they had lived for much of their previous married life in a rented house. They then had the house transported to the village where they have lived for the past three years.

The ADs have been married for twenty-nine years and also now live in their own home which they built on land which Mrs. AD inherited from her father. The house, however, was built seven years after their marriage, and during this time they had lived elsewhere in the village in a rented house; they had not rented the house-spot.

The Ts, who have been married for eight years, now live in their own three-roomed wooden house on one square of leased land. They have, however, only lived here for the past two and a half years, and when they first moved here only one room had been finished, the remainder being completed during the time they have lived there. They had lived for approximately three of the years prior to this move in rented rooms elsewhere in the village.

Mr. X. is one of the 'Single' male household heads, having been separated from his wife for eight years after being married to her for fourteen years. He now lives in his own house - built by "trusting some lumber" from someone - on his sister's land. This house was only built three years ago, however, and before this he was living in Maintown in a rented room.

Mrs. CO, one of the female household heads (Widowed/Married) lives in her own house on land inherited from her father. When she married, however, her husband owned neither house nor land. For the first twelve years of their union they had lived in another parish where Mr. CO. had been employed on a property. They had lived at his place of work for this
entire time, marrying halfway through this period. After returning to
the village, they lived on Mr. CO's father's premises with his parents
for a few months, and then moved to live at their present spot with Mrs. CO's
widowed mother who was alive at the time. The developmental progression
of the CO's union then was, at least to some extent, independent of the
variable of resources. This point is more marked when it is noted that
Mr. CO, who was much older than his wife, had in fact been married before,
being subsequently widowed. For if his previous 'Married' status had been
dependent on his economic position, then the developmental pattern which
Mrs. CO describes, with a period of six to seven years of consensual
cohabitation during which their three children were born, would surely have
been unnecessary.

There are yet other couples, who though they owned their house - as
well as house-spot - when they married, had also owned it for some time
previous to marriage, during which time they had cohabited consensually.

The Zs, for example, live in Mrs. Z's house on half an acre of land
which she inherited from her paternal uncle. Their conjugal union, which
has lasted for fifteen years, has progressed through a preliminary stage of
six years when they resided duolocally, to a consensual stage of three
years before they finally married six years ago; - she at the age of fifty-
three, and he at sixty-eight. While the economic resources at the disposal
of the couple are primarily Mrs. Z's (she owns both land and house) it
can be noted that the variable of house-spot tenure remained constant (the
land having been inherited over thirty years ago) while the union progressed
through the usual stages. Mrs. Z has also owned a house throughout the
entire union; during the preliminary duolocal stage, however, she had lived
in a smaller one-roomed wooden house on the same land. Then her son built
her present house for her (concrete, four rooms) and she moved here from the
smaller house nine years ago. While there has been an improvement in the
type of house available to the couple, then, it must be noted that this change in fact coincides with the transition of their union from the duolocal to consensual stage, marriage not occurring until three years later. In addition, Mrs. Z has, for the entire duration of the union, also owned another house on another piece of inherited land in the village. While the variable of resources, then, seems to some extent irrelevant in this context, positive correlations exist - both with regard to the progressive development of Mrs. Z's current union, and of her overall conjugal career (she having had seven children prior to this union by three other unions: ER - GC - ER) - with the typical movement towards greater stability in conjugal relations in the later part of the developmental cycle, with marriage occurring at a late age.

Mrs. F. is one of the female household heads, being temporarily separated from her husband due to his emigration abroad. The first child was born during the preliminary extra-residential stage of their union, during which time Mr. F. was living in Maintown and Mrs. F. for the most part was living at her mother's house in a village a few miles away. At around this time Mr. F. purchased a piece of land in the latter village and built a house there, the couple subsequently moving there together to set up a consensual union, and Mrs. F. states that they did not marry until "long after" they moved into their house. During this consensual stage, which lasted approximately five years, two more children were born to the couple. They married when their third child was three months old. Several years later they moved to River Village where Mr. F. had purchased a second piece of land and built their present house.

The Ds - whose union has lasted so far for a total of fifty-seven years (ER (one year) - CC (thirty years) - M (twenty-six years)) - purchased their present house-spot, with a house on it, in 1922 - "long years"
(twenty-one years in fact) before they married. In 1940 they repaired and extended the house (adding two rooms), and after this was done, they felt that they might as well settle down, so had married in 1943, after thirty years of consensual cohabitation, he at the age of forty-six, and she at forty-nine.

The ABs are another example of a couple who married after several years of consensual cohabitation (about thirty years), although owning a house and house-spot for some time before marriage. At present they live in Mrs. AB's house on one of her three pieces of inherited land in the village. This is family land, but she is the only heir to use it. The couple have been living there for about three years and have been married for about a year. Prior to this they had first lived in a rented house (they had not rented the house-spot) for about nine months, then on another plot of Mrs. AB's father's land in the family house (her father being alive at the time, but living elsewhere). Then they had lived on another piece of land bought by Mrs. AB, in a house built there by the latter. She had subsequently sold that land and they had then moved to their present spot where they fixed the house up better.

In the two examples given above of the Ds and the ABs, we see a couple consolidating an extremely stable consensual union with marriage — in the case of the Ds, in their late forties; in the case of the ABs, even older, both being 'over 60' at the time of field work — which was approximately a year after their marriage; — this consolidation being independent of the variables of house and house-spot tenure, but being associated with the repair or extension of the house. And yet in other cases similar improvements had not been undertaken until after marriage.

When the As married twenty-five years ago, for example, they continued to live in the one-roomed wooden house on their present house-spot (where they had previously lived for nearly two years in consensual cohabitation) until shortly before Mr. A's death twenty-seven years later in 1972 at the
age of seventy-six. At the time of field work they were building a four-roomed Farm House on the same land, and when it was eventually completed they had moved there. Since the time of field work, the As' adult daughter and her boyfriend had also built a third house on the land which is in fact of a better standard than the parents' old house (being a two-roomed wooden house), and yet the younger couple are living in a consensual union - as is of course characteristic of their age group. (The daughter was twenty-seven in 1972; at the time of field work both she and her brother (then twenty-one) and her three children had all lived with the parents in the latter's one-roomed house.)

Another informant, Mrs. AN, told me that she and her husband had got their own house nine years after marriage, prior to that "living in rent house all round". On closer examination of the data, however, it appears possible that she might have been referring to the extension of their one-roomed wooden house, which occurred several years after their marriage. At any rate, at some point before this extension took place they had built a one-roomed house from materials given to them by Mr. AN's employer (who had in fact raised him as a child); the couple being allowed to build the house on this employer's land. Subsequently, however, they removed the house to a relative's land, where they acted as caretakers. It was after this move - which was several years after their marriage - that the addition of the second room took place. Even at this point, however, this extension had been financially difficult, and the room - though of wood - took about a year to build, the finances for this venture being collected gradually over this period by "dropping a little parner" (that is, taking part in a short-term savings arrangement of the kind described in Chapter 4). The tenure of this house-spot was also insecure, and by 1972 they had again removed their house to another spot which they also do not own.
The AKs, who had had an extra-residential relationship for twenty-one years ("we don't live straight out - we go and come") before finally marrying had started building their house "in a rush" (on land bought about three years prior to marriage) because they had had nowhere to live after a hurricane. After they had finished two rooms, "we decide to settle and marry", which they did after living in the house consensually for less than a year. Since marrying they have enlarged the house to its present size of five rooms, and in 1968 - twenty-one years after their marriage - additions were still being made to the house.

The standard of the house, then, is another variable which can be considered at this point in relation to conjugal status. Some of the married couples do own bigger and stronger houses than those living consensually; however the best house in the sample (concrete with nine rooms) is in fact owned by a man who is living consensually.

While two-thirds (eight of the twelve owned houses that are lived in) of the houses owned by consensual couples are made of wood rather than stone, seventeen of the twenty-eight houses owned by the married couples are also of wood. And while ten of the twelve houses owned by consensual couples are three rooms or less in size (three being one-roomed: all wooden; two being two-roomed: all wooden; five being three-roomed: three wooden, two of stone;) sixteen of those owned by the married couples are also three rooms or less (three being one-roomed: all wooden; four being two-roomed: three wooden, one of stone; ten being three-roomed: six wooden, four of stone.) In addition, the two married couples who live in rented premises both live in one-roomed houses, in one case wooden, in the other of stone.

While more of the married couples, then, tend to have better houses than those living consensually, some of the consensual couples do in fact have houses that are as good as, and in some cases better than, some of the married couples.

And while in the Ds' case referred to above the long-standing ownership
of both house-spot and house was not considered sufficient for marriage, the standard of the house also being important - they had had to "fix the house as big family would come after the wedding" - another informant, Mr. AC., who had considered it necessary to own his house before marriage, was not particular about the standard required ("if it's even two sticks jammed together"), and had not in fact owned his house-spot before he married, building his house on rented land. In this case, then, it was the factor of ownership qua ownership of the house that was important to him, as against tenancy:

"Tenantry never suited me; - can never private. After you have you' own house you don't have to fret."

This man had never in fact lived in this first house that he built, for as soon as it was finished he was transferred to another job by the Government, which brought him to River Village, and he lived there in Government premises until his retirement, renting out his own house. And in fact the couple had lived in these Government premises for a few years before actually marrying.

Another informant pointed out that although it was "not a permanent saying" that a couple should own a house before marriage, that most preferred to, so as "not to have the weekly burden of paying rent."

Such cases show that status considerations are not the only ones in house ownership; practical considerations are also important. And for example another couple - who had three years before they married, purchased their house-spot with an old shop on it (which they converted into a house), living there for two years before they married, said that they had bought this property because "it's hard to be paying rent". They in fact now have a second house on the land, and although this is of a better standard than their own house - the former being a six-roomed concrete house, the latter a five-roomed wooden one, - they continue to live in the first house, keeping the second for renting out.
Seven of the twelve consensual couples who live in their own home also have secure tenure of their house-spot, with an additional two purchasing their house-spot on a lease and sale arrangement, while six of the married couples who own their home do not in fact have secure tenure of their house-spot, with a seventh being in the process of purchasing theirs on a lease and sale agreement. The two married couples who do not live in their own house do not rent the house-spot. Regarding the combined variables of house and house-spot ownership then, many consensually cohabiting couples are as well off or better off than some married couples.

Mr. CQ. and Miss CP, for example, have been friendly for a total of twenty-five years, having lived consensually for the past eighteen years. They have lived in their present three-roomed concrete house for the past eight years - since Mr. CQ's mother died and he inherited rights to both house and house-spot (two and one-half squares.) Although the land is family land, Mr. CQ. is the only one of his mother's six children to use it, and he alone pays the taxes. This gives him added security of possession, although he recognises the latent claims of his siblings. Despite these resources, however, the couple's union - though progressing in stability - has not yet been consolidated by marriage. Their union is in fact the stab¬lest of the current consensual unions, this being compatible with the fact that they are among the oldest of the relevant couples (he being fifty, she forty-eight.) Their ages and the stability of their union to date therefore indicate that the union will at some point probably be consolidated by marriage. And if marriage does occur, it will be seen to be independent of the variables of ownership of house and house-spot, since these pre¬ requisites have long since been satisfied.

Miss BY. and Mr. BZ. have been friendly for fourteen years, having lived consensually for the past twelve years. For the past two years they have been living in his own three-roomed wooden house built on his mother's land.
His mother is still alive, but his tenure to the land is secure, for the mother - who lives on another piece of land in the village - told me that his children are among the heirs, and that he himself can always live there.

Mention can here also be made of one of Mr. BZ's younger maternal half-brothers, Mr. CJ, who also lives on this land, in a separate house. Though not actually in the sample himself, Mr. CJ. is closely associated with four other households in it - Mr. BZ's; his mother's; that of his past consensual mate who had recently left him to set up a female-headed household with their children elsewhere in the village, because of his extra-residential relationship with another woman - another female household head in the sample. While the house in which Mr. CJ. lives is his mother's, she has long since moved out of it, and is living on another piece of land in the village which she inherited, in a house built for her by another of her sons. Although she still owns the house and land then, Mr. CJ's tenure of the land is secure for similar reasons referred to above in association with Mr. BZ's case. Despite this, however, the former's current union is extra-residential and his recent stabler union (which had lasted eight years) was consensual. This oscillation in his conjugal career being compatible with his age (thirties) rather than his economic resources.

In two cases (one with an owned house on bought land; the other with an owned house on land being purchased) one of the consensual spouses had previously been married; but in at least one of these cases the spouse is now free to re-marry.

There are also other cases among the female-headed households where despite the ownership of a house, or a house and land, a previous consensual union had dissolved rather than being consolidated by marriage. Miss BA, for example, recently separated from a consensual union with a man with whom she had associated for nine years, had helped to finance the house built by her and this man; she is at present, however, living in a rented room.
This is similar to the case of Miss CK, also one of the younger women still in the transitional stage of her conjugal career, who is at present in the early extra-residential stage of her fourth union. Miss CK's third union has been her stablest so far, for although it was the same length as her second (just under ten years) it had, unlike the latter, evolved into a consensual stage when the couple had bought their own land together and started building their own house. After living on their own land for three years however (at first in a "little room" for two years while the house was being built, and subsequently in the new house for a year, although it was not finished) the union dissolved. Despite the increasing consolidation of their resources, then (and in addition, the man is a skilled manual worker - an occupational status higher than average) the pattern both of that union and Miss CK's overall conjugal career (ER - ER - CC - ER) is more closely correlated with the nature of conjugal relations characteristic of her age group (she is thirty-seven) than her economic resources.

Similar to this is the case of Miss CW, another female household head, now mating extra-residentially with her former consensual mate. At present she is living in a rented room, where her mate visits her. He owns his house, however, in Mantown, and for the last two or three years of the couple's consensual union they had in fact lived in that house together. The consensual union - which had lasted for fourteen years, following a duolocal period of about five years - had temporarily broken down, and is now being resumed through extra-residential mating, the type of mating typical of the first unstable stage of many unions. This seems to be indicative of the importance of the various types of mating pattern within an individual conjugal relationship or overall conjugal career; stages, which appear to be intrinsically sanctioned as appropriate with at least some independence from economic variables.
Finally, with reference to the variables of house and house-spot tenure, it can be noted that in the three cases where consensual couples were known to have consolidated their union by marriage by 1972, that in all cases the couple had previously owned their house, where they had lived consensually for periods of five years in one case and approximately eleven years in the other two. (In one of these cases an additional room was being built on a loan at the time of field work.) In addition, the tenure of the house-spot had, in all three cases, remained the same; in one case the man had owned the land which he had purchased from before the beginning of the couple's union (which had lasted for thirteen years prior to marriage); in another case the couple live on the man's mother's land, but he is designated one of the co-heirs and can live there as long as he wants. When he married, his mother was still alive and living in another house on the land. And in the third case the couple were still living on a leased house-spot: "Don't get anywhere to buy yet."

While some of the married men undoubtedly have some of the more regular, higher status jobs such as P.W.D. or Parish Council cartman/sideman/driver; water operator (one being Chief Water Operator for the area); gang supervisor at one of the nearby tourist resorts; mechanic; carpenter; - there are others who have irregular or low status occupations too.

Mr. AU, for example, who has been married for six years, has worked "on and off" as a labourer at the building site of one of the nearby tourist resorts for the past year. He also cultivates a ground which he has had for a year and a half. The cultivation is about one and a half acres, but the land is free land and therefore relatively insecurely held. Other than this he does

"Just any little thing around I get to do; - if I get a day's work on the road, I go and do it; if I get a little piece of grass, I'll go and clean it. Anything just to make a shilling. No regular job."
He has also been away on the Farm Work migrant labour scheme twice for short periods; at least one of these trips being prior to his marriage.

Mr. AI. has been married for twenty-eight years, but is however only a "common labourer" with irregular employment:

"Him work at the road, bushing and weeding road; anything at all that him get. Work for the Government [Parish Council]. Is not day work, [1] and him can finish it in three or four days;" being paid for this work by the "job" rather than the "day". Sometimes he also works as a stevedore. In addition he cultivates; he has cultivated several grounds in the past, (all of which were rented or free land, and therefore relatively insecurely held) and at present cultivates an acre of free land with bananas, dasheen and cane, sending two truck-loads of cane per annum to the factory. Again, however, he has no guaranteed security of tenure to the land he cultivates.

Mr. T's only occupation is cultivator; the land he cultivates however is only two squares of squatted land - small in area and insecure in tenure. He has however been married for eight years. Mr N. is:

"Just a common labourer...might get a little work this week at the Public Works; another two or three weeks... don't get anything."

The work is irregular and includes jobs such as weeding roads or working on a truck. He also cultivates a ground - three quarters of an acre of squatted land; again this is small in area and insecurely held. Occasionally he also does river fishing. He has been married for over eleven years.

Mr. AH, who has been married for seventeen years, is also a "common labourer", employed irregularly by the Government to do "pasture work" (that is cleaning pastures) and sometimes earning £2 to £3 per week. He has no other source of employment and does not cultivate.

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1) For a discussion of the differences between "job" and "day" work, see Smith, M.G. 1956(c) _op cit._
Mr. X. is one of the 'Single' males - having been separated from his wife for the past eight years after having been married for fourteen years. His occupations include agricultural labouring, stevedore, cultivator, and selling "snow-cones". His most constant occupation has been the agricultural labouring - itself irregular. He has also been selling ice cones for a long time, from before he was married. He owns his own ice-cart, selling the cones mainly on market days in Maintown, maybe making a pound a week. This too is therefore not a very lucrative occupation. The stevedore work is the best paid, but this is extremely irregular. The cultivating has been rather sporadic and on insecurely held land; of this occupation he said:

"The little farming, it don't help you to that, because it got no foundation behind it."

He no longer cultivates. When he was younger (he is now sixty-two) he moved around this area of the island in search of work - to "Look a foundation, and couldn't find none." Nevertheless he has been married, despite his insecure occupational basis.

Likewise, while some of the consensually cohabiting males have the type of low status irregular employment described in the cases above, others have more secure, higher status employment.

Mr. BW, for example, has his own mechanic's business with apprentices, but is only forty-two and is living in consensual cohabitation.

Mr. W., though cultivating on insecurely held land, also has a supervisory job at the building site of one of the tourist resorts in the vicinity. He is thirty-nine and living in consensual cohabitation.

Mr. U. is a Headman on a property, where he has been employed for the past thirty-five years. He is, in addition, a landlord, in that he leases out about a square of his own house-spot to another villager. He is, in fact, sixty-four, being the oldest of the consensually cohabiting males.

Mr. AX. is a carpenter in the building business. He is thirty-nine and has been living consensually with his mate for at least the past fifteen years of their twenty-year union, having had seven children by her.
Mr. BM. is also a carpenter/contracter who used to work for a firm but is now self-employed. His work involves a lot of travelling and so he has a car (itself unusual for a villager.) He is forty-two.

Mr. CY. is a sideman on a truck, employed by the P.W.D. on a regular basis with weekly pay. As sidelines he is also a cultivator and self-employed butcher. He is forty-four.

Yet another consensually cohabiting male owns his own truck, being a self-employed truck-driver; he is forty-five.

Mr. BZ. has regular employment with a national firm as an electrician, being paid monthly. Although he has been promoted from a weekly to a monthly paid employee during his present consensual union (which has lasted fourteen years in all during twelve of which the couple have lived consensually), he has been employed by the same firm from before he met his present mate. He is in his early forties.

While many of the married women are just housewives (many doing their own housework, with help from their children in some cases) several of the consensually cohabiting women are also only housewives, not going out to work. (In both cases the former occupation may include the sale of produce from the household’s cultivation. Such selling, although considered a separate occupation elsewhere, will not be so treated here as it is common to so many households. Higgling, however, will be so treated.)

In addition, women of both conjugal categories work as self-employed dressmakers, and one of the married women had worked as a self-employed shop-keeper for several years after her marriage, giving it up due to ill-health. (Own account shop-keeping is an occupation shared by three other women in the sample, one 'Separated/Married' and two 'Separated/Consensual Cohabitation'; one of these latter at least, being so employed during a stable consensual union.)
Higgling - another self-employed occupation - shared by five women in the sample, also shows no positive correlation with any particular conjugal status. Of the four women who still higgles at present, two are married (one however only higgles on a very small-scale), one is living consensually, with the fourth being a 'Single' household head ('Separated/ER or CC'); and the fifth, now retired, is also a 'Single' woman ('Separated/CC').

Although more of the consensually cohabiting than married women 'work out' (primarily as domestics) a few of the married women do have work which takes them outside the home. For example Mrs. F., who has been married for twenty-five years, is employed at a Government institution as head laundress. She works six days a week, and has been working there for sixteen years. Mrs. AT. works seasonally as an agricultural labourer, and has also worked as a domestic for some of the time since her marriage.

Both married and consensually cohabiting housewives may also take occasional employment such as "relief work" which is given by the Government at Christmas-time, or temporary nurse-maid work with middle/upper class families in the vicinity. In addition, both married and consensually cohabiting housewives sometimes stated that they would work if they could find a job. For example, Miss CG, a housewife who is living consensually, said that if she could get a job her mother would take the children; but that she 'can't find any comfortable work'. Similarly Mrs. AI, who has been married for twenty-eight years, said that she would work if she could "get a little work that I can manage", adding however "but I never taught up to do any and any work."

On the basis of observation it can be noted that most of the women appear to do at least much of their own house-work, regardless of conjugal status. And for example, Mrs. D., the second longest-married woman in the sample, though now seventy-five, still does the household's cooking and laundry, though she has to get someone to do the cleaning and ironing since she cannot manage these chores due to the "arthritis pain" in her foot.
Various component variables in the composite variable of socio-economic status have been considered in relation to that of conjugal status. It was seen, for example, that while the current house tenure of the married couples supports the economic determinist hypothesis, that on the other hand over half of the consensually cohabiting couples also live in their own house. In addition, not all of the married couples who at present live in their own house have done so for the entire duration of their marriage; yet others had owned their house - as well as house-spot - for some time prior to marriage, during which time they had lived consensually.

Regarding the combined variables of house and house-spot tenure, many of the consensually cohabiting couples were seen to be as well off, and in some cases better off, than some of the married couples.

The standard of houses was also considered in relation to conjugal status, and it was seen that while some married couples undoubtedly have bigger and stronger houses than those living consensually, that in other cases the latter have houses similar in type and size to many married couples. The variable of house-improvement was also seen to cross-cut that of conjugal status.

With reference to occupations, the variable of irregular/regular and high/low status occupation was seen to cross-cut the variable of conjugal status in the case of the males; while those of housewife/self-employed/‘working out’ were similarly seen to cross-cut that of the females. In addition, most women do their own housework, regardless of conjugal status.

When these component variables are considered in relation to the composite variable of socio-economic status in particular cases, a variety of combinations are apparent.

In some cases a couple may have relatively high socio-economic status in some respects, with low socio-economic status in others.

In the case of the AIs, for example, who have been married for
twenty-eight years, Mr. AI. has purchased two adjoining plots of land (totalling one and a quarter acres), building his house on one plot - though the house is five-roomed, it is made of wood - but is still a "common labourer" with irregular employment, and cultivates on insecurely held land. While Mrs. AI. has only 'worked out' in a very limited sense - supervising Relief Work for a short spell - she would work if she could get something suitable, and she and her adult daughters do the housework.

In the case of the As, who have been married for twenty-five years, while Mr. A. is a retired carpenter and owns his house-spot and house (inherited), also leasing house-spots on his land to villagers, he and his wife had, up until the time of field work, lived in an old one-roomed wooden house, and at that time their two adult children and three grandchildren also lived there with them. Mrs. A. has stopped work since she married, but she and her daughter do housework.

The Hs, another married couple, own their house - but it is wooden and only has two rooms - and Mr. H. has a regular job as a mechanic at a sugar estate (having a relatively high occupational status). However they live on a leased house-spot, and are still saving to buy their own land. Mrs. H. does not "work out", but she does her housework: "Look after the house, cook and wash, and go to market..."

Miss BB. and Mr. BC, a consensually cohabiting couple, live in a rented house (and as noted in Chapter 4 none of the households living in rented accommodation rent the house-spot). Mr. BC, however, is a self-employed truck-driver, owning his truck, and Miss BB. does not go out to work.

In other cases the composite variable of socio-economic status is positively correlated with the variable of conjugal status in a way which supports the economic determinist hypothesis. Perhaps the two strongest cases in support of this hypothesis are those of the AQs and the ASs (although even in these cases there are qualifications.)
The ASs have been married for over twenty years, and own their house-spot and house - which is large, with all facilities inside, and with much of it built of concrete, although it has been built in stages. They also own a car and television. Mr. AS. started his working career as a carpenter, and is now a driver for the P.W.D. Although Mrs. AS. is not employed, she used to keep their shop for several years. This, however, is a high-status occupation. However, she also does her own housework: "Domestic work - washing, cooking, looking after poultry."

The AQs have been married for sixteen years and live on bought land in their own large concrete house. Mr. AQ. is a Public Health Inspector, and owns a car. Mrs. AQ. is not employed; however she does her own housework: "Cooking, washing and baking, look about the children, clean, do general tidying", also doing her own marketing.

It can be noted, however, that while these cases support, in general, the economic determinist hypothesis, that in some ways these couples can be classified as middle-class; - Mr. AQ's occupation, for example, probably carries the highest status in the entire sample. The couples' attitudes and style of life also mark them as part of the village élite, thus showing that a certain degree of internal socio-economic differentiation is present within the village. In addition, these two couples are among the six who display the developmental pattern in their conjugal unions similar to the middle-class pattern - with marriage early in the union. In one case the man had also been married before, showing an overall 'neutral' conjugal career; and three of these four adults have no outside children, one however showing an overall progressive developmental conjugal career.

However this economic correlation contrasts with at least three of the four remaining cases where couples show the similar developmental pattern of early marriage in their current union. For although all four of these couples now live in their own house, at least three had lived in a rented
house for some years of their marriage. There are also further variations with regard to these three cases themselves which makes any generalisation regarding this type of conjugal pattern and economic variables difficult. In one case no outside children were reported for either spouse; in another, each of the spouses has three outside children by three other unions. In the man's case all these children were born since his marriage, by extra-residential unions concurrent with marriage. In the woman's case only one outside child had been born by a union concurrent with marriage (extra-residential), the fact that the other two children were born by non-legal unions prior to marriage showing the normal type of progressive developmental pattern in her overall conjugal career, with the variation of: ER - CC - M.

In the third case, although the couple had married early in their union, they had both married late in their overall conjugal career, both having had outside children by previous non-legal unions. Thus in the case of both spouses the overall conjugal career shows the normal progressive developmental pattern (ER/CC - M in the woman's case; CC - CC - M in the man's, with increased stability from the first to second union - as well as from these to the third - as the second union was longer than the first, and also since while the first was for the most part extra-residential, most of the second union was co-residential.) In addition, both spouses were of advanced age when they married.

And any basic generalization regarding conjugal patterns and economic variables is further defied by the fact that while these three cases are similar to one of the three cases where, - though the consensual stage had been completely or virtually omitted, marriage had not come early in the union, coming rather after an extended period of extra-residential association, - in that this couple had also married before owning their house, yet the other two couples in this category did own a house (as well as house-spot) when they eventually married.
There are also other cases where the correlation between socio-economic status and conjugal status could be compatible with an economic determinist explanation of mating patterns.

Miss CE. and Mr. CF's case could, for example, be compatible with this hypothesis. They live consensually in a rented room. Miss CE. does not work, although she has done so at some point in the past, but Mr. CF. is "just a hard labourer" - working irregularly as a stevedore, or as an agricultural labourer by the "job". They have lived together "quite a good while", although Miss CE. is not certain of the exact period - but approximately fifteen years. Neither is she certain of their exact ages, but she is approximately in her late forties, with her mate possibly a little older.

Miss CU. and Mr. CV. are another consensually cohabiting couple who live in a rented room. Miss CU. sometimes works as a domestic, although she is not working at the present time. Mr. CV. does a variety of labouring jobs - working sometimes for the Government, and sometimes for private employers, such as, in the latter case, cutting cane. In addition he cultivates a ground on insecurely held land. This case however is also compatible with the normal type of developmental pattern in the overall conjugal career; for both Miss CU. and Mr. CV. are still in their twenties, and their union has only lasted so far for five years.

Mr. CD. and Miss DA. also live consensually in a rented room. Miss DA. does part-time domestic work (two days washing a week) for one of the older married women in the sample, and Mr. CD. is a labourer with irregular employment, also cultivating a ground on insecurely held land. Again, however, the couple are both in their twenties, with their union having lasted about six and a half years only so far; their present conjugal status is therefore also compatible with the earlier stage of the normal conjugal career.

Miss ED. and Mr. EE. also live consensually - in a rented one-roomed wooden house. With them also live their four very young children (two years, one year and twins of a few weeks) and Miss ED's eight-year old outside
daughter by a previous extra-residential union. Miss BD. is a housewife, being busy with the children, and Mr. BE. is only a "common labourer" who works at jobs such as pasture-chopping. Again, however, their conjugal status is compatible with the earlier stage of the normal conjugal career, the union having lasted about six years, with Mr. BE. only thirty, and Miss BD. twenty-eight. The latter's outside daughter by a previous extra-residential union being evidence also of the beginning of an overall progressive developmental conjugal career. On my return visit in 1972 I learned that this union had in fact dissolved; this also being compatible with the couple's ages, and the concomitant fact that they are still in the earlier unstable stage of their conjugal careers.

The case of the Cs, a couple who have been married for over twenty years, although it is compatible with the economic hypothesis, brings out the point that it might sometimes be misleading to draw conclusions from a purely synchronic correlation between a couple's conjugal status and economic resources. For Mr. C. has the largest area of land under cultivation of the entire sample. Although this is relatively insecurely held, it is nevertheless leased, which provides more security than free or squatted land. He has leased three pieces of land - four acres, five acres and ten acres in size, much of which is planted in cane which he sells to a nearby sugar factory. In addition to owning his house and house-spot, (the latter, purchased) he also owns a second piece of bought land in the village, with two "tenant houses" which he rents out.

While he did marry shortly after purchasing his house-spot and building his own house, the rest of his economic resources have been built up since marriage. For he purchased the second piece of land and became a landlord subsequent to marriage, and has only leased the three pieces of land in the past eight years - although he has been married for over twenty years - building up the acreage of this leased land gradually even during this recent period. And by the time he did in fact go into cane farming, he was in fact
over fifty.

Mrs. C. does not "work out", being a housewife; in addition to his occupation of cane farmer, however, Mr. C. is also a stevedore - an irregular occupation which was previously seen to cross-cut conjugal status.

The case of Mr. AC, one of the biggest landlords in the sample, brings out a similar point. He has been married for thirty years after a consensual period of seventeen years. He owns three pieces of bought land and nine houses. As mentioned previously, he had built his own house previous to marriage, because he considered this a necessary prerequisite to marriage. This house had first been built on rented land, and then moved to someone else's land, where - because Mr. AC. acted as care-taker and rent-collector for this person - he was allowed to use the house-spot free of charge. One or two years after his marriage, Mr. AC. had purchased this land (one to two squares) along with another (one-roomed) house on it. Several years later he purchased another piece of land (one square), this time in River Village, with a two-roomed house on it, about four years later purchasing the third piece (half an acre) which in fact adjoins the second, with an "old shell" of a house on it. This was about ten years ago. The latter the couple had repaired, while still living in Government premises which went with Mr. AC's job - a regular job which he had held from some years before he was married - moving there after Mr. AC's retirement, about eight years ago. By the time of field work he had also built two little wooden houses on his own house-spot for rental and an additional one on the adjoining piece. And by 1972 there was an additional house on his own house-spot. He also reported an additional house in Maintown. By this time, then, he was renting out eight little houses; but by this time he was seventy-two.

Finally, there are cases where the component variables add up to give a composite socio-economic status which is altogether incompatible with an economic determination of conjugal status.
For example, Mr. BV. and Miss BU. live in their own house - which is in fact the largest in the sample, being a nine-roomed concrete house. Mr. BV's tenure to the house-spot is secure, for although at present it belongs to his mother - and will do so until her death - not only did the latter tell me that he can live there as long as he wants ("Him can live there till him dead") but he has also been designated one of the heirs by placing his name on the Title. (He is, in fact, the only one of the potential co-heirs who has remained on the land.) The standard of the facilities in the house is much above that of the average villager (married or otherwise) - such facilities including a television, fridge, gas stove, and running water inside the house. The couple also have a much larger stock of poultry than most households, having about five dozen fowls - probably the biggest poultry farm in the sample. In addition, Mr. BV. is a self-employed mechanic, running his own business (with apprentices) on another piece of land which he has purchased a few miles from the village. Miss BU. does not have a job, remaining in the home to look after the children and the house, and in fact another member of the sample is employed to do the household's laundry.

In 1968 their conjugal union had lasted so far for nineteen years, the couple having lived duolocally for the first year, she at her father's house in another village, he at his mother's house on the same land - and consensually for the past eighteen years. During this time they have had ten children together, the birth of their first child coinciding approximately with the transition of the union from the extra-residential to consensual stage. During the latter stage the couple have lived in three different houses, all in River Village; the first two were rented, and they lived there for periods of four and five years respectively, subsequently living in their present house for the past eight or nine years.

Mr. BV. has no outside children, but Miss BU. has one - by a short extra-residential union prior to her present union. Her overall conjugal career therefore shows a progressive development from an unstable extra-residential union to an extremely stable consensual one.
This couple's conjugal status is clearly not compatible with an economic determinist explanation of mating patterns, for not only is every prerequisite satisfied - if this explanation were the case - but their composite socio-economic status is much higher than that of many of the married couples. On the other hand, their conjugal status is quite compatible with their age - Miss BU, is forty-two, and Mr. BV, thirty-eight - although both their ages and the stability of their union make it likely that they may consolidate their union by marriage at a later point, and this was in fact seen to be so by 1972. For the couple had married late in 1970 - almost exactly two years after I had collected this material. At the time of their marriage, then, they had been living in their own house for ten or eleven years; Mr. BV, was forty and Miss BU, forty-four; and their union had endured for twenty-one years, twenty of which had been spent in consensual cohabitation. The consolidation of their union at this point was wholly compatible with the developmental pattern of the typical conjugal career - a movement towards increasing stability in conjugal relations - (in Mr. BV's case showing a neutral pattern and in Miss BU's a progressive one); and also of the developmental pattern within the majority of the current unions which have culminated in marriage, the pre-marital stage of twenty-one years in this union being as stable as that in most, and stabler than that in many of these unions (see Table 4, p.216). It can also be seen that their ages at marriage are comparable to the younger category of married couples (see Table 5, p.223).

It is important to note that in addition to the fact that they had lived in their own house for several years before marriage, that at the time of marriage Mr. BV's mother was still alive and living on the same land, and that his position regarding the tenure of the land had therefore remained the same.

Miss BU, and Mr. BZ, live in their own house (three-roomed wooden) built on Mr. BZ's mother's land to which he has secure tenure (see above, p.278).
In addition to this, Mr. BZ. has a good job as a regular salaried employee (electrician) with a well-known firm, and had in fact been working with this firm from before he met Miss BY. fourteen years ago (although he has during that time been promoted from a weekly to a monthly employee.) Miss BY. is not employed, "Just stay in the house and do a little housework." Their house is furnished at a higher standard than most villagers, for example they have a fridge.

They have been friendly for fourteen years, and have lived consensually for the past twelve. Their conjugal status, then, again seems to be more logically explained with reference to the normal developmental pattern in conjugal relations; for although their union shows increasing stability, a duration of fourteen years is less than the pre-marital stage of many of the current marital unions, and their ages (Mr. BZ. is in his early forties, and Miss BY. is only thirty-one) are comparable to those of many of the other consensual couples. Both factors of stability and age, then, are quite appropriate to consensual status.

Miss CZ. and Mr. U. have been friendly for twelve years, having lived consensually for the past eleven. They live in his own house on his own bought land (four squares). Mr. U. had in fact purchased this land before he met Miss CZ, having sold another piece of land with a house on it, which he alone had inherited from an aunt in another village, in order to purchase this present piece of land. He has also had the house, which was also purchased, for several years, although he is at present adding another room to it with a Government loan. For the first two years of their consensual union they had lived in a house provided on the property where he works. He holds a supervisory job there, and has been employed there for thirty-five years. They then lived in a rented house for a few months, despite the fact that he had his own house, which was at the time rented out. However they soon moved into the latter, and in 1968 had been living in his own house for the past ten years.
Apart from the fact that he is regularly employed, has a higher status job than most, owns his land and house — and has done so for several years, he is also a landlord leasing a piece of his land to another villager for a house-spot. He had also sold a piece of his land to a neighbour for a house-spot. He is also the sole wage-earner for the household, for Miss CZ. is just a housewife.

Their conjugal status is therefore again more logically explained with reference to the developmental pattern within their union — for with a consensual stage of eleven years and a total pre-marital stage so far of twelve years, the duration of the union, though indicating some stability, is not as long as the equivalent stages in many of the current marital unions. Miss CZ. is only thirty-three, and again her conjugal status is compatible with her age.

Mr. U. at sixty-four, is, however, the oldest of the consensually cohabiting males. Nevertheless, it is not unusual for persons to marry when they are over sixty (see for example, the case of the ABs above). And in fact by 1972 this couple had married (marrying in 1970), Mr. U. dying two years later. At the time of his death, then, the union had progressed through the three normal stages of: ER (one year) — CC (fourteen years) — M (two years).

Their conjugal careers also show a normal progressive developmental pattern, Mr. U. having had three previous unions (the first extra-residential, the next two consensual) and Miss CZ. having had two children by one previous consensual union. At the time of field work their overall conjugal patterns were coded as: ER — CC — CC and CC — CC respectively, his being progressive, hers being transitional, though in fact increasing in stability, since her first consensual union had only lasted five years. This diachronic view, then, which shows that these patterns culminated as: ER — CC — CC — M and CC — M respectively, bear out the type of progressive development postulated in the preceding analysis of conjugal patterns.

Mr. CY. (forty-four) and Miss CX. (thirty-nine) have been living in a
consensual union for the past nineteen years, having known each other for about twenty years altogether. They live in their own three-roomed wooden house on land which they are purchasing on a "lease and sale" agreement. In addition, Mr. CY. is employed in a regular job as sideman on a truck with the P.W.D. - in addition to his sideline occupations of self-employed butcher and cultivator (on their house-spot). Miss CX. does not "work out" (apart from having at one point taken two weeks temporary work as a nurse-maid) being just a housewife, and she is supported by her consensual mate. Although they have not yet purchased their house-spot, their composite socio-economic status is higher than that of some of the married couples - for example that of the Ts, who own their house but only lease their house-spot (not having been able to buy a previous leased house-spot also), with Mr. T. engaged in own-account cultivating on insecurely held land, and Mrs. T. self-employed as a higgler, which, she explained, is very hard work. Or that of the ATs, who live in a one-roomed rented house, with both spouses working as labourers. Mr. CY. and Miss CX's conjugal status is therefore more compatible with their ages than with their economic resources, with their union showing a typical progressive developmental pattern and increasing stability.

Mr. AY. (thirty-nine) in addition to owning his house for the past fifteen years and house-spot (purchased) for the past three years, is a self-employed carpenter in the building business. His current union has lasted for twenty years, the last fifteen at least of which have been consensual. Again his conjugal status is more compatible with his age (and his mate's, she is forty) than his composite socio-economic status, and their union shows increasing stability; - seven of his mate's eight children have been by him, and she told me that they had completed their family. (Her first child had been by a previous extra-residential union.) In 1972 this couple were still living in a consensual union.

Miss BL. and Mr. BM. have been friendly for a total of sixteen years,
first living duolocally, and now consensually. (The exact division of these stages is not clear, but the latter stage has lasted for at least six years.) They live in a rented house; from the economic determinist viewpoint then, their conjugal status would appear to be compatible with their resources. However, Mr. BM. owns a house outside of the village, where the couple had previously lived for a year (having subsequently lived in this present house for four years) and which he now rents out; it is not in fact known whether or not he owns the land that that house is on. In addition, Miss BL. owns an acre of bought land in her natal village, a few miles inland, much of which she cultivates in cane which she sells to a nearby factory. The occupational status of this couple is also better than most, since Mr. BM. is a self-employed carpenter/contractor with his own car as his work involves a lot of travelling. He also rents additional accommodation in another town for when he has to stay away from home due to his job. Although Miss BL. works, her occupational status is also high. For in addition to being a small cane farmer, she has a good job employed regularly as a seamstress for a high-class tourist shop in a nearby resort - this job enabling her in fact to work at home, where she has a cousin helping her. The conjugal status of this couple, then, appears to have a closer correlation with their ages - she is thirty-four, he is forty-two - and the duration of their union to date, than with their economic resources.

The case of Miss BW, one of the female household heads, who was deserted after a long and stable consensual union, is an example of a union which followed the normal progressive developmental pattern from extra-residential to consensual cohabitation, with the latter stage persisting for several years despite the relatively high composite socio-economic status of the couple; and in addition, shows the final disintegration of the union coinciding with the period of the greatest consolidation of resources - the conjugal pattern thus being independent of economic variables.
Miss BW. had had eleven children by this consensual mate, and their union had lasted at least twenty-two years. After a preliminary extra-residential period of three years, and just after the birth of their second child, Miss BW. left her parental home to set up a consensual union with her mate. The latter was a shop-keeper, and for many years they had kept shop together - "salt shop, rum shop, big shop - sell everything." At first they lived in a leased house and kept a leased shop; later, however, they had moved, and although they still leased the land, they built their own shop. In addition, about five years after establishing their consensual union, Miss BW's mate purchased three acres of land in River Village; this is larger than the average villager's house-spot. They had continued however, to live in another village, where they kept shop, their consensual union lasting about twelve years after this land was purchased. A house was finally built on this bought land after seventeen years of consensual cohabitation; the house is wooden, but is larger than the average villager's house. At this point Miss BW's mate transferred both the house and land legally to her and certain of their children, and she moved into the house without him, the union continuing duolocally for some years before finally ending.

Just as in the above cases consensual unions were seen to persist despite what would certainly appear to be adequate socio-economic status and economic resources for marriage, especially compared with that of some of the married villagers, there are also cases where couples are married despite a relatively shaky all-round economic basis. The cases of the Ts and the ATs are examples of this, and have already been referred to above (see p.317).

The AUs are another example; although Mrs. AU. has stopped working since she married, and the couple own their house, the latter is only a one-roomed wooden house, and the small house-spot (half a square) is rented. They have lived here for one year, and the arrangement is for no definite period. Prior to living here, they have - since their marriage six years ago - lived in the same house on another rented house-spot (one square), which was also
rented for no definite period, the payments being made yearly. Mr. AU. has neither regular nor high status employment, although in the past year his employment has been more regular, with him working in spells at the building site of one of the tourist resorts in the vicinity. In addition, although he cultivates, this is done on insecurely held land. And although Mrs. AU. does not "work out", nevertheless she still has to do her own housework.

The ANs have been married for about seventeen years, and although they now live in their own two-roomed wooden house, the second room was added with great financial difficulty several years after their marriage, the materials for the first room being a gift from an employer. In addition, they still do not own a house-spot, and although their present house-spot belongs to a relative, tenure to this is not secure, and by 1972 the couple had moved elsewhere. Although Mrs. AN. no longer works (apart from occasional Relief Work) she does her own housework - with the help of her grandchildren - also doing a certain amount of housework for her elderly relative on whose land they live. In addition, Mr. AN. is only a "common labourer" and has no regular job.

Their conjugal status, then, is more closely related to their ages - although she is only thirty-nine, he is between fifty and sixty - rather than their economic resources or socio-economic status; and also to the progressive development of their union: ER (less than a year) - CC (seven years) - M (seventeen years), which is typical of most unions culminating in marriage, as well as - in her case - a progressive developmental pattern in her overall conjugal career. For she has had three outside children by two previous unions, both less stable - both in duration and type - to her present union; the first two children being born to a man with whom she lived consensually for about three years, and the third by a union which had only lasted about a month before her mother had "taken her away" - "say I must come home leave him."
Mr. X. (sixty-two), who married about twenty-two years ago, but has been separated from his wife for the past eight years, is another person whose marriage seems to have been largely unrelated to his economic resources. For his present two-roomed wooden house which he owns was only built three years ago, with him having to "trust some lumber" to do this. He had lived for much of the time prior to this in a rented room in Maintown. In addition, although his maternal half-sister has permitted him to build his house on her land, he has no actual or potential rights of ownership to this. He has always had low status irregular occupations such as agricultural labourer, stevedore, "snow-cone" seller, and in addition has previously cultivated sporadically on insecurely held land.

Conclusion.

While the material does not show that economic considerations are completely irrelevant in association with conjugal status - and in fact it would be surprising if it did, since such factors have been found to be important by so many anthropologists concerned with Caribbean family structure, and not least of all, specifically with Jamaican family structure - there appear to be too many qualifications to any one basic theme of economic determinism for it to be concluded that conjugal status is wholly, or even primarily dependent on economic factors. And when it is further seen how much consistency exists with regard to the typical developmental pattern of a progressive movement from instability to stability both within individual unions, and in the overall conjugal career, then an economic explanation of conjugal patterns must be viewed with even greater caution. 1) This is further supported by the fact

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1) It seems likely that the development of early marriage from unstable non-legal unions noted by Sheila Patterson among lower class West Indians (most of whom are Jamaicans) in Brixton can be attributed more to the pressure of local (British) norms than to the couple's achievement of economic security. This suggestion gains support from the phenomenon of pseudo-marriages among the migrants; that is consensually cohabiting couples may pretend to be married. For no such pretense is felt to be necessary in the Jamaican lower class and can therefore be attributed to the pressure of local British norms. See Patterson, S. op cit.
that, as seen in Chapter 2, even some of the protagonists of 'economic determinism' admit the failure of their hypotheses to account adequately for the forms or variations in family structure; and it was noted in connection with this that an alternative explanation sometimes given by such authors is the influence of religious factors.

In my own data remarks by informants indicate the possibility of the influence of religious considerations on conjugal status. I was told, for example, by a female informant, that persons living consensually cannot be baptised. And this negative sanction of the Church against non-legal unions is further witnessed by the fact that illegitimate babies are baptised on special days.

In another case I was told by a married couple that they had not cohabited consensually prior to their marriage as their religious "Society don't allow that." The birth of some of their children over the preceding six-year dual-local period, however, indicates that this sanction is interpreted as one against the institutionalisation of a non-legal union by common residence, that is, "living straight out" in the same house. Similarly, the words used by the previous informant regarding the withholding of baptism, were that "You can't baptise if you are living in the same house as a man" (My emphasis). This latter discussion regarding baptism had come about due to the fact that on my return visit the informant had volunteered the information that she had been baptised earlier that year. Although she was now living as a 'Single' female household head - her current consensual union at the time of field work having dissolved - her conjugal career to date had shown a progressive developmental pattern of ER - CC, her recent consensual union of ten years duration (which had in fact shown signs of breaking up at the time of field work, despite the fact that the man concerned told me that he wanted to marry her) having been preceded by two productive, but short-lived extra-residential unions. She was, at the time of baptism, aged forty-two. In this case, then,
baptism had followed a dissolved consensual union rather than precipitating marriage, despite the fact that the woman had had the opportunity to marry. Baptism had also come subsequent to a normal progressive developmental conjugal career and in middle-age.

This woman's neighbour, who is also one of the principal adults in the sample, said that she had also decided to be baptised into the Baptist Church, although she had not yet done so. She was at that time aged forty-one, and had in fact married earlier that year, this being one of the cases where a long-standing consensual union had been consolidated by marriage in the 1968/9 - 1972 interim. Marriage had therefore in fact proceeded baptism, and the developmental pattern of the union itself (ER (a few months) - CC (nine years) - M) is typical of the majority of current unions which had culminated in marriage (See Table 4 above, p.218). In addition, the couple's age at marriage (her forty-one, he forty-three) is comparable to that of the younger category of married persons (See Table 5 p.223). To what extent the decision to be baptised had affected the consolidation of the union is further debatable by the fact that when I had interviewed this informant four years earlier (three and a half years before her marriage) the possibility that this union might be consolidated by marriage in the future seemed to be present in her mind, for in discussing their conjugal union she had remarked "Don't married yet." (It can be noted that when they did marry, "only witnesses" were present, contrary to the general style of wedding reported in the literature.)

In addition to the fact that the developmental pattern of the current union as well as the couple's ages are consistent with the typical dynamics of conjugal relations, the overall conjugal career of both spouses also shows a typical progressive pattern (at the time of field work: ER - CC in both cases, later becoming: ER - M), the woman having had one outside child by a previous extra-residential union when she "was young" and still living at her mother's; he having had two outside children by two previous extra-residential unions while he was also living at his mother's house.
In another case where the interrelationship between religion and conjugal status was discussed, the man belongs to the Baptist Church and the woman, formerly a Baptist is now Pentecostal:

"They don't believe that you must straighten hair; you mustn't smoke; don't drink rum and all like that. And you must wear your dress moderate, and you can't live boy-friend life."

It is not known exactly when the couple joined these respective churches, but they have now been married for nine years, he at forty and she at thirty-seven being among the younger category of married persons. However their union has nevertheless followed the normal progressive developmental pattern of:

duolocal (six months) - CC (one year and two months) - M. However both the consensual period and the entire pre-marital period (that is the period of "friendship", because they had in fact known each other much longer, - from when they were children,) were relatively brief, and all their children together have been born subsequent to marriage, although the woman has had two outside children by an earlier unstable extra-residential union, - thus showing an overall progressive developmental pattern also.

Despite the apparent influence of religious factors on conjugal status suggested in the above remarks of informants, then, such factors do not in fact provide a plausible explanation of the variable of conjugal status, the latter variable being seen on the whole to be independent of the former, and this conclusion gains support from Henriques' observation regarding the contradiction inherent in explaining the variable of conjugal status with reference to religious factors.

Although with reference to the consolidation of their consensual union by marriage some informants made remarks such as "We just decide to marry", others made statements such as "We couldn't go on in concubinage because it is not respectable"; "If we didn't marry we would be living as prostitutes" - the informant who made the latter statement also pointing out the advantages
of marriage to his child (legitimisation and "school him better") and wife ("All the earnings go to the wife and child"); another informant explaining that as their children grew older she had become ashamed of living a "sweetheart life - once they would learn what married life is", adding that her children would receive better treatment and she would be better respected when married. Another informant suggested that people may marry "out of sin in old age," adding that there is a saying that 'if you're not married you're not a Christian'.

While statements such as these do reflect to some extent the values of those making them, it is important to note that with these same couples the decision to marry for such reasons comes after a long and stable pre-marital union, and when the couple are no longer young. For example in the case of the first informant referred to above who said that they "couldn't go on in concubinage...", she was forty-nine and her husband forty-six when they married, and their marriage consolidated a stable union of thirty-one years, approximately thirty of which had been spent in consensual cohabitation. In addition, the woman's overall conjugal career shows the progressive developmental pattern of ER - M, she having had two outside children by a previous extra-residential union. And in the case of the informant who made the second statement, the couple had married after a consensual period of seventeen years, with the man being in his early forties at the time of marriage. (The exact age of the woman at that time is not known, but at the time of field work, about thirty years later, she was 'over sixty', so she would have been at least in her thirties.) In addition each spouse has had outside children by a previous union (four children by a consensual union in his case, two children by an extra-residential union in hers) thus showing overall progressive developmental patterns of CC - M and ER - M respectively. In the third case the couple had married after a consensual union of thirteen years, the man being fifty at the time and the woman thirty-eight, the latter
having had three outside children prior to her current union, showing an overall progressive developmental pattern of CC - M. In the fourth case, the couple had not in fact lived consensually prior to marriage but had associated duolocally for twelve years prior to marriage, during which period two of their three children had been born, eleven and eight years prior to the marriage respectively, thus indicating that this duolocal period was in fact an extended extra-residential stage replacing the more usual consensual period. At the time of marriage he was forty-one and she thirty. The husband has had an outside child by a previous non-legal union, thus also showing an overall progressive developmental conjugal career.

The developmental patterns of the current unions and also overall conjugal careers of the above cases are typical of the majority of current unions which have culminated in marriage, as can be seen from Table 4 on page 218; and it is difficult to conclude that such patterns would so consistently occur, and in association both with a progressive movement from instability to stability in conjugal relations and also late marriage, without some positive sanctioning of the pattern itself. The point, then, is that such statements regarding the shame of continued concubinage or non-legal association seem to be rationalisations unless they are taken to mean that it would be inappropriate to continue in consensual cohabitation in view of the fact that the union has reached the degree of stability necessary to prove the couple’s commitment to each other.

This interrelationship between marriage and the proven commitment of the couple can be seen to have a historical basis in the norms governing mating in slave society. For in his study of slavery in Jamaica, Patterson states that despite the breakdown "of the institution of marriage both in its African and European forms", 1) there was nevertheless a discernible pattern of mating among the resultant chaos. He isolates five types of mating pattern among the slaves ("prostitution; unstable unions; stable unions; multiple

1) Patterson, O. op cit; 159.
associations; and monogamous associations which were sometimes made legal"), 1) which, he states:

"are really not distinct categories, but phases in the development of the mating habits of the creole slaves over the entire span of their lives." 2)

Although some of the details of this developmental pattern are seen to vary somewhat from that described with reference to my own data - (for example, he places more emphasis on "synchonous quasi-polygyny") 3) - yet a similar pattern of a progressive movement from youthful unstable unions to greater conjugal stability in later life can be identified. And associated with this movement was the fact that:

"The attitude of the slave toward stable monogamous unions and (during the nineteenth century) legal marriage, tended to vary over the span of his life." 4)

For whereas "Young slaves generally ridiculed the idea of stable unions...", 5) it was on the other hand "common for the old Negroes to settle down in stable monogamous unions" "Even before the possibility of legal marriage in the nineteenth century..." 6) And with reference to the attitude of the younger Negroes he cites a case where a young slave "who wished to get married..." had been much laughed and scoffed at by many...", stating that "After the ceremony 'the rabble followed, shouting and jeering as if the newly married pair had committed some dreadful crime." 7) Patterson relates this ridicule to the paradoxical fact that "high status" was "associated with legal marriage on the part of the slaves themselves, who 'regard the marriage tie with a reverence

2) Ibid:165.
3) Ibid; see however Freilich op cit for a similar emphasis on this phenomenon, this however not being confined to males.
4) Patterson, O. op cit:164.
5) Ibid.
6) Ibid:165.
7) Ibid:164.
and respect approaching to superstition" (my emphasis), noting that in the case of the older slaves "respect for the age of the couple and their proven affections, led to less scepticism and mockery from the younger slaves."

Marriage, in River Village then, although it frequently occurs late in the individual's conjugal career, and often at a relatively advanced age, is taken very seriously and entered into with a deep sense of commitment. So that while a consensual union may be and frequently is very stable, there is this difference in commitment between the consensual and married status, a point which Blake misses in her criticism of Henriques, viz:

"Henriques tries to substantiate the integration argument by at times assuming a remarkable degree of stability for common-law unions. It is thus implied that such unions are the lower-class equivalent of marriage. At other times, however, he emphasizes the tenuousness of the structural bonds uniting common-law mates. He describes the common-law union as giving either of the parties the freedom to leave at any time..." - and which is evident in one of my informant's explanation of why persons may live consensually rather than marry: "When the man form foolish, can just tell him to go if it's your house, and walk out if it's his."

A concomitant of achieving the stability in conjugal relations required for marriage is the fact that by the time the couple have done this, they are no longer young; - particularly when, as is seen from the data on overall conjugal patterns, a union which does eventually become consolidated by marriage may not in fact even begin until after one or more earlier less stable unions have been experienced. In this way, then, marital status becomes associated not only with a proven commitment to each other, but also with more advanced age; - for example, a woman of twenty-three who has lived consensually with her present mate (twenty-seven) for the past seven years, (although this case superficially supports the economic interpretation of conjugal status in that the couple live in a rented room, and the man as a labourer has both low

1) Ibid.
2) Ibid:165.
3) Blake op cit:113.
occupational status and irregular employment) told me that she did not intend to get married in the near future: "Time no come!" The appropriate time for marriage as far as she was concerned being "When me full up in age; - forty. That's the best time." And when I asked why, she just said "It more better."

These two component elements of the normal conjugal pattern - the association of marriage with prior conjugal stability and proven commitment, and with relatively advanced age - may even to a certain extent become dissociated from each other, so that marriage is regarded as the appropriate conjugal status of older persons. This may account for the more rapid culmination in marriage of a union begun late in life, as occurred in the case of the AFs who married "within the year" of meeting, while they were both in their fifties. For both spouses have had outside children by previous non-legal unions, so that despite the absence of the normal type of developmental pattern within their union, this pattern is not absent in their overall conjugal careers.

This would seem to be compatible with the fact that in general older age appears to bring status; for example older women in the village may be addressed by the prefix 'Miss' before their Christian name: 'Miss Joan', 'Miss Ruth' et cetera, which is a sign of respect mingled with a degree of familiarity, also being used by lower class employees towards middle/upper class employers (in this case regardless of age, class being the determinant of status here.) Such terms of address in the village towards older women are used regardless of conjugal status, a married woman frequently being so addressed rather than by her more formal title of 'Mrs. D'. (That age brings

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1) Of Freilich, M.: "Field Work: An Introduction" in Freilich, M. (Ed.) Marginal Natives (New York: Harper and Row, 1970) p.2 Footnote (2) who notes that during his field work "Most people in Anamat, Trinidad, called me 'Mr. Morris.' I interpreted the 'Morris' as a sign of friendship, and the 'Mr.' as indicating some respect for my position of high status in the community. The concept of 'high-status friend'...appears to describe well both the position I attained in the community and its functional meaning." And Whitten, N.: "Network Analysis and Processes of Adaptation among Ecuadorian and Nova Scotian Negroes" in Freilich ibid, p. 349, notes a similar form of address used towards him by some of his informants.
status also being illustrated by the fact that leadership roles in voluntary associations are also frequently held by older persons who have a reputation of respectability and good citizenship, see Chapter 3.)

The importance of a correlation between the developmental cycle and conjugal patterns can be demonstrated further by a comparison with these variables in England on the point of conjugal breakdown, for in his study of divorce trends in the latter country, McGregor has shown that there is a close association between the incidence of divorce and the developmental cycle; - these trends he states,

"demonstrate an astonishing similarity and stability over a relatively long period of time. It is remarkable that the distribution of dissolved marriages by duration and number of children should have changed so little in half a century during which the law of divorce, the access to the court, the size and standard of living of the family, the position of women, and familial, parental and sexual relations have changed so much."

However while a close association between the developmental cycle and conjugal patterns exists in both societies (River Village and England) there is a contrast in the actual pattern of conjugal instability associated with the developmental cycle in the two societies. For while McGregor found increased incidence of divorce in the later as opposed to earlier stages of the life cycle (fifty-nine per cent of divorces occur among those who have been married for over ten years, and there has been an increasing incidence of divorce among those married for twenty or more years, this increase being due to longer life expectation) - this pattern being similar to that of conjugal patterns described by R.T. Smith for Guianese Negroes - the breakdown of conjugal unions in River Village typifies the earlier rather than later stages of the life cycle.

The reason for this difference can be related to the differing norms regarding marriage in the two societies. For while early marriage is the norm in England, late marriage is the norm in River Village; and the overall

conjugal career in the latter can really be seen as a 'trial and error' progression towards the location of the ideal conjugal partner, - not only through the trial and rejection of a number of partners early in the individual's mating career, but also through the testing through a long period of consensual cohabitation of the partner whom the individual does eventually marry. Thus not only are constraints for early marriage similar to those in England absent in River Village, but so are constraints for conjugal stability of any sort at an early age. The River Villager therefore spends most of his life in the search for the ideal conjugal partner, and because of this, the chances of conjugal breakdown in the later stages of the developmental cycle are considerably reduced as compared with English society.

This interpretation of the difference in the actual incidence of conjugal instability at respective stages of the developmental cycle in the two societies might provide some basis for the prediction of change in these patterns in England with the increasing rejection of early marriage by the younger section of the population. The questioning of traditional values by the latter may very well lead to an approach of mate selection similar to that in River Village, with a concomitant decrease in the incidence of divorce in the later stages of the developmental cycle.

Divorce trends in England are of further relevance to the study of West Indian mating patterns; for the similarity between the high incidence of conjugal instability in the later stages of the developmental cycle in England with that postulated by R.T. Smith for Guyana leads to the questioning of Smith's hypothesis that the resultant matrifocality typifies low socio-economic groups in many societies.

To summarize:

Many of the features of family structure in River Village can be seen to be basically similar to the general picture of family structure presented in the literature on the Caribbean area; - a variety of mating statuses (extra-residential, consensual cohabitation and marriage) and domestic groups
are found, the varying features of the latter including female household heads and fostering (two features which have received much attention in the literature in the discussion of 'matrifocality'), and outside children.

It can be seen that with regard to River Village family structure a distinction needs to be made between the concepts of 'household' and 'family' (in view of the presence of the institutionalized extra-residential mating form; the phenomenon of fostering; and that of serial monogamy, which often results in the dispersion of the members of a nuclear family in different households); but that it is necessary to consider both concepts in the analysis of River Village family structure. The data also shows the need for a distinction between the concepts of 'marriage' and 'family'.

While, as mentioned above, the features of River Village family structure are basically similar to the general picture of Caribbean family structure, the interpretation of such features of family structure was, however, seen to differ somewhat from that of certain other anthropologists; the main difference being the presence of a greater degree of stability in conjugal and family relations than previously attributed by many analyses. For example, the typical developmental pattern in conjugal relations was seen to be one towards greater stability, both within individual unions and in the overall conjugal career, a conclusion diametrically opposed to R.T. Smith's hypothesis regarding matrifocality among Guianese Negroes, but gaining support from the work of M.G. Smith and Roberts, although certain qualifications of these authors' hypotheses have been made above. In addition, the features of female household headship and fostering were found to be related to stable as well as unstable aspects of family structure.

It was further seen that the variable of mating patterns influences that of household composition, this conclusion again gaining support from the work of M.G. Smith. And on the basis of this interrelationship it can be noted that the various classifications of 'types' of conjugal relationships and
domestic groups put forward in the literature on the Caribbean do not need to be seen as discrete categories, but can be related to each other in the context of the developmental cycle - a conclusion previously formed by certain other anthropologists. ¹)

Horowitz's criticism of M.G. Smith's explanation of West Indian family structure with reference to the variable of mating patterns as tautologous was, however, noted, and while it was pointed out that a hypothesis which postulates the influence of mating patterns on household composition is not in itself a tautology, it was agreed that this is not a sufficient explanation of family structure, since mating patterns are a part of family structure. It became necessary therefore to consider the cause of such mating patterns.

The current economic determinist hypothesis which has characterised studies of West Indian family structure from the 1940s to the present time, was then considered, and it was concluded that while certain positive correlations between economic factors and conjugal status undoubtedly do exist to some extent, that the variation in conjugal status cannot be consistently explained with reference to any one basic economic determinist theme.

In addition it was seen that neolocal residence - a prerequisite which Blake associates with marital unions in her economic explanation of family structure - is also associated with consensual unions (the birth of children sometimes being associated with the change from duolocal to consensual mating.) This norm of neolocal residence associated with all co-residential unions in the village further shows that the typical conjugal career tends to develop independently of the influence of family land - a point which will be discussed more fully in the subsequent section on the inheritance of rights to land. For there it will be seen that many persons in the village who live neolocally - some in rented houses or on rented or leased land - in

¹) E.g. Davenport op. cit.
fact have claims to land in other parts of the parish or of the island. And even in the cases above where residence is seen to occur on inherited land in the village, a variety of conjugal statuses are associated with such residence, there being a closer correlation between these statuses and the typical developmental pattern of the conjugal career than with any resultant growth of 'bilocal' extended families on such land as postulated by Davenport and Clarke. And for example, marital unions are associated with residence on land inherited by both the man and the woman.

In addition, the expansion of households due to fostering was not seen to be consistently correlated with the economic basis of the household.

On the other hand, the consistency of the association between conjugal status and age in the typical progressive developmental pattern - and which was in fact seen to have a historical basis - indicates that either this mating pattern may be relatively independent of economic variables, the search for economic security being a separate and universal quest; or, that if some economic definition of marriage does exist, that this is supported by an interdependent set of values which sanctions the existing mating pattern. For while economic factors are seen to be indirectly relevant in that they delineate the broad context in which the patterns described above operate - that is, the 'lower class' vis-à-vis the middle/upper class - economic factors do not seem sufficient to account for the variation in mating within this class, a conclusion which various protagonists of economic determinism in fact admit.

In my own explanation of family structure the importance of history or tradition in the shaping of the norms governing such structure has been pointed out. It was also seen from Chapter 2 that the later studies of West Indian family structure (example. R.T. Smith, Clarke, M.G. Smith) have tended to move away from the consideration of the importance of history in the explanation of West Indian family structure. Some, concomitantly, questioning the emphasis placed on historical explanation by earlier authors such as
Simey and Henriques. M.G. Smith, for example, makes the following harsh criticism of the early authors:

"The pioneer studies of West Indian family organization suffer from certain defects. In place of structural analyses or careful field studies, they tend to offer competing historical explanations of the origin of West Indian family forms. Only recently have detailed quantitative studies of family organization among West Indians been published. [He cites R.T. Smith and Clarke as examples]. With these publications, West Indian family studies have become transformed. They are no longer hypothetical illustrations of African cultural persistence or the aftereffects of slavery; such diachronic speculations have been replaced by emphasis on synchronic analyses of these family systems."1)

Four points can be made with regard to my departure from the more recent studies vis-à-vis the emphasis placed on history.

First, that authors such as Clarke and R.T. Smith who have moved away from a historical explanation of West Indian family structure have replaced such an explanation by one of economic determinism. I have tested this hypothesis and found it inadequate in the explanation of family structure in River Village.

Secondly, that the outstanding exception to the trend of economic determinism in recent studies – M.G. Smith – has, despite his criticism quoted above of those who put forward historical explanations, nevertheless unwittingly resorted to a historical explanation of West Indian family structure himself. For having advocated the importance of an explanation of family structure by factors intrinsic to the latter, and put forward the hypothesis that the variable of mating patterns determines family structure, he then has to turn to history to explain the variable of mating patterns. In so doing he is in fact explaining family structure with reference to history; for although he claims to have explained it with reference to the variable of mating patterns, he has – by his very definition of family structure – only explained the variable of household composition; which – again by his

1) Smith, M.G. 1962(a) op cit:6.
definition of family structure and valid distinction between the concepts of household and family - is an insufficient explanation of family structure. He is therefore in the position where he has a valid explanation for household composition, but no explanation for family structure as a whole - despite the fact that his entire study is aimed at providing such an explanation. His real explanation of family structure then is in fact his explanation of mating patterns, since these are part of family structure and in turn influence other aspects of the latter.

Thirdly, while M.G. Smith's criticism quoted above is a valid criticism of Herskovits' attempt at explanation of family structure, it is not a just criticism of other authors who have used the historical approach. For these latter have not omitted a synchronic analysis of family structure. Frazier, Simey and Henriques for example all combine a historical approach with a synchronic one; and while other criticisms may be made of such authors - for example I have argued that their emphasis on economic determinism is invalid - they cannot be criticised for omitting to consider synchronic factors, which is the basis of M.G. Smith's criticism.

Fourthly, that my emphasis on historical influence in fact differs from that of previous authors. For these latter have referred to the instability of family structure during slavery to account for the instability of contemporary family structure. I have rather found a general picture of familial stability in River Village. For while there is limited evidence of extended family households and also the presence of the phenomenon of female household headship, the overall picture of household composition was found not to support the conclusion of "matrifocality" in the sense generally meant in the literature - that is, its inference of instability. Further, the analysis of mating patterns shows a movement towards increased stability in such relationships. Patterson's excellent sociological analysis of Jamaican slave society shows that there was a similar progression towards stability in
mating relationships in slave society, and the adoption of marriage as a mating form appropriate to the later stages of the developmental cycle even prior to emancipation. (Although M.G. Smith notes the stability of mating in rural Jamaica and Latante, he like the other authors referred to above, refers to the absence of marriage among the slaves.) Thus I have differed from the earlier authors who have used a historical explanation of family structure in that I have referred to the association of increased stability in mating relationships concomitant with the progression of the developmental cycle to explain a similar phenomenon of increasing stability in the concomitant with the progression of developmental cycle in contemporary River Village family structure.

It can be seen that my analysis has dealt with any objections to my own explanation of family structure in terms of historical influence which might be expected to result from the more recent trend in the explanation of west Indian family structure, and has found them insufficient to invalidate such an explanation.

While Greenfield also puts forward a historical explanation (combined with an economic one) he emphasises the importance of British cultural influence; but in fact he is explaining the difference between family structure in the lower and middle class subcultures respectively, rather than variations in lower class family structure, since the majority of families in Enterprise Hall are middle class. This difference could equally well be explained with reference to the presence/absence in the respective subcultures of traditional norms resultant from slavery. In addition, it can be pointed out that Greenfield's argument that at Emancipation the Barbadian slaves had 'no alternative' but to adopt English cultural norms, completely omits to consider the possibility that the slaves might have developed their own norms in the interim between the loss of their own cultural heritage and Emancipation - a fact which has not only been shown
to be so by Frazier for the American Negro, but also by other writers for elsewhere in the New World, such as Patterson for Jamaica. While it is known throughout the West Indies that there is something especially 'English' about Barbados vis-à-vis even the rest of the 'British' islands, nevertheless in family organisation, as in other aspects of social organisation, Barbados shows a great similarity with the rest of the West Indies. It therefore seems unlikely that Barbados' unique 'Englishness' in fact accounts for such shared features. For while matrifocality in different societies need not, (contrary to what R.T. Smith argues), have the same cause, it is unlikely that such an integral feature of the basic Caribbean or New World Negro pattern of social organisation results from widely differing causes. And since Greenfield himself notes that the same feature may not result from the same cause, an explanation with reference to the traditional norms of slavery is just as plausible as one which attempts to explain English and Barbadian matrifocality with reference to the same cause, since Barbadian matrifocality may be related to slavery while English matrifocality is not.

The analysis of the developmental pattern of both individual unions and the overall conjugal career in River Village shows that the nature of consensual cohabitation (again with reference not only to specific unions but in the overall conjugal career) is a transitional mating status with a continuum-like variation regarding the variables of stability/instability. This conclusion can be seen to be of some relevance to the Blake-Henriques and Blake-Roberts debates on the nature of such unions.

Henriques suggests that such unions are "functionally equivalent" to marriage, and that marriage is therefore "solely...the institutionalization of sexual relations...". Blake, having first noted that "It is in terms of reproduction, not primarily sexual control, that marriage is articulated with the rest of the social order...", and therefore that it is the performance

1) Blake op cit: 113.
of the "functions of the family" rather than the "institutionalization of sexual relations" that is the basis for the establishment of "stabilized" conjugal relationships in any society, then goes on to say:

"It might be argued that if one could show the universal functions of the family to be regularly fulfilled by an institution alternative to legal marriage - in this case the common-law union - then Henriches' contention that the lower-class family has its own unique organization would be tenable. In fact, whether one regards the Jamaican family system as being highly disorganized, or as having its own unique form of integration depends largely on one's recognition of the nature of the common-law union. Henriches tries to substantiate the integration argument by at times assuming a remarkable degree of stability for common-law unions. It is thus implied that such unions are the lower-class equivalent of marriage." 1

While I would not agree with the interpretation that marriage among the lower class is "solely... the institutionalization of sexual relations..." 2 and the concomitant suggestion that "common-law associations are the 'marriage' of the poor..." 3 for reasons given below, Henriches' argument regarding the stability of some consensual unions is not invalidated by the conclusion that other such unions may be brittle. It follows then that Blake does not need to invalidate Henriches' point regarding the stable variant in order to prove her own point regarding the unstable variant. However, by concentrating on one aspect only, both analyses fail to appreciate the continuum-like variation in the nature of consensual unions.

In her "Critique of Roberts" Blake states that:

"Roberts rests his analysis of census materials on the assumption that Jamaicans typically have one union that evolves through different marital types - single, common law, married. In his view, therefore, illegitimacy is not a 'problem' since it is actually only nominal. He recognizes, however, that his interpretation would be wrong if, on the one hand, many marriages take place without prior common domicile, or if, on the other hand, many common-law unions do not result in marriage." 4

1) Ibid.
2) Ibid.
3) Ibid:133
4) Ibid:172
and at a later point continues:

"Our materials offer no support for Roberts' assumption that marriage is the destination of most common-law unions...It...seems apparent that if one investigates the actual dynamics of the mating process, Roberts' assumption of stability does not seem justified.\(^1\)"

She adds in a footnote, however, that:

"Our sample is not adequate to prove that Roberts' assumptions are wrong for the Jamaican population; but since our data are the only ones up to now that bear on the matter, it seems desirable to accept their verdict until more information becomes available."\(^2\)

Again Blake poses the debate in terms of an 'either/or' interpretation of consensual cohabitation, setting up her own interpretation of these unions as "brittle" against that of Roberts' interpretation of such unions as stable.

While Roberts' point regarding the stability of consensual unions and their eventual legalization is supported to some extent by the River Village data regarding the current unions of the sample, it was seen that this is only half the story. For the analysis of the overall conjugal careers showed that the type of union which Roberts describes may have its origins in the early stages of the individual's mating career, but may equally well come at a later stage in such a career, subsequent to earlier short-lived unstable extra-residential or consensual unions. The weakness of Roberts' argument, then, lies in the assumption that an individual only has one conjugal union in his life. For this leads him to conclude that his own point would be invalidated if "many common-law unions do not result in marriage",\(^3\) - a point which Blake is able to show, subsequently concluding from this that Roberts' observations are therefore totally invalid.

In conclusion, then, while agreeing with Blake in her rejection of the interpretation of "common-law associations [as] ... the 'marriage' of the poor..."\(^4\) put forward by Henriques, Simey and Kerr, I would also reject

\(^1\) Ibid:174
\(^2\) Ibid:175
\(^3\) Ibid:172
\(^4\) Ibid:133
her alternative interpretation that such unions are not positively sanctioned, but are simply "second best" in the face of failure to achieve marriage. For while with reference to the former interpretation I would, like her, "hesitate to accept an explanation that purports to account for the lateness of marriage and for nonmarital reproduction, but does not account for the equally compelling fact that marriage so frequently takes place" - "although at a rather late age", as she herself points out - it does not follow that the positive sanctioning of consensual cohabitation should result in "a corresponding rejection of marriage."¹ For there is no reason to support exclusively either the opinion of those who argue for a different ideal norm in lower class conjugal relations, nor that of those who argue that the lower class holds an ideal norm on this point identical to the middle/upper classes, consensual cohabitation simply being a statistical norm due to the failure to achieve marriage. Rather, the River Village data indicates that both consensual and marital unions are positively sanctioned, there being no contradiction in this due to the fact that each is considered an appropriate status at different stages of the individual's conjugal career.

By concentrating on the unstable aspects of consensual cohabitation, and by combining this with perhaps an over-reliance on verbalised attitudes of her informants, Blake forms the conclusion that the lower class individual, particularly the woman, has a similar ideal norm regarding conjugal relations to that of the middle/upper class; lower class conjugal patterns being simply a statistical deviation from this norm. This deviation Blake postulates as being resultant from three factors; - the self-perpetuating system of socialization which keeps the young girl in ignorance of the 'facts of life'; the resultant sexual exploitation of the young girl, which in turn, when pregnancy occurs, results in the 'serious impairment' of the woman's

¹) Ibid.
"bargaining position in the courtship market..."

and this, combined with the low socio-economic status of the male in a society which defines "marriage as an economic and social way of life" results in the contradictory situation of women who want to get married having to put up with 'second best' non-legal unions.

On the other hand, the stability of some consensual unions has misled Henriques into postulating a completely different value system governing lower class conjugal relations from that which governs middle/upper class ones. He thus regards 'stable concubinage', like Simey and Kerr, as the "'marriage' of the poor; the real 'social' norm in contrast to the adventitious legal norm..." suggesting that not only is such concubinage 'functionally equivalent' to marriage, but that in fact the two conjugal statuses are regarded by the lower class as synonymous. Blake's criticism of Henriques on this score, however, brings out the weakness in this latter argument:

"...Henriques' interpretation does not hold up in the light of much of his evidence. ...Women are said to fear marriage less than men do. They appear to be in a state of conflict, wishing to command the respect accorded a wife but not wishing to lose their independence. There is no '...rooted antipathy to marriage,' rather '...evidence of the respect for (it) is seen in the fact that a woman who achieves it demands and receives more respect from her neighbors than she did prior to marriage.'... Yet Henriques claims that women do not express active discontent with their status as common law mates. Although this desire and respect for marriage on the part of most women appears to contradict his assumption of a great discrepancy between mere legal rules and the social norms of the lower class, Henriques chooses to dismiss the expressed attitudes as mere lip service to the norms of the white and coloured population..."

I would suggest that while Blake and Henriques both have valid points, that again each is looking at only one aspect of the situation, each consequently having to 'explain away' the apparently conflicting evidence:

1) Ibid:146
2) Ibid:147
3) Ibid: 133
4) Ibid:112
in Blake's case, that of Henriques' conclusions; and in Henriques' case the attitudes of his informants. For while, as Henriques argues, "There is no moral sanction against concubinage"\(^1\) in the lower class, nevertheless the legal norm of marriage has been incorporated into the value system of the latter. However, the fact that this incorporation has occurred has in turn misled Blake into concluding that marriage means exactly the same thing to the lower class individual as to the middle/upper class one.

The data on River Village however indicates that this is not the case; rather, marriage is seen to be the appropriate status for couples who have proven their commitment to each other through many years of pre-marital - generally consensual - association. A corollary of this being seen to be the association of marriage with relatively advanced age.

While marriage, then, is both an actual and ideal norm in both sections of Jamaican society, it is early marriage that is positively sanctioned in the middle/upper classes and late marriage in the lower class.

While Blake has attempted to support her argument by pointing out that similar values (ideal norms) do not always result in similar statistical(actual) norms, then, it can be pointed out that the reverse may also be true; - that is, the presence of similar statistical norms (in this case marriage) in different societies, or as in this case in different sections of a society, does not necessarily mean that these norms are supported by similar values.\(^2\)

While these different ideals of early/late marriage in the two sub-cultures show a certain degree of independence between the respective value systems, it can be seen that this independence is qualified by the fact that marriage

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1) Henriques 1968 op cit:93

as a norm is incorporated at some point into the lower class value system, thus showing a certain degree of interdependence also. This empirical situation is perhaps best described by referring to Fallers' structural model regarding the nature of integration in peasant societies. With reference to the social organisation and value system of the latter, he suggests that it is a 'folk version' of the 'high culture'; the former being defined as being "neither the same as the latter nor independent of it, but rather a reinterpretation and reintegration of many elements of the high culture with other elements peculiar to the peasant village." 1)

This model seems to fit the empirical data - not only from River Village, but also that reported in the literature both for other parts of the island and of the Caribbean - more closely than either that of complete independence of the sub-cultural ideal norms suggested by Henriques, or of the synonymity of these normative systems suggested by Blake; 2) and my interpretation of the nature of consensual cohabitation


2) Although my own interpretation of River Village family structure and concomitant criticisms of Blake and Henriques was developed independently of Braithwaite and Rodman (at the time of writing the first draft being in fact unaware of their discussions on the subject) nevertheless my conclusions gain support from their interpretation of Jamaican lower class family structure: Braithwaite's in terms of "duality of allegiance to values" (Braithwaite, L.: "Sociology and Demographic Research in the British Caribbean" in Social & Economic Studies 6(4), 1957) and Rodman's of the "lower-class value stretch" (Rodman, H.: "On Understanding Lower-Class Behaviour" in Social & Economic Studies 8(4), 1959, and "The Lower-Class Value Stretch" in Social Forces 42(2), 1963); both also being concerned with invalidating Blake's interpretation of family structure. Despite this corroboration, however, I find certain important differences between Braithwaite and Rodman's analyses and my own. The main one is that the former are heavily tinged with 'psychological explanation', viz.:
accounts not only for the inconsistencies noted by Blake for other

Footnote continued from last page.

Braithwaite's utilisation of psychologists' fourfold classification of the "individual's ideal behaviour, his level of aspiration, his level of expectation and his level of achievement." (Op cit: 544); and Rodman's explanation of the "lower-class value stretch" in terms of "functional response". The concept of the 'value stretch' itself, which has similarities to Braithwaite's distinction between the various 'levels' referred to above, also having psychological overtones. I find Fallers' structural-functional model of the nature of integration in peasant societies a far more acceptable analytical tool for understanding my own data than 'psychological' explanations. Secondly, Rodman's interpretation of family structure also has overtones of 'economic determinism' (in that he sees the value stretch as a functional response to deprived circumstances, among these economic circumstances) - an explanation of family structure which my analysis has sought to dispel. Thirdly, despite the fact that Braithwaite's analysis is aimed at invalidating that of Blake, at some points he in fact presents an interpretation similar to her own - when he contrasts the "ideal norm of the lower class" which is "male-centred monogamy" with the "level of achievement or actual practice" which "bears for the most part little superficial resemblance to ideal behaviour." (P. 544) And again: "in practice... there is a wide divergence [in the lower class] between actual behaviour and the general 'ideal' norm of the society." (P. 543).

It can also be noted that R.T. Smith's analysis of lower class Guianese family structure in terms of "a moral system within a moral system" (1956 op cit: 149) does qualify his statement regarding the ideal norm of family structure "common to the total Guianese structure" referred to on P. 105 of this thesis.
authors, but also for the disagreement between the explanations put forward by these authors and that of Blake.

Furthermore, I would suggest that it is this nature of integration associated with peasant societies that has itself misled Blake into her conclusion regarding the synonymity of the ideal norms of the two Jamaican subcultures. For associated with the type of integration in peasant societies outlined by Fallers the latter notes that "The peasant, accepting the standards of the high culture to some degree, to that degree also accepts its judgement of him as ignorant and uncouth..."; although:

"At the same time, he possesses his own folk culture, containing high culture elements, and this provides him with an independent basis for self-esteem, together with an ideology within which he may express his partial hostility toward the élite and its version of the common culture." 2)

Although it is debatable whether many individuals of the middle/upper class Jamaican subculture holding the associated 'high culture' in fact so regard the peasantry, this feature of peasant societies could have important implications with reference to cross-cultural interviewing in West Indian societies; that is the interviewing of members of the peasantry either by a person from the middle/upper class subculture within the society who represents the 'high culture' (and in Chapter 3 I suggested that the situation here is more complex than a simple matter of 'colour') or by a person from another society such as the United States or United Kingdom who would automatically be identified by the peasant with the 'high culture' of his own society (again see Chapter 3).

1) Blake on cit: 19.
2) Fallers on cit: 39.
As seen above, despite the evidence provided by her data of a system of lower class family structure which reflects a somewhat different value system to that of the wider society, Blake ignores this conclusion and instead uses her evidence to provide a somewhat distorted picture of Jamaican lower class family structure, postulating that it is governed by an identical ideal norm to that of the wider society. I would suggest that she forms these misguided conclusions because she places too much emphasis on the verbalised statements of her informants - which while important must be taken in conjunction with the empirical data. Blake's informants condemned their own system of family organisation. But I would suggest that these verbalised condemnations of lower class family structure by lower class informants most probably resulted from the feeling of shame and embarrassment of peasant interviewees when confronted by middle/upper class interviewers; a concomitant of the above-mentioned feature of peasant integration, viz. the latter's view of the wider society's view of them. 1)

In describing the interviewers which she used for the project, Blake stresses that they were all coloured and had had previous contact with the lower class, concluding from this that there would be no problem with regard to cross-cultural interviewing; in the same breath she states that this contact had been in a 'professional' capacity, and that the interviewers were all well-educated, some with University degrees. If Blake had been a Jamaican rather than an American, she would probably have realised that merely because the informants and the interviewers

1) The alleviating factors operating with regard to the problem of cross-(sub) cultural interviewing in my own field situation have already been outlined in Chapter 3; but it can be added here that there were two instances in my own field work where the nature of integration outlined above did initially affect the interviewees' response to questions on their conjugal histories. In both cases the informants had had several children by several (non-legal) conjugal unions. And while they did subsequently volunteer this information, the initial response to my queries in each case was "I shame fe tell you."
were both coloured did not mean that they regarded each other as
being from the same subculture of Jamaican society. For there is no clear-
cut black/white or coloured/white dichotomy in Jamaica as is present
in the United States; as was seen from a discussion of the literature
on the subject in Chapter I, it is a more complex system of stratification.
Despite their colour, then, Blake's interviewers were obviously not
members of the lower class or peasant subculture. 1)

1) It might even be argued that this feeling of inferiority
might be increased in the presence of coloured interviewers,
since the fact that they share the attribute of colour and yet
that the interviewers' way of life is representative of the
'high' culture might emphasise the feeling of shame. A
similar point is made by Braithwaite who argues that it may
be easier for a foreigner to establish rapport with Jamaican
'lower class' informants than for some local interviewers
to do so, also criticising Blake on the same point as I have
above; Braithwaite 1957 op cit.
CHAPTER 6: MUTUAL AID: THE COMPLEMENTARY FUNCTIONS OF KINSHIP AND BURIAL SOCIETY

In this chapter the relative roles of kinship, Burial Society, and community in the context of death in River Village are examined in the light of Henriques' hypothesis on kinship and death in Jamaica. 1)

As mentioned in Chapter 2 Henriques suggests that his hypothesis regarding the contrasting cultural focus of kinship and colour in the respective subcultures of Jamaican society can be illustrated with reference to mortuary ritual (for this purpose he treats the middle and upper classes as one subculture). He states that death among the lower class emphasises kinship, both the funeral and the wake serving to re-enforce the solidarity of the extended kinship group. This emphasis on kinship is contrasted with the lack of such emphasis in the middle and upper classes in a similar context where the funeral is the concern mainly of the elementary family. On the other hand, public attendance at middle and upper class funerals is wide, and this is interpreted in terms of social prestige:

"... this illustrates the difference between the lower class and the other classes, everyone will go to a middle or upper class funeral who has the vaguest connection with the deceased. The more important the individual, the longer will be the list of mourners published in the daily papers who followed the coffin to the grave. Some people even regard it as their duty to go to the funeral of anyone who was not completely unknown to them in his life. Prominent people cannot afford not to be seen at an important funeral. To be absent would cause their social prestige to fall. For these two classes the funeral is the expression not only of a personal loss, but of a loss to the groups in the society. In contrast, the lower class utilizes the funeral to re-emphasize the bonds of kin which is expressed in the institution of the wake." 2)

2) Henriques 1968 ibid: 151.
The reason for this emphasis on kinship in the lower class at times of death Henriquez relates directly to the variable of anxiety generated by social class; and the narrower scope of kinship in the middle and upper classes at such times both to lesser anxiety in these classes; and to the presence of wider social networks due to the absence of the constraints of poverty, and the resultant concern with colour and prestige.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Henriquez' hypothesis on the functions and concomitant stress on kinship is stated in two slightly different ways: a simple causal interrelationship between decreased socio-economic anxiety as one ascends the class ladder with a concomitant decrease in the stress on kinship; and a more complex hypothesis which postulates a decrease in economic anxiety and an increase in social anxiety as one ascends the class ladder, there being a resultant shift from "kinship" as the cultural focus of the lower class to that of "colour" in the middle/upper classes. However whichever way the hypothesis is stated there is seen to be a greater sum total of anxiety in the lower than other classes, viz.:

Diagram 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lower class</th>
<th>middle/upper classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>social anxiety</td>
<td>(1) +</td>
<td>(1) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic</td>
<td>(2) -</td>
<td>(2) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anxiety</td>
<td>(1) +</td>
<td>(1) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) +</td>
<td>(2) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value of +</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Even when the second hypothesis is restated with reference to a further contrast in social anxiety between the middle and upper classes the sum total of anxiety remains greatest in the lower class.)
We are provided then with a model for the generation of mortuary ritual in Jamaican society which can be presented as follows:

Diagram 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>Lower class (greater socio-economic or economic anxiety)</th>
<th>Middle/Upper class (lesser socio-economic, or less economic but more social anxiety)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent variables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stress on kinship</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stress on non-kin (&quot;public&quot;)</td>
<td>narrow</td>
<td>wide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The contrast in the cultural foci of the two main subcultures, then, results in an inverse relationship between the variables of kin and non-kin based networks in the participation of mortuary ritual in Jamaica.

The "Natural Experiment" in Relation to Mortuary Ritual in River Village

Although Henriques' field work was centred primarily in Portland he claims a wider validity for his findings, viz., the Jamaican lower class. 1) That such a claim of uniformity of social organisation among this section of the population is, generally speaking, valid, is supported by the wide body of literature which indicates a fairly uniform lower class subculture not only throughout the island but also in the Caribbean area as a whole (see Chapter 1). Pursuing this line of reasoning it therefore seems valid to assume that the situation in River Village at the time of Henriques' field work (1946) would not

1) See for example Henriques 1951 op cit, and 1968 op cit: Chapters X and XIII.
have been unlike the general picture of Jamaican lower class social organisation which Henriques describes at that time. More specifically, it seems likely that the emphasis on wide kinship ties noted by Henriques as typifying this class, and illustrated by him with reference to mortuary ritual, would have been a feature of River Village social organisation also.

Since that time however, there has, in River Village, been the structured innovation of the Burial Society 1) (founded in 1948) - a mutual aid society designed to provide financial aid in the context of sickness and death. The organisation of the Society itself and its role in the village are discussed in greater detail below. At this point it is sufficient to state that it seems clear that this innovation has resulted in the reduction of socio-economic anxiety in the context of death. This situation therefore provides a "natural laboratory" of the type referred to by Freilich, 2) where/predictive validity of Henriques' hypothesis regarding the generation of mortuary ritual in the Jamaican lower class can be tested. For, consistent with his hypothesis, if the level of anxiety (socio-economic or simply economic) in the lower class were to be decreased, then the stress on wide kinship ties should likewise decrease. The pertinent question with reference to River Village, then, is: has the reduction of such anxiety (resultant from the introduction of the Burial Society) resulted in a lessening of the emphasis on kinship in the context of death?

1) Henriques does not mention the role played by such Societies in his extensive discussion of Jamaican lower class mortuary ritual except in passing in relation to his discussion of colour prejudice, and the Jamaica Burial Society Scheme, which is perhaps the most extensive organisation of its kind in the island did not become island-wide until 1940.

The exercise by which this hypothesis is tested can be described as a "natural experiment; 1) the use of change in relation to the independent variable being in this situation a change in one area of the social structure.

I will now turn to consider the social organisation of the Burial Society and the way in which it has resulted in the reduction of socio-economic anxiety in the context of death in River Village.

I will then consider the material on mortuary ritual in the village to ascertain the respective roles of kin/non-kin based ties to see whether or not the emphasis on kinship has decreased as a result of the innovation. Henriques' postulated inverse relationship between kin and public participation in mortuary ritual will then be considered, both within the village and in a section of the middle/upper class section of the parish. The conclusions will then be discussed.

The Burial Society

The River Village Burial Society was organised in order to provide financial aid in times of crisis, namely sickness and death. As such, it acts as an agency of insurance to its many members, providing a certain degree of financial security against the risks of the unknown, or rather, of the inevitable. 2)

1) Ibid. For similar utilisation of a real life situation to provide a natural laboratory for the conduction of a natural experiment see Otterbein 1966 on cit.

2) Frazier notes a similar form of economic co-operation among the post-emancipation American Negroes, 1965 on cit; of Herskovits, 1941 on cit. Herskovits also notes the "savings arrangement" of susu in Trinidad which has a similar aim, 1947 on cit; however its organisation bears more similarity to that of pardner (see p. 209 above) than to the type of Society discussed here. See also Smith, R.T. 1956 on cit: 10, who refers to the practice among the slaves in British Guiana of contributing "money for funeral expenses", stating that "of course this is very similar to the prevailing West African pattern, both in the past and the present ..." This is similar to Herskovits' hypothesis for the raison d'être of such institutions, a view with which Frazier disagrees, 1965 on cit. For additional references to similar burial societies see Herskovits 1937 on cit.
In order to appreciate the importance of the Society to its members, it is necessary to be aware from the outset of two points. Firstly, the economic context in which the Society operates; as seen from Chapter 4, the Society functions within a section of the Jamaican population where irregular employment, unemployment, and under-employment are rife, where economic resources are scarce, and where savings are small or non-existent. 1) Secondly, the importance of a proper funeral and of the ritual which surrounds death. 2)

Before describing the specific way in which the River Village Burial Society performs the functions referred to above, I will first outline its organisation.

The Society was founded in 1948 by a villager, now deceased. So in 1968 the Society had been functioning for twenty years, and on my return visit in the summer of 1972 the Society was preparing to celebrate its twenty-fourth Anniversary in September of that year.

1) Cf Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit; and Smith points out in his study that in such crises failing the existence of personal savings resort must be made to borrowing or the sale of personal possessions unless money can be obtained from a savings society. Cf Wells, who in his survey of Friendly Societies in the West Indies notes that the Jamaica Burial Society Scheme was "set up by the poor for the poor" in order to "supercede the practice whereby upon the death of a poor person a neighbour went round to other neighbours carrying a saucer containing salt and begging for money for the funeral."


2) Despite Morowitz's observation that "relatively little has been written about the institutionalization of death [in the Caribbean]. This is curious because funerary activities are very important in these islands ...", 1967 (a) op cit 74, the importance of mortuary ritual to the New World Negro is well documented in the literature; see e.g.: Clarke 1966 op cit: 45, who states that "The most serious and impressive religious rituals in Jamaica are those associated with death and burial ..."; Herskovits 1947 op cit: 76, who states that in Toco, Trinidad, "Of still greater importance [than security for the future] is the need to be certain of having a 'proper' burial ..."; also Herskovits 1937 op cit; Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit; Henriquez 1951 and 1968 op cit; Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit; Patterson, O. op cit; Frazier 1955 op cit. Similar importance is attached to mortuary ritual among Irish peasants, see Arensberg, C.: the Irish Countryman (Gloucester, Mass.; Peter Smith, 1959) who notes that "The most important secular ceremony of rural life is the wake and funeral." (p 215.)
When the Society was first started, meetings were held in the Baptist Class House in the village. However, in 1965 the Society purchased 2 sqs. of land for the sum of £200 for the purpose of building its own "Hall". The land is situated at the eastern edge of the village, near the river, on what is known as "the river hill".

The actual building of the Hall (or "Church" as it is sometimes called) was started about four years later, and is not yet quite complete: "it don't paint up and all like that".

The Hall is a large stone structure consisting primarily of a very large room used for meetings (See Plate 12). This room is filled with wooden benches and there is a raised dais in the front right-hand corner. The floor is of red-polished concrete. (At a concert held by the Society in 1972 I was invited to unveil a "unit" which turned out
to be an electric floor-polisher, to be used for this purpose, purchased from the Society's funds).

Unlike many other such mutual aid Societies in Jamaica, the River Village Burial Society is not a branch of a wider organisation such as the "Jamaica Burial Scheme Society, or the "Royal Reliance". Rather, it is completely independent - being described as a "mother" Society, although it as yet has no sub-branches.

Membership. In 1969 membership in the R.V.B.S. was estimated at one hundred and eighteen "financial" - that is, paid-up - members, and in 1972 at one hundred and twenty-five paid-up members, with a possible over-all total of two hundred members; - the discrepancy between actual and potential membership being accounted for by "floating" members, that is, those who had left or were not paid-up, but who were entitled to rejoin the Society.

Membership is drawn not only from River Village but also from surrounding villages or "districts" as well as from Maintown. (The majority of members do, however, come from River Village itself).

Some River Villagers belong to similar Societies in neighbouring villages. Anyone may apply to join the Society as long as he or she is between the ages of twenty-one and fifty. Thus, although a person may reap the benefits of his investment in the Society in his old age, individuals are prevented from joining to secure short-term gain; - that is, when they are very old and therefore more likely to be sickly or at death's door. In this way a viable Society is therefore ensured. 1) Prospective members have to apply by letter to the Society,

1) This viability contrasts favourably with the situation noted by Frazier among U.S. Negroes, where "The local societies were found to be unstable [and] were constantly dissolving and reforming and often failed to meet their obligations to their members." 1965 op. cit: 376-7.
and after this has been read at a meeting, the applicant is interviewed by one of the Society's officers.

**Officers.** These may be of either sex (the current President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Chaplain are male, and the Secretary and Assistant Secretary female) and are elected annually by the members to undertake various administrative and ritual functions. A brief indication of the various roles of the office-bearers are given below.

The President is head of the Society, but he does not have any authority in his own right, acting essentially on behalf of the Society. He calls the meeting to order and presides over its activities. There are two Vice-Presidents (First and Second) and one of these may deputise for the President if he is unable to attend a meeting.

The Treasurer is in charge of the Society's funds, keeping a record of these in a book, noting beside each member's name the payment of weekly subscriptions and "death tax" (see below). Funds collected for the Anniversary celebrations are also handed over to him. He takes the money to the Maintown Building Society and also makes the necessary withdrawals of money, when authorised to do so, for funeral and sickness grants, and the payment of doctor's fees.

The Secretary is in charge of authorising withdrawals for grants of money from the Society (although the signatures of two or three sureties - the President, Secretary and Treasurer - are needed for the actual withdrawal of funds from the Building Society); for example, she has to sign the doctor's certificates brought to her by the respective Sick Committees (see below) authorising the Treasurer to reimburse the doctor's fee, or to pay grants for sickness maintenance. The Secretary may also deputise for the President at
meetings.

The Assistant Secretary takes the Minutes of the Society and Committee meetings, and notes the attendance at the beginning of each meeting after the Roll Call. She also deputises for the Secretary if necessary, for example by signing receipts and certificates.

The Chaplain leads the "devotion"; after the meeting is called to order, he announces the opening hymn, leads the prayers, and reads the lesson. He also acts as Chairman of the "Selection Committee"; in other words he calls for nominations in the annual election of officers. In addition, in the event of there being no parson or Salvation Army Captain being present to conduct the burial of a member of the Society, the Chaplain officiates.

The Presiding Daughter's role, like that of the Chaplain, is primarily a ritual one ("on the Christian side"); for example at funerals she marches with the Chaplain in front of the banner which leads the procession, and she may deputise for the Chaplain at meetings. In addition, she may deputise for the President.

Men's and Women's Sick Committees are elected to represent members of the respective sexes from River Village and also from the various other villages to which members belong if the number of members from the village justifies this. Where they do not, members from such villages apply to the River Village Sick Committee. These Committees receive reports from members who are ill and need money to reimburse doctor's fees, or for sickness maintenance grants.

Four members are chosen to represent the four Apostles, and they are in charge of the collection of funds for the Society's annual Anniversary celebrations, handing out collection cards to each member some time prior to the Anniversary. Members collect from anyone
willing to give regardless of social class, for example employees may ask their employer or other members of the middle/upper classes living in the vicinity. The Apostles are also responsible for collecting donations from members of other Burial Societies who come to the Anniversary celebrations. The funds collected in conjunction with Anniversary celebrations have so far been used by the Society in the building of the Hall.

Meetings. The Society meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m. in the new Hall, meetings generally lasting for two hours although on occasion they might last longer. The usual procedure at meetings is as follows: first the Roll Call; then the Reading of the Minutes of the previous meeting and Matters Arising from the Minutes; any correspondence to the Society is then dealt with; this is followed by the Sick Reports where the relevant Sick Committees report any members who are sick and have needed financial assistance for the doctor's bill or maintenance while on sick leave; this is followed by Discussion - for example the discussion of plans for the Society's Anniversary celebrations.

Uniform and Regalia. At funerals where the Society attends as a corporate body 1) male members wear black suits while females are dressed all in white. At Anniversaries males wear suits of any colour while females wear mauve skirts and white blouses, the Presiding Daughter wearing a mauve gown. The Society also has special regalia: a banner (to be carried for example at Anniversary Rallies) and a

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1) The definition of the Burial Society as a "corporate group" not only satisfies Maine and Goody's definition of such a group (the joint ownership and transmission of property), but also Weber's (a council with a head and executive staff - though the structure is egalitarian rather than authoritarian in the Society), and Durkheim's (assemblies); and therefore also Radcliffe-Brown's second definition, (which combined all three elements), see Goody, J.: "The Classification of Double Descent Systems" reprinted in Goody, J.(Ed.): Comparative Studies in Kinship (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969).
sash worn by members. 1) These sashes are reversible: green on one side with the initials of the Society embroidered in yellow brocade, this side being worn for Anniversaries; and black on the other side, with the initials in white, this side being worn for funerals. The President has more elaborate regalia. The sashes are made by two female members of the Society, each member purchasing his sash for 10/-, which is a significant amount of expenditure for ritual purposes when viewed in the economic context in which the Society functions.

Provision of Financial Aid. This includes grants for doctor's bills and sickness maintenance, and funeral grants. Members can only receive such aid from the Society if they are "financial", that is paid-up members; the criterion for financial membership being that one cannot be five weeks or more in arrears in the payment of the weekly subscription. 2) 

When a member is sick and needs to go to the doctor, the Society reimburses the cost of the consultation fee. This is usually one guinea since members are generally sent to private consultation rather than to public consultation at the Hospital (this being so despite the fact that the same doctor undertakes both and the public consultation only costs 2/-). The Society also pays for the cost of the patient's transportation to and from Faitown for this purpose; this may be by bus, if the patient can manage to travel like this; if not, by hired car.

The procedure used to obtain financial aid in the event of illness is as follows. The sick member summons the appropriate representative on the Sick Committee who certifies that the person is ill and needs a

1) Cf Herskovits who refers to a similar banner and sash in conjunction with lodges in Toco, Trinidad, 1947 op cit.
2) Cf Herskovits 1947 op cit: 144, who states that "the presence of orders and lodges" at funerals in Toco, Trinidad, "is contingent on the ability not to fall in arrears on dues and assessments."
doctor, issuing the patient with a certificate for the doctor to sign, and then "Whatever the doctor charge you, he writes the date on it and the price." On the patient's return the Sick Committee officer collects the certificate, gives it to the Secretary to sign, and then takes it to the Treasurer, collecting the money and handing it over to the patient or one of the latter's relatives. In the event of a member not being able to afford the initial fee for the doctor's visit, the Society advances the sum, the Secretary issuing a certificate authorising withdrawal of the money from the Society's funds before actually receiving the doctor's certificate from the patient. If the doctor recommends sick leave the patient is given 12/- by the Society for each week of leave required, "But you give back 1/- to keep your book financial."

The Society's funds for "sickness benefit" are built up from the members' weekly subscriptions of 1/-. These are paid at meetings, although it is not necessary to attend every week.

When a member dies, the Society checks that he or she is "financial", and if this criterion is satisfied, the deceased's beneficiary (generally a member of his family) is given a grant to cover or help with the expenses of the funeral. The Society is not concerned with the actual details of expenditure, for such decisions rest with the family of the deceased; and when I asked one of the Society's officers how much a funeral generally costs, I was told:

"Well, me really couldn't tell you how much it cost, because the Society never responsible for [organising] any funeral. Whatever the amount of dead tax, plus the £11 [basic grant, see below], we hand it over to the person [i.e. beneficiary] whether the wife, the husband, the mother or sister, we hand it over. And they run that funeral, and nobody really ever come and tell you 'Well, you know, the money never sufficient to run it'; but you see, according to what you can afford. If you can afford to put more [in addition to the grant] and
make it a big elaborate funeral, you can do it; and if you don't afford it, you make the funeral cost you just what you get from the Society."

The role of the Society in the context of death can therefore clearly be seen to complement rather than replace that of kinship; and as will be seen below, although the members of the Society do take part in the funerals of its members in an official capacity, this is not in the role of organisers. However, in the unlikely instance of "a dead" not having any relatives or close friends willing to organise the funeral, then "The President and other members of the Society [would] go along with it and bury you."

The amount given for a funeral grant varies because of the way in which it is collected, which is as follows. In addition to a basic sum of £11 which is taken from the funds collected from the weekly subscriptions, each member pays a "death tax" of 3/- whenever a member of the Society dies, and this makes up the remainder of the grant, the total therefore depending on the number of members in the Society at the time. The death tax is in fact collected in advance of the death of the particular individual for whom it will be used, since funds are always kept in hand for a funeral grant; and so the death tax paid at each member's death is kept for the next member to die:

"And as a person is dead, the following midnight every member must pay that 3/- again; you don't wait until the person dead to collect the money [for his funeral]."

The President explained that if it were not for the expenses incurred in building the Society's Hall, the Society would be able to give a higher basic grant than the present £11. So that when the Hall is finished, it might be possible to raise the grant.

Apart from financing the funeral expenses of its members, the R.V.B.S. also performs a ritual role at such funerals. This ritual role will be outlined at a later point in the discussion of mortuary ritual in general.
The Society's interaction with similar Societies elsewhere will now be considered briefly.

As indicated above, there are several similar mutual aid societies in other parts of the island, some of which are branches of extensive organisations such as the J.B.S.S. and the Royal Reliance, and the River Village Burial Society interacts as a corporate body with several such societies, the main basis of such interaction being the various Anniversary celebrations of the societies: "All the Societies don't connected to each other, but they co-operate whenever they are having their Anniversaries."

The Anniversary celebrations mark the anniversary of the establishment of the particular society, all such celebrations being held on a Sunday, so that the specific date varies. Those of the River Village Society are held annually in September.

Not all societies are invited to attend the Anniversary celebrations of the River Village Society, and likewise the latter does not attend those of all other societies. For example the River Village Society may invite twenty other Societies to attend and even of these only five or ten might come. Likewise the former Society does not all the celebrations to which it is invited. If an invited society is unable to be present it sends a representative with a donation or simply a donation. These celebrations generally include a programme of entertainment followed by a Rally at which money is collected. Another basis of interaction between societies is the opening of new premises to house a Society. Societies with which the River Village Society interacts are scattered throughout the island.
Mortuary Ritual in River Village.

The salient points in mortuary ritual in River Village and the respective roles of kinship and the Burial Society in such ritual will now be outlined. In this discussion ethnographic comparison (primarily from other parts of the island or Caribbean area) will be included in extensive footnotes rather than an Appendix since much of this comparison is important supporting evidence for my argument (see below) that wide public, or community, participation occurs in lower class mortuary ritual (there being a basic pattern in such ritual throughout the Caribbean area).

Death. In the preceding discussion of the organisation and aims of the Burial Society, some indication has been given of the extent of the recognition of modern medicine and its incorporation into the social organisation and value system of the villagers (such values existing side by side with the traditional beliefs of causation and cure rather than replacing them, see Chapter 1). 1) Due to this growing recognition of the facilities provided by modern medicine in the set of alternative choices available to the villager for obtaining an efficacious cure, it is not surprising to find that in many cases of terminal illness the patient is admitted to the Maitown hospital, eventually dying there. In this way the death-bed scene so vividly described by Henriques is removed from the arena of the home, 2) When death occurs in hospital the body is generally kept in the "drift" or hospital morgue until

1) See particularly Henriques 1968 op cit on this point; of Hershkovits 1937 op cit, Chapter XIV "Catholicism and Vodun"; Smith, M.C. 1962 (b); Horowitz 1967 (a).

2) Henriques 1951 and 1968 op cit. Evidence of a similar trend to that described above for River Village is seen in Clarke 1966 op cit; 217, where she states that "Mrs. Malcolm died in hospital on Monday and the body was brought home early on Tuesday morning" for the funeral later that day.
the funeral, at a charge of 10/- a day (no charge being made for the first day). In this way the opportunity for the performance of ritual centred on the corpse described by Henriques and others \(^1\) is likewise removed (at least until the day of the funeral). And for example the fact that of thirteen deaths of people who either lived in the village or lived elsewhere but belonged to the River Village Burial Society, which occurred in the interim between field work and my return visit, eight occurred in hospital and five at home; and of the latter at least one was sent to a funeral parlour, indicates the extent of such social change.

The sites of graves. Despite the fact that there are numerous references in the literature to the custom of burial on family land in Jamaica \(^2\) and that this is also noted in my own data with reference to other villages in the island, this is nevertheless seen not to be the case in River Village. Several reasons can be suggested to account for this absence:

(i) Land Tenure. As seen from Chapters 3 and 4 many of the inhabitants of the village are immigrants, and as such sometimes live either in their own house on rented land, or in a rented room or house. Many households therefore do not have access to land in the village for the purpose of burial (as well as there being in such cases an obvious lack of any sentimental basis for such a custom). Thus the present social organisation of the village might account for the lack of such a custom at the present time, even if it had previously existed there.

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2) Henriques 1951 and 1968 op cit; Clarke 1953 and 1966 op cit; Davenport op cit; and of Smith, M.G. who notes a similar practice in Carriacou, 1962 (b) op cit.
However, while lack of access to land in the village might conceivably be an important factor in explaining the absence of such a custom among a certain section of the village population, there are in fact several cases where death occurred in families which did have access to either inherited or bought land in the village for burial sites, and yet where such burial still did not take place. For example in the case of eight people who were either in the sample or otherwise known to me, who died in the 1969/1972 interim, five had lived on bought land and three on inherited land, and yet I was told by the President of the Burial Society that no-one in the village had been buried in the yard since the cemetery had been there.

While the absence of burial on inherited land might conceivably be explained in the case of the woman who died during field work by the fact that the house-spot on which she had continued to live after her husband's death was in fact his inherited land rather than hers, this could not account for its absence in the other three cases referred to above where the deceased had lived on inherited land. For in all of these cases the deceased had been the (or one of the) actual heirs. It therefore seems unlikely that the variable in River Village of land tenure can explain the absence of burial in the yard.

(ii) Membership in Voluntary Associations. Although there is extensive membership in Burial Societies among the villagers there is no reason to suppose that membership in either the River Village Burial Society or some other such Society would prevent burial in the yard; for as will be seen below, the role of such Societies complements rather than supersedes that of kinship. However there is also a fairly wide membership in various churches (in Maintown and elsewhere) and the norm of church burial in the churchyard or
cemetery might be expected to have some influence on the burial practices of its members. As it is, however, church influence among the peasantry has been strong throughout the island from early post-emancipation times (and to some extent even during slavery)\(^1\) and yet there is evidence that the custom of burial in the yard persists even today in other parts of the parish and of the island. For example, during the 1969/1972 interim the brother of an informant died; he had lived in a neighbouring village and was buried on family land there, beside his son's house. A member of the River Village Burial Society from that same village also died during this period, being likewise buried there on family land; and other informants report relatives buried on family land, one such case being in Friendship, just one mile inland. Further, when discussing the reasons why people are often reluctant to sell family land, I was told that "Them say you selling out the dead".

In addition there is in fact no reason why church membership or influence and the custom of burial in the yard should not be compatible in view of the fact that folk beliefs and practices have long co-existed with those of the wider society (see Chapter 1).

(iii) The History of the Village. As mentioned in Chapter 3 River Village did not originate as a post-emancipation settlement of the type described in Chapter 1, being rather planned in the pre-emancipation era. As such, the village had a cemetery even before Maintown was founded; and although I was not given this

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1) Paget *op cit*; Mints 1958 *op cit*; Henriques 1968 *op cit*; Patterson, O. *op cit*. 
historical information by informants, 1) nevertheless I was told by some of them that the cemetery had been in the village for as long as they had "had sense" (that is could remember), and that this probably accounted for the absence of burial in the yards. And one such informant who has three relatives of different ascending generations buried on his family land in Friendship in fact gives this as the reason for the difference between these two villages in this respect: "Friendship don't have nowhere; this district [River Village] have the cemetery, so all the dead go a the cemetery."

In view of the village's history, then, one can speculate on the probability that the custom of burial in the yard may never in fact have developed at all. So that even though in some cases the variable of land tenure is permissive to the existence of the custom, the traditional influence for its development is absent. Nevertheless, the presence of a cemetery does not completely explain the absence of this custom. For Henriques describes the persistence of the latter in rural Jamaica despite the "adequate provision of cemeteries", suggesting that this might be due to the distance of the cemetery in view of the fact that "the coffin is carried to the burial ground." 2)

(iv) The proximity of the River Village cemetery to the homes of the villagers could therefore be another explanation for the absence of the custom. For the cemetery is at the edge of the village, and

1) See Gluckman, M.: "An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronislaw Malinowski" in The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 16 (London: Oxford University Press, 1949) who notes the importance of history in the analysis of a society even when the individuals in that society are unaware of it.

2) Henriques 1951 op cit: 276 & 1968 op cit: 143; see however Horowitz 1967(a) op cit: 75, who notes that in Morne-Paysan the coffin"is carried to the graveyard about a half-mile away". (My emphasis.)
as such, the distance from any part of the latter to it is very short. In addition, if the funeral involves the transportation of the coffin over a greater distance such as when the "churching" (see below) is held in Maintown, then a car is hired to bring the coffin to the village for burial.

(v) *Urban influence* is another factor to be considered in explaining the absence of the custom. For although River Village is very "rural" in many respects, it is nevertheless only two miles from Maintown, the parish capital; and being situated at the edge of the main road which leads from the town into the interior, there is easy communication between the two. There is thus ample opportunity for interaction between the inhabitants of the two, and for the absorption by the villagers of more urban values. 1) Such values might operate against this custom in various ways. There is the influence of the churches, (although qualifications of this were discussed above). Another is the increasing use of the hospital and morgue. This, apart from removing many of the previously existing opportunities for ritual centred on the body between the death and the funeral, also shifts the focus somewhat from the family (elementary or extended) and community to these more 'national' institutions. This shift of focus could be followed through by burial in the cemetery ('national' focus) rather than in the yard ('family' focus). Thus, influence towards cemetery interment might be secular as well as religious. Burial in the village

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1) Note that Henriquez states that burial in the yard "is a practice confined to the country parts as opposed to the urban areas." 1951 *op cit.*: 276 and 1968 *op cit.*: 143.
cemetery would in fact provide a compromise between a 'national' and 'family' focus by combining the more impersonal aspect of being buried in a cemetery, with the less impersonal aspect of being buried in the familiar community.

In the preceding section it was noted that the custom of burial in the yard is absent in River Village, and possible explanations for this were considered. It must however now be noted that while the site of burial has been shifted from the arena of household and kinship, the responsibility for mortuary ritual has not.

Preparations for the funeral. These are the responsibility of the kin of the deceased. \(^1\) For even when the latter was a member of the Burial Society and his family therefore receive a funeral grant, the Society is not, as mentioned above, responsible for the details of expenditure or organisation. In fact, apart from the specific ritual role played by the Society at the funerals of its members, the organisation of all other mortuary ritual is in the hands of the deceased's family.

Preparations for the funeral include getting a coffin made, digging the grave, and preparing refreshment, for example for the grave-diggers. For example in the case of Mrs. J. 's death, the funeral arrangements were undertaken jointly by her two adult children, in the case of Mr. C. by his widow (see Cases 2 and 4 below).

Nevertheless, although the responsibility lies with kin, friends and members of the community (irrespective of membership

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\(^1\) Cf Smith, M.G. 1962 \(\textit{op cit}\) 153 who states that in Carriacou "The resident mate and adult children of the deceased, or close kin, are in charge of his burial"; see also Taylor 1951 \(\textit{op cit}\); Herskovits 1957 and 1947 \(\textit{op cit}\). Cf Vallee, F. \(\textit{"Burial and Mourning Customs in a Hebridean Community"}\) in \textit{J.R.A.I.}, 85, 1955, who notes that the main responsibility for making the necessary arrangements in the event of a death in Barra lies with the closest adult male of the deceased.
in the Burial Society) may take over much of the actual work involved in such preparation; - both for the funeral and any subsequent ritual. Such persons may also contribute food and money, as in the case of the ritual held for Mr. C. and Mr. A. (see below cases 4 and 1). Another illustration of such help is the labour group (about twenty-five people) which dug

1) Cf. Herskovits who states that in Toco, Trinidad, "All who come [to offer condolences at a death] bring gifts to help with the wake that night and the funeral of the next day ... Friends and neighbors prepare food for the wake, and care for the family of the dead, relieving the mourners of any tasks in connection with the death rites." 1947 op cit: 135; see also p. 137; also 1937 op cit: 210 on Haiti, where "Following the funeral, friends sometimes remain with the mourners for several days, caring for the house and doing the cooking; ..." Taylor states that in the event of a death among the Dominica Caribs that "as large quantities of food and drink have to be provided for the wake ... neighbors do all they can to help at such times." 1945 op cit: 523. M.G. Smith notes that members of the community in Carriacou contribute towards the expenses of the wake, and the prayer-meetings held on the third and ninth night, 1962 (b) op cit: 157; 159. With reference to Jamaica Henriques notes that "In very poor families each person brings his own food, but if they possibly can the family makes some attempt at provision." 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 144. Similar community mutual aid to that reported above is noted by Vallee for Barra, Outer Hebrides, op cit. Such informal aid outlined above can be contrasted with the situation among the Black Carib of British Honduras described by Taylor as "not a neighborly people", for "If the immediate family is poor and without kindred in the vicinity, money must be borrowed ... to buy provisions for the wake ..." 1951 op cit: 97.
Mrs. J.'s grave; 1) this consisting solely of volunteers unrelated to the deceased. And although the latter's daughter provided the "breakfast" for the diggers, she did not need to do any of the actual cooking, this being undertaken by several other women from the village.

Likewise, in the case of Mr. A.'s death neither his son nor step-son were involved in the grave-digging, this being done by friends from the village, and visitors helped Mrs. A. by contributing "little money and food to help the funeral" and by cooking for the grave-diggers.

Funerals. There are two main stages in the funeral ritual.

First the "Churching", or funeral service proper; and secondly, the actual interment of the corpse. 2) The churching may be

1) Co-operative grave-digging groups are also noted in other parts of Jamaica; see for example Clarke 1966 op cit: 217, who states that Mrs. Malcolm's "grave had ... been dug by neighbors ..."; and I am told by someone from another part of the island that in that area the family of the deceased can never get people to dig the grave by paying them. For either they dig it free of charge if the deceased was well liked; or if he was not, they will not dig it at all. Such groups are also noted elsewhere in the Caribbean; see Herskovits 1947 op cit: 138 who notes that in Toco, Trinidad, "The grave is dug ... by a party ... of men ... The better known and liked the dead, the larger the group, and the family have rum and food ... sent for each member;" Herskovits 1937 op cit: 208 on Haiti where "A pig or goat is killed to feed those who dig the grave and carry the coffin, 'so they can do their work well'. Otherwise these men receive no payment, 'for people do such things for each other.' "; and Taylor 1945 op cit: 523 who contrasts the free labour groups formed by "friends or kin (never the immediate family)" for grave digging among the Caribs of Dominica, with the absence of such free labour among the Black Caribs of British Honduras, ibid; also 1951 op cit: 97. In some cases the coffin is also made free of charge; see e.g. Smith, M.G. 1962 op cit: 153 who notes that in Carriacou "Village carpenters by a form of free group work called maroon prepare a coffin ..."; see also Taylor on the Dominica Caribs 1945 op cit: 525, again in contrast to the Black Caribs of British Honduras, 1951 op cit: 97, and Herskovits 1947 op cit: 135.

held in a Church or Church Hall, the Burial Society Hall, or in the yard of the deceased—according to the expressed wishes of the latter, and/or contingent on his membership in these various organisations—and is generally conducted by the appropriate parson (if the deceased was a member of a church) or the Salvation Army Captain. For example, Mr. C. was churched in his yard as he was neither a member of a church nor of the Burial Society; and the ceremony was presided over by the Salvation Army Captain. Whereas Mrs. J. was churched in the Maintown Methodist Church by the Methodist minister; and Miss V., a member of the Burial Society, was churched in the Society Hall. The Society may sometimes grant permission for non-members to be churched in their Hall.

It should perhaps be noted at this point that not only does the Society not usurp the place of kinship at death, but neither that of the church, for membership in such associations is not mutually exclusive. For example although Mrs. J. was churched in the Methodist Church, the Burial Society attended the funeral in an official capacity and also financed it.

Prior to the churching the body will have lain "in state" 1) —for example in the Church or Society Hall—while friends and villagers (and members of the Burial Society, qua members, if the deceased was a member of the Society) come to walk around the coffin and pay their last respects to the deceased. If the latter was a member of the Burial Society the President (or some other representative of the Society) will, after the sermon at the churching, speak on

1) Vallee reports a similar custom of "lying-in-State" (os cionn talamhainn) in Barra, op cit: 121-3.
behalf of the Society, saying how good a member was the deceased, and asking the Lord to have mercy on his soul. Other people, for example the family of the deceased, may also extol his virtues.

The coffin is then taken to the cemetery, accompanied by the funeral procession. The Society attends the funerals of its members in an official capacity, but such attendance does not exclude the attendance of non-members. In such funeral processions the members of the Society can be identified marching in two lines before the coffin. Individual members of the Society may also attend the funerals of non-members in an unofficial capacity, that is as members of the community, qua community.

When the procession reaches the cemetery, the people gather at the graveside and the body is committed to the earth, the people walking round the coffin again as at the "lying-in-state" to pay their respects to the dead.

If the funeral of a member of the Society is held outside the village, the Society still attends. For example in the interim between field work and my return visit the Society went to funerals of members in Maintown and in a neighbouring village, "because we had our rites to perform".

Other Mortuary Ritual. Apart from the funeral, other mortuary ritual consists primarily of the "Nine Night" celebrations. However there are other gatherings associated with death, and these will first be discussed.

The custom found in River Village of visiting the house of the bereaved on the night of the death or night(s) prior to the funeral undoubtedly originates from the custom of the lyke-wake - that is the watch kept over the dead body - which is widely reported not
only for Jamaica but for other parts of the Caribbean, being also common in other parts of the world such as Ireland and the Outer Hebrides. 1)

In the case of Mr. A.'s death the body was still in the home when the visitors came to keep his widow company on the night of the death (Saturday) and the night preceding the funeral (Sunday).

1) See Henriques 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 143 who states that "A wake will commence when someone dies", noting that the form it takes on the first night is simply conversation. And with reference to West Kingston, Simpson states that "A 'set'n up' or wake is held every night until the day of the funeral which is usually no later than the second or third day", Simpson, C.: "The Nine Night Ceremony in Jamaica" in Journal of American Folklore, 70 (278), 1957: 329; see also p.355 Footnote (7) where he states with reference to mortuary ritual held for Mr. Saunders in Sugartown (Clarke cited in Simpson) that "The 'set'n up' usually held before the burial had taken place after the funeral." (My emphasis).

A similar custom is noted for Haiti, where it takes the form of singing, playing games and story telling, going on all night until 5 a.m. with people coming and going, Herskovits 1937 op cit: 208-9; for Trinidad, where a Chairman directs activities which consist of singing, playing "cards and other games", bongos, dances, and Anansi stories, and where refreshments are served, the activities lasting all night, there being "hesitation to be the first to leave a wake", Herskovits 1947 op cit: 155; 137-8; (on the last point of Taylor 1951 op cit: 101); for Carriacou, where food is provided and activities lasting until dawn consist of singing hymns and songs, word games and Anansi stories, Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 152-156; for British Guiana where it consists of hymn singing and drinking, Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 204-5; for both the Caribs of Dominica where "large quantities of food and drink" are served and French cantiques sung, Taylor 1945 op cit: 523, and the Black Caribs of British Honduras where it consists of a prayer-meeting, Taylor 1951 op cit: 97-8; see also Horowitz 1967 (a) op cit: 76, who notes the custom of the vaillees in Martinique on the night before the burial. Horowitz notes the dichotomy of sacred and profane elements in such ritual (and which is common to similar ritual throughout the Caribbean) comparing it to the similar dichotomy in Caribbean Carnival celebrations (of Arensberg op cit: 216 who refers to "both solemn and gay elements in the Irish funeral).

Arensberg notes a similar custom among Irish peasants, op cit: 215 and Arensberg, C. & Kimball, S.: Family and Community in Ireland (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948: 76); and Vallee for the islanders of Beria, op cit: 123. In the latter's account the wake is seem to be held on the first night after the death, the body being taken to the chapel and left there alone on the second night (prior to the funeral).
Despite this, however, Mrs. A. says that in fact the body was removed to a small house at the back of the yard, where the family lived prior to the building of their present house, and that apart from laying the body on a bed and keeping it soused with ice, there was no ritual centred on the corpse until it was washed and dressed for burial on the Monday. The custom of the wake has persisted even in cases where the body is not kept at home prior to the funeral. For example in the case of Mrs. J.'s death, which occurred in hospital on a Thursday night, visitors came to her daughter's house on the Friday and Saturday nights preceding the funeral, despite the fact that the body remained at the hospital until the Sunday afternoon. And in the case of Mr. C.'s death (also in hospital) visitors sat with his widow "for nine days and nights", there being a "big singing" at her yard on the Saturday night prior to the funeral, lasting from 9 p.m. till 8 a.m. the next day. His body however only being brought home on the Sunday for the churching. Various elements reported in such ritual are singing, refreshments (including alcohol) and games, such as dominoes.

It is also customary for visitors to gather at the house of the deceased on the night after the funeral, 1) (the latter generally being held in the afternoon). For example in the case of Mr. C., although many people went home after his funeral, several others stayed on to "set up" with his widow. Mrs. A. however, says that in the case of her husband's death, only about three people remained.

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1) See for example Clarke's account of "the first day" of "The Death and Burial of Mrs. Malcolm" (1966 op. cit: 217-219). A similar custom, known as the "comfort visit" is noted by Vallee on the island of Barra, Outer Hebrides; in the Hebridean case, however, such a visit is confined to the extended kin, op. cit: 126.
with her after the funeral. (This difference might be explained by the fact that whereas the former widow is childless and therefore alone, the latter has children and grandchildren in the village).

The night after Mrs. J.'s funeral, about twenty-five people gathered at her yard to sing, (despite the fact that the bereaved family lived elsewhere in the village). And Mrs. J.'s daughter in fact left the gathering still in progress to return to her own home.

Sometimes such ritual may continue for several nights 1) until

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1) This custom is likewise reported in the literature for other parts of Jamaica and the Caribbean. See for example Clarke's account of the second to twelfth days of "The Death and Burial of Mrs. Malcolm" 1966 op cit: 219-224; the activities of these nights intermediate between that of the funeral and that of the Nine Nights included various combinations of the following elements: hymn singing, Bible reading (mainly psalms), prayers, dominoes, riddles and storytelling, conversation, sleeping (when the activities slowed up) and refreshments. Feasting took place on the third night, but on some nights only bread and chocolate were served. On the tenth and eleventh nights there were, however, no visitors; and on the fourth, fifty and seventh nights, very few, due to other more attractive functions either in the village or another nearby village.

Henriques also notes that the wake continues over nine nights, the first eight simply "marking time" for the Ninth. Such intermediate ritual is reported as consisting of games - cards and dominoes for the adults, and hide and seek for the children - Anansi stories, and small quantities of refreshment, 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 144. See also M.G. Smith, who reports that in Carriacou: "Until the ninth night the bereaved receive visitors each evening, and all sit together, singing hymns and praying, until midnight, when they all go to sleep in the house, the visitors leaving at dawn ... For these nine nights the bereaved are never left to sleep alone." 1962 (b) op cit: 157. Herskovits refers to the novena or "nine-day rite" held in Haiti following a death, which is held in two-hourly sessions of prayers and hymns, (during which no refreshment is served) 1937 op cit: 210-211; 344; and to the "series of 'small wakes' " held in similar circumstances on the eight nights following a burial, in Toco, Trinidad, during which visitors "sit with the mourners" 1947 op cit: 141.

Taylor reports a similar custom among the Black Carib of British Honduras, where: "Every evening the family, the kindred, and any others who wish to honor the dead, meet and recite prayers of the Catholic Church ..." 1951 op cit: 98; and he notes with reference to the Dominica Caribs that it is "customary to set food in the deceased's place daily until after la prière" (on the ninth day) 1945 op cit: 524.
the Ninth night. For example, as mentioned above, after Mr. C. died, visitors sat with his widow "for nine days and nights". And when another villager, Mr. U. (see Case 3 below) died recently, people visited the home of his widow continually from the time of the death until the Nine Night to comfort the bereaved and play dominos. However I was also told by one informant that ritual only takes place on one night (the ninth); - "only one night", and that "nothing at all" happens in between: "Just only when the Nine Night come, you just have it the one time and finish away with it." And this was later seen to tally with Mrs. A.'s statement that there was no more ritual after the night of her husband's funeral (Monday) until the Nine Night on the subsequent Saturday; similarly in the case of the H.'s baby who died some years ago - for although on the night after the funeral "we have a few company here, and a man carry record come and play, entertain the people", and the guests had also returned the subsequent night, "they never come back again". (My emphasis).

The custom of holding a wake on the 'ninth night' after death (hence the name "Nine Night" or "Ninth Night") common in River Village is also widely reported in the literature not only for other parts of Jamaica, but also of the Caribbean area. 1) Despite the prevalence

1) Henriques refers to the institution of "Nint' Night", stating that: "It is only on the ninth night that the wake really comes into its own. The former nights can be regarded as marking time for this celebration." 1951 op cit: 276; 1968 op cit: 144. Simpson notes the prevalence of this institution in West Kingston, illustrating his material with the example of a specific Nine Night ceremony witnessed in Denham Town. He also quotes a lengthy extract from Edith Clarke's field notes on a Nine Night ceremony attended by the latter in Sugartown, op cit. And in "The Death and Burial of Mrs. Malcolm", Clarke herself describes another Nine Night held at Sugartown 1966 op cit: 224-227. Paterson, O. notes that the "ninth-night ceremony ... bears striking resemblance to the post-burial ceremonies of West African peoples." op cit: 198; of Henriques who notes that the wake contains elements "of both African and European origin." 1951 op cit: 278 and 1968 op cit: 145. Herskovits notes a similar institution called cropover or "nine day night" (held for both adults and children) on "the ninth night after burial" in Toco,
of this custom in the village, I was nevertheless told that not everyone keeps such a wake for a deceased relative: "Some people keep up it, and some people don't." And in the case of Mrs. J.'s death, no Nine Night was kept up for her, for, as her daughter explains "she never believe in it." In addition, not everyone who does keep such a wake likes a big and noisy one:

"[With] some people, you have people go there and play [dominoes etc.] and make a whole heap a noise, all the while; while some people don't love it, only few friends would sit down there and you talk until you go."

However, the norm is a large wake, starting sometime between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m., and continuing until daylight. It is described by various informants as follows:

"Is like you have anybody dead, nine days after the person is buried, you have singing."

"You have singing. You boil coffee, or cocoa, and you get bread, an' you cut it up, and rum; so them sing whole night, until daylight."

"Them have singing, coffee, and bread. From old time, from me growing up me hear about that thing until now. For my grandmother - I can remember when my grandfather die - she had a Nine Night the same way. Singing, them cut bread, and boil coffee, them

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Trinidad, (stating that in fact several such rites may be "given simultaneously" for the same person) 1947 op cit: 141 144; 147; 151. See also Herskovits 1937 op cit: 210-211 with reference to the dernibre priître, which ends the novena after a death in Haiti. Similar too is the prayer-meeting held at the home of the deceased on the ninth night after death in Carriacou, Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 152; and la priître and the beluría or "Ninth-Night Wake" noted by Taylor among the Carib of Dominica and the Black Carib of British Honduras respectively, 1945 op cit: 524 and 1951 op cit: 99-101.
drink cocoa; some don't drink cocoa, - they buy chocolate. They buy all those things, and bread, and entertain the people them, and them sing from Saturday night, whole night, until Sunday morning."

Such reports were later born out by those of specific Nine Nights. For example those held for Mr. A. in 1970, Mr. U. in 1971 and Mr. C. in 1972 all included singing and refreshments, these gatherings breaking up the following morning.  

1) Comparable details are likewise reported for such celebrations in other parts of Jamaica and also of the Caribbean: - Henriques describes the "Hunt' Night" wake as lasting from "sunset to daylight", and as including music, dancing ("Sets" - similar to "English country or barn dances"), singing (hymns and obscene songs), Anansi stories, Bible reading, an adulation of the deceased, ceremony of "duppy or spirit catching", and after midnight refreshments consisting of "a heavy meal of rice, peas, yams, and chicken. After this coffee and sweetmeats are handed round. Rum is drunk throughout the evening, though there are wakes at which no alcohol is consumed." These proceedings being supervised by a chairman or master of ceremonies. 1951 op cit: 277 and 1968 op cit: 145. Simpson outlines the general pattern of Nine Night ceremonies in West Kingston as consisting of certain rituals in the room of the deceased; an adulation of the latter; hymn singing and refreshments; the proceedings being supervised by a "Chairman" or "Secretary", and lasting till "early morning" op cit: 329-330. His specific example of one such ceremony in Denham Town began at 10.15 p.m. and included hymns, an address by a Revival Zion Leader, "spiritual dancing", dominoes and card games, and refreshments of "fried fish, bread, coffee, green tea, bush tea, and rum" after midnight ibid: 330-331. The Nine Night held at Sugartown for Mr. Saunders (Clarke in Simpson, ibid: 331-334) which started at 9.30 p.m. and appears to have broken up shortly after midnight, was held in the form of a prayer meeting, and included hymns, prayers, and exhortation to the young to follow the Lord. The Nine Night held for Mrs. Malcolm in Sugartown reported elsewhere by Clarke 1966 op cit: 224-227 included prayers, hymns, and refreshments (the biggest feed of the twelve nights) consisting of "curry goat and rice, beer and cream-soda with ice, the men being given rum" (226); - the guests arriving at about 7 p.m. and the gathering breaking up shortly after midnight.

Similar ceremonies reported elsewhere in the Caribbean, and referred to above, include varying combinations of the following elements: food and drink (including alcohol) prayers, dancing, gambling, Anansi stories and other folk tales, games (for example "forfeits" and cards), wailing, and the offering of rum and food to the spirit of the deceased. Such gatherings are also often seen to last until daylight. (See Herskovits on Haiti 1937 op cit: 211 and Trinidad 1947 op cit: 147-151; Taylor on the Dominica Caribs 1945 op cit: 524 and the Black Caribs of British Honduras 1951 op cit: 99-101; and M.G. Smith on Carriacou 1962 (b) op cit: 152-158).
In the discussions of such wakes informants become increasingly animated, these occasions obviously being remembered with great enjoyment, and for example one such informant refers to the "lovely" wake held for a relative some years ago. 1) A "Forty Nights" may also be held approximately forty nights after the death, and as seen from Case 3 below follows the same general pattern as the Nine Night. 2)

This ritual of wakes is linked to a complex of beliefs surrounding duppies (ghosts; spirits;) 3) and other spiritual phenomena widely held not only throughout the island but also in other

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An interesting point recurrent in various of these ethnographic descriptions is the significance of the presence or absence of salt in ritual involved with spirits. For example Simpson op cit: 330 reports the offering of unsalted rice to the spirit at the Nine Night ceremony in Jamaica, and Herskovits refers to a similar practice in Trinidad on the night of the death and at the "forty days" (see below) 1947 op cit: 151.

Simpson explains the custom with reference to the fact that "no spirit touches anything that is salted" ibid: 330, and this might be the explanation for the use of salt in the following instance reported by Clarke: "From time to time" at Mrs. Malcolm's Nine Night the singers went to the table and took a pinch of salt from a saucer." Clarke 1966 op cit: 227; and Wells refers to the practice among post-emancipation negroes in Jamaica "whereby upon the death of a poor person a neighbour went round to other neighbours carrying a saucer containing salt and begging for money for the funeral." op cit: 15 (My emphasis). In other words, such practices seem to be designed to keep the spirit away.

1) Cf Clarke 1966 op cit: 224 who refers to such ritual as "jollification"; see also Henriques 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 145.

2) The ritual of "Forty Nights" or "Forty Days" is also referred to for other parts of the island and Caribbean, see Herskovits 1947 op cit: 147; 151; who refers to this ritual which, in contrast to the Ninth Night, is only held for adults; Simpson op cit: 334, Footnote (2); Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 152.

3) See Patterson, O. op cit: 204 on the use of the word duppy which has both this generalised meaning and a more specific one.
parts of the Caribbean; 1) most important of these in the context of mortuary ritual being the belief that the spirit of the deceased returns to his home on the ninth night after death. 2) Such ritual

1) Simpson states that although the Revivalist and Pocomania cults in Jamaica do not include the worship of old African gods, as do several other cults in the Caribbean area, that nevertheless there is a strong belief in Spirits: "Old Testament prophets, New Testament saints, other Biblical figures, and the dead." Op cit: 329. Davenport states that "Jamaicans ... have very strong beliefs about the ghosts of ancestors which linger in the vicinity of the grave ..." Op cit: 451; and Clarke that "there is still a strong belief that the ghost of an angry or neglected forbear will return to haunt his descendants." 1966 op cit: 45; see also Otterbein 1966 op cit. Henriques notes that "The belief in ghosts or duppies is very strong." 1968 op cit: 127; that "To the Jamaican the spirit world is part of the everyday world ..." 1951 op cit: 279 and 1968 op cit: 145; and refers to the "dread of spirits which exists in the island." 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 143; and regarding notions of causation, that "To the lower class Jamaican the world is full of mysterious events which can only be explained by reference to ghosts." 1968 op cit: 128; of Herskovits 1947 op cit: 154; Patterson, O. op cit, Chapter 7; and Hogg, D.: "The Convince Cult in Jamaica" in Mintz 1960 (a).

The world-view of the lower class Jamaican presented by such anthropologists can be compared to that of the Irish Countryman, based on the fairy-cult, whereby the dead are believed to join "them" - that is the "good people" - and "Thus ... come to cover nearly every association of life ..." Arensberg op cit: 210; and Arensberg's statement that "Nor are they' always fearsome ... The dead are too much a part of life in rural Ireland for that", Ibid, indicates a comparable attitude to that of the Jamaican towards the family graves, Henriques 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 143; of Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 163. While detailed research into concepts of causation and beliefs was not within the sphere of this thesis, nevertheless there is reason to conclude that similar beliefs exist at least to some extent in River Village.

For reference to similar beliefs elsewhere in the Caribbean see Taylor 1945 op cit; and 1951 op cit, particularly pp. 102-8; Herskovits 1937 op cit, Chapters XI and XII; 1941 op cit, Chapter VII; 1947 op cit, Chapters VI and IX; Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 138-152; Horowitz 1967 (a): 59-78 and 81-3.

2) See Simpson op cit: 329; Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 158; this can be compared with the fact that the spirit is believed to remain in the house "until after the ninth day wake ..." among the Black Carib of British Honduras, Taylor 1951 op cit: 97. See also Herskovits who notes that in Trinidad "If it is suspected that death was caused by evil magic, the dead ... is instructed to return in nine days to tell who was responsible for the death." 1947 op cit: 142; see also p. 146. In some cases the significance of the third night after death (when a special ritual may also be held) is also noted, see Simpson op cit: 329; Smith, M.G. 1962 (b): 145; 152; Herskovits 1947 op cit: 138; Clarke 1966 op cit: 220.
therefore appears to be manipulative at least in origin since its purpose (initially at least) is to influence the spirit - either to keep it away or to placate it. 1)

A variety of reasons for the various stages of mortuary ritual in River Village (such as the Nine Night and the intermediate visiting) were given me. One informant who is a regular attendant at wakes and has attended about nine Nine Night gatherings in the fairly recent past, says that he goes to such wakes in order to help with the singing. However, he also states that on one such occasion the duppy of the deceased appeared, despite the singing, in the "same khaki suit" that he used to wear in his lifetime. This report, the fact that another informant says that at the Nine Night held for her husband, "coming up to 12 o'clock we brave up ourselves and sing" (my emphasis), and the fact that no Nine Night was held for Mrs. J. because "she never believe in it", all indicate that manipulation of the deceased's spirit may be a function of the wake. In addition, lamps may be lit before darkness falls for a certain period after the death to prevent the spirit of the deceased from returning to harm the bereaved. 2)

1) Of Taylor who says of the games played at la prière among the Dominica Caribs that "It seems not impossible that these games should be fragmentary and distorted survivals of ancient whipping rites originally meant to drive away evil spirits, or even the ghost of the deceased himself." 1945 op cit: 524. Henriques gives the propitiation of the spirits as one of the functions of the wake, 1951 op cit: 277-8 and 1968 op cit: 145; Simpson shows that the purpose of the Nine Night ceremony is to pay respect to the spirit of the deceased, and to ensure, by performing the proper ritual, that it does not return afterwards to harm the living, op cit; see also Herskovits 1937 op cit: 209; 211; and 1947 op cit: 150; 163; Taylor 1945 op cit: 523-4 and 1951 op cit: 101; Smith, M.G.: 1962 (b) op cit: 145; 157; Clarke 1966 op cit 216; 225. Again attention can be drawn to similar elements in the Irish fairy-cult, Arensberg op cit: 187-9; 204; 209; 216.

2) Of Simpson op cit: 329, who states that "Inside the house a light is kept burning for nine nights." And Herskovits 1937 op cit: 211 who reports that during the Haitian custom of the novena, two candles must be kept burning for nine days.
However, the same informant who made the statement regarding the gathering 'braving up' themselves to sing, also said that the custom of Nine Night "has nothing to do with duppy", its purpose simply being to cheer up the bereaved. 1)

Regardless of the extent to which a belief in duppies is functional in the persistence of such ritual in River Village, the function of comforting the bereaved and keeping them company is obviously an important factor in the perpetuation of such ritual there, and one which is widely acknowledged in the village. 2)

As with the ritual prior to the Nine Nights (that is, "sitting ups" before and after the funeral, and the organisation of the actual details of the funeral) the organisation of the Nine Nights rests with the family of the deceased, regardless of Burial Society membership as in the cases cited below of Mr. C. and Mr. A. (non-members of any Burial Society), Mrs. J. (a member of the River Village Burial Society), and Mr. U. (a member of one of the two Burial Societies in Friendship).

As mentioned above, the name "Nine Nights" derives from the belief that the spirit of the deceased returns to its home on

1) Extended research into beliefs associated with such ritual, is as that associated with such beliefs in general, outside the sphere of this thesis.

2) Cf Clarke's account of Mr. Saunders' Nine Night in Sugartown where there are various verbalized statements by informants that the purpose of the gathering was to keep the family of the deceased company. For example, "Mrs. X.", one of the main organisers of the wake, said that she and the group of ladies "had come to keep the company of the bereaved family" Clarke in Simpson op cit: 331. Another attendant also referred to such a purpose: "There was a long silence and this was again broken by the man who had spoken before saying he was there also to keep the company of the bereaved family and that he didn't want a moment spent in silence." (ibid).
the ninth night after death. Yet while various anthropologists 1) state that such ritual is held on the ninth night, and in some cases give specific examples of this, it was, in contrast found that in River Village such ritual is generally held not on the ninth night, but on the Saturday nearest this; - the ritual being either shifted backwards or forwards depending on the specific case. Even if the date of such Nine Night celebrations is reckoned with reference to that of the burial rather than the death 2) - (note one informant quoted above said regarding such celebrations:
"... nine days after the person is buried..." my emphasis) - it is often seen not to be the ninth night in this respect either.

Nevertheless the actor's model of such ritual in River Village is still verbalised as the "ninth night". For example Mrs. C. says that after her husband's death people sat up with her "for nine days and nights", but at another point she states that the yard was never empty of people from her husband's death until "nine days after he bury" (my emphasis). However, whether calculations are in fact made from the day of the death or from that of the burial, neither the Nine Night nor even the following day (when there was still some company, see below) were nine days after, the Nine Night (held on a Saturday) being in fact eleven days after the death, and six days after the burial. And whereas the Nine Nights held for Mr. U., also on a Saturday, did coincide with the ninth night after

1) Simpson op cit; Clarke in Simpson ibid; Henriques 1968 op cit: 144.
2) There is also/variation in the literature as to whether the Ninth Night ceremony is stated as being the ninth night after death or after burial; for example Henriques 1951 op cit: 276 and 1968 op cit: 144, Simpson op cit: 329 and Smith, M.C. 1962(b) op cit: 152 refer to this institution as being nine nights after the death, while Herskovits 1937 op cit: 344 and 1947 op cit: 141 refers to it as being nine nights after the funeral.
his death, that held for Mr. A. did not. This latter, held on
a Saturday also, being seven days after the death and five days
after the burial.

I was told that the reason that the Ninth Night is usually
on a Saturday is so that people can rest the following day, being
Sunday, before returning to work on the Monday. If the belief
in the return of the spirit is still an important consideration in
the perpetuation of such ritual, then the spirit's return in
River Village has been adjusted to suit the plans of the living and
the demands of wage labour. 1)

It can be seen, then, that the actor's model is mainly a
symbolic one, since it co-exists with an awareness of this
adaptation.

1) Cf Taylor 1951 op cit: 98 who notes that among the Black Carib
of British Honduras "In practice, the observations connected
with the 'nine nights' are often delayed in order that the final
ceremony of the 'Ninth night' may be better attended by being
made to take place on a Saturday." Compare this however with
Herskovits 1937 op cit: 210 who notes the following with reference
to the Haitian novena: "It was stated that the novena must begin
on the Saturday after burial, so that it might end on a Sunday
night, but one such ceremony actually occurred on a Friday night,
which would be in accordance with the assertion that the
demière prière may take place on Monday, Friday, or Saturday
nights. Others, however, maintained that this is only town
custom, and that in the countryside this rite always takes place
on a Sunday." (My emphasis). However other authors support the
actor's model of "ninth night" (Henriques 1951 op cit: 276 and
1968 op cit: 144; Herskovits 1947 op cit: 141; Smith, M.G.
1962 (b) op cit: 157-159;) and in some cases the specific
ethnographic material supports this (e.g. Clarke in Simpson op cit;
Simpson ibid:). However the Nine Night held for Mrs. Malcolm
which was on a Saturday, Clarke 1966 op cit; was not in fact held
until the twelfth night after the funeral, which was the thirteenth
night after the death. It may also be noted that Taylor, with
reference to the Dominica Caribs, says that la prière may in fact
be delayed; but in this case the reason given being "if poverty
makes it impossible to provide a fresh supply of food and rum so
soon" after the wake, 1945 op cit: 524.
Mobilisation of ties in the context of death. Death results in the obvious involvement of household ties based on kinship (both consanguineous and conjugal relationships). For example in the last weeks of Mrs. K.'s terminal illness, her adult daughter who lived at home with her, gave up her job as a domestic in order to be with her mother. And after the death the daughter was involved in organising the subsequent Nine Night. Likewise, the accounts of the deaths of Mr. C., Mr. A. and Mr. U. given below show the involvement of the widow in all three cases.

Extra-household ties are also mobilised. Some of these may also be based on kinship, some of which may be in the village. For although it will be shown at a later point (Chapter 9) that "kinship" and "community" are not coterminous entities, nevertheless there are many ties of kinship between households in the village; as was noted in Chapter 3. This was the case for example when Mrs. J. died; - Mrs. A.J. her daughter, who gave the account of her death reported below in Case 2, and who was closely involved with the ritual, lives with her husband in another household in the village, Mrs. J. herself having lived alone. The latter's son also lives in another village household. The involvement of Mrs. D. in the ritual surrounding the death of Mrs. K. in 1968 ("I gave her the last drop of water") is another example of such kinship ties, Mrs. D.'s husband and Mrs. K. being "cousins".

Still other kinship ties may be mobilised from outside of the village, for, as the data on birth-place of the principal adults shows (see Chapter 3) and the material on claims to family land illustrate (see Chapter 8), there is an extensive kinship network
which extends beyond the village. For example when Mrs. O.'s husband died, three carloads of her relatives came from Kingston to attend the funeral. When Mr. A. died, Mrs. A.'s cousin came from a village some miles inland to stay with her. And when Mrs. K. died, her son came from a neighbouring parish and took the body down to the hospital. Similarly when old Mrs. Y. (mother to three River Village informants) died in a nearby village further inland her relatives in the former village went inland to attend ritual surrounding her death. (See Case 5 below).

In other cases however, such extra-household ties are not based on kinship. The first obvious illustration of this is the participation of the River Village Burial Society (or similar Society) as a corporate body at the funerals of its members, - such Societies not being kinship-based. And although the organisation of the Nine Night ritual is in the hands of the family even if the deceased was a member of the Society, nevertheless as the President of the latter points out, Society members may contribute towards, and attend, a Nine Night (this is applicable whether the deceased was a member of the Society or not) on an individual basis; in other words as members of the community qua community. But regardless of membership in such Societies, intra-village, and sometimes inter-village participation in all stages of mortuary ritual is wide. Anyone can attend a Nine Night ritual - one does not need an invitation, nor does one need to be a relative of the deceased in order to do so. People also sometimes come from afar to attend the singing on such occasions.

In a discussion on mortuary ritual with informants I was told regarding the attendance at funerals and wakes in the village, that:
"All the relatives go; friends too. Not the whole village - some, some; don't care what you do, you always have some people who don't come. But sometimes, according to the person that is dead, you have a very big funeral. The people of River Village, Friendship, Maintown [and other neighbouring villages] - people come from all about ... No, no relatives of them, just friends."

Implicit in the statement "don't care what you do, you always have some people who don't come," being that the people in the village who do not come are the exception rather than the rule. The above extract is compiled from a discussion in 1968 with a couple who have lived in River Village for over fifty years, and the reports received in 1972 on mortuary ritual that occurred in the interim bore out the validity of their statements regarding wide "public" attendance. (See for example Cases 1 - 4 below of deaths in River Village, and Case 5 of a death in a neighbouring village).

Another informant who had told me of the death of her baby some years ago made the following statement when I asked if there was any difference between the attendance at the funeral of a child and of an adult: "Just the same way. People who want to turn out to the little funeral as well as to the big one, them come out same way." For, she went on to say, her baby's funeral had "plenty people ... Everybody love the baby." An old lady who told me about her daughter's funeral some years ago echoes a similar sentiment regarding the latter's popularity: "The very duppy in a ground would a love her how she sweet and nice. She was beloved by - I don't know who to tell you, I can't exempt who, unless you is with a devil or so. She had one [i.e. enormous] funeral!" These accounts of large attendance contingent on the popularity of the deceased are also echoed in Mrs. C.'s account of her husband's death below.
The case histories given below illustrate the general arguments put forward above.

Case 1. Mr. A. died at home on a Saturday and was buried in the River Village cemetery two days later, on the Monday. In the interim his body was kept in a small house in the yard where the family had lived prior to the recent building of their Farm House. Apart from laying the body on the bed and keeping it soused with ice, there was no ritual centred on the corpse until it was washed and dressed for burial; these preparations being carried out by the son of the deceased and another young man, a friend of the son.

The deceased had at one time belonged to the River Village Burial Society but had left some time ago. His widow therefore received no grant for his funeral. Mrs. A. herself has never been a member of any Burial Society.

From the Saturday evening of the death people started to come to the yard to comfort the bereaved family; "plenty" people came, between twenty and thirty, including Mrs. A.'s cousin who came from a neighbouring village to spend a few days with the widow, and most of whom belonged to the village. The people comforted the widow and sang and played games with "rock stones" under the naseberry tree in the yard. This continued all night until the Sunday morning, and Mrs. A. bought bread and tea to offer them. Visitors also returned on the Sunday, contributing "little money and food to help the funeral", and helping in other ways such as with the cooking for the grave-diggers.

"Plenty people" also gathered on the Sunday night at the yard, and as with the Saturday night there was singing and "playing" until daylight, and refreshments of tea and bread were offered.
Mrs. A.'s two sons - only one of whom is the son of the deceased, the other being an outside son born prior to her current union - made the coffin under the naseberry tree, starting work on it on the Sunday and finishing on the Monday.

Some friends in the "River Village district" dug the grave on the Sunday; Mrs. A.'s two sons were not among the diggers. Mrs. A. did not have to pay the latter, but she provided them with lunch.

The body was Churched in the yard by the Seventh Day Adventist minister on the Monday afternoon; there were about one hundred people in attendance, the majority of whom were friends who lived "in the district". Mr. A. does not have many relatives alive, most of his siblings having died in infancy and one having emigrated and remained abroad since he was young. But those relatives which he has in the village attended.

At the end of the Churching a song was sung and the coffin was carried out by six men (including the deceased's son); all the congregation marching to the cemetery where the burial took place, accompanied by singing.

On the Monday evening after the funeral about three people remained with the bereaved; Mrs. A.'s cousin being the only relative among these. The small gathering sang and drank tea and coffee.

After this there was no more ritual until the Nine Night celebrations, held on the Saturday of the same week, - seven days after the death and five days after the burial. The celebrations, which started at 8 p.m. were not as well attended as either the funeral or the gatherings of the previous Saturday and Sunday nights; there were in fact only about twenty people, some of whom did not stay all night. As before, some were relatives, the rest being "strangers"
(i.e. unrelated friends), all of these people, with the exception of the above mentioned cousin being from the village. Tea, coffee and bread were served, and "coming up to twelve o'clock we brave up ourselves and sing". The gathering broke up at 6 a.m. Sunday, and there was no further ritual after that.

Case 2. Mrs. J. died on a Thursday night, having been taken to the Maintown hospital on the preceding Tuesday. Her body remained in the hospital morgue for three days until the Sunday afternoon. She had been a member of the River Village Burial Society and so her daughter received a sum of £38 towards funeral expenses from the Society. The funeral arrangements were undertaken jointly by the deceased's two adult children.

The digging of the grave at the village cemetery commenced at 9 a.m. on the Friday, continuing until 5 p.m. with approximately twenty-five men digging alternately. This group consisted solely of volunteers, none of whom were relatives, although the deceased's son-in-law was there to supervise the digging. All of the group were friends of the bereaved family except for one man who is "a stranger from here", having only lived in the village for a few months; many of the group were members of the Burial Society. The coffin was made by the deceased's son.

On the Saturday the same volunteers carried out the "concrete work" necessary for making the vault; in the group were two masons (not from the village) who gave their skilled help free of charge as they were friends of the deceased's son. The materials for the vault had however to be purchased.
The deceased's daughter provided "breakfast" for the volunteers; this was cooked at the yard of the deceased by a group of about twelve women and was then taken to the workers at the cemetery. The daughter did not actually help with the cooking although she was present at her mother's yard during these preparations. The group of helpers consisted entirely of friends except for one woman who was an affine; most of these women living in the village, approximately half of them being members of the Burial Society.

On the Friday and Saturday nights prior to the burial about thirty people (five of whom were relatives) gathered at the house of the deceased to sing and play dominoes, coming and going through the night. At these gatherings rum, coffee and bread provided by the deceased's daughter were served.

On the Sunday afternoon at about 4 p.m. the corpse was taken in the coffin from the morgue to the Maintown Methodist Church. Members of the Burial Society were transported in cars to the morgue from whence they marched the body to the church. The coffin was met at the door of the Church by the Methodist Minister who conducted the "Churching". This consisted of hymns, prayers and the reading of a text, and the congregation was told about the deceased and how long she had been a member of the Burial Society. After the Churching, the procession followed the coffin by car as far as the cross-roads at the northern apex of the village. Here the cars stopped and those persons who were members of the Society proceeded on foot in pairs in a procession to the village cemetery; non-members travelling by car to the cemetery. The Minister officiated at the burial, where there were about one hundred people in attendance, about ten of whom
were relatives of the deceased, people having come from other villages and towns as well as from River Village itself.

After the burial, at about 9 p.m. on the Sunday, about twenty-five people (about five of whom were relatives of the deceased) gathered at the latter's yard to sing hymns; these being just River Villagers, the others having gone home. They were offered coffee and bread, and the singing continued until daylight.

No Nine Night was kept as the deceased "never believe in it".

Case 3. Mr. U. died at home on a Friday. He had been a member of one of the Burial Societies in the neighbouring village of Friendship, and so that Society gave a grant for his funeral.

He was buried two days after his death, on the Sunday afternoon, in the River Village cemetery. Members of the Friendship Burial Society were present at the funeral, which was also attended by many people from the River Village Burial Society as well as many other friends and relatives; those attending coming from Kingston, Main town and neighbouring villages as well as from River Village itself.

The Nine Night was celebrated on the following Saturday at the home of the deceased by about two dozen friends and relatives who came from neighbouring villages as well as from the village itself, and continued until 9 a.m. the next day. There was singing and refreshments were served.

People visited the home of the deceased continually from the time of the death until that of the Nine Night, to comfort the bereaved and play dominos. Another celebration similar to the latter and referred to as "Forty Nights" was held on a Saturday forty-three nights after the death and was, like the Nine Night, attended by relatives and friends from the neighbouring villages as well as the village;
there being about thirty people present.

Case 4. Mr. C. died in the Mantown hospital on a Tuesday and was "Churched" and buried on the following Sunday. In the interim his body was kept in the hospital morgue. Neither the deceased nor his widow were members of the River Village Burial Society. Both however previously belonged to one of the Burial Societies at Friendship, but left the Society three years prior to Mr. C.'s death. He did not therefore receive any "maintenance money" nor help with his doctor's bills while he was ill; neither did his widow receive any financial assistance from the Society for his funeral. Nevertheless, she emphasises, she "buried him good" and he had a "lovely" funeral, the funeral arrangements costing her £40. She purchased the materials for the coffin from Kingston, the coffin being made by a carpenter from the village - with the help of several apprentices - for a charge of £12. Mrs. C. also gave these workers and the grave-diggers rum. Work on the coffin was started on the Friday and finished on the Sunday.

In her account of her husband's death and burial, Mrs. C. kept stressing how good the people of the village had been to her. Some lent her money and gave her food - such as flour and salt-fish - and helped her in other ways throughout the period of mortuary ritual. In addition, people sat up with her "for nine days and nights" playing dominos and keeping her company. In fact the ritual continued until the twelfth day after the death, for the Nine Night celebrations were held on the Saturday night subsequent to the burial.

On the Saturday prior to the funeral a bamboo booth was built in the C's yard and covered with a large tarpaulin lent by one of the villagers. There was a "big singing" that night, commencing at 9 p.m. and continuing until 8 a.m. Sunday; this gathering was much
bigger than the Churching on the following day, and the house, yard, and road outside were filled with people. Rum was served - some friends making gifts of alcohol to Mrs. C., one well-to-do villager making a present to her of one dozen pints of wine and two dozen pints of syrup to help with the entertainment. Yet other attendants brought their own rum. In addition to alcohol, Mrs. C. provided the attendants with coffee, cocoa and bread and butter.

On the Sunday a man from the village lent his record player which was played on Mrs. C.'s verandah all that day. The body was brought in the coffin from the morgue to the Cs' yard at 3.30 on Sunday afternoon, Mrs. C.'s family paying the transportation fee. At 4.30 p.m. the Churching began in the yard. The deceased had not been a member of any Church and so the Salvation Army Captain from Maintown conducted both the Churching and the burial. The Captain "preached over him" and the people sang and gave testimony to the deceased. The burial took place at 5 p.m. with those who had attended the Churching marching with the coffin to the village cemetery.

Eighty or more people attended the Churching and the burial; Mrs. C. explains that her husband "did live good" and that in addition to people from the village, others came from further afield such as Friendship and Maintown. Her relatives came from Kingston - sixteen of them in three cars - and a few of the deceased's relatives also attended. (The discrepancy between the number of affines and consanguines of the deceased attending seems to be due to the fact that whereas Mrs. C.'s extended family "lived together" (that is get on well), the deceased's extended family "didn't co-operate" (that is, do not get on well together). The majority of people attending these rituals were, however, unrelated to either spouse, and Mrs. C. states that
she did not even know some of them; for, she explains, "Funeral don't call fe people you know; everybody come to funeral as it's the last tribute." And in reply to my query as to whether the people attending funerals and wakes are generally only relatives, she explained "If a so-so relative go to funeral, a bad-life people them; 1) everybody supposed to go to funeral." In fact, she says, if none of her family had come to the funeral she would not have missed them because the "district people" had been so good to her. And she went on to explain that "People so loving in Jamaica that funeral is big"; although, she adds, there have been instances in the village where many people had not rallied round at a death because the deceased had been "cool" and "don't live loving" (that is, unpopular).

After the funeral a lot of the people went home including the relatives who had been present. However several people - "old and young", - stayed on to "set up" with the widow and keep her company on the Sunday night. No-one there slept that night and there were plenty people in the yard "coming and going" and playing dominoes; she offered them bread, coffee and cocoa which she had bought.

On the following Saturday the Nine Night was kept up. These were the last celebrations and were the biggest of all. There was singing which lasted until daylight, the gathering finally breaking up at about 8 a.m. Sunday, and even on the Sunday there were people "up and down" during the day playing dominoes. At the Nine Night tea, coffee, rum and bread were served, and Mrs. C. remarks that the people "behaved themselves in the yard" with "no fight, no cussing." 2)

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1) In other words, if only relatives attend a funeral it means that the deceased was unpopular.

2) A similar emphasis on orderly behaviour at such ritual is noted by Herskovits 1947 op cit: 137: "... 'We want perfec' order. No rudeness. Anybody can't behave themselves we put them out ...' "
Mrs. C. says that although she did not promise to "tomb" her husband that she intends to try and do so. ¹)

Case 5. When old Mrs. Y. - who lived in a neighbouring village and was the mother of three River Village informants and the grandmother of another two - died, she was buried in the former village next to her husband in their yard; the old lady's children from River Village all going to their natal village to attend the mortuary ritual. The wake was held on the Saturday following the funeral (which had been on a Sunday); there being fifty and one hundred people present, these coming from other villages such as River Village and Friendship as well as from the deceased's own village. Of those attending there were more friends than relatives. Mrs. Y. did not belong to any Burial Society.

Discussion

The reduction of 'socio-economic anxiety'. The River Village Burial Society is a structured innovation designed specifically to provide insurance in the event of the crises of sickness and death. As such, it (or an alternative but similar Society to which an individual villager may belong) provides economic security in the context of death by financing the burial of its members. An important corollary of this function is the concomitant reduction of "social" anxiety. For the fact that "The Society response to bury you" ensures to both the member and his family the provision of a "lovely" funeral, the importance of which has already been noted above. The function of the

¹) That is to erect a tombstone. There is a belief in Jamaica that if a person promises to "tomb" a relative and fails to do so, the spirit of the deceased will return to haunt the neglectful relative (cf Clarke 1966 pp. cit); and there is a case in my field notes where this is reputed to have actually occurred.
Burial Society in removing this social anxiety is implicit in the following statement made to me by the President of the Society:

"Poor people may have a dead and be crying for losing a loved one. But much of the crying may be for how are you going to bury them. 1) But when you are a financial member of the Society then you only weep for the loss."

It seems clear, then, that the effect of the Society is to reduce the variable of socio-economic anxiety in the context of death, by providing the financial basis for the fulfillment of the social requirements surrounding death.

The emphasis of kinship in the context of death. That death in River Village is still a kinship affair despite the innovation of the Burial Society (and despite the absence of burial in the yard), is witnessed in several ways. It was seen above that apart from the specific financial and ritual functions of the Society regarding the burial of its members, the family of the deceased are responsible for the organisation of the funeral and for the details of expenditure of the funeral grant. They are, in addition, responsible for the organisation of all other mortuary ritual, such as the Nine Night, and such gatherings are held at the home of the deceased. The bereaved family is still the focus of the visiting which follows a death, for the visitors' purpose is to comfort them and keep them company. Help, too, is extended to the family of the deceased in the preparations for ritual. Finally, kin may travel from afar to be present at the funeral or other ritual, as was seen for example in the case of Mrs. C.'s three carloads of relatives who came from Kingston for her husband's funeral; by Mrs. A.'s cousin who came

1) Cf Herskovits 1937 op cit: 209 who relates the elaborateness of mortuary ritual to "the ability of the family of the dead to meet the varying fees."
from another village to keep her company after her husband's death; and Mrs. Y.'s relatives from River Village who went up to their natal village following her death.

It can therefore be concluded that the role of the Burial Society is clearly complementary to that of kinship in the context of death in River Village for it has not superceded the role of kinship in such cases, but has rather re-enforced it by providing the financial basis for the fulfillment of the duties of kinsfolk. There is therefore no basis for supporting Henriques’ hypothesis regarding the causal interrelationship between the variable of socio-economic anxiety and that of the emphasis on kinship among the lower class. For this emphasis remains as prominent an element in the villagers' treatment of death as it was among the Jamaican villagers studied by Henriques in 1946, and as it is in similar village contexts in other parts of the Caribbean, despite the obvious reduction of socio-economic anxiety resultant from the innovation of the Burial Society and other such Societies.

Wide public participation. In addition, contrary to Henriques' hypothesis it can be concluded that no inverse relationship exists in River Village between the significance of kin and public participation in mortuary ritual. For while there is emphasis on kinship in such contexts in the village there is, at the same time, a stress on wide public participation as witnessed by the involvement of the Burial Society; of friends and villagers regarding help with, and contributions for the preparations for the funeral and other ritual, visiting, and attendance at mortuary ritual; this latter also involving inter-village interaction.
Since the variable of public participation is an important consideration in my discussion of mortuary ritual in River Village in the context of Henriques' hypothesis, I would, at this point, like to draw attention to the presence of a great deal of supporting evidence in the literature on villages both in other parts of Jamaica and of the Caribbean, on the point of wide public participation in mortuary ritual despite a similar emphasis on kinship. Some of this evidence—regarding certain specific points such as public participation in grave-digging and other preparations, as well as donations to help with the ritual—has already been referred to in footnotes. So I will confine myself here to the question of attendance at the ritual proper.

I will begin by looking at Clarke's accounts of the Nine Night held for Mr. Saunders in Sugartown and of Mrs. Malcolm's death and burial, since perhaps the most detailed reference to such public participation can be found in her work. 1)

In her account of Mr. Saunders' Ninth Night Clarke makes the following references which point to wide village participation. (All emphases in the passages quoted below in this discussion are mine). Clarke states that by 9.30 p.m. forty-five people had gathered and a Prayer meeting was going to be held, this wake being associated with the Revivalist Zion group, a Leader of the group being master of ceremonies; and she refers to "Mother X" and the group of ladies who accompanied her, who claimed that they had organised the proceedings and that they had come to keep the family of the deceased company; and her statement that when most people

1) Clarke in Simpson _op cit_; Clarke 1966 _op cit._
left the wake, the organisers and the family were left alone indicates that there were other non-related attendants. There were several references to "goings-on" in the village in the exhortation of Mother X and others; and this reference to village gossip shows the close involvement between the village and the wake.

In her account of the death and burial of Mrs. Malcolm, there is even greater evidence of wide public participation, viz.: 1) at the burial "Friends encouraged the family to be cheerful because she is gone to be forever with the Lord." On the first day "The coffin was ... carried into the yard by four men and everyone gathered round, over two hundred in all." On the third day "All day in Sugartown, the only topic of conversation was the Sit-Up at Mr. Malcolm's to which everybody had been invited and what a lot of money Mr. Malcolm was spending on it." On the fifth day there were only about twelve people at Mr. Malcolm's, this being partly due to the fact that most people were attending another Sit-Up in the village, at which there were about two hundred people; but on the "Next Saturday night they would be having the grand Ninth Night with prayer meeting and singing for twenty-five or thirty-nine friends who could not get away during the week coming from Kingston. People from the villages round here would also be coming." On the eighth day there were about fifty people at Mr. Malcolm's: "There were many strange faces in addition to the family and the regular guests." Finally on the twelfth night when the Ninth Night celebration was actually held, Mother Williams arrived from Kingston, and "with her ... were her followers: about thirty ..." And later, by the time the

1) All quotations in this paragraph are taken from Clarke 1966 ibid: 217-227.
wake was in full swing, "the company in the booth had increased to over three hundred and some fifty or more stood outside the gate"; these people at the gate attracting vendors, and gambling tables were soon set up among them. The wake therefore attracted a vast crowd altogether.

The large attendance at these rituals and the fact that on the nights when attendance was low this resulted from alternative events in the vicinity such as another Ninth Night, a Scout Camp Fire and an inter-village dance, indicates that the ritual surrounding Mrs. Malcolm's death was ranked with other community entertainments; the significance of such wide public participation in such ritual being even greater when it is noted that "there is nothing in Sugartown [where this ritual was held] to compare with the kinship solidarity of Mocca ..." 1)

In Simpson's own work on Jamaica, evidence is also present of public participation at the Nine Night ceremonies in West Kingston. For he says with reference to the "officiant" who presides at such ritual, that the latter is: "the Leader if it is a Revival Zion group; the Shepherd for a Pocomania gathering; someone who understands Catholicism if the family is Catholic ..." and goes on to say that this officiant "calls on one or more members of the family or friends to say a few words about the deceased." 2) And in his specific example of the Denham Town Nine Night he again notes the attendance of "friends" as well as "family".

1) Ibid: 24-5.
A recent journalist's report on a funeral in Spanish Town, Jamaica, also confirms my point regarding wide public participation in Jamaican lower class mortuary ritual:

"Later on we went down to the churchyard for a funeral. There were more than one thousand people singing and swaying as the coffin went through the town from the man's house to the graveyard. He was only a poor man but everyone came for the occasion." 1)

(The vastness of the number of attendants probably being influenced by the fact that Spanish Town is one of the island's few cities).

In his analysis of the Guianese Negro village of August Town, R.T. Smith makes the point of public participation in the wake very explicitly: "the wake is open to anyone, it is a village as well as a family affair", going on to relate such attendance to the variable of the individual's identification with the village: "the wake is a good index to the group which considers itself to be of the village in the real sense." 2) His point is borne out by the fact that "marginal" villagers such as the East Indian/Portuguese/Chinese minority, and the school-teachers, do not generally attend such functions. He further illustrates this correlation with reference to the evaluation of his own role by his informants:

"The fact that I attended every wake held during my stay in August Town was remembered long after I left the village and was regarded as a good sign of the degree to which I had identified myself with the village as a whole." 3)

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2) Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 205.

3) Ibid.
In Carriacou the wake is seen not only to be a village affair, but an inter-village concern as well. For in the event of a death, "If there will be a wake, some young men are sent around on donkeys to other villages to announce this in fixed ritual form ..." 1) "May attend the wake to comfort and reassure the bereaved, for 'We have no enemies here at death; everybody is one'." 2) This point is even more clearly illustrated by Smith's observations on community financial aid in the funerary rites in general: "Without the community contributions ... these funerary rites would probably disappear. In fact they are obligatory on bereaved and community alike. In a very real sense, the community is a 'friendly society' sharing its funeral expenses as well as its grief." 3) Smith also notes the "continuous stream of visitors" consisting of kin and neighbours, who come to bid a dying person goodbye; and who again visit the bereaved for nine nights after the death:

"These visitors are mainly close kin, neighbours, and friends of the bereaved. The great majority belong to the same community; there is no need to invite anyone on these occasions, since the house is open to all members of the village." 4) 

1) Smith, M. G. 1962 (b) op. cit: 153.
3) Ibid: 159.
Among the Dominica Caribs a death "is announced to the community" by blasts on a conch-shell, and "all and sundry are welcome" at the wake. 1) And even among the Black Carib of British Honduras, - whom Taylor describes as "not a neighborly people" - although the lyke-wake is usually a small and hurried affair, nevertheless the "Ninth-Night wake" is, in contrast, a big gathering - ("some two hundred people" attended the one he actually recounts) - and "The greater the gaiety and the number of those who attend, the better for all concerned." 2)

Wide public participation is also implicit in Herskovits' description of the Haitian wake, and he adds that "Following the funeral, friends sometimes remain with the mourners for several days ..." 3) And in Toco, Trinidad, he states that "The wake, an essential part of the rituals for the dead, is an important event in the life of the community;" 4) also referring to an informant's statement that "'To bury we need friends, neighbours ...' " 5)

At another point Herskovits notes an incident where proper mortuary ritual was neglected due to the fact that the deceased had died in the poor house, and where the reaction to this

3) Herskovits 1937 op cit: 210; see also p. 215 where he contrasts the ritual surrounding the death of a sorcerer - where there is little public participation - to that of other people.
4) Herskovits 1947 op cit: 137; see also p. 134.
5) Ibid; 179; see also pp. 138; 140; 151. In addition, if the deceased was a member of the Shouters or of a lodge then these associations would participate in the ritual.
"showed how this disregard could introduce a flood of uneasy gossip, as if the entire community felt a sense of guilt for having allowed this to happen." 1)

Horowitz emphasises the point of wide village participation in wakes and funerals in Morne-Paysan, noting that "A special tolling of the bells formally apprises the village of a death." And with reference to funerary activities in the Caribbean islands in general remarks that such rites are, in the rural areas, "occasions of almost total assemblage." 2)

One of the primary functions of mortuary ritual — apart from the re-enforcement of kinship solidarity — noted for the Caribbean is the re-enforcement of community solidarity. 3) For example in his study of Jamaican rural communities M.G. Smith states that "The real community rituals occur at the Wake or the Nine-Night, when a death leads to a demonstration of community solidarity with the bereaved." 4) And with reference to community participation in mortuary ritual in Carriacou, he says that "The shared mourning creates

1) Ibid: 145.

2) Horowitz 1967 (a) op cit: 74. The presence of similar wide community participation — in addition to the involvement of kin — is also reported for peasant societies outside of the Caribbean such as Ireland and the Outer Hebrides, Arensberg op cit; Vallee op cit. For example Vallee states that in the event of a death in the island of Barra "Relatives ... and affines of the deceased are expected to make special efforts to pay their respects, as are all close friends and neighbours of the deceased and his elementary family." Ibid: 125; and he refers to the funeral as "a total-community event", ibid: 125.

3) A similar function of mortuary ritual is also noted for other peasant societies. For example Vallee states that in Barra, Outer Hebrides, "Mourning and burial rituals provide one of the most frequent occasions upon which community members meet to express their unity and to re-affirm the values upon which that unity is based." Op cit: 128. And Arensberg notes that the fairy-cult and associated ritual of the Irish countryman are symbolic of community organisation, op cit.

4) Smith, M.G. 1956 (b) op cit: 303.
solidarity and reintegration ... 1) Similarly R.T. Smith notes
that the wake in British Guiana "serves as an expression of local
solidarity ... 2) And Taylor likewise notes of the function of
the wake or beluria of the Black Carib of British Honduras that
"the temporarily striken morale of the community [is] reaffirmed
and consolidated ..." 3)

Mortuary Ritual in the Middle/Upper Classes. The conclusion that
there is no inverse relationship between the emphasis on kinship and
"public" participation within the village is further borne out by
a brief examination of mortuary ritual in a section of the middle/upper
classes in the parish 4) which indicates - contrary to Henriques' suggestion - that an inverse relationship between these variables
is likewise absent there.

A death in these latter classes results as in the lower class
in the obvious involvement of kin resident in the same household.
For example if in a middle/upper class household the person dies at
home, such kin have to make the necessary arrangements with the
funeral parlour to remove the corpse and prepare it for burial.
Friends and other kin who live in the vicinity will at this stage
visit the bereaved and offer to help in any way they can, such as
with the preparations for the "Gathering" to be held after the funeral.

1) Smith, M.G. 1962 (b) op cit: 157.
2) Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 205.
4) This discussion is confined to the section of the middle/upper
classes of the parish with which I am familiar.
Members of the extended family living in other parts of the island are notified of the death, and if they are able they attend the funeral. The mobilisation of the extended family might even be said to be more effective among these classes than in the lower class as individuals in the former have easier access to efficient communication and transport, generally having telephones and cars. On the other hand extended families among the lower class are sometimes less dispersed than those of the middle/upper classes due to the phenomenon of "spiralism" 1) associated with the latter; but this comparison can be qualified by the evidence of widespread kinship networks among the villagers resultant from migration (as seen in Chapter 3).

After the funeral friends and relatives gather at the household of the bereaved; this gathering being in many respects the direct correlate of the "Setting-Ups" held among the lower class villagers. 2)

Further indication of the importance of kinship in the middle/upper classes in the context of death is the practice which sometimes occurs in cases where the deceased had emigrated from his natal locality, for the funeral and burial to take place at the church and cemetery near the "old home" rather than in the vicinity where the deceased was living at the time of his death; this being to some extent comparable to the custom of burial on family land among the lower class.

This importance of kinship in the middle/upper classes is further demonstrated by the mobilisation of wide kinship ties at weddings,

1) Compare the similar effects of this phenomenon in Britain, see e.g. Rosser, C. and Harris, C.; The Family and Social Change (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965).

2) Cf the "comfort visit" reported by Vallee among the islanders of Barra, Outer Hebrides, op cit, except that in the latter case this is confined to kin.
and the custom of "spending time" with relatives in other parts of the island. The use of fictive kinship terminology among close friends in these classes further indicates the importance of kinship; godparenthood being another phenomenon involving fictive kin relationships. 1)

Despite the importance of kinship in the context of death in the middle/upper classes, wide "public" participation does also occur, as in the mobilisation of ties of friendship based on locality prior to, at, and subsequent to the funeral. That such attendance is based on a sense of "community" rather than on considerations of social prestige (contrary to Henriques' suggestion) should become apparent from the details given below.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, many members of the middle/upper classes live on properties dispersed throughout the rural areas of the parish, and in such cases residence in the parish tends to be long-term, with the result that an enduring network of friendship based on common social class and locality has been built up over the years. The focus of this network is the tennis club, 2) situated near one of the sugar estates. In addition to social interaction at this club, such families - because of the relative isolation in which they live and the dearth of entertainment facilities in these areas - have to provide their own entertainment, and so much informal visiting

1) On the comparable use of fictive terminology among lower class Jamaicans see Henriques 1951 and 1968 op cit, who reports the widespread use of "Granny" as a term of address towards older unrelated women. Godparenthood is a widely reported phenomenon in Latin America, see e.g. Mintz, S. and Wolf, E.: "An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo)" reprinted in Bohannan, P. and Middleton, J. (Ed.) Marriage, Family and Residence (New York: Natural History Press, 1969).

2) Cf Henriques 1968 op cit: 80; this comparison however being qualified by the fact that both middle and upper class sections of the population may belong to the club.
takes place between them, serving to further re-enforce this friendship network; common membership in philanthropic voluntary associations in the parish being yet another basis for interaction. Because this network is based on common social class and locality, closeknit networks of the type described by Bott 1) are therefore found, these including not only both spouses in the conjugal relationship but also the entire elementary family since participation in many of the social activities described above is not organised on an age basis, all members of the family taking part regardless of age.

Apart from certain qualifications regarding the postulated social isolation of these classes vis-à-vis the lower class (see Chapter 9) the following description by M.G. Smith of the middle/upper classes in the rural communities which he studied mirrors the sense of community which I have just described:

"The motor car permits close and continuous social relationships between people who live at some distance from one another. The members of a particular class whose homes are quite dispersed may be divorced from the population among whom they dwell, and may really form a community of their own, in some senses of the term." 2)

While the manifest function of mortuary ritual among the middle/upper class section of the parish population then is, as in the case of the such villagers, to comfort the bereaved - another function of the "Gathering" being the purely utilitarian one of providing refreshment for friends and relatives who have travelled long distances to attend the funeral - the latent function of such mortuary ritual is, as among the villagers, to re-enforce the solidarity both of the extended kin group and of the community in the above-described sense.


2) Smith, M.G. 1956 (b) op cit: 296.
The Element of Prestige in Public Attendance at Funerals. Henriques' interpretation of wide "public" attendance at middle/upper class funerals in terms of considerations of social prestige does, however, need to be further examined before being completely dismissed. For the type of public participation which he describes, based on slight rather than intimate acquaintance does sometimes occur. However certain qualifications of his interpretation of such attendance need to be made. The first of these is that such attendance tends to be associated with the funerals of prominent persons, and because of this is probably more typical of the cities, particularly Kingston, the capital, than the rural parishes. Secondly, because of this, it is questionable whether such attendance can be interpreted in terms of prestige; rather, it seems to be the type of public (qua public) participation that surrounds the death of any important public figure in most countries. Further, it must be noted that this type of attendance is not confined to the middle/upper classes, as was illustrated by the wide public participation in the death of two prominent villagers in the locality of River Village. 1)

Conclusion.

In the preceding discussion of mortuary ritual in River Village it was seen that while the innovation of the Burial Society reduces socio-economic anxiety among the villagers in the context of death by providing financial aid for funerals and thereby ensuring the fulfillment of an important social requisite, that the role of the Society complements rather than supercedes that of kinship. Despite

1) Cf Horowitz's account of the funeral of a soldier buried in Morne-Paysan, where a similar type of participation is noted, 1967 (a) op cit; also Vallee who notes that in Barra, Outer Hebrides, "At the funeral of a prominent person there may be more than four hundred people present, for in such an event the ideal is for every household on the island to be represented by at least one member." Op cit: 125.
the importance of kinship in this context however, wide non-kin or public participation in mortuary ritual was also seen to occur in the village (both at the formal level of Burial Society participation and at a more informal community level). There is therefore no inverse relationship between kinship and public participation, contrary to Henriques' hypothesis; the absence of this inverse relationship further being borne out in the consideration of mortuary ritual among the middle/upper classes in the parish. For among these classes extended kinship was seen to be important - in mortuary ritual as in other contexts - public participation also however being wide. And it was argued that, contrary to Henriques' hypothesis, such public participation was due to a sense of community rather than to considerations of social prestige; it being suggested that although in certain contexts the type of attendance which he describes, based on slight acquaintance, does occur, that this is resultant from the type of public involvement which surrounds prominent public figures in most countries; and further that this type of involvement is not confined to the middle/upper classes.

In place of Henriques' model represented in Diagram 2 above then, the data indicates a different model which is shown in Diagram 3.

### Diagram 3

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower Class</th>
<th>Middle/Upper Classes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stress on kinship</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress on non-kin</td>
<td>wide</td>
<td>wide</td>
</tr>
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<td>(&quot;public&quot;&quot;)</td>
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Further, I would suggest that Henriques' data in fact supports my alternative model rather than his own, and below I refer to certain
extracts of his work to show that this is in fact so on the points of: wide kin ties mobilised at funerals in the middle/upper classes; that wide public participation in these classes is not based on considerations of social prestige; and that there is wide public participation in lower class mortuary ritual. On the fourth point, wide kinship participation in lower class mortuary ritual, we are both agreed.

With regard to the first point, Henriques states that "In all classes everyone who is at all connected by blood is expected to go to the funeral", 1) and with regard to the importance of kinship in general in these classes this is implicit in his observation that "interest in kin ..." and the importance of tracing a person's kin ties in order to 'place him' "is by no means confined to the lower class." 2)

On the second point he notes that for the middle and upper classes "the funeral is the expression not only of a personal loss, but of a loss to the groups in society", 3) (although he explains this in terms of social prestige). And although he states that "Some people even regard it as their duty to go to the funeral of anyone who was not completely unknown to them in his life", 4) his observation indicates a sense of duty rather than considerations of social prestige as the motivating factor behind such attendance.

1) Henriques 1968 op cit: 151.
2) Ibid: 141 and 1951: 274.
4) Ibid.
Finally, he shows that lower class mortuary ritual - which reaches its height in the Wake - draws attendants from far beyond the bonds of kinship:

"A wake starts when someone dies. Everyone is welcomed whether related to the deceased or not. This welcome extends beyond the circle of those who are known to the complete stranger. Many homeless people in urban areas wander about at night until they hear the sound of singing, and they discover a wake in progress. They know that they will be welcomed and given refreshment and somewhere to pass the night." 1) (My emphasis)

Such attendance may not be based on even slight acquaintance then, and in another passage he also states that:

"The wake may be described as a gathering of people in the house of the deceased. It consists of a core of relatives, and of many others who join with them." 2) (My emphasis).

Since my model is therefore in fact supported by Henriques' own data, and since my model differs from that of Henriques, then logically it is not surprising to find that the latter's data contradicts his own model. And no doubt it is due to this contradiction, and Henriques' failure to re-examine his hypothesis in the face of this conflicting evidence, which leads him - when summing up his conclusions - to suddenly put forward a different hypothesis which fits more closely with his material, but which contradicts his original hypothesis; and this despite the fact that his entire discussion on kinship and death was aimed at proving his original hypothesis. This second contradictory hypothesis deals only with the aspect of his model that is concerned with public participation in lower class mortuary ritual:

"For the lower class the death of a member of the group is not only a loss to the immediate domestic group, but a loss to the whole community. This loss is emphasised in the custom of the wake in which participants are drawn from both inside and outside the domestic and kin groups. The

1) _Ibid._ 143; of Henriques 1951 _op. cit._ 276.

2) 1968 _Ibid._ 144; 1951 _Ibid._
The wake is a means of establishing the community's sense of continuity between the dead and the living. The domestic group becomes identified with the community. By contrast in the other classes death is much more the private concern of the particular family. Funerals attract a large attendance of non-relatives, but that is essentially a public demonstration of prestige which increases as the class ladder is ascended rather than the fusion of public and private sentiment which is characteristic of the wake. ¹¹ (My emphasis).

And to retain his contrast between the lower and middle/upper classes, on which his main hypothesis rests, Henriques has now to resort to the rationalisation that although among the lower class public attendance by non-relatives is due to a common identification between domestic group and community, similar attendance in the middle and upper classes is due to considerations of prestige.

There now seems to be sufficient reason to discount Henriques' "economic interpretation of kinship" ² as illustrated with reference to mortuary ritual. As seen from the discussion above, this conclusion can be drawn on two bases. The first of these is that Henriques' causal hypothesis regarding the variables of socio-economic anxiety and the functions of kinship, is seen to be invalid in the lower class context of River Village through the use of the methodological device of the "natural experiment". The second being that there is no difference in the stress on kinship in the two subcultures; nor in the extent of public participation. The contrast between the inverse relationship of these two variables in the two subcultures, then, which his hypothesis is aimed at explaining does not exist.

However what I would suggest as the contrast between the two subcultures in the context of death, and one for which an alternative

1) 1963 ibid: 165.
hypothesis does have to be found, is a contrast in the content and extent of the ritual which takes place when such kin ties are mobilised, - (which is also reflected in that involving non-relatives since in most cases these rituals are synonymous) - rather than a contrast in the width of such ties stressed. For differences are apparent with regard to the former.

While it was seen above that there are certain minor differences between River Village mortuary ritual and that described for other peasant villages in Jamaica and the Caribbean, these will for the moment be set aside in order to simplify the contrast between the fairly uniform picture of mortuary ritual of the lower class in the area as a whole and that of the middle/upper classes, which lack many aspects of the lower class belief system and associated ritual. 1) Two main differences are apparent between the two subcultures in the context of such ritual: the absence of elaborate ritual in the middle/upper classes as compared with the lower class in the interim between the death and the funeral; and of such ritual over an extended period of time subsequent to the funeral.

With reference to the first of these differences it can be noted that in accounts in the literature of ritual in the interim between the death and the funeral in the lower class, that the corpse is seen to be present in the house, such ritual in fact being focused on the corpse; these dramatic rituals serving as a basis for interaction for both the extended family as well as members of the community. On the other hand, as soon as a person in the

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1) While little has been written on middle/upper class mortuary ritual in the Caribbean as compared with that of the lower class, see, in addition to Henriques 1951 and 1968 *ibid*. Smith, R.T. 1956 op cit: 205; Smith, M.G. 1956 (b) op cit: 302-3.
middle/upper class dies, (if the death occurs at home), a
funeral parlour is called in to remove the corpse, prepare it
for burial, and to keep it in the interim between death and the
funeral. Thus, since the corpse is absent, there is no focus
or for similar ritual in this interim. Thus the basis/opportunity
for mortuary ritual at this stage is removed, not only as a basis
of social interaction for the extended family, but also for the
elementary family. Thus grief will still be a cohesive force in
the latter case at this stage, but ritual will not. And even if
members of the extended family do visit at this time, there is
no ritual basis for attracting and integrating them at any one
point in time.

Regarding the second contrast, two reasons can be suggested
which are likewise related to the variable of opportunities.
Firstly, by the time of the funeral in the lower class, ritual has,
for the above mentioned reason, been in full swing for some time,
and this may be expected to act as a propulsive force in the
continuation of such ritual over the next few days. Whereas in
the middle/upper classes there has been no such preceding ritual,
and the gathering may be seen simply as the conclusive stage of
the isolated ritual of the funeral. A second contributory factor
in this contrast is the relative discreteness of the extended
family in the lower class - kinship being an important basis of
social organisation in peasant communities - as compared with the
dispersion of this unit in the middle/upper classes due to spiralism
associated with clerical and professional occupations. In many
cases then in the lower class members of the extended family live
within a sufficiently short distance of each other to make frequent
visits to the home of the bereaved feasible both before and after the funeral. In contrast, however, while members of the extended family in the middle/upper class may be able to travel quite some distance to attend the funeral, and may be able to remain for the subsequent Gathering, they cannot generally make frequent visits due to such distance, nor stay over an extended period of time (that is several days) at short notice, due to their job commitments. This does not mean that the involvement of extended kin ties in this latter subculture is any narrower than in the lower class, simply that such ties cannot be mobilised over such an extended period of time, - due again to the variable of opportunities, this time to the lack of opportunities for frequent interaction.

An alternative model for the generation of mortuary ritual in the respective subcultures can therefore be constructed using the variable of opportunities as a reference point, rather than that of socio-economic insecurity. Such a model might also be expected to have predictive validity. For if the opportunities for ritual in any given context increased or decreased, then the actual content and extent of ritual might be expected to do the same. For example as more terminally ill people in the lower class go to hospital due to the increasing use of medical facilities in this subculture less deaths will occur at home. And, even when they do, the corpse may be quickly removed due to the increasing use of mortuaries. Thus the focus of ritual - the body - is removed. Regarding this point, it might be possible to construct a rural-urban continuum which might align the more 'urbanised' lower class with the middle/upper classes, on the basis of opportunities regarding the use of hospitals and morgues, and the likelihood in the lower class of adopting similar methods of dealing with death.
With reference to the second factor - the relative
discreteness/dispersion of the extended family in the respective
subcultures - the extended family in the lower class may become
more dispersed due to the increasing mobility of this subculture.
There may therefore be a subsequent shift in the basis of mobilisation
of extended kin ties similar to the situation described by
Rosser and Harris in Wales. ¹ These authors examine the varying
function of the extended family in crises, and one sees the importance
of the variable of opportunities as the basis for the mobilisation
of kin ties. It can also be noted that Bott, ² in defining the
conditions necessary for the development of a localised matrifocal
extended family organisation states the variable of distance as an
important factor; and the importance of this can likewise be noted
in the development of the matrifocal extended family in East London. ³
One might even go as far as saying, in fact, that the opportunities
for the assembling of the extended family - and therefore for its
joint participation in ritual - might become less in the Jamaican
lower class than in the middle/upper classes due to the fact that
emigration is possibly more rife in the former section of the
population.

That such a model as the one I have outlined might in fact
have such predictive validity, and that it might be able to predict
social action in such a way which may even transverse the variable

¹) Rosser & Harris on cit.
²) Bott on cit.
³) Young, M. & Willmott, P.: Family and Kinship in East London
of social class, is indicated by some of the changes which appear to be occurring in River Village vis-à-vis the general situation described in the rest of the literature.

For example it was seen in the preceding account of mortuary ritual in the village that there is an increasing use of the Maintown hospital and morgue in the event of death, and that in the majority of cases of death during the 1969/1972 interim the death in fact took place in hospital. In this way, then, the focus of ritual is being increasingly removed from the home. Thus it was seen that in general the accounts given by informants regarding the death of a relative focused on the funeral and the Nine Night, the ritual prior to the funeral consisting primarily of keeping the bereaved company; this change in content of such ritual possibly being the influence responsible for the absence of ritual even in the case of Mr. A. whose body was still present in the home. And the fact that in some cases the ritual in the interim between the funeral and Nine Night (the latter being likely to persist longest as it is the most important aspect of the ritual subsequent to the funeral) is dying out may be related to the absence of dramatic ritual prior to the funeral, which was suggested above as being a propulsive force for the prolongation of the rest of the ritual.

A further influence in River Village in the dying out of the ritual between the funeral and Nine Night is the dispersion of the extended family; for while it has been seen that many villagers are linked by kinship ties, some also having such ties with neighbouring villages, there are nevertheless not only extensive kinship networks stretching beyond the village and its immediate vicinity, but also many migrants to the village some of whom have
few relatives there; the mobility of the River Village population and their kin being not only influenced by the increase in migration generally since the time of many of the reports on mortuary ritual referred to above, but also - in the case of in-migrants - by the site of the village (see Chapter 3). Thus in many cases the extended family of the villager is characterised by the dispersion typical of that in the middle/upper classes. This means that while kinship remains an important focus in lower class mortuary ritual, that kin living elsewhere in the island may not be able to come to visit the bereaved frequently, possibly coming only for the funeral as in the case of Mrs. C.'s relatives who returned to Kingston after the funeral. 1)

Nevertheless the fact that there is some persistence of the traditional ritual in River Village, particularly that of the Nine Night which is the height of the ritual, is indicative of the importance of the influence of the traditional complex of beliefs typical of the Caribbean folk. Beliefs, the form and retention of which were in origin - as shown by Patterson's extensive discussion of the subject - directly related to the social structure of slave society, 2) and which on the whole never developed among the free population. The persisting influence of these beliefs on River Village mortuary ritual, rather than invalidating the model built around the variable of opportunities, simply adding complexity to the situation at the empirical level.

1) Cf Clarke's report of the ritual surrounding Mrs. Malcolm's death, where "Mother Williams" and her friends from Kingston only came to the Sugartown ritual on the occasion of the Nine Night, attending none of the preceding ritual; 1966 op cit.

2) Patterson, O. op cit, Chapter VII; cf Henriques 1951 op cit: 278 and 1968 op cit: 145.
The persisting influence of such beliefs on River Village mortuary ritual - even if in some cases the purpose of the visiting and Nine Night might possibly have become divorced from their original protective and manipulative purpose - points to the importance of considering historical factors or tradition in addition to contemporary social factors in the explanation of contemporary social organisation; a point which was also brought out in the previous chapter in relation to the explanation of conjugal patterns in the village. Despite the fact then that my own explanatory interpretation of kinship in River Village differs in several ways from that of Henriques - whose approach may be taken to typify that of the current 'economic determinist' school in West Indian kinship studies - my methodological approach to the study of social organisation has not in fact departed very far from his own. For throughout his work he advocates the importance of historical factors in addition to contemporary ones in the analysis of the contemporary Jamaican social organisation; - an approach which is lacking in certain other analyses of West Indian kinship, and the validity of which has been illustrated in a more general context by other anthropologists such as Mintz and Wolf.

In this chapter the respective roles of kinship, community, and Burial Society in the context of death in River Village have been examined in the light of Henriques' hypothesis of kinship and death in Jamaica.

First, Henriques' hypothesis was discussed; the method to be used in testing this hypothesis with reference to my own data

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2) Mintz ibid; Wolf 1967 op cit.
then being outlined. Regarding the ethnographic material itself, the organisation and aims of the River Village Burial Society were first outlined, this being followed by a discussion of mortuary ritual in the village.

Various conclusions were then drawn on the basis of the ethnographic material. First, it was noted that the structured innovation of the mutual aid society resulted in the reduction of socio-economic anxiety among the villagers, but that this did not result in a lessening of the emphasis on kinship in the event of death. The roles of the Burial Society and kinship were therefore seen as complementary and, causal hypothesis regarding the interrelationship of socio-economic anxiety and the function of kinship was therefore invalidated. Next it was concluded that contrary to Henriques' model, there exists no inverse relationship between the emphasis on kinship and public participation in the event of death in River Village, this conclusion being further borne out by a brief consideration of mortuary ritual in a section of the middle/upper classes in the parish. The element of social prestige in public attendance was also considered in relation to the latter subculture, and it was concluded that this did not generally account for the public element in middle/upper class funerals. Rather it was suggested that as in the village context, the public element in the middle/upper class represents a sense of "community". Nevertheless it was noted that the type of wide, impersonal attendance typical of "official" funerals was sometimes present at the funerals of well-known public figures. Such a basis for the mobilisation of attendance was seen however not to be confined to the middle/upper classes.
Having considered the variables of wide/narrow, public/private attendance in both subcultures, Henriques' model regarding these variables was rejected, and an alternative one postulating wide kin/public participation in both subcultures was suggested. It was also suggested that Henriques' own material in fact supports this model and contradicts his own, - a predicament which becomes apparent in his own work by the fact that he has to re-phrase his hypothesis in a contradictory form at the end of his book.

While I have tried to show that Henriques' socio-economic explanation of the functions of kinship in the context of death is invalid, I pointed out that there was, nevertheless, another point of contrast between the subcultures in the event of death; namely that of the content and extent of ritual. This led me to suggest an alternate model to that of Henriques' regarding the generation of mortuary ritual. This model shifts the focus from the variable of socio-economic anxiety to that of opportunity. Further indications of the validity of this model beyond the initial subcultural contrast were also noted.

However the relative persistance of traditional beliefs in influencing ritual in River Village despite certain indications of social change indicates the importance of traditional values in the shaping of contemporary norms; - a point which was brought out in the preceding chapter with reference to conjugal patterns. The persistance of traditional values in the context of death was seen not to invalidate the model based on the variable of opportunity, but rather to add to the complexity of the empirical situation which the model endeavours to explain.
Finally, claims for the validity of the model can be made on the following grounds:

i. This model explains my own data;

ii. It is also supported by Henriques' data;

iii. It accounts for the contradictions which become evident both between Henriques' data and his model, and between his initial and final hypotheses;

iv. And it provides a plausible basis for prediction in the sphere of social change.