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Excerpt

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# I

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## A History of Islands

The Caribbean is named for its sea but the islands define the region and make its history. As a marine environment, the Caribbean Sea is a creation of the land that encloses it, with an unbroken continental coastline to the south and west, and a permeable but continuous arc of islands facing the Atlantic Ocean. Without the islands there would be no sea. The water would be nothing more than another stretch in the fluid maritime history of the ocean. Equally significant, the islands of the Caribbean surround and demarcate the Sea rather than sitting in it. This geographical formation determined fundamental features in the development of the Caribbean and distinguished the experience of the region from that of other island histories around the world.

Islands can be scattered in many different kinds of patterns. Sometimes they stand alone, in splendid isolation, but often they occur in groups or clusters. The tropical Atlantic from the Caribbean to the coast of Africa is almost empty of islands. In this vast oceanic zone, islands are small, few in number, and extremely isolated. The islands of the Caribbean, by contrast, are numerous and vary greatly in size (Map 1.1). What determines the uniqueness of the Caribbean islands as a whole is the way they form an archipelago, spread through an extensive arc with large bodies of water to each side, and the way the archipelago floats free of the mainland. The Caribbean Sea, like the Atlantic, is largely empty of islands. The enclosing islands seem almost like a chain cast outwards by centrifugal force, straining to escape the pull of gravity.



Map 1.1. The modern Caribbean.

The archipelago extends through 3,000 km, running east from Cuba to the Leeward Islands, then turning south to Trinidad, just 10 km from the mainland of South America. The surface area of the sea is eight times as extensive as the land component of the enclosing islands, making it the second largest in the world – exceeded only by the South China Sea – and slightly larger and significantly deeper than the Mediterranean. However, because none of the islands that make up the connected chain is visible from the mainland, the archipelago lacks anchors. It resembles the Indonesian archipelago more than the Greek, though the Indonesian has no single sea. Once started on the journey, however, whether beginning in Cuba or Grenada, it is possible to move from one Caribbean

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island to the next with the advantage of intervisibility almost without a break through the entire chain. At the same time, most of the larger islands are in sight of only two neighbours, one coming and one going, channelling movement along the chain.

The histories of the islands look both ways, towards the continental Americas on the one hand and across the Atlantic to Africa and Europe on the other. This does not mean they float in limbo, always searching somewhere else for meaning. Rather, the islands support unique creative cultures, reflecting their role as vital sites in the creation of the modern western world. In spite of this importance, the islands were challenging destinations for early people, requiring an initial leap into the unknown and possession of appropriate sea-going technology. When they finally did reach the islands, the first peoples brought with them ways of life constructed on continental lands that needed only minor modifications to make them viable in the tropical environments of the islands. What was different was the ready access they had to marine and littoral resources and the potential for development of insular identities.

Whereas the first human colonizers of the Caribbean were late-comers in the broad sweep of world history, the islands were prime sites in the fateful modern colonization that brought Europeans and Africans across the Atlantic to the Americas. It was on a Caribbean island that Columbus set foot on his first voyage of 1492 and it was in the islands that the Spanish built their first colonies. Rather than seeming a barrier, the sea now served as a conduit for European imperialism. Further, the easy accessibility of island shores, together with the islands' small size and long coastlines, made them ideal sites for economic exploitation. Mile for mile, it was cheaper to ship a barrel of rum or a bale of cotton across the seas than it was to haul it overland on a wagon.

This advantage remained true in the long term. It is now cheaper to move goods across the seas in container ships than to drive the same containers across country. On the other hand, the globalization of economic life that moved apace in the later twentieth century shifted the emphasis to bulk and large-scale production and, in this process, small islands, including those of the Caribbean, often lost out as producers and traders. The great advantages of accessibility associated with smallness and insularity mattered most in

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the context of the technologies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and it was in those centuries, under those conditions, that the Caribbean was seen by Europeans as a prime site for exploitation.

The smallness and seaward accessibility of the islands meant also that competing colonizers could relatively easily attack and displace rival powers, resulting in changes in allegiance that affected culture and trade as well as governance. Thus, in the modern period, the significance of the insularity of the Caribbean stretched beyond the region and across the Atlantic. The low cost of transport by sea enabled the competitive shipping of tropical products to markets in Europe and North America and facilitated the forced movement of people, particularly through the Atlantic slave trade that brought millions from Africa to the Caribbean and created the foundations of a demographic pattern that differed significantly from that found on the continents to north and south.

Beneath the apparent symmetry of the island arc lies a more complex, slowly shifting foundation. The central building block, the Caribbean Plate, carries with it almost all of the islands, with the exception of Cuba and the Bahamas, which rest on the North American Plate, and Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, which sit on the South American Plate. This geological structure came about through the long-term eastward movement of the Caribbean Plate from its origin as an oceanic plateau in the Pacific 90 million years ago, pushing its way through the North and South American Plates, resulting in considerable deformation along the edges. The Greater Antilles – Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico – were formed in this process. Immediately south of Cuba, the Gonave microplate underlies parts of Jamaica and Hispaniola and its movement creates fault lines that contribute to the frequency of earthquakes in the zone. The Caribbean Plate continues to edge eastwards relative to the North American Plate at about 20 mm per year. On its eastern front, the Caribbean Plate collided head-on with the Atlantic Plate, creating the “ring of fire” that gave birth to the volcanic islands stretching from Grenada in the south to Saba in the north known as the Lesser Antilles. The collision of the plates also raised above sea level a number of islands composed of much older sedimentary rocks.

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Thus, the main islands of the Caribbean can be said to belong to three distinct archipelagos: the Greater Antilles, the Lesser Antilles, and the Bahamas. The Greater and Lesser Antilles are separated by the Anegada Passage. The Virgin Islands and Vieques have an ambiguous position, being situated on the island shelf east of Puerto Rico and located west of the Anegada Trough but appearing in their surface morphology to belong to the Leeward Islands and hence the Lesser Antilles arc. In spite of the technical correctness of these definitions and distinctions, the notion of archipelagic coherence and unity of the whole of the Caribbean islands remains compelling.

These geophysical developments explain the contrasting shapes and sizes of the islands and island groups. In addition, by helping identify the periods during which the land was under water, they indicate the relative difficulty plants and animals faced in finding homes on the islands. Particularly in environments such as that of the low-lying Bahamas, changes in sea level were vital to determining the amount of exposed land surface. Jamaica, too, was mainly or entirely submerged during part of its history. Variations in sea level resulted from climate change as well as tectonic events. Particularly important in the very long term was the asteroid strike that hit the region about 65 million years ago, off the eastern tip of the Yucatan Peninsula, before the proto-Antilles had achieved their modern forms. It is probable that this strike and others like it, together with volcanism and climate change, ended the age of dinosaurs and made the world safe for mammals, clearing the way for the evolution of human beings. The tsunamis and hypercanes (gigantic hurricanes) that resulted from this event changed the Caribbean landscape.

Long-term variations in rainfall, over the period of human colonization, were also important in setting limits to the productivity of the environment. The earliest ventures into the Caribbean occurred during a relatively moist period of the middle Holocene that lasted from 8200 to 3000 BP (Before the Present). This was followed by a drier regime that, in turn, was replaced by wetter conditions in the late Holocene, beginning around AD 500 and continuing to AD 1100, when drier times returned once more. Over time, as human populations became more dense in the Caribbean, these changes were both influential and partially caused by human activity.

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The geological and climate histories of the Caribbean had major consequences for the individual islands – indeed, their very existence. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the number of Caribbean islands – land units permanently above sea level that individually occupy at least 1 km<sup>2</sup> – is about 3,700, of which only 1,600 have names. Almost all of the unnamed islands are tiny and uninhabited. Altogether, the islands contain 234,000 km<sup>2</sup>, but they vary dramatically in size and topography and experience surprisingly different climate and weather patterns. The viable land space is concentrated in just a few. The Greater Antilles occupy 89 percent of the total land area, the Lesser Antilles 6 percent, and the Bahamas 5 percent. Of the four main islands that make up the Greater Antilles, Cuba alone, at 110,000 km<sup>2</sup>, accounts for almost one half of all the land, followed by Hispaniola with 76,000, Jamaica 11,000, and Puerto Rico 9,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Cuba stretches over 1,000 km. The highest mountain, Pico Duarte in Hispaniola, rises to 3,175 m. In spite of the contrast between the Greater and Lesser Antilles in terms of scale, and in spite of the differing landforms and geological origins of the elements, the islands are drawn together by the sea and by the linear pattern they form within that shared sea. Whereas the water creates the uniqueness of the islands and supports the perception of separate identities, it also connects and unifies.

A glance at the political map of the Americas, as it is at the beginning of the twenty-first century, shows clearly the consequences of these broad differences in geography and patterns of development. To the north of the Caribbean, the massive continent of North America is occupied by just two nation-states, Canada and the United States, and dominated by English-speaking peoples. South America, three-quarters the size of North America, is made up of 10 Spanish and Portuguese-speaking states, several of them large in population and area, and dominated by Brazil, together with three peri-Caribbean enclaves – Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana – where the languages are versions of English, Dutch, and French. Stretching through Central and Middle America from Panama to Mexico are another seven Spanish-speaking states, most of them quite small, especially where the isthmus narrows, and the English-speaking enclave Belize.

Although the islands of the Caribbean have a land area less than 1 percent that of the Americas, they are home to 24 distinct polities,

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one more than the total on the continental landmass. The people speak four main European languages (but not including Portuguese) and a number of creoles. At the same time, the island polities have a total population of only 42 million, compared with the 900 million of the continental states of the Americas. The picture changes only somewhat if the balance is confined strictly to truly independent states. Of the 24 distinct polities in the Caribbean, only 13 are true sovereign states with separate membership in the United Nations. The others are represented by independent states located outside the region with which the islands are associated. By contrast, only one mainland territory – French Guiana – is not a member of the United Nations and has representation only through its parent state, France. Further, the islands have a more varied range of polities and political relationships, some of them defined as overseas territories of European nations and of the United States, others truly independent. Overall, the islands were slower than the nations of North and South America to establish their independence – only Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba were independent before 1900 – so that the experience of colonialism was much more extended. On a global scale, the Caribbean islands remained colonies much longer than the typical experience, almost all of them being colonies for more than 300 years and many closer to 500 years.

Both the priority and the longevity of the colonial experience in the islands of the Caribbean gave them a central role in the making of what has come to be known as Atlantic History and the Atlantic World and, more broadly, in the making of modern world history. They were the initial sites of contact between peoples previously separated by a vast ocean, and vital sites in the creation of new modes of economic organization, new languages, and new forms of social relations. In many ways, these developments are associated with the birth of the modern world and the concept of modernity, as well as the related and more recent concept of globalization.

It may seem strange to associate such concepts of modernity with the Caribbean, a region that now has a relatively low profile on the international scene and may be seen as a scattering of insignificant, small, and not particularly well-off mini-states, accidents of history and geography. Similarly, it may seem paradoxical that ideas of the modern and the global should be related to the Caribbean, a region that saw some of the harshest systems of exploitation and some of

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the most savage genocides. This is part of the point, however: “modern” often has meant brutality and the extraction of profit at any price; a world in which progress and human welfare could be swept aside for economic efficiency and selfish benefit. Equally important, the Caribbean witnessed wonderful examples of the resilience of the human spirit, in direct opposition to the harshness of the exploitative regimes put in place by imperialism and representing positive responses to the opportunities that even the most brutal systems permit the creative.



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## Ancient Archipelago

*7200 BP – AD 1492*

People came late to the Caribbean islands – late in terms of the broad sweep of human history and late in the peopling of the Americas. The islands of the Caribbean remained uninhabited longer than almost any other of the world's major resource-rich regions. Even when the process of colonization began, it proceeded in fits and starts and took thousands of years to complete. Strangely, some islands remained uninhabited long after their neighbours had been populated. Many still remain uninhabited because they are too small to support a population or lack the resources to be viable, or simply are too isolated to be attractive. Why were the islands colonized so late and why, once commenced, was the process so protracted and erratic? Looked at another way, the more difficult question may be why people chose to live on islands at all. Why leave behind the immense resources of the continents in order to live in small places surrounded by saltwater?

Migration into the Caribbean began about 7,000 years ago. The first people to live on a Caribbean island did not venture far from the South American mainland, however, going no farther than Trinidad. A separate initial movement occurred about a thousand years later, this time originating in Central America and establishing populations in Cuba and Hispaniola. Next, a second wave of migration from South America carried people through the island chain stretching north of Trinidad and these people eventually came to occupy Hispaniola and eastern Cuba as well. By about 3,000 years ago, most of the islands had established populations with

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societies well adapted to their environments. Even then, fertile territory remained uninhabited. Remarkably, Jamaica, third largest of all the Caribbean islands, was not colonized until about AD 600, more than 6,000 years after the first people entered the Caribbean and less than a thousand years before the arrival of people from the Old World far away across the Atlantic.

## FIRST PEOPLES

The people who first colonized the Caribbean islands were part of the great migration that brought human beings from northern Asia across the Bering Sea land bridge to Alaska about 15,000 years before the present, near the end of the last Ice Age, when sea levels were 120 m lower than they are today (Map 2.1). It had taken a long time to get there. Modern humans, out of Africa, had begun spreading around the globe about 100,000 years ago. Once they reached the continental landmass of the Americas, however, they moved swiftly. The end of the glaciation meant a warmer and wetter world, and the migrant people gradually adapted to temperate and tropical environments, coming to depend on cultivated landscapes rather than the hunting of animals. The initial migration through the icy wastes cannot have been directed at the establishment of these agrarian societies, however, and it is probable that the movement had, as its original intent, the hunting of wild animals, including now-extinct megafauna such as the mammoth and the giant horse, that spread out over the newly exposed land surface in search of food.

Only as people moved into the temperate, subtropical, and tropical zones of the Americas did they have the opportunity to practice agriculture. Powerful states and remarkable civilizations emerged from this transition. One of the most important of these, the great rainforest civilization of the Maya, flourished on the lowlands of the Yucatan Peninsula, which faces both the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.

From the northeastern tip of Yucatan, the continental shelf thrusts out towards the western end of Cuba, 200 km away, seeming to create a first – submarine – link to the Caribbean archipelago. This was only one of the possible points of entry. Although the distance is greater, drifters and directed voyagers heading north from almost any point on the long coastline of South America that faces the