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Indigenous archaeology in Waitukubuli (Dominica) perspectives of a community leader

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Citation

Auguiste, I. N., & Hofman, C. L. (2022). Indigenous archaeology in Waitukubuli (Dominica): perspectives of a community leader. In C. Smith, K. Pollard, A. K. Kanungo, S. K. May, S. L. Lopez Varela, & J. Watkins (Eds.), *Oxford Handbooks Series*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4292689>

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

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image
available

The Oxford Handbook of Global Indigenous Archaeologies

(In Progress)

Claire Smith (ed.) et al.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197607695.001.0001>

Published: 18 August 2022 -

Online ISBN: 9780197607725

Print ISBN: 9780197607695

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CHAPTER

Indigenous Archaeology in Waitukubuli (Dominica): Perspectives of a Community Leader

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197607695.013.11>

Published: 19 December 2022

Abstract

Dominica is currently home to approximately 3,200 Carib or Kalinago. They named their island Oüaitoucoubouli/Waitukubuli (tall is her body). For more than two centuries, colonial forces attempted to gain control of the island, but the Kalinago met them with fierce resistance. The most devastating impact of the European invasion on Kalinago culture was on the Kalinago language. Until the 1920s, few Kalinago could speak or remember the language; the Kalinago language was rapidly replaced by French Kwéyol and, to a lesser extent, English. Today, most Kalinago are unable to speak their native language, but many Kalinago names and words remain in common use. At present, the Kalinago are strongly engaged in promoting their heritage in light of economic development to provide both direct and indirect economic gains to the residents of the community and to foster greater awareness and appreciation of the Kalinago culture. This chapter discusses the long-lasting relationship between the Kalinago communities and archaeologists with a view to contributing to these efforts. The co-creation between archaeologists and community members in all stages of research has stimulated interest in and a better understanding of the archaeological work done on the island. Moreover, it has brought together a number of Indigenous leaders and other public figures in archaeological forums for the first time.

Keywords: Caribbean, Lesser Antilles, Indigenous archaeology, Kalinago, Garifuna

Subject: History and Theory of Archaeology, Archaeological Methodology and Techniques, Archaeology

Series: Oxford Handbooks

Collection: Oxford Handbooks Online

Introduction

Since 1492, the Caribbean (Figure 1) has been the nexus of interactions between the Old and New Worlds (Hofman 2019). In the Lesser Antilles, 150 years of Indigenous resistance to European colonization and the influx of enslaved Africans starting in the sixteenth century led to the mix of biological ancestries and the formation of new identities and social and material worlds (Honychurch 2000; Hofman et al. 2020b; Sued-Badillo 1995). Our knowledge of the beginnings of this disconcerted history is based first and foremost on descriptions by fifteenth- to eighteenth-century European chroniclers, who provided rich, but often heavily biased and fragmented accounts of the Indigenous inhabitants and their responses to European and later African incursions into their world (see Boucher 1992; Hulme and Whitehead 1992; Whitehead 1988).

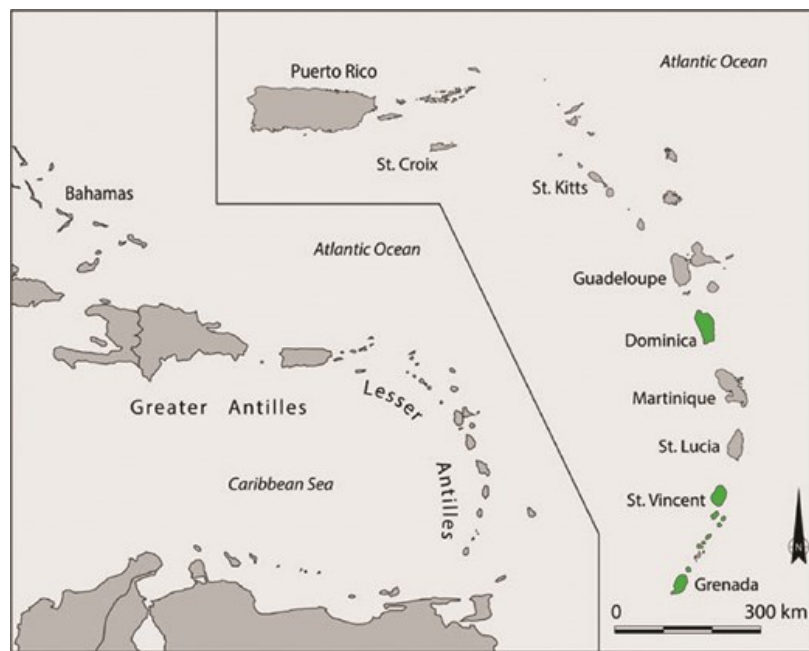


Figure 1. Map of the Caribbean with insert of the Lesser Antilles (Map by Menno Hoogland).

During the eighteenth century, Carib communities on some islands took on increasing numbers of escaped enslaved Africans, leading to the formation of a Black Carib ethnic identity alongside those communities that self-identified as Carib (Palacio 2005). In 1797, the British deported the Black Carib from Saint Vincent to Central America, where they still live and are known as the Garifuna (González 1988; Gullick 1985). By 1800, a major collapse in native populations dramatically reduced the Carib presence in much of the Lesser Antilles. Indigenous populations became completely marginalized. Since colonial times, the “extinction” narrative dominates scholarly and popular readership and Caribbean schoolbooks still describe the Carib as savage, wild cannibals, as opposed to the noble Arawak (now labelled “Taíno”) of the Greater Antilles (Con Aguilar 2019; Con Aguilar et al. 2017; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Newton 2014). Recent archaeological finds in the islands have sparked great interest among the present-day Indigenous people who actively claim their Indigenousness within Caribbean society (Forte 2006; Hofman et al. 2020b; Hulme 2001). Furthermore, these finds have provided important insights on the transformations of Indigenous cultures and societies and the intercultural dynamics at play at the advent of European colonialism. This is especially true for the Carib or Kalinago, as they now self-identify, because their presence in the islands (Oüaitoucoubouli¹/Waitukubuli) has long been contested due to the absence of archaeological evidence. Descendant communities of the Carib still live throughout the Lesser Antilles, most notably in Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Trinidad, and there is an active resurgence movement promoting self-identification and Indigenous self-empowerment (Boomert 2016; Forte and Hernandez 2006; Honychurch 2000).

We (former Kalinago chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste and archaeologist Corinne Hofman) were first introduced to each other in 1994 by our French colleague André Delpuech. At the time, Delpuech was head of the archaeological service in Guadeloupe and curator of the exhibition *Présents Caraïbes*, a fascinating exhibit in Fort Delgrès, Guadeloupe, which for the first time combined regional archaeology, anthropology, and the Kalinago people (Delpuech 1993). We met again later that year, on the Territory, which led to a deep friendship and long-lasting collaboration on Kalinago archaeology, co-creative heritage projects, and the promotion of Kalinago heritage in the wider region and internationally. In this chapter, we aim to provide an ethnographic account of Kalinago past and present, which will serve as a background for these collaborative projects. We will also discuss the opportunities and challenges for Kalinago heritage in light of the socioeconomic development of the Kalinago people. The text in this chapter is partly based on a conversation between us, and when Chief Irvince is talking the text appears in italics.

The Origins of the Kalinago

Prior to the Spanish invasion of the Americas, the Caribbean was inhabited by a mosaic of Indigenous or Amerindian societies, which had moved into the archipelago between ca. 8000 and 5000 BCE (Keegan and Hofman 2017). From the onset of island settlement, extensive inter-insular travel took place, creating interlocking networks of sociocultural systems, trade and exchange, and knowledge that traversed the Caribbean Sea. These networks crossed local and regional boundaries and interaction spheres and were crucial in building and maintaining social relationships. The material culture in the various islands reflects local developments and is equally indicative of pan-Caribbean sociocultural dynamics (Hofman 2019). From the onset of the Spanish presence, the Indigenous societies were suddenly and dramatically transformed, subjected to disease, exploitation, and genocide, a process that continued over the following centuries of ongoing invasion and colonization. Yet in the early years, they were involved in exchange relationships with the Europeans, and the Indigenous networks undoubtedly affected the manner in which the latter were able to rapidly spread through the region and invade other areas of the Americas (e.g., Deagan 2003; Delle et al. 2011). Despite dramatic differences in worldviews, values, and aesthetics, European objects were swiftly introduced into and circulated within Indigenous networks (Hofman and Keehnen 2019). Amerindians actively resisted the colonial invasion in various ways and attempted to negotiate with the Europeans, sometimes successfully (Hofman et al. 2014; Valcárcel Rojas et al. 2013). The European colonization of the Caribbean was not a single event, but a series of colonizing processes. Despite the effects of legalized slave raiding on the “savage and cannibalistic” Amerindians, some of the Indigenous peoples in the Lesser Antilles successfully resisted European control until the eighteenth century, and attacks were carried out against colonial forces (Keegan and Hofman 2017; Shafie et al. 2017). During the first century of the region’s Spanish colonization, the islands of the Lesser Antilles became refuges for Indigenous populations from the Greater Antilles and the South American mainland (Hulme and Whitehead 1992; Sued-Badillo 2003). In the first century of colonization, the Kalinago sometimes served as “middlemen” in trade between the Spanish Caribbean and continental South America. The origins of the Carib or Kalinago, as narrated by early chroniclers, have long been contested, because their archaeological remains were not identified. This led to heated debates among Caribbean scholars in the 1960s and 1970s, known as the “Island Carib problem” (Davis and Goodwin 1990). Described as *caribes* by the Spanish throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—a term that had no specific ethnic meaning, because it referred to all Indigenous peoples in the region who resisted colonization—and as *Caraïbes Insulaires* by the seventeenth-century French, the self-denominated Kalinago (men’s lexicon) and Kalipuna (female lexicon) inhabited the Lesser Antilles from Grenada to Saint Kitts at the time of European incursion in the region. European sources also illustrate the cultural, sociopolitical, and ethnic relations of the Island Carib or Kalinago men and their society with the Kalina (“Mainland Carib”) of the Guianas, and confirm the Island Carib’s mythical origin in the coastal zone of the Guianas, mixing especially with the original female inhabitants of the Windward Islands (Boomert 1986, 2000). It was, however, only in the late 1980s that pottery of the Cayo complex (named after a Cayo River in Saint Vincent where this pottery style was identified for the first time) was correlated with the “Island Carib” (as opposed to “mainland Carib”) phenomenon (Allaire 1994, 2003; Boomert 1986). Cayo pottery showed clear affiliations with Koriabo ceramics of the Guianas, which were ancestral to the contemporary mainland Carib or Kalina pottery tradition. Currently, approximately twenty archaeological sites with the presence of Cayo pottery have been recorded in the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles, notably between Grenada and Guadeloupe, with a vast majority in Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Grenada (Boomert 2009; 2011; Bright 2011; Hofman et al. 2020b). In Dominica, several sites with Cayo pottery have been identified over the course of the years. These sites are located in Grand Bay, Indian River, Hampstead, Woodford Hill, Eden, Sophia Bay, Walker’s Rest, and Melville Hall (Boomert 2009; Bright 2011; Hauser et al. 2019; Hofman et al. forthcoming; Honychurch 1997, 2000, 2011). Two nearly complete Cayo vessels were accidentally discovered at Woodford Hill in 2004. On the one hand, Cayo pottery and associated cultural remains, such as bone flutes and pendants, clearly share characteristics and origins with the mainland. This is most notable in the style, morphology, and manufacture of the pottery and from the isotope ratios of tapir and

peccary tooth pendants (Hofman et al. 2020a). On the other hand, some vessel shapes and decorative motifs also suggest affiliations with the Greater Antilles. Such affiliations would strengthen the hypotheses that Taíno refugees in the Lesser Antilles or Carib raids on Taíno settlements in Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were responsible for the transmission of so-called Chicoid and Meillacoid stylistic traits to the Lesser Antilles (Boomert 1986; Hofman et al. 2021a; Sued-Badillo 1978). The presence of early European (Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch) materials in Cayo material culture assemblages further suggests trade relationships between the Indigenous inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles and the Europeans in the first decades of contact (Hofman et al. 2014, 2019).



Figure 2. Model of the Argyle site with Cayo material culture and European finds, Argyle Saint Vincent (Photos by Menno Hoogland, model by Eric Pelissier exhibited at the National Library at Kingstown).

Recent archaeological rescue excavations between 2009 and 2017 in two of the main Carib or Kalinago strongholds in the Lesser Antilles—Saint Vincent and Grenada—have revealed Cayo pottery with sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Kalinago settlement remains including a complete village layout and postholes indicating house structures (Figure 2; Hofman and Hoogland 2012; Hofman et al. 2015, 2020a,b). These recent archaeological finds represented a source of considerable historical interest for present-day Kalinago communities, because their origin has long been contested due to the lack of firm archaeological evidence.

From Carib Reserve to Kalinago Territory

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, colonial forces attempted to gain control of Waitukubuli, but the Kalinago fiercely resisted them (Beckles 2008; Honychurch 1995, 2000). The island changed hands many times during the colonial period, but still the Kalinago defended their lands. In 1748, under the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, Britain and France recognized Kalinago dominion over the island, declared it to be neutral, and left it under Kalinago control. This treaty was short-lived. The British continued to wage war on the Kalinago people, and in 1763, the British gained full control of Dominica (Atwood 2013). The Carib Reserve itself was officially established on July 4, 1903, with 3,700 acres of land. Prior to its establishment, however, the territory began with a small piece of land in what is called Salybia. As in other places in the Caribbean, the British had called that small piece of land “Queen’s Acre.” It measured 232 acres; later on, more land was added. Then, by 1903, “the reservation,” as it was called, was officially established. The name change from Carib to Kalinago was made official on February 20th 2015 (Government Information Service 2015; Strecker 2016). The growing awareness and momentum leading up to this change came from researchers or from individuals from the Kalinago community who went to universities, where they learned of other Indigenous peoples’ cultures and their names, a topic that began to rise in the public consciousness some fifteen years ago. It was agreed that *Kalinago* (in the male lexicon) or *Kalipuna* (in the female lexicon) was the nation’s name, such as it had been mentioned by the chroniclers (Taylor and Hoff 1980).

Former Chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste: *It was felt that the correct name should be restored. Amid this discussion, there was some consideration as to the term Carib and the stereotypes associated with it; people from the community felt that if the name was changed to Kalinago, it might allow the people to adopt a new image. However, the main reason (I recall) in a discussion we had was that, if the Europeans discovered and named us, but our previous name had been different, we reserve the right—as we developed and became more educated—to give ourselves the correct name. Hence the reason why we moved forward with Kalinago. In the beginning, it was not easy, because some were asking whether the characters’ names should be changed in all the books that have been written in Dominica. There was just a lot of discussion that went on, but the main reason for the name change was the feeling that it would give us a new sense of identity. And yes, it was more resilient, more aware perhaps, and attracted more respect—more awareness and respect from outside persons and Dominicans.*

Currently the Kalinago Territory is the only constituted legal space in the archipelago, it is often—incorrectly—referred to as the last place of Indigenous presence in the Caribbean (Strecker 2016). The territory consists of eight villages (Figure 3). There are seven villages on the Atlantic coast, named Sineku, Mahaut River, Gaulette River, St. Cyr, Salybia, Crayfish River, and Bataka. There is also one village further inland, referred to as Touna, which is the smallest village located on the Concord side (Honychurch 2000).

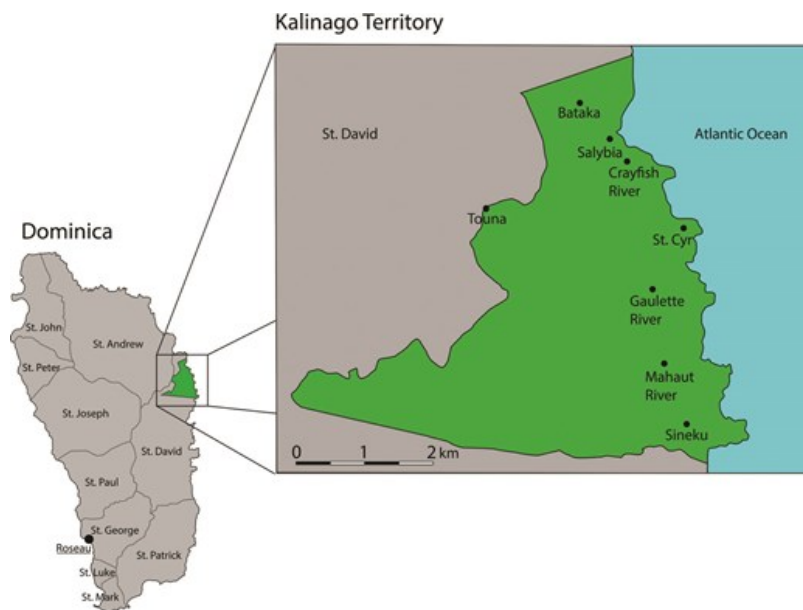


Figure 3. Map of Kalinago Territory and villages in Dominica (Map by Finn van der Leden).

The territory is administered by a chief and his council. Every five years, there is an election for chief. It is important to note here that a change came about in 1978 with the political independence of the island. Prior to then, there was an election for chief every three years, but when Dominica became politically independent in 1978, an act of parliament was established: the Carib Act, number 22 of 1978 (Kossek 1994; Strecker 2016). Under this act, the council was given special authority. The establishment of the council under the local government ordinance described the process for territory elections and also called for elections every five years. In addition, it provided the guidelines for the council and office of the chief, which would be a body of seven members, comprising the office of the chief and the offices of six members of council. Additionally, the Kalinago Territory has parliamentary representation because it is a political constituency, along with a smaller, non-Kalinago village called Atkinson. Since the establishment of the political constituency in 1975, a parliamentarian from the territory has always been elected from the Kalinago Territory, and a little more than twenty years ago, he automatically became a government minister. The main task of the Minister of Kalinago Affairs is to formulate and implement community development projects; to facilitate community participation in decision-making processes concerning development; to work toward improving access to finance and credit for the Kalinago; to increase awareness of cultural heritage of the Kalinago; to collaborate with other departments and ministries; and to work toward socioeconomic independence of the Kalinago people (summarized in Strecker 2016). For the first time now, after the last elections in 2019, the minister not only serves as the Minister of Kalinago Affairs, but has now become minister of the environment, rural modernization, and Kalinago upliftment.

Communal Land Rights

The “narrative of extinction” has long been used to justify the appropriation of Indigenous lands. Kalinago peoples, however, have focused on cultural revival, gaining recognition, and seeking restitution in the postindependence era. Clarification is still needed on the exact nature of land rights, which includes rights to soil and subsoil, creating agricultural incentives and credit solutions for the residents of the territory (Strecker 2016).

Former Chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste: *The Kalinago community still today has common land rights, but every Kalinago-occupied portion of land in the community is regarded as private land. In other words, one may occupy as much land as one wishes. One family might have two acres of land, another family 25 acres. However, there are recognized boundaries. In the case of an internal dispute between two parties, the chief and his council have the right*

to establish proper boundaries to preserve the peace; this is part of their governance. Property on any land under any family name is totally private. So, my mango trees and my banana trees cannot be claimed by the community. And I cannot go into somebody property and harvest their crops or anything either. There is this understanding of communal, but there is still a level of privacy. Land and other property are handed down to children; for example, my grandfather may have occupied probably fifty acres of land. And he in turn, he would have separated that piece of land for his ten children. If any one of them wanted to work more land, then they would have worked new lands in their name, which they would have separated again and given to their children. So, my grandfather worked, he passed on to my dad and my dad passed on to me and I'm passing it on to my children. Later on, my children will decide what they want to do. Presently I can already say that one of my boys is interested in land and farming. So, I have given him two acres of land, but he has ideas of doing a lot more. He is now looking at an area where he can maybe occupy ten more acres of land. Another of my sons is interested in human resource management. I don't know. He might not be too interested in land, so maybe one acre might do for him. The council does not decide who receives land and where, but it would be interesting to do that for better management of the land. If I was an advisor, I would put a land use program in place, so that persons do not occupy the land over water catchment areas and over areas where land slippage can occur.

Infrastructure

The territory has approximately 3,200 people, divided among the eight villages. Four primary schools serve the Kalinago Territory. Two are on the territory itself: the Sineku primary school and the Salybia primary school. The Atkinson and Concord primary schools serves the Kalinago people but is outside of the territory. Secondary schools are located in the north and south of the Kalinago Territory. The North East Comprehensive School, to the north, and the Castle Bruce Secondary School to the south. Healthcare facilities are distributed similarly to the schools. Two of them, Salybia Health Center and Mahaut River Health Center, are on the territory. The Atkinson Health Center and Marigot Health Center serve the community outside the territory. A police station on the territory takes care of the entire territory and the neighboring village of Atkinson. Most of the people in the Kalinago Territory are still farmers. In the past twenty-five years, however, there have been big changes in the academic capabilities of the Kalinago people. More than sixty students have attended various universities in the region and internationally. There are therefore professionals such as lawyers, surgeons, doctors, forestry engineers, an economist, and others in the territory who are very much engaged in the public sector—such as nurses, policemen, teachers, and fire officers. In this respect, there have been many more Kalinago in public-sector jobs in recent years. Heritage awareness has increased over the past decennia and cultural groups and activities are recognized and supported by the government.

The Barana Autê: The Kalinago Cultural Village by the Sea

One such project is “Construction of the Kalinago Barana Autê,” the Kalinago cultural village by the sea, which was built in 2006 (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Thatched house in the Barana Autê, Kalinago Territory (Photo by Tibisay Sankatsing Nava).

The village offers a unique experience, sharing the history and traditions of the Kalinago people from hundreds of years ago. The village also is intended to contribute to the socioeconomic development of the Kalinago of Dominica in several ways: by providing both direct and indirect economic gains to the residents of the community, and by creating greater awareness and appreciation of the Kalinago culture (Figure 5). The Kalinago Barana Autê consists of an interpretation center, snack bar, and gift shop. The village consists of a series of small huts (*ajoupas*) with the main *karbet* or *taboui* (biggest hut) in the center, where it is used for cultural and theatrical performances. The huts feature traditional activities such as canoe building, cassava processing, basket weaving, and calabash carving, as well as herb collection and preparation (Ariese 2019).



Figure 5. Traditional crafts at the Barana Autê, Kalinago Territory (Photos by Tibusay Sankatsing Nava).

The Kalinago people use their skills and creativity to weave beautiful, valuable, and functional craft items out of *larouma*: baskets, caps, hats, sifters, squeezers, mats, and finger traps, which they sell to the tourists. Tourists can come to the Kalinago Territory to visit and meet the office of the chief in function; meet the traditional basket weavers (Figure 6), still weaving baskets; and witness canoe making, fishing on the rocks and other elements of the simple life that most individuals would live, growing their own food and preparing it in the traditional way. So, this is the actual message that has been carried on. It gives people a better appreciation of the culture, the way of life.

Former chief Irvine Nanichi Auguiste: *It gives the opportunity, as we say, for interaction of persons, really meeting life, people who work or coming from a very powerful nation that once occupied the entire region of the Caribbean and, and still being able to survive, we are able to give our story in a real sense of our resilience.*



Figure 6. Traditional basketry and canoe making at Barana Autê (Photos by Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland).

Indigenous Archaeology and Opportunities and Challenges for Promoting Kalinago Heritage

Over the past decades important scholarly advances in Caribbean archaeology and history have helped to deconstruct documentary bias and Western and colonial preconceptions, but clearly not enough has been undertaken (Pagán-Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos 2008). Stories that are told are still dominated by biased Western viewpoints and lack multiple perspectives, allowing many voices to remain unheard. This situation is particularly troublesome, because the continuities, persistence, and resilience of Indigenous knowledge systems remain severely undervalued despite their pivotal role in present-day Caribbean societies (e.g., Brathwaite 2001; Dubois and Turits 2019; Forte 2013; Hofman et al. 2021b; Honychurch 2000; Wilson 1997). There is often insufficient community engagement in research carried out by Western academics. This is problematic because it compromises the opportunity to stimulate usable knowledge exchange, multi-vocality, and the self-empowerment of communities in telling their own narrative (e.g., González-Tennant 2018; Hofman and Hoogland 2016; Sankatsing Nava and Hofman 2018; Stancioff 2018).

Collaborative Archaeological Projects

Former chief Irvine Nanichi Auguste: *Younger people have been participating in archaeological excavations as far back as the 1980s or the 1990s and that is an area I believe where we can definitely get a few people to continue understanding and be part of. I think a good thing about a Kalinago, or Indigenous person is that it would be beneficial for them to understand, get a grasp of archaeology, and at the same time do what they do for their survival: farm, make baskets, whatever it is, be cultural, dances. In that sense it gives them a balance, if they do not get hired as an archaeologist very early from studying they still can go ahead and do something and the education and their experience is definitely worth its while for better understanding. It is really a great subject area our youngsters have not really been too involved in. And I realize why it's important, when you speak of culture, identity, history. We find that now, interestingly, persons are showing a lot of interest, particularly young persons. We have quite a number of them who are showing interest in language, herbal medicines, culture, and food.*

In 1997 three young Kalinago participated in excavations at the archaeological site of Anse à la Gourde in Guadeloupe, organized by André Delpuech of the Service Régional de l'Archéologie of Guadeloupe in collaboration with Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland. From 2013 on, former chief Irvince was an affiliate researcher of the ERC-Nexus 1492 project *New World Encounters in a Globalizing World*, in which he collaborated on many PhD and postdoctoral studies (Hofman et al. forthcoming). In this context in the summer of 2015, former chief Irvince participated in the excavations at the site of El Flaco in the Dominican Republic, where he played a pivotal role in the interpretation of, among others, the Indigenous house plans from posthole configurations. Since that time, several archaeological and heritage projects have been set up in the territory, and intensive collaborations were developed with Kalinago and Garifuna persons on Saint Vincent. In 2014, Cozier Frederick, a local historian, conducted the first archaeological survey with Nexus 1492 scholars Samantha de Ruyter and Jimmy Mans with the objective to start documenting all archaeological sites thus far unknown within the perimeters of the Kalinago Territory to reconstruct its occupational history. They recorded four sites, in Salybia, Bataka, Cray Fish River, and Mahaut River. The site in Salybia yielded materials from before European incursion; the other sites revealed more recent European ceramic wares. The surveys were continued by Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland in 2018 with the participation of six Kalinago persons (Figure 7). They targeted the area between the northern border of the Kalinago Territory and the site of Woodford Hill, where our colleagues Mark Hauser, Doug Armstrong, Kenneth Kelly, and Diane Waldron conducted excavations on a seventeenth-century Dutch trading post where Cayo remains also were recorded (Hauser et al. 2019). Many sites and archaeological collections in the area were (re-)visited and catalogued, and the materials were processed by the team. The project is currently halted due to the COVID-19 pandemic but will be continued as soon as permitted.



Figure 7. Surveys in 2018 along the northern border of the Kalinago Territory and finds processing (Photos by Corinne Hofman).

Former chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste: *Archaeology brings to us strength, the discovery of artifacts and of tracing Our ancestor's existence. For many years, going back, giving us proof of that. We did not get into a boat somewhere about the 1900 and just got dropped off in Dominica, but that we had a nation that existed in this entire hemisphere and this part of the world. The history of the Kalinago Territory began thousands of years ago Before the arrival of the Europeans. From archaeological research we know that we were not only on Dominica, but in many different places in the Caribbean. Since the arrival of colonization, the people were always moving about and so a lot of the practices were discontinued. Religious practices and other strong cultural ties got destroyed and lost because of all that movement.*

Archaeology has proven that, and it makes the Kalinago case more sensible. It makes all the people who understand it stronger, and the fact that we were here so many thousands of years ago. And it shows the connections. Now what's the future for us? The future for us there is that we are now able to regroup as Indigenous peoples because of the findings and research. We're able to build connections with other persons on Saint Vincent or in Suriname or in the Dominican Republic. The persons with whom we have met create a stronger bond as persons of the same kind, but most importantly also are the person who are making it possible. And what does that bond mean? Apart from us being able to say, yes, we were here, the bond brings a number of different professionals on board who will see things differently and who can connect us with other persons in different fields; it gives us a better opportunity, a new platform of resource. Persons that see us not just as Kalinago or Carib people, but as Indigenous peoples who once occupied this land, persons of special interest. And that creates a better feeling for the Indigenous Kalinago.

During all this time, conferences on Kalinago heritage have been co-organized in Leiden (2016) and Dominica (2017), and papers were co-presented at archaeological conferences in the region (IACA² 2019, Garifuna conference 2019) and at international forums (SAA³ 2013 (Hofman and Auguiste 2013), Local Voices⁴ 2021). In 2019, as a result of the Nexus 1492 project, the Caribbean Ties exhibition was hosted at the Barana Autê in the Kalinago Territory (Figure 8). The exhibit *Caribbean Ties: Connected People Then and Now* was co-created with various Caribbean stakeholders including the Kalinago and is shown in fifteen islands and features in six languages (Hofman et al. 2019; www.NEXUS1492.eu). Irvince Auguiste and other Kalinago traveled thereafter to Guadeloupe, Barbados, and more recently to Sint Maarten in November 2021 where the former chief inaugurated the exhibit with a speech. The virtual edition of the exhibit was launched in November 2021 during the MAC⁵ conference (www.virtualcarib.com).



Figure 8. The opening of the Caribbean Ties exhibit in the Barana Autê, Kalinago Territory (Photos by Tibisay Sankatsing Nava).

Collaborating with Kalinago and Garifuna in the Experimental Construction of the Cayo Village at Argyle, Saint Vincent

In the context of the construction of the Argyle International Airport on Saint Vincent, the island's Argyle International Airport Development Company, Ltd., the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the Saint Vincent and the Grenadines National Trust requested the rebuilding of the Cayo archaeological village at the location where it was originally situated and excavated in 2010, next to the runway of the new airport. In March 2015, a model of the village, created by Eric Pelissier, was presented during the Garifuna conference and is currently housed at the Kingstown Library (see Figure 2). In January 2016, at the instigation of the various stakeholders, the construction of the first experimental Kalinago house at Argyle was begun by a team composed of Irasto Robinson, Menno Hoogland, Jimmy Mans, Diederik Pomstra, and Leo Wortelbeek, in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture. Throughout 2016, local community members, under the guidance of park ranger Irasto Robinson of the National Parks Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, successfully worked on the (re)construction of the Cayo village at Argyle, with four round houses (*manná*, according to Breton 1665/1666) and one large oval structure (*táboüi*, according to Breton 1665/1666) (Figure 9). The first round house was built in an experimental way, using as many stone and shell tools as possible to fashion the wood and plant materials employed in its construction. The archaeological data obtained from the excavations were complemented by information from the writings of the French missionary Father Raymond Breton, who gives very detailed descriptions of the various materials used in the construction of the Kalinago round and oval houses (Breton 1665, 1666, 1978; Hofman et al. 2015; Hofman et al. forthcoming). The participation of Indigenous community members in the interpretations of the structures helped to conceptualize the dynamics of village organization and better understand the palimpsest of features documented in the field (Hofman et al. forthcoming).



Figure 9. Building the táboüi at Argyle, St. Vincent (Photos by Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland).

The Cayo village was officially opened in February 2016 in a special ceremony by the Garifuna of Greiggs, with community leader John Nero. The Saint Vincent and the Grenadines' Ministry of Tourism had plans to make the village part of one of the key heritage locations on the island. If these plans come to fruition, it will be an extremely important step forward for the Kalinago and Garifuna communities on the island and in the wider Caribbean. This village is a contribution to Saint Vincent's cultural heritage, documenting its history and the

vicissitudes of its early inhabitants. The Garifuna of the village of Greiggs now build a *manná* inspired by the Argyle houses on Heroes Day (March 14) each year. In the summer of 2019, during a visit of former chief Irvine Auguste and Corinne Hofman to Kalinago leader Augustine (Sardo) Sutherland in Saint Vincent, a meeting was held with Garifuna leaders in Greiggs and, later, at the village, where the Kalinago from Sandy Bay were also present (Figure 10). The Argyle village as a touristic project is still under construction and awaits further initiatives. The Garifuna and Kalinago have shown excitement toward the plans and hope that the village can benefit communities not only on Saint Vincent, but also in Dominica, where similar plans have been discussed. During the meeting a number of people also have expressed keen interest in and solidarity with the initiative to set up a Caribbean Indigenous network for further upliftment of the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean.



Figure 10. Consultation with Garifuna community leaders in Greiggs, Saint Vincent (Photos by Corinne Hofman and Menno Hoogland).

Challenges and Opportunities for Kalinago Heritage

The Kalinago archaeological record, like the Caribbean islands in general and its present inhabitants, are heavily impacted by natural catastrophes and human interference (e.g., Boger et al. 2019; Fitzpatrick 2012; Hofman and Hoogland 2016; Hofman et al. 2021b; Stancioff et al. 2018). The recent natural catastrophic events of Hurricane Maria in 2017 and the Soufrière volcanic eruptions in 2021 have heavily impacted Kalinago communities and heritage sites in both Dominica and Saint Vincent (Figure 11).



Figure 11. Impact of Hurricane Maria on the Kalinago Territory in September 2017 (Photo by Irvince Auguiste).

For the present-day Kalinago who are confronted with serious socioeconomic problems, these impactful phenomena bring not only changes to the environment on which they are mostly dependent, but also on their well-being and the traditional knowledge practices that form an integral part of their lives (Stancioff 2018).

Former Chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste: *The knowledge of the Kalinago people is something that can definitely contribute to the communities' resiliency—in the sense that the Kalinago people always lived a very “natural” life, and “natural” in the sense that they grew their own food, passed down medicines, and farmed in different ways than later on. So, when they make a garden, when they farm food for themselves and their families, they will not allow people to farm five acres of land. They would have farmed probably three-quarter acres of land in one location. And the three acres of land would be farmed in a way that it has every kind of food possible on it. The food that would be grown on that piece of land would be plants that would help control pests. So, there would be no need for chemical use because there will be plants on the land, in the garden that would naturally repel certain insects to the garden. They would grow their gardens with a windbreak. There was always a windbreak. And the reason why there was a windbreak is that it served two purposes, one to mark out the garden, and two to protect the crops that were being grown from strong winds and not necessarily hurricane, but just strong winds. So, the crop would not just stop. And they grew everything. It means that the Kalinago persons did not have to depend on sugar coming from a boat, because they would have grown enough sugar cane for the sweetening of their tea. They will not have to wait on sardines coming in, because they would have grown food, in addition to the wild meat and fish. They reared their own domestic animals for feeding themselves. They would not have planted certain food in areas of landslide or the water catchment areas, because they knew it was not healthy. The water was always protected, whether it comes from the surface or the spring. The pollution that we have now, in those days gone by did not exist. One couldn't go by the riverside and see all these plastics and all these tins, and, you know, this, horror, so to speak of the environment. The environment was kept pristine and recycled. So anytime we grew food, I grew up as a child, knowing that when we prepared our food, we would peel the provisions, peel bananas, peel the dasheen, the yam, and the food peels would be then put back in the field, put back in the bananas, put back in the dasheen. It would rot and be organic. And what is important in our heritage, what is important in our way of life now is that we also make the effort to teach the heritage, teach the way that we lived before and how we can move forward in the future. We doubt making the mistakes that other communities have made. I mean, when Maria shrugged the island four years ago, Kalinago housing stock was 95% destroyed, but there was no situation on the Kalinago Territory where rivers overflow and took people houses compared to other communities. Kalinago people still had that knowledge as to where best to build, they will not have built in areas of dry ravines. The Kalinago also knew when to plant certain foods for certain weather and certain times, and how to store it. And I'm going to say that when I was growing up as a child, I did not know how to make a cassava bread. I only learned that when I was twenty-eight years old. I love making cassava bread. Now I am saying that you see the change that is taking place, I did not know how to make castor oil until a year ago. We are learning. We are going back into culture it is happening.”*

In addition to more frequent and intensifying hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, tectonic movements, sea-level changes, and earthquakes, the region's economic development—encompassing the construction of airports, megaresorts, golf courses, and other tourist entertainment projects and sand mining—heavily damage or destroy the cultural heritage, especially those sites located on the coast (Fitzpatrick 2012; Hofman and Haviser 2015; Hofman et al. 2021b; Siegel et al. 2013). However, the colonial legacy on land rights and current geopolitical diversity of the Caribbean islands at large, as well as the range of stakeholders involved in heritage matters, have caused many of the islands to remain in limbo with respect to heritage legislation—there by emphasizing the complex relationship among landscape and heritage protection and environmental justice (Byer 2020; Douglas and Cooper 2020; Hofman et al. 2021b; Siegel and Righter 2011). In order to decolonize the current legislative frameworks public participation in environmental decision-making and access to environmental information is strongly needed (Byer 2020). Furthermore, the emergence of cultural tourism to promote the islands' unique historical legacy attracts visitors from all over the globe (Siegel et al. 2013). Despite the often-difficult choices between economic development and the preservation of cultural heritage sites, there has been increasing development on some islands of national parks, which have been shown to contribute to people's awareness of their past while at the same time creating jobs and educational programs. The Barana Autê in the Kalinago territory and the Cayo village site at Argyle are good examples of this. Finally, co-creation and community engagement involving the Indigenous communities is essential to foster ownership and community self-empowerment. The relationships between archaeologists or heritage practitioners and Indigenous and local communities need to be improved Caribbean-wide, and archaeological research designs should encompass multiple voices, methodologies, and ethical standpoints. This will contribute to the decolonization of archaeological practice in the region and promote intertwined historical and heritage awareness, as well as appraise and safeguard the unique cultural legacies that are in danger of being lost forever if action is not taken (Hofman and Hoogland 2016; Sankatsing Nava and Hofman 2018; Stancioff 2018; see also Atalay 2012; Smith and Wobst 2005).

Concluding Note

In Waitukubli (Dominica), the resilience of the Kalinago population is illustrated by the island having the only present-day official Indigenous territory with a Kalinago chief and a Ministry of Environment, Rural Modernization and Kalinago Upliftment. Kalinago communities are strongly engaged in using their heritage to call for their human rights and promote economic development. The recent archaeological finds in Dominica and the neighbouring islands of Saint Vincent and Grenada, which include a significant number of sites with Cayo material and settlement remains, represent a source of considerable historical interest in this respect. In addition, both the Barana Autê in the Kalinago Territory in Dominica as well as the experimental construction of the Cayo village at Argyle, Saint Vincent clearly offer new and unique possibilities to recast Kalinago history in a more nuanced and inclusive light, dispelling colonial documentary bias and the imposition of Western-biased viewpoints, which have impeded inclusivity and multi-vocality in historical discourses. At the same time, it opens new avenues for economic development, initiating educational programs, creating jobs, and attracting visitors. The longstanding engagement between individuals of the Kalinago community and archaeologists as well as the participation of Kalinago in all steps of the research, including in the research design, co-creation of pertinent questions, analyses, interpretation, publication, presentation, and outreach, has been essential to begin forging novel, multi-vocal and inclusive narratives of Kalinago cultural heritage. It also has promoted awareness and appraisal of the Kalinago past on local, regional, and global scales.

Former chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste: *This new education would have been welcomed much earlier by a lot of us, the young and energetic Kalinago, forty years ago, but we are still thankful that we have an opportunity to share it with our children and grandchildren, who are the ones to see through the changes that we wished to achieve. We are confident that our children will make use of this new subject and will research deeper for themselves, establish connections, and engage in any important forums and decision-making activities for the protection and development*

of our tangible and intangible heritage that is under threat of being lost forever due to natural hazards and societal challenges. The future economic landscape is hopeful in networking, bringing the Indigenous people of the Caribbean together through dialogue and exchange of resources.

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge all Kalinago and Garifuna persons with whom we have engaged in our research over the past thirty years. We specifically would like to mention Augustine (Sardo) Sutherland, Kalinago leader from Sandy Bay, Saint Vincent; John Nero, Garifuna leader from Greiggs, Saint Vincent; and Hon. Cozier Frederick, Minister for Environment, Rural Modernization and Kalinago Upliftment for their continuous collaboration. We would further like to acknowledge Oponi Auguste, Ali Auguste, Derick Joseph, Hubert Lucien, Aniska Auguste, and Jevanie Auguste with whom we completed the surveys in and around the Kalinago territory in the summer of 2019. Louisette, thank you for friendship and opening your home to us in Touna and Lennox Honychurch for your collaboration over the years, for sharing your invaluable knowledge on the Kalinago, and for hosting Caribbean Ties at Fort Shirley after it could not stay in the Barana Autê because of the challenging weather conditions. The pictures that feature in this chapter are taken by Menno Hoogland, Corinne Hofman, Tibusay Sankatsing Nava and Irvince Auguste. Kristen de Joseph, Emma de Mooij, and Finn van der Leden are thanked for their editorial help.

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Notes

- 1 The name Oüaitoucoubouli is recorded by the French missionary Father Raymond Breton (1665/1666).
- 2 IACA: International Association for Caribbean Archaeology holds its meetings every two years on one of the Caribbean islands.
- 3 SAA: Society of American Archaeology. The 2013 conference was held in Hawaii.
- 4 Local Voices is a movement to promote multi-vocality and empowerment of local Caribbean archaeologists and heritage practitioners. It was founded by Katarina Jacobson (Guadeloupe), Joseph Sony Jean (Haiti), and Eduardo Herrera Malatesta (Venezuela). All three are former PhDs of the Nexus project.
- 5 MAC: Museum Association of the Caribbean. Virtual Caribbean Ties was launched on November 5th with a presentation and panel discussion featuring Emma de Mooij (Nexus1492/CaribTRAILS Leiden/KITLV), Former chief Irvince Nanichi Auguiste (Kalinago Territory), Katarina Jacobson (Guadeloupe), Winston Phulgence (Saint Lucia), Kevin Farmer (Barbados), Jorge Ulloa Hung (Cuba/Dominican Republic), and Ashleigh Morris (Trinidad and Tobago).

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