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ABORIGINES OF THE WEST INDIES.

A NEGLECTED field of scientific research, yet lying adjacent to and between the two great continents of America, is that comprising the vast collection of islands known as the West Indies. Although containing the first islands discovered by Columbus, and including the seas first traversed by Spanish ships, in the New World, it was many years before the actual condition and population of those islands was made known to the civilized world. Even now, less, perhaps, is known respecting them than of many portions of lands considered as unexplored. No longer ago than 1878, I had the pleasure of discovering some twenty species of birds, which had until that time rested in obscurity, unknown and undescribed, and of sending to the Unit d States the first collection of aboriginal implements used by the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles.

The West Indies are divided, as is well known, into the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the former comprising the islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Santo Domingo or Haiti, and Puerto Rico, to which we may add the Bahamas; the latter, that crescent-shaped archipelago called the Caribbean Chain, connecting the larger islands with the continent of South America. These, again, are locally divided into Windward and Leeward, with reference to their situation respecting the prevailing trade-winds.

All these islands were inhabited, at the time of their discovery, by people called, by Columbus, "Indians," who were possessed of characteristics which distinguished them from any others at that time known to Europeans. It is my

purpose to attempt to designate the chief centres of population, at the period of discovery; to indicate the status of civilization, as shown by the remains yet in existence; the distribution of these Indians in ancient times; and such of their descendants as still dwell in these islands. The first islands to which we shall give our attention are those first discovered by Columbus in October, 1492:

The Bahamas.—The incidents of that first voyage across the Atlantic are, of course, familiar to all. I myself have traced the wanderings of Columbus throughout Spain, have followed in his footsteps after the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, have visited the convent of La Rabida, and sailed the historic Rio Tinto. Again, I have visited and explored all the islands discovered by him, have investigated the matter of the first Landfall, and have studied the circumstances of his different actions on the scenes of their occurrence. It is not my intention to revive these incidents of the voyages of Columbus; but to recall the people and discoveries of his time.

We are told by the historian that the people seen on the islands where Columbus first landed, were of a tawny or copper complexion, that they went about naked, and possessed but few of the articles considered necessary to civilized man. For a full description I must refer you to the "Life of Columbus," by Washington Irving, and the narration of Las Casas, from which Irving drew his material,—the Journal of Columbus. They possessed no article of iron or bronze, their weapons being lances tipped with fish-bones or stone, and bows and arrows. Their huts were of the simplest materials, made of palm-leaves, such being amply sufficient in the delightful climate of those tropical islands. The fact, that remains of these Indians have been found in caves, and under overhanging rocks, does not warrant us in the inference that they were in any sense Troglodytes; since the Bahamas abound in such caverns, and to them these people naturally turned for refuge, when sub-

sequently pursued by the Spaniards, and for shelter. They were gentle and peace-loving, as we have testimony from Columbus himself; shapely and athletic; having no wars, except with occasional invaders from the south. All their traditions, of origin, of the existence of gold (a few ornaments in which metal they wore), of invasion, of a country greater than their own, pointed to the south. They told Columbus that he could find gold in great quantities in the south, as well as a great chief, and numerous other peoples. At the time of their discovery, these Bahamas possessed tame parrots (which no longer exist on Watling's Island, but are found on Acklin, about a hundred miles away), and these seem to have been the only domesticated pets, from the scant animal life about them. The most noticeable article they owned was the canoe *(canoa)*, the largest holding more than forty men, which they propelled by means of paddles, and baled out with calabashes.

At Guanahani, then, the aborigines were found possessed of parrots, crude implements of bone and stone, canoes, huts of palm-leaves, a few articles of gold, and little, if anything, else, except cotton. Later on, at the third island visited, called by Columbus Fernandina, now known as Long Island, the Europeans added to this brief list, hammocks, tobacco, and cassava bread. "Their beds and coverings," says Columbus, "looked like cotton nets, which they called *hamacas*," and, "the Indian captured by us in the channel between Santa Maria and Fernandina had some dry leaves, highly prized, no doubt, among them, for those of San Salvador offered some to me as a present." This was tobacco, which was afterwards found in quantities in Cuba, where the natives were seen smoking it.

The Indians of the Bahamas were soon exterminated, although Columbus did not revisit the scene of his discoveries; and as early as 1508, when the cruelties of the Spaniards had nearly depopulated Haiti, the natives were carried hence to labor in the mines. Under their cruel

enslavers the Lucayans sank rapidly; it is on record that some forty thousand were transported, never to return, and the islands once teeming with happy life were finally left desolate. I cannot state exactly the period of their depopulation; in the year 1512, when Ponce de Leon sailed through the Bahamas in search of the fountain of youth, he found some of the islands inhabited, for he was told of the famous fountain by natives of the northern islands; but doubtless the southern ones were already deprived of all their inhabitants, even so early. Respecting that search for the mythical fountain of youth, I may say, that my investigations were made in the island of Puerto Rico, whence De Leon sailed on his quest, and that there I discovered that his remains are yet treasured, as well as many relics of his time. He cruised the archipelago just twenty years after Columbus, and also in 1521, the year of his death, when he was wounded on the coast of Florida, taken to Cuba, where he died, and thence his remains brought back to Puerto Rico.

Doubtless, the natives were entirely exterminated before the end of the XVIth. century, as when the English settled the Bahamas, about 1629, not one remained. The historians, Herrera and Martyr, give all details of the means by which their extermination was hastened, and to their pages I would refer the curious student. I find reference to them in a work published in 1666, as follows: "That poor nation, the Lucayos, hath been utterly destroyed by the Spaniards, or carryd away and made slaves to work in the mines, and there are not, in any of the islands known under that name, any of the natural inhabitants; but only some few English, who were transported thither out of the island of Bermudez." We may confidently assume that it is full three hundred years since the Bahamas knew the presence of any of its aboriginal inhabitants. Let us now examine the evidence of their former occupancy, as given in the few relics recovered at various times. Of the people them-

selves, the Lucayans, or Ceboyans as they have been termed, few remains have been found, and these few mainly in caves. Several skeletons have been recovered, but I cannot learn that any skeleton in its entirety has been deposited in any museum. In the public library of Nassau, New Providence, are two crania of the aboriginal Ceboyans, and I brought one skull from Watling's Island, which was exhibited at the Chicago Exposition, and afterward given to the Columbian Museum. Of these crania, Prof. W. K. Brooks, of Johns Hopkins University, says: "The skulls are extremely broad in proportion to their length, and are among the most brachycephalic of all human skulls, the greatest breadth being more than nine-tenths of their greatest length. The brain was large, and the capacity of the cranium about equal to that of an average Caucasian skull. The Ceboyans flattened their heads artificially in infancy, so that the vertical part of the forehead is completely obliterated in all adult skulls, and the head slopes backward immediately above the eyes."[1] I myself found bones and many fragments in the caves I explored on Watling's and Cat Islands; but all the caves of the Bahamas have long since been thoroughly investigated, during the search for cave-earth or bat guano. As these investigations were not conducted in the interests of science (I may remark), such bones and crania as were found were not taken into account, and in most instances were lost to the museums. The dry earth of the caves was the best medium possible for preserving objects deposited therein, and not only bones, but various articles of domestic use among the Lucayans, have been discovered. At the Jamaica Exposition, of 1891, were exhibited many such articles, and among them a few that are almost entirely unique: such as a carved seat of lignum vitæ, a stone axe inserted in a handle of wood, and another with head and haft of one stone. The seats of wood are described by the early his-

[1] See *Popular Science Monthly*, Nov., 1889.

torians, as seats used by the chiefs, made in the form of beasts and reptiles, and carved out of one piece of wood. One such specimen is now preserved in the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, and another is in the public library of Grand Turk's Island, Bahamas. The Spanish Consul at Grand Turk, Mr. Geo. J. Gibbs, owns the celebrated stone axe in one piece, a cast of which was obtained by Prof. Henry, of the Smithsonian, twenty years ago. Prof. Henry, at that time, valued the original at $500, but I have information that Mr. Gibbs will dispose of it now for some $200, if a purchaser can be found. This specimen is considered absolutely unique, and I trust that some museum in America will be fortunate enough to secure it.

In addition to these important relics of native workmanship, which were found in caves in the Caicos and Grand Turk, the usual "celts" are discovered, though rarely, throughout the entire chain. As the Bahamas include some two thousand islands and rocks, and the character of the calcareous rock is such that caves and pot-holes abound everywhere, it is possible that many articles may yet be found, that have escaped the eyes of the guano hunter. Throughout the islands, the smaller celts are known as "thunderbolts," and are treasured by the present natives as of celestial origin, and possessing supernatural virtues. They declare that they fall from the clouds, in time of storm, and I have met with individuals who told me they themselves saw some descend. One old darkey declared to me that he saw one strike a tree, in the midst of a flash of lightning, and afterwards recovered the identical stone. This name is of universal application, and in the Spanish islands the stones are called "*piedras de rayo*," — thunderbolts, — as well as in the English and French islands. A strange fact may be noticed with reference to these celts, and that is, that all, or nearly all, are made from stone not to be found within the area of the Bahaman chain. They are most assuredly of foreign origin, and were probably brought here from the

southern islands, as Puerto Rico or Santo Domingo; another evidence of the truth of the statement by the early historians, that the Indians performed long voyages in their canoes. They are of fine, dark stone, compact in grain, and polished, being excellent specimens of the neolithic age. One small celt, which I obtained at Long Island, is of perfect shape and exquisitely rounded, and resembles another which I got in the interior of the island of Santo Domingo. All that I have seen are of this dark-green stone, and I have not found any of any other kind. There is no evidence of implements having been made from conch shell, which is so abundant, and from which the natives of Barbadoes and the southern islands made their chisels and other articles. One remarkable specimen, which was discovered in a field, by a negro, in 1892, and brought to Nassau during my stay there, is ten and one-half inches long, three and one-half inches broad, and has carved upon it a face, as in a moon, with oblique, oriental eyes. This is also of dark-green stone, probably jade or serpentine, and is the only one of the kind I have seen.

In the Smithsonian collection are several specimens from the Bahamas, obtained by the U. S. ship *Albatross*, some of which are figured in my recent work, "In the Wake of Columbus"; as also, are several typical forms of "axes," one of the crania, and a wooden seat. These things that I have mentioned comprise nearly all the types found in the Bahamas, showing the condition of Lucayan art.

I should not omit to mention a canoe which was found in a cave on Watling's Island, but of which, since its discovery, I can find no trace. In an enquiry into the origin of these relics, we cannot find that any are absolutely unique, or autochthonic, except, possibly, the stone axe in one piece, and the stools, or seats. But even these latter are found in Haiti and Santo Domingo, — on the north coast, — and from this fact one might imply a south-

*

ern origin for all these articles, or a similar people inhabiting there. Herrera speaks of the first ones discovered in Cuba, on the first visit of Columbus, as follows: — "seats made of a solid piece of wood in the shape of a beast with very short legs and the tail held up, the head before with eyes and ears of gold." These were used only by the chiefs, the common people squatting on the ground. The two specimens in the Smithsonian are from Turk's and Caicos islands; but there is a stone specimen of this type, also, from Puerto Rico; and it is thought that the form may have been suggested by the hammock, as the stools have a similar curve or sweep.

The Indians of the Bahamas doubtless depended chiefly for subsistence upon the products of the sea: fish, which are so abundant around the shores of their islands, and especially upon conchs, found in countless numbers on the reefs and in the shallow lagoons. Of animal food they probably partook but sparingly, there being no large quadrupeds on the islands; and birds must have been hard to capture. Sea birds and their eggs, in the season, gave them supplies, probably, and they ate the flesh and eggs of the iguana, which is still common, turtles also, with their eggs; the seas abound in turtle.

They cultivated but little, the soil of the Bahamas being thin, and in many of the islands contained in more or less extensive pockets in the calcareous rock; but they had maize and "yucca," perhaps fruits like the pine-apple and others native to the soil. Nature was kind to these children of nature, and they led a careless existence, depending chiefly upon the bounties of the sea.

Cuba.—Following still in the trail of Columbus, and taking the island next discovered by him after he left the Bahamas, we arrive at Cuba, which he discovered the last of October, 1492. He landed on the north coast, probably at or near the present port of Jibara, and there saw the Indians of that island.

They were more advanced than the inhabitants of the Bahamas,—but on the same lines of progression,—probably owing to the superiority of their island over the others, in point of size and fertility. That is, they had better and more numerous houses, hidden in shady groves, more extensive fields of maize and manioc, and more numerous articles of domestic use. Coasting the northern shore of Cuba, — which, by the way, still retains its aboriginal name, — Columbus discovered villages and people similar to the Lucayans, and sent an embassy into the interior, to treat with the cacique, whom he is supposed to have assumed was the Grand Khan. When the embassy returned, the navigators learned their mistake; but they had added several articles to previous "finds," and found the inhabitants possessed of a slightly higher type of civilization, as has been mentioned.

They found the Indians smoking tobacco, in rolls; their huts hung with hammocks, and using the carved seats, to which allusion has been made. They had also greater stores of cotton, in yarn and woven into nets, a greater variety of fruits, and also of animals from which to derive subsistence. In addition to the larger number and more numerous species of birds, there were also several mammals, non-existent in the Bahamas. These indigenous mammals of Cuba are: the two species of *Hutia*, or *Yutia*, — *Hutia Poeyii* and *H. Forrier;* — a small animal known as the *Almiqui*, — the *Solanum Cubanus;* — the *Javalli*, or peccary, and the "Dumb Dog," which by some is thought to have been a raccoon, but more probably was an animal now extinct. Little gold was found in the keeping of the natives, but they told of a region of gold to the southward, which they called Bohio, since proven to have been the island of Haiti.

Cuba was left, for twenty years after its discovery, in comparative possession of the natives, when the settlements were then attempted which eventually led to their extinc-

tion. No date is given as to the final extinction of the Indians of Cuba, but it was not long after the arrival of Velasquez and his crew, and the sailing of Cortez for Mexico; for the barbarities of the Bahamas and Haiti were re-enacted on this island, until the natives killed themselves by scores, in despair, and to escape the Spaniards.

Affecting stories are narrated of the conquest of this island; but to no avail did the natives struggle for mere subsistence and a life of freedom. The largest settlements seem to have been in the eastern end of Cuba; at least, that is where the greatest number of relics have been found. In the *Real Academia*, of Havana, are to be seen a few of these remains of the primitive Cubans, in the shape of stone axes and other implements, and particular attention is called to some crania, imbedded in lime rock, which were discovered in caves near Cape Maisi, the extreme eastern end of Cuba, by a gentleman of Havana, who described them and their locales in a magazine published by the Academy. These skulls, of which several were obtained, are brachycephalic, having a cephalic index of above 90, one of them showing 93.75, another 90, and all with more or less pronounced frontal depressions, artificially produced. They are, of course, of great antiquity, some of them having been found imbedded entirely in the calcareous rock of the caverns, and covered with thick deposits of bat guano. As to their antiquity, I will not hazard conjecture; but accompanying this paper, I send the original magazine in which the description appeared, in which the details of their recovery are fully set forth, and a photograph.[1] Fragments of pottery, and some implements, were also obtained, such as a clay figure, an earthen jar which contained Indian bones, an axe or hatchet of serpentine, beautifully polished, and several minor articles of the class called "*piedras de rayo*," or thunderbolts,—in Cuba, as elsewhere.

[1] Anales de la Real Academia; Havana, Nov. 15, 1890; Tomo XXVII.

But enough has been shown to prove that the natives of Cuba were allied to those of the Bahamas, and had surpassed them, only in degree, on the same lines of development. As will be alluded to farther on, the natives of all the Greater Antilles, including the Bahamas, were of the same stock, as shown by their racial characteristics and linguistic affinities.

Island of Jamaica. It is with reluctance that I leave this island of Cuba, the largest of the Antilles, where so much could be done in the way of exploration, and where so little has been accomplished (where, doubtless, there is still a field for the enterprising ethnologist); but I must now call attention to another of the Antillean group, of scarcely less importance. Jamaica, though it did not immediately follow in the series of Spanish discoveries, was brought into prominence soon after the first settlement was accomplished in Haiti. Discovered by Columbus in May, 1494, it was on the north coast of this island that he was wrecked, on his last voyage, in 1503. It was in February, 1504, that Columbus imposed upon the credulous natives in that famous prediction of the lunar eclipse, by which he compelled them to supply him with provisions for months, and without which he would have perished, as he was a twelve-month on the island, without means of escape.

Jamaica was a very populous island, the hills and valleys swarming with Indians; but they likewise perished under the exactions of the Spaniards. The first Spanish settlement was commenced in 1509, and shortly after that the natives began to decrease rapidly. History is silent as to the date of their final disappearance, but at the time of the first English invasion, in 1596, there were none left. Xaymaca, the Land-of-Springs, with its fertile soil and beautiful pimento groves, was soon left desolate, so far as the aboriginal inhabitants were concerned. Their number was estimated at above 60,000; Sir Hans Sloane, an historian

of Jamaica, writing about 1670, says: "In some small time, the Indian inhabitants, to the number of 60,000, were all destroyed by the severities of the Spaniards; I have seen in the woods many of their bones, in caves, which some people think were of such as had voluntarily inclosed or immured themselves, in order to be starved to death." He also mentions a man who saw, about 1677, "a cave in which lay human bones, all in order; also pots and urns, wherein were bones of men and children. These pots were oval, and large, of a reddish dirty color; on the upper part of the rim or ledge there stood out an ear, on which were made some lines. The negroes had removed most of these pots to boil their meat in." I am thus particular in introducing this evidence of an eye-witness of that time so long ago, since very few objects pertaining to the Jamaican aborigines have been found. At the recent exposition in Jamaica, in 1891, were many specimens of aboriginal implements, such as have been already described; but the island itself was not very fully represented.

Recurring again to the historian, Leslie, who wrote in 1740: "The Indians soon felt the dismal effects of giving faith to the Spaniards, who began a miserable havock: butchered, murdered and destroyed, in a few years, no less than 60,000 of the inhabitants and scarce left one alive. Some retired to the woods, and absconded in the caves and fortresses, whither they were pursued by the tyrants and cut to pieces. Jamaica was before this one of the best-peopled of all the Antilles, but such was the destructive slaughter of the Spaniards that the very name of Indian was, in a few years, rooted out, and none left to preserve the memory of that once flourishing people."

Gomara says, that the Spaniards made slaves of the Indians for various trivial reasons: as, because they ate insects and maggots (probably locusts, and larvæ of the palm-beetle); that they intoxicated themselves with wine

of maize and other native plants; smoked tobacco, and plucked their beards out by the roots. But, on the other hand, the natives, who were notoriously abstemious, were shocked and disgusted at the enormous appetites of the Spaniards, and at their revels and licentiousness. By consuming the scant crops of the Indians, who only provided themselves from year to year, and by debauching their wives and daughters, famine and disease were soon familiar spectres among these people who had hitherto lived in health and happiness. Speaking of the Indians in Jamaica, two hundred years ago, Sir Hans Sloane says: "They are not natives of the island, they being all destroyed by the Spaniards, but are usually brought by surprise from the Musquitos or from Florida, or such as were slaves to the Spaniards and taken from them by the English. They are very good hunters and fishers, but are naught at working in the field or slavish work, and if *checkt* or *drubbed* are good for nothing, therefore are very gently treated and well fed." This naïve confession as to the treatment of the slaves and Indians, in relation to their white masters, should have given the first-named a hint; indeed, the escaped negroes, or maroons, did profit by it, and held themselves aloof in the woods and mountains.

The Indians of Jamaica impressed Columbus most favorably, if we may believe the accounts he left of his discovery and first meeting with them. They possessed great canoes capable of carrying some eighty or a hundred warriors each; the first cacique to greet him came out in a beautiful canoe, in the prow of which stood the standard-bearer, "clad in a mantle of variegated feathers, with a tuft of gay plumes on his head, and bearing in his hand a fluttering white banner. Two Indians, with caps or helmets of feathers of similar shape and color, and their faces painted, beat upon tabors; two others held trumpets of a fine black wood, ingeniously carved." The two daughters of the cacique, "beautiful in form and countenance,"

were naked, but unabashed, and of modest demeanor. Around the head of the chief was a band of stones of various colors, two plates of gold were suspended from his ears by rings of very small green stones, and from a necklace of white beads was hung another plate of "guanin" or inferior gold, in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, while a girdle of stones was worn around his waist. His wife had on an apron of cotton, with similar adornments to the chief, and bands around her arms, while the girls wore no ornament, save their native modesty and a girdle of green stones.

How soon these peaceful and happy people were made to suffer want, and experience all the horrors of slavery, eventually to be exterminated, we have already seen. Of gold and precious stones, the Spaniards obtained little in Jamaica, the few articles found in possession of the natives having, probably, been obtained from Haiti, or the coast of Veragua; but some of their implements of warfare and domestic life have been recovered by later investigators, differing in no important particulars from those of Cuba and Haiti.

One of the few deposits of ancient pottery and implements has been described by Lady Edith Blake, the talented consort of the present Governor of Jamaica, Sir Henry Blake. Her description may be found in a magazine published at Kingston, the "Victoria Quarterly," and is entitled "The Northbrook Kitchen-Midden." About six miles to the east of Kingston, she says, on ground sloping gently down to the Liguanea Plain, is the site of an ancient Indian settlement. "To the east the field is abruptly terminated by a sudden dip and bank of some sixteen or eighteen feet in height. On digging into this bank, layer upon layer of shells are found, mingled with pottery more or less broken, a few small bones, and now and then a stone hatchet. Here and there, some of the shells show traces of fire. The pottery is of different degrees of thickness, and we found a few bits that bore traces of ornamentation.

The clay of which it was made is coarse and largely mixed with sand and small calcareous pebbles, forming a cement which seems to have been baked rather than burned, the heat not being sufficient to fuse or materially alter the pebbles. Some pieces bear traces of what seems to have been glazing. The attempts at ornamentation are exceedingly rough and such as a primitive people first essay by indenting the clay before being baked with the point of a stick or a sharp stone. The large proportion of pottery intermixed with the shells shows that this must have been a permanent settlement,—in short, this picturesque bank, with its waving grasses and sweet flowers, is nothing more or less than the refuse-heap of some old Indian town. . . . The stone hatchets (commonly known as 'thunderbolts') that have been found have, I believe, been broken or chipped specimens. . . . The shells are such as are still found in Kingston harbor, and the contents of which are to this day used as food; therefore this heap was made at a period not geologically remote. The land-shells are all the *helix acuta*, which is peculiar to Jamaica."

While Sir Henry was Governor of the Bahamas, Lady Blake made exhaustive collections of Indian relics, visiting personally most of the principal islands, and also painted a series of water-colors of the indigenous plants of the islands, well illustrating the extensive flora. When I was in Jamaica, in 1891, she was engaged on a similar series of that island's flowering plants; and was industriously collecting Indian antiquities. An invitation which she gave me to visit and open another kitchen-midden, I was obliged to decline, from lack of time; but that there is still a field for investigation in Jamaica, I yet believe.

Haiti.—We will now turn to that island reached by the first navigators from Spain after Cuba, called by the natives Bohio or Babeque, and Quisqueya, and named by Columbus, Española; now known as Haiti and Santo Domingo.

Without entering into the particulars of that first voyage

along the north coast of Haiti, we may note that there Columbus first found natives in great numbers, with fixed settlements, and in possession of gold actually obtained in the country of their residence. Coasting this beautiful country, interchanging courtesies with the natives, who were soon to feel the weight of his sword, the great navigator finally reached the bay of Cape Haitien, where he lost his flag-ship on a reef some five miles distant from shore, and was rescued from his perilous position by the native chieftain, or cacique, Guacanagari, whose settlement was called Guarico.

The wreckage of the flag-ship, the *Santa Maria*, was all recovered and taken ashore to the Indian village, which occupied the site of a small fishing-village now known as Petit Anse. Finding his remaining vessels too small to transport to Spain the crews of all three caravels, Columbus decided to erect a fort near Guarico, calling it Navidad, and leaving in it a garrison of forty men. I have investigated the site of the fort and village, and had the pleasure of discovering an ancient anchor, which came out of the *Santa Maria* and which was exhibited last year at the Exposition, in the Convent of La Rabida. More gold was found here in possession of the Indians than at any place previously visited; Guacanagari wore a golden crown, and also several of the sub-chiefs adorned their brows with ornaments of the precious metal. Finding that the Spaniards would exchange trinkets, such as hawksbells, for nuggets of gold, the natives swarmed about the caravel, holding up lumps of it, for which they desired the paltry trifles. Columbus assured his sovereigns, later on, that he felt confident that a ton of gold could be collected by the garrison of Navidad before his return. This gold came from the interior of the island, and from a district the natives called *Cibao*,—which the Spaniard thought could be no other than the famous Cipango, of which he had read in Marco Polo. It is a mountainous district around the head-

waters of the Rio Yaqui, which I visited later, and procured therefrom some grains of gold, also a nugget weighing half an ounce, seeing several others, among them one weighing five ounces. So, it seems, the auriferous nature of the newly-discovered country was not exaggerated.

At a banquet given by Guacanagari, bountiful supplies of *cassavi*, or native bread, *ajes*, nutritive roots, fish, *utias*, and fruits were spread before the guests. The cacique and his associate chiefs were cleanly in their habits and of excellent demeanor, reminding one of the accounts given of Montezuma and his Mexicans, as found by Cortez, at a similar banquet furnished by aboriginal Americans to the visiting Europeans.

Sailing for Spain, Columbus did not return for a year, and then found his fortress destroyed and the garrison massacred—a fate these lawless Spaniards had brought upon themselves. For, if there is anything evident in the narration of this voyage along the coast of Haiti, it is the gentle nature and inoffensiveness of the natives. In December, 1493, the town of Isabella was founded on the north coast of Santo Domingo, and thence excursions and raids were made into the interior, to the Cibao, and settlements made at Jacagua, Concepcion de la Vega, etc. The first interior fortress was the outpost of Santo Tomas, whence the gold was derived, and which, as well as all the other settlements, I myself have visited. From the Hill of Santo Cerro, overlooking the vast plain called by Columbus, from its exceeding beauty, the *Vega Real*, this man watched the progress of the great battle between his troops and the Indians, which finally settled the fate of the latter, and led to the subjection of all the natives of the island.

Without pursuing farther this subject of the subjugation of the Indians, at the recital of which one cannot but be moved with indignation, I will proceed to indicate merely the extent and distribution of the native tribes at the advent

of the Europeans. The island was divided into five caciqueships, ruled over by hereditary chiefs; the first to be encountered by the Spaniards was that of Guacanagari, which comprised the territory now known as Haiti, at least the northern part, as far as the river Yaqui; this was soon subjugated, and the chieftain himself put to the sword. The second territory was that of Guarionex, extending from the Yaqui, through its valley and the Royal Vega, probably as far as the bay of Samana. The interior was in possession of Caonabo, a cacique of Carib birth, and an intruder; the only one who seemed a born fighter and initiated active hostilities against the Spaniards; his country included the Cibao, or gold country. The fourth province, Higuey, included the eastern part of the island, and was ruled by Cacique Cotubanama. The fifth, called Xaragua, comprised the southern and southwestern portions, and was held by Behechio, whose sister, Anacaona, was the wife of Caonabo. After the Indians of the north coast had been subjected, and Caonabo captured, Behechio was murdered, and later, Anacaona was burned at the stake, having succeeded to the province of Xaragua. The caciques were soon murdered, all of them, and the war of extermination begun, in 1495 occurring the great battle that completely reduced the Indians to subjection. By the end of the century, or in seven short years, very few of the original inhabitants were left alive!

The natives of the Greater Antilles, says a reliable historian, and also of the Bahamas, "were considered by the Caribs to be descended from the Arrowacks of Guiana, a race of Indians to whose noble qualities the most honorable testimony is borne,—and here all inquiry concerning the origin of our islanders seems to terminate." At the time of the discovery, Las Casas computed them at above 6,000,000, but doubtless this was an exaggerated estimate; those of Hispaniola, Oviedo estimated at 1,000,000, and Martyr at 1,200,000. They were so numerous that Las Casas says

the islands swarmed with Indians, as an ant-hill with ants. Edwards, historian of Jamaica, compares them with the Otaheites, "with whom they seem to have many qualities in common." They cultivated large areas in maize and manioc, made immense canoes from the cedar and cotton-wood (ceiba) trees, which they gunwaled and pitched with bitumen. They wore a cotton cloth around the waist, most of them, while the Caribs of the southern islands went entirely naked. They were of good shape and height, but less robust than the Caribs; their color, a deep, clear brown. All the islanders compressed the head artificially, but in different manner; the Caribs "elevated the forehead, making the head look like the two sides of a square; the natives of the larger islands, the occiput, rendering the crown of the head so thick that a Spanish broadsword would sometimes break on it." It is said to have been a common test of skill among the Spanish settlers as to which of them could most skilfully crack open an Indian's skull or neatly decapitate him. Las Casas testifies to Indians being burned alive and roasted over a slow fire. These things are mentioned as showing some of the causes of extermination, although the chief cause operating was the excessive labor in the mines, initiated by Columbus. And yet, says Martyr, "theirs was an honest countenance, coarse but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence and softened by compassion." We know that they had native songs and hymns, called *arietos*, an idea of the Deity, as well as a multitude of minor gods; that they made articles of pottery, common vessels, as well as some with adornments; hammocks, chairs of wood (Bartholomew Columbus was presented with fourteen chairs of ebony and sixty vessels, "ornamented with fantastic figures of living animals," when he once visited Anacoana); and obtained gold from the mountain streams. Gold, or the search for gold, was their curse, and their death-knell was sounded when, in 1595, all the Indians were divided into *encomi-*

endas and *repartimientos*, and assigned for labor in the field and mine.

Without entering further into detail, the Spaniards are said to have reduced the Indians from 1,000,000 to 60,000 in fifteen years. The only sustained revolt by the Indians was led by a cacique, Henrique, who maintained it for fifteen years, and finally obtained honorable terms of peace. But it was then too late; and, though they were assigned a district for themselves, they continued to waste away; in 1535, says Oviedo, not above 500 natives were alive in the island; in 1585, Sir Francis Drake reported not an Indian left alive. Thus we see that their extermination was accomplished in less than a century after their discovery. To-day, it is needless to say, not one Indian can be found in that island where the first were found, nor any authenticated traces of intimate admixture of their blood. Not a pure blood Indian was left at Boya, the settlement assigned to Henrique, says an explorer of the last century, Moreau de Saint Mery, in his work published in 1798.

From the few remains existing of their works, as exhibited in minor articles of domestic use and implements of warfare, we may assume that the natives of Santo Domingo were in the neolithic stage of civilization, possessing polished stone implements and crude pottery, but giving no evidence of having ever produced works of art or architectural structures of merit. They had no knowledge of either bronze, copper or iron; gold being the only metal found in use among them. Considering the size of the island, the early period of its introduction to European civilization, and the thoroughness with which every part was explored by the *conquistadores*, very little has been recovered from the aboriginal inhabitants.

Said a celebrated French professor to a resident of Santo Domingo, only a few years ago: "The most acceptable present you can make our museum is a skull of one of the aborigines of your island; for there is not one in all Europe,

to-day." However true this statement may be, it is certain that crania of that island are desiderata in our own museums, and I have yet to meet with any, though there may be some here. A learned doctor whom I met in Puerto Plata, north coast of Santo Domingo, furnished me with a description and photograph of two skulls which he found in a cave, and which he assigned to the Ciguayan tribe that once dwelt in the north part of the island. The type is that of the Ciguayan, it was found in a cave which was filled with niches, and probably had served as an ancient burial-place. It had never been visited by collectors, was remote from inhabited places, and, moreover, the shape of the skull precludes the possibility of its being other than that of a native American. It is the skull of a young man, prognathous, with facial angle of about 75 degrees, and with a flattening of the frontal, or occipital, that gives to the crown a pyramidal shape whose vertex corresponds to the parietal protuberances.[1]

The same gentleman has a small collection of aboriginal relics; as, one of the wooden seats, mentioned as occurring in the Bahamas, carved amulets of stone, and some battle-axes. Several small collections are to be found throughout the island, the most notable being that of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, at the capital. In that are mortars and carved pestles, "mealing-stones," amulets, "mammiform stones," such as are found in Puerto Rico, and some pottery. The heads of the pestles are carved into likeness of owl and human faces, and also the terra-cotta images, or figurines.

I myself procured several terra-cotta images, small and delicately worked, one of a vase with curious combination of owl and human face, another with a face crowned, or wreathed, also a small earthen jug with a whistle in its nose. The historians tell us that the Indians possessed

[1] "*Una Vivienda Primitiva*" and "*Una Calavera de Indio*," by Dr. A. Llenas, in the newspaper, "*El Porvenir*," of Puerto Plata, Santo Domingo.

many images, which they called *Zemes*, or *Cemis*, and which were considered as the family idols, their penates. These were mostly of clay or terra-cotta, but some have been found carved from wood. In the Smithsonian are two notable carvings, one that of a man, made from a single log, and the other a group: two human figures seated in a canopied chair. These were found in a cave near the ruins of Isabella, the first city founded by Columbus, on the north coast of Santo Domingo. I saw the old negro who discovered them, some years ago, and he described their position, and the great fright they gave him. They were placed in a rude niche beneath an overhanging rock, at the entrance to a deep cavern; and doubtless there they had remained for at least four hundred years,—since the advent of the Spaniards,—and how much longer no one knows. Dr. Llenas, the studious physician at Puerto Plata, describes an aboriginal workshop he investigated in a cave in the Santo Domingo mountains, where he found many fragments of chipped tools, but no perfect specimen. The late Dr. Gabb sent some valuable specimens to the United States, including the wooden statues above-mentioned, and one of the stools from the Bahamas.

In this paper, it will not be possible to do more than glance at the Indians of Santo Domingo, and indicate merely their remains; but let it suffice for me to add, that the island presents a rich field for anthropological research, and to express the hope that it will some time be thoroughly investigated. The southwestern portion, especially, where dwelt Anacoana and Henriquillo, is rich in what I may term surface indications; and it is in this district, in a valley in the mountains, that the remains of a large amphitheatre, enclosed with great rocks, are to-day seen, near the spot where Caonabo was captured. This amphitheatre is supposed to have served as the arena for the exercise of a peculiar game of ball in which the Indians indulged, somewhat similar to that to-day practised by the Basques.

Island of Puerto Rico. Lying near to the island of Santo Domingo, and separated from it by a narrow channel, is Puerto Rico, which was discovered by Columbus, on his second voyage, but not settled until 1508. Ponce de Leon, who afterwards became famous through his search for the fountain of youth, overran the island with his soldiers, finding there a people similar to those of Santo Domingo, cultivators of the soil, and following the pursuits of peace.

It was not many years, however, before these peaceful islanders shared the fate of the others, and the populous country was devastated. The last of them perished long ago, and so long that not even tradition can inform us as to the uses of the numerous articles they once manufactured and have left behind them. But of all the West-Indian aborigines, these were farthest advanced in the crude arts they practised. Their pottery is highly ornamented, their stone implements are unique, "their implements of industry, so far as we have recovered them, are the most beautiful in the world; their artists were prodigies in design and workmanship." One of the finest collections of the productions of the inhabitants of the islands in ancient times, and the most complete of any from the Caribbean region, is in the Smithsonian Institution, the gift of the late George Latimer, of San Juan de Puerto Rico, where it is known as the "Latimer Collection."[1] It has been fully described, in an illustrated paper, published in 1877, one of the most valuable contributions to ethnographical literature of modern times. Without enumerating them, the articles may be described, in the classification of the writer, as "pottery, celts, smoothing-stones, mealing-stones, stools, discoidal and spheroidal stones, beads, cylinders, amulets, rude pillar-stones, mammiform stones, masks and collars." Although most are peculiar to the island of Puerto Rico

[1] "The Latimer Collection of Antiquities from Puerto Rico," by Prof. Otis T. Mason. Washington, 1877.

(the celts, of course, having the general resemblance to others found throughout the world,—that is, to implements of like character), there are several types found nowhere else. These are the so-called mammiform stones and the collars. The first are suggestive of a human form buried beneath a mountain: "On the back of the prostrate form is a conoid prominence, beautifully rounded up, straight, or slightly concave in outline in front, a little convex in the rear, swelling out on one side more than the other, and descending more or less lower than the top of the head and of the rump, so as to form anterior and posterior furrows." The name is suggested by the conical or sub-conical protuberance, and, of course, is wholly arbitrary. But, any one who has seen the rounded and pyramidal hills and mountains of Puerto Rico, will not be at loss for the origin of suggestion to the aboriginal artist. They are as truly *sui generis* as the "collars," which, likewise, are peculiar to this island. This appellation has been applied to the latter objects from their resemblance to horse-collars, though they are of stone, each carved from a single piece. They vary in length from nineteen to twenty-three inches, and in breadth from fifteen to seventeen. Many specimens are shown in the Smithsonian collection, in various stages of elaboration, but the majority are beautifully finished and polished, with bosses and panels, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. This peculiarity of ornamentation has given rise to the distinction of right and left shouldered, assuming that they may have served some use in pairs. Just what that use was, no one can tell, the historians being silent on the subject; but I was told, when in Puerto Rico, by an old priest, that the Indians made them to be buried with them in their graves. One would spend a lifetime laboriously carving out this solid stone collar, that when he died it might be placed over his head, thus securely fastening him to his last resting-place, and defying the efforts of the devil to remove him.

But, in this explanation, one may detect the ecclesiastical intrusion; for no theologer, no matter of what belief, is happy, unless he can fasten upon an aboriginal people a firm belief in a devil, or some evil genius of the supernatural world. However, this explanation is as good as any, since no one can offer a better. The same may be said of the objects called "masks," human faces carved of solid stone, and which may have been used as club-heads or banner-stones. There are also some seventy small chalcedony beads, which, says the learned writer of the monograph in question, Prof. Mason, "is the most remarkable sample of aboriginal stone polishing and drilling that has ever come under my observation." This opinion was given some seventeen years ago; but certainly nothing like these beads has been since obtained from the West Indies.

The natives of Puerto Rico possessed the same animal and plant resources as those of Santo Domingo, the flora and fauna being similar, and their dwellings were formed from the same materials; in neither island are there remains of stately structures or indications of any buildings constructed of less perishable materials than palm-leaves and native woods. I am inclined to believe that whatever specimens may have been found in the adjacent islands of the so-called collars or mammiform stones, came from this of Puerto Rico. Regarding the origin of the "stone stools," which have been found far-distant, in the Bahamas, carved out of wood, but of shape so similar that there is no mistaking their identity; I think they may have been made in Santo Domingo, as well as in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

We have thus briefly reviewed the chief and characteristic articles found in possession of the natives of the Greater Antilles at the time of discovery, or since found under such circumstances and in such localities as would indicate their undoubted origin.

As I have shown already, not a single descendant of the millions — or many thousands — found at the time of dis-

covery, remains in any island of the group. All have perished, leaving behind them only these mute memorials of their former existence there; and all we have to inform us else, is the scant information to be gleaned from the pages of historians, who, at the best, could not appreciate the value to the present age of ethnological material considered strictly as such. Only in casual manner, and merely as incidental to the historical narrative, are we informed of the most valuable "finds" of Columbus when he discovered this so-called New World.

The Caribs of the Lesser Antilles. But, although no living link connects the present with the first voyage of Columbus, yet, as we know, there are to-day alive some descendants of the people discovered on his second voyage. It was in 1493, that, sailing farther to the south than previously, he first made land about midway of the chain of islands now known as the Lesser Antilles, extending in a general line from Puerto Rico to the north coast of South America, describing the arc of a circle more or less regular, and within the tenth and twentieth degrees of north latitude. Strictly defined, they lie between the twelfth and eighteenth, and are mainly of volcanic origin. Here dwelt the Caribs, a warlike people, who had conquered all who had hitherto opposed them, at the time of their discovery by Europeans, and who had reached as far northward as Puerto Rico, in their devastating advance. The residents of that island, as well as those of Santo Domingo, and even of Jamaica and the Bahamas, were living in dread of their incursions, at the time a more powerful and remorseless enemy appeared, in the shape of the foreign adventurers from Spain. Beyond Puerto Rico, looking east and south, no trace exists of the residence in the lesser islands of the same people who inhabited the Greater Antilles, except in vestiges of subjugated tribes.

Columbus first landed at the island of Guadaloupe, there making the important discovery of the Caribs, or can-

nibals, — both words derived from the language of these people themselves. He found there natives less advanced than those of the northern islands in the primitive pursuits of peace, but more inured to war, braver, and less disposed to submit.

Their first reception of the interlopers was a declaration of war, which they sustained so successfully that the Spaniards left them alone for many years, only making descents upon them when they could take them at a disadvantage and enslaving them under an act which allowed the capture and transportation of such as should be proven cannibals. After the enslavement of the rapidly-decreasing natives of the larger islands was prohibited, it was most surprising to find how many "cannibals" the Spaniards discovered. I do not think it has been successfully maintained that the natives of the Lesser Antilles were anthropophagous, but, as it suited the purposes of the Spaniards to have them declared so, thus they have remained, with that stigma attached to their name, to this day.

At all events, they were too disagreeable for their discoverers to desire further acquaintance with them, except occasionally, and to this fact is due the survival of their present descendants to-day. Taking the islands in sequence, from Puerto Rico eastward, the first group we find is that of the Virgins, discovered by Columbus on his second voyage to America, and so named by him. Were this a narrative of his discoveries, I should like to linger by the way, and point out to my readers the many incidents of that voyage, and describe the islands as I myself have seen them; but I cannot allow myself that pleasure, but must confine my attention to the facts bearing upon the ancient inhabitants and their present remains. I have not discovered, nor have there been found, many relics of the natives of the Virgins differing from those in other islands farther south, and more numerous.

In the island of St. John are some rocks covered with

incised figures, which are called the "Carib rocks,"—rude petroglyphs without meaning; but undoubtedly of aboriginal origin. Throughout the Greater Antilles, I cannot recall any of these petroglyphs, and they seem to be peculiar to the Carib area, other and finer ones being found in the island of St. Vincent. The descendants of the Caribs to-day are confined to two islands only, Dominica (which was the first land sighted by Columbus on his second voyage) and St. Vincent, the former between latitude fifteen and sixteen north, and the latter in latitude thirteen. They are described in my book on these islands,[1] published fifteen years ago, and I will not repeat my descriptions, except to state that there are some twenty families of pure blood remaining in Dominica, and perhaps half a dozen in St. Vincent. There may be three hundred in each island, but so intimately mixed with the negroes that their distinguishing features are nearly obliterated. They dwell on the windward or eastern coast of either island, in each having a portion of land assigned them, which they cultivate in common, or which, at least, is not owned in severalty. They subsist upon the fruits of their agricultural labors and the sea, eked out with the scant products of the chase, consisting mainly of small birds, agoutis, and iguanas. Their huts are almost as primitive as at the time of discovery, being constructed of palm logs and thatched with palm leaves. In Dominica most of them speak the French patois (a legacy from the former owners of the island), and in St. Vincent, English; being Catholics in the former and Church of England in the latter, as to their religious faith. All vestiges of their native religion have apparently disappeared, although they still have a belief in the jumbies and wood-spirits of the negroes. They are to-day gentle and easily managed, showing no trace of the warlike spirit of their ancestors; in shape they are robust, well-formed, with

[1] See "Camps in the Caribbees," by F. A. Ober. Boston, 1879.

small hands and feet, in color decidedly light, and some even fair, their complexion being of a yellowish cast. They make canoes and woven baskets, after the manner of the aborigines, are skilled fishers and sometimes hunters, and are altogether trusty and superior in many respects to the blacks.

Several writers have described the Caribs during various periods in their history since coming into notice, but I will select from them one who wrote about two hundred years ago, whose pages bear every evidence of honesty and authenticity. At that time the English were mainly in possession of the islands. He says: "They go stark naked, both men and women; though the Christians have conversed very much amongst them, yet have all their persuasions to induce them to cover themselves been to no purpose. . . . They change their natural color by dyeing their bodies with *roucou*, which makes them red all over. . . . They also adorn the crown of the head with a little hat made of bird's feathers of different colors. . . . They bore their ears, nose, lips, for the insertion of ornaments. . . . About their necks they wear necklaces made of the bones of their enemies, teeth of agoutis, etc. . . . On great occasions, they wear scarfs and girdles of feathers. . . . Their most valued ornaments were gorgets of copper, obtained from the Arrowaks by plunder, crescent-shaped and shining, and these are, most frequently, the only possessions they leave their children at death. . . . They wear cotton cloth and can dye it in various colors, chiefly red; they had hammocks when found by Columbus. . . . They made fine pottery, which they baked in kilns, and also wove fine baskets. . . . They cultivated their land in common. . . . They buried the corpse of a chief, or head of a family, in the centre of his own dwelling. . . . Their heaven seems to have been a sort of Mohammedan paradise of houris and harems for the brave. . . . They raised rustic altars, placing upon them fruits and flowers. . . . The Caribs have

an ancient and natural language, such as is peculiar to them, and also a bastard speech, with foreign words, chiefly Spanish, intermixed. Among themselves they always use the natural language, in conversing with Christians the bastard speech. . . . The women also have a different speech from the men. . . . It hath been observed that the men are less amorous than the women; both are naturally chaste; and when those of other nations look even earnestly at them, and laugh at their nakedness, they were wont to say to them, 'you are to look on us only between both the eyes.' . . . Yet, it must be confessed that some have degenerated from that chastity, and many other virtues of their ancestors, the Europeans having taught them many vices,—to the perpetual infamy of the Christian name. . . They are great lovers of cleanliness, bathing every day; are generous, hospitable and honest. . . . It is also a manifest truth, confirmed by daily experience in America, that the holy sacrament of baptism being conferred on these savages, the devil never beats or torments them afterwards as long as they live.[1]

"The Carib boys were compelled to pierce their food suspended from a tree with an arrow, before they could eat it. . . . They are said to have used poisoned arrows, dipping them in what must have been the urrari poison, obtained from Guiana. . . . Like many natives, they eradicated the beard and the hair on other parts of the body. . . They compressed the skulls of new-born infants; and a hatred of the Arrowaks was instilled. . . . Their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground and drawn together at the top, covered with palm leaves, and in the centre of each village was a building larger than the others for public assemblage.

"The Caribbeans are a handsome, well-shaped people, of a smiling countenance, middle stature, having broad shoulders

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[1] See Davies's "History of the Caribby Islands." London, 1666.

and large buttocks, and most of them in good plight. Their mouths are not over large, and their teeth are perfectly white and close. True it is, their complexion is of an olive color, naturally; their foreheads and noses are flat, not naturally, but by artifice; for their mothers crush them down at their birth, as also during the time they suckle them, imagining it a kind of beauty and perfection. . . . They have large and thick feet, because they go barefoot, and withal so hard that they defie woods and rocks. . . . They believed in evil spirits, and sought to propitiate them by presents of game, fruits, etc. They believe that they have as many souls as they feel beatings of the arteries in their bodies, besides the principal one, which is in their heart, and goes to heaven with its god, who carries it thither, to live with other gods; and they imagine they there live the same life as man lives here below. For they do not think the soul to be so far immaterial as to be invisible; but they affirm it to be *subtile*, and of thin substance, as a purified body; and they have but the same word to signify heart and soul. Other souls, not in the heart, reside in the forest and by the seashore; the former they called *Mabouyas*, the latter *Oumekou*. . . . They believe they go after death to live in certain fortunate islands, where they have Arrowak slaves to serve them, swim unwearied in placid streams, and eat of delicious fruits. . . . Of the thunder, God's voice, they are extremely afraid. They were prone to leave their houses (huts) after the death of an inmate. It is related, that a young Carib, having been converted to Christianity and taken to France, where he was shown many strange things, at which he showed no astonishment, returned to his tribe, threw off the clothes of civilization, and painted his body with *roucou*, becoming as wild a savage as before. . . . As to the division of labor, the men made the huts and kept them in repair, procured fish and game, also labored some in the fields; the women attended to the domestic duties, painted their husbands with roucou, and spun the cotton yarn, wove ham-

mocks, etc. They made fire by the friction of two sticks, and torches of candle-wood."

The author quoted above appends an extensive vocabulary to his work, from which I extract a few words which, he says, were common between the Caribs and the Apalaches, of Florida: as, Cakomees, or little curiosities; Bouttou, a club of weighty wood; Taumali, "a certain piquancy or deliciousness of taste"; Etonton, an enemy; Allouba, a bow; Allouani, arrows; Taonaba, a great pond; Mabouya, an evil spirit; Akambouyi, the soul of man, etc.

This much from the ancient writer, to explain the status of the Carib, as a savage, or semi-savage. Let us now turn to modern descriptions of him, as found in Guiana, his present home. As to the tribal name, a recent writer says: "The Arawak name for Carib Place, or home, is *Caribisi;* the Caribs style themselves, *Carinya.*"[1] Humboldt says: "They call themselves Carina, Calina, Callingo. The Calibis (of Cayenne) and others, who originally inhabited the plains between the mountains of Caripe (Caribe) and the village of Maturin, also the native tribes of Trinidad, and the village of Cumana, are all tribes of the great Caribbee nation." Davies, the author previously quoted, says: "The ancient and natural inhabitants of the Caribbees, are those who have been called by some authors Cannibals, Anthropophagi, or Eaters of Men; but most of others who have written of them commonly called them Caribbians, or Caribs; but their primitive and originary name, and that which is pronounced with the most gravity, is Caräibes. They believe themselves descended from the Çaribites, or Calibis, of the Main, in that country or province which is commonly called Guayana. The Caribs of St. Vincent said (1600) that their first insular ancestors were rebels against the Arrowaks, and retreated to the Caribbees (then inhabited by scattered Arrowaks), first to Tobago, and thence going still farther northward."

[1] "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurm. London, 1883.

The Indians of Guiana to-day, says a very thorough investigator, who published the results of his researches ten years ago,[1] are divided into four branches, as the Warrau, Arawak, Wapiana, and the Carib. "The languages of these four branches are quite distinct from each other; and within the language are dialectic variations. . . A stranger finds it difficult to distinguish, merely from appearances, the different members of the respective tribes. . . . The Arawaks are slightly taller than the Warraus; their bodies, though short and broad, are far better proportioned; skin lighter in color; expression of face brighter and more intelligent. . . . They are the most cleanly of all the Indians. . . . The Caribs are darker; somewhat taller than the Arawaks, bodies better built; having, in appearance and in reality, far greater strength; features coarser, with the appearance of greater power. . . . There is a constant enmity between Caribs and Arawaks. The Arawaks to this day retain a timid dread of the Caribs, who repay the feeling with contempt. . . . The Caribs are the most warlike of all, especially the pure Caribs. . . . They are peculiar among the tribes, in that they occupy no particular district, but are scattered more or less thickly throughout the country. . . . They are the great pottery-makers. . . . The Caribs seem to represent migrations into the country already occupied by the other tribes, and may be contradistinguished as natives and stranger tribes; the three branches of natives being all united by a common feeling of aversion to the Caribs, or strangers. . . . The natives all make their hammocks of the fiber of a palm *(Mauritia flexuosa)* while the Caribs make theirs of *cotton*. . . . The fact that the true, or island Caribs, had two vocabularies, one used by the men, and the other by the women, has long been known." Humboldt alludes to this difference of speech, and it is mentioned in my "Camps in

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[1] "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurm. London, 1883.

the Caribbees," so that I will not further quote, than to point out that he says:

"The difference in the language of the two sexes is more striking among the people of the Carib race than among any other American nations. The pride of the Caribs led them to withdraw themselves from every other tribe, even from those with whom, by their language, they have affinity." It may be added, however, that this difference of language as between the sexes, among the Caribs, was supposed to have its origin in the fact that the women were of the Arawak tribes, captured by the Caribs, while the males were killed. "Among the true Caribs," says Im Thurm, "a two-inch broad band of cotton is knitted round each ankle, and just below the knee of every young female child, and this band is never removed during life, or if removed, is immediately replaced. The consequence is that the muscles of the calf swell out to an abnormal degree between these bands," etc. This peculiarity, of the swollen calf, was noticed among the Caribs by the first discoverers, in 1493. "Every man wears a long strip of cloth between the legs and fastened to a belt, and the women a short apron, tied by strings around the waist. This apron is usually made of beads or of bright-colored seeds, in conventional patterns . . . The men also wear a necklace of white and shining peccary teeth, as well as an armlet . . . They paint their bodies and pull out all hairs not on the scalp. . . . For staining their skins and hammocks, the men use *faroah*,— the deep red pulp around the seeds of the anatto *(Bixa orellana)*, — as when first discovered. As ornaments, the true Caribs wear crescent-shaped nose-pieces and ear-distenders, as well as lip ornaments, crowns of feathers, feather ruffs, and short mantles of woven cotton ornamented with feathers. The women are less given to ornament, except that they wear great girdles of beads and bright seeds, etc.; and as a tribe, they are not prone to wear European clothing, save as single

garments, occasionally, and beads. . . . The Guiana Indians still make fire by rubbing two sticks together; they make baskets similar to those now made by the West-Indian Caribs, as well as cassava sieves, *matapies*, or cassava strainers, and other articles of the Indian economy. . . . Cotton is preferred by the Caribs to all other fibers. They still use the *tiki*, or wooden war-club, the only aboriginal weapon now in use. . . . The celebrated ourali poison is made chiefly by a single tribe, the Macusis, and particular Indians. . . . In the shell mounds, the objects found resemble those from the West Indies; and human bones have been found split open, as if for their marrow. Of aboriginal art, as shown in paintings or carvings, there are few traces, the petroglyphs being few and very rude in design and execution. . . . One practice still prevails among the Caribs of which we find no trace in the island: that is *couvade*, or male child-bed, when the man, at parturition, takes to his hammock, where he stays for days, and even weeks (if he be delicate), and is fed on gruel, abstains from smoking, and is comfortably coddled, while the poor woman attends to her hardly-interrupted domestic duties. In conclusion, as to the religion of the Guiana Caribs, it is a pure animism; every Indian believes that he himself, and every human being, consists of two parts, a body and a soul, or spirit; and moreover, that all other objects have the same qualities; the whole Indian world swarms with spirits, good and evil. They do not believe in a spiritual hierarchy, — only in spirits that are, or once were, situated in material bodies of some kind, — and no apotheosis has of these made gods, or a God. . . . The Carib name for God, *Tamosi*, means the Ancient One. . . . As to scientific acquirements, the Indian, now, as in ancient times, is without even the rudiments of scientific thought . . . "

Carib Petroglyphs, Implements, and Pottery. Were it not even that we still have evidence of the existence in the Carib area of Indians who dwell here, in the con-

tinued presence of their descendants, we should still be enabled to judge somewhat of the state of their civilization by their remains. I have mentioned the existence, in the island of St. John, one of the Virgin group, of rock-carvings; near the other extreme of the Caribbean Chain, in the island of St. Vincent, in latitude 13 north, 5 degrees farther south, are several of these strange rocks. I have seen some half-dozen of these petroglyphs, in that island, which I visited three, and fifteen, years ago. Also, in the island of Guadaloupe, in latitude 16. are several others of similar character. Those that I photographed were all near the very spot where Columbus discovered the first Caribs, at Capes Terre, and near Three Rivers, island of Guadaloupe. The incised figures represent, rudely, heads adorned with plumes; and other characters are found which cannot be adequately described. These petroglyphs are indubitably of Carib origin, being found only within the Carib area; and so far as I am aware, few, if any similar, have been seen in the larger islands. The characters which do not rise to the dignity of hieroglyphics or ideographs, have no coherent sequence or continuity, only a general resemblance. It would be interesting to gather all these and submit them for study to a competent body of ethnologists but I doubt if great results would be obtained.

More abundant and conclusive in their testimony, are the numerous minor objects of Carib art and workmanship, which have been, from time to time, gathered in the various islands. In that same island of Guadaloupe exists to-day, what is, perhaps, the largest and most nearly complete collection of Carib implements in the world, gathered together and owned by a learned collector, M. Louis Guesde. It is described, with numerous types delineated, in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1884, by Prof. Mason, to whom the world is so deeply indebted for valuable monographs on kindred subjects.[1] I myself saw the collection,

[1] "*Smithsonian Report*," Washington, D. C., 1884, pp. 731–837.

two years ago, and can testify to its value and completeness. It is for sale, and, although M. Guesde asks what seems a very large price for it, still, I think it should be secured for some American museum, and so trust. Referring those who may desire further particulars of the Carib relics especially to that paper, I will merely add, that these remains are in the shape of celts, of jade or jadeite, and serpentine, beautifully polished, discoidal and spheroidal stones, battle-axes (these of volcanic stone), semi-lunar and crescentic stones, and many odd shapes as yet unclassified, as axes with notched heads, horn-shaped and symmetrical, etc., etc. It has been said that no flaked or chipped specimen has been found within the Carib area, but in this collection are at least two, though M. Guesde thinks they came from the South American continent. A few idols, or figures in clay, are shown, as well as beads, amulets, perforated stones, mortars, dishes of stone, awls, hooks and perhaps harpoons; two vases, also, one of guiacum wood, which is hard and durable, disks or quoits, mealing-stones, pestles and chisels.

In this connection, I may be pardoned for alluding to my own "finds" in these islands, some one hundred specimens having been sent by me to the Government Museum, at different times. One of the most unique was a figure of a tortoise, carved from hard wood, which was found by me in a cave near St. Vincent, in 1878. From this latter island have been sent to the various museums of Europe and the United States, many specimens of stone implements. The most remarkable "find" was made a few years ago, of a cache or deposit of stone celts and axes, nearly two hundred in number, which were exhibited at the Jamaica Exposition, in 1891. St. Vincent seems to have been the ancient headquarters of the Caribs, if we may judge from the relics they have left behind, for this island is, or was, strewn with them. Some of those I secured and sent to the Smithsonian were veritable battle-axes,

which must have taken the strength of a giant to wield and carry continuously in battle, one of them weighing over six pounds and measuring ten inches in breadth. This name is applied, however, for lack of a better, at present, as they may have served other uses than those of war. Chisels of shell, such as are common in Barbadoes, and the low-lying islands, are infrequently found in those that are volcanic, which mainly constitute the Caribbees.

The few in the Guesde collection are from the shell of the fossil *strombus gigas*, as being harder than the living *strombus*. "It is certain that the Caribs did not take the living *strombi*, but were careful to use the fossil, which had in time acquired the hardness of ivory."

Several minor collections exist in the West Indies, and these, if possible, should be gathered together in some American museum, where they can be studied by those to whom the scientific aspects of the problem are familiar and whose opinion would be competent.

The Origin of the Antilleans.—In a general way, as shown in the preceding pages, I have gathered such information and herewith present it, as has been available to one engaged in other pursuits than ethnology. It would certainly be germane to inquire into, and even to speculate upon, the origin of the peoples whose works we have been examining. Without any pretence to authoritative premises, yet I would venture to offer some facts bearing upon the question, with the humble hope that they may aid in the elucidation of the problem of the origin of the West-Indian Aborigines.

Says the great Humboldt: "When a continent and its adjacent islands are peopled by one and the same race, we may choose between two hypotheses: an emigration from one, or from the other. . . . The archipelago of the W. I. islands forms a narrow and broken neck of land parallel with the isthmus of Panama, and supposed by some geographers to have anciently joined the peninsula of

Florida with the northeast extremity of South America. It is the eastern shore of an inland sea, which may be considered as a basin with several outlets. . . . The islanders of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Bahamas were, according to the uniform testimony of the first *conquistadores*, entirely different from the Caribs. . . . The Caribs, in the XVIth. century, extended from the Virgin Islands on the north to the mouth of the Orinoco, perhaps to the Amazon. . . . Those of the continent admit that the small W. I. islands were anciently inhabited by the Arawaks, a warlike nation yet existing on the Main. . . . They assert that the male Arawaks were exterminated, except the women, by the Caribs, who came from the mouth of the Orinoco. In support of this theory, note the analogy existing between the language of the Arawaks and that of (some of) the Carib women."

The present Caribs, says Im Thurm, say that they arrived in Guiana from sky-land, through a hole in the clouds. Davies, the ancient author from whom we have extensively quoted, says: "The Dominican Caribs said their ancestors came out of the continent, from among the Calibis, to make war against the Arouages (Arawaks) who inhabited the islands, and whom they utterly destroyed, excepting the women, whom they took to themselves," etc. Some have held that the nation had origin in the Floridian peninsula; but this theory is founded upon something like the following "testimony" quoted by Davies (17th century): "from one Master Brigstock, an English gentleman, one of the most curious and inquisitive persons in the world, who, among his other great and singular accomplishments, hath attained the perfection of the Virginian and Floridian languages. . . . Who says (1653) the Caribbeans were originary inhabitants of the Septentrional part of America, of that country which is call'd Florida. They came to inhabit the islands after they had departed from amidst the Apalachites, among whom they lived a long

time; and they left there some of their people, who to this day go under the name of Caribbeans(?); but the first origin is from the Cofachites, who only changed their denomination," etc.

Of like trivial character, is nearly all the scant testimony as to a northern origin for these peoples. But, recently, a high authority, Prof. W. H. Holmes,[1] of the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington, claims to have found what may be termed a Caribbean contact with Florida, in certain treatment of such examples of ceramic art as have been found in Florida. Without seeking to controvert this, I will merely present the facts, as shown by the historians, by tradition, and by existing objects, which seem to lead us back to the South American continent as the ancient home of the Indians of both the Greater and Lesser Antilles. That the inhabitants of these two great groups, or chains of islands, were of different stock, has been, I think, conclusively shown. Says the old writer, heretofore quoted: "The great difference in language and character between the Caribs and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Puerto Rico, hath given birth to the opinion that their origin was different. . . . Of this there seems indeed to be little doubt; but the question, from whence each class of islands was first peopled, is of more difficult solution. . . . Rochefort (1658) pronounced them originally a nation of Florida; . . . yet, the natives of the Bahamas, nearest to Florida, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola. Sir Walter Raleigh assures us that the Charaibes of the coast of Guiana spoke the language of Dominica; and I incline to the opinion of Martyr, that the islanders were rather a colony from the Caribs of South America, than from any nation of the North. . . . Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana. . . . It does not appear

[1] "Caribbean Influences on the Prehistoric Ceramic Art of the Southern States," 1894.

that they entertained the most remote idea of a northern ancestry. . . . The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana; they considering those islanders as a colony of Arawaks, a nation of South America with whom the Charaibes of that continent are constantly at war. . . . But their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. . . . The Caribs of Guiana still (18th century) cherish the traditions of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colors which he left them at parting."(?) — *Edwards's History of Jamaica.*

We have seen that historical tradition points towards the southern continent as their ancestral abiding-place; let us make another inquiry. Of the animals that constituted their food-supply, nearly all the mammals were allied to species or genera of the South American continent; such were the Agouti, Peccary, Armadillo, Opossum, Raccoon, "Musk-rat," the Dumb Dog (now extinct), perhaps the Alco, the Yutia and Almique (of Cuba), and possibly, in the extreme south, a species of monkey. Add to these the Iguana, which is peculiarly tropical, the many birds, and the fishes, and we have their entire food-supply of an animal nature; saving that the Caribs are said to have been anthropophagous; though I doubt if they were more than ritual cannibals, at the worst.

We have seen, also, that the present Caribs of Guiana conform in many respects to those of the islands, and have the same characteristics, preserving their ancient dislike of the Arawaks to the extent of positive aversion. It only remains to quote from a high authority as to their linguistic affinities, to close this summary of points of resemblance. As to the larger islands being inhabited by Indians speaking the same tongue, we may recall that a Lucayan interpreter served Columbus throughout his

cruisings among the various islands. Says the authority just alluded to, Dr. D. G. Brinton, "The Arawak stock of languages is the most widely disseminated of any in South America. It begins at the south with the Guanas, on the headwaters of the river Paraguay, and with the Baures and Moxos on the highlands of southern Bolivia, and thence extends almost in continuity to the Goajiros peninsula, the most northern land of the continent. Nor did it cease there; all the Antilles, both Greater and Lesser, were originally occupied by its members, and so were the Bahamas, thus extending its dialects to within a short distance of the mainland of the northern continent, and over forty-five degrees of latitude. Its tribes probably at one time occupied the most of the lowlands of Venezuela, whence they were driven, not long before the discovery, by the Caribs, as they also were from many of the southern islands of the West Indian archipelago. The latter event was then of such recent occurrence that the women of the Island Caribs, most of whom had been captured from the Arawaks, *still spoke that tongue.* They were thus the first of the natives of the New World to receive the visitors from European climes; and the words picked up by Columbus and his successors on the Bahamas, Cuba and Haiti, are readily explained by the dialects of this stock. No other nation was found on any part of the archipelago except the two I have mentioned. . . . The culture of the Arawak stock was generally somewhat above the stage of savagery. On the West Indies Columbus found them cultivating maize, potatoes, manioc, yams and cotton. They were the first to introduce to Europeans the wondrous art of tobacco smoking. They wove cotton into garments and were skilful in polishing stone. They hammered the native gold into ornaments, carved curious masks of wood, blocked rude idols out of large stones, and hollowed the trunks of trees to construct what they

called canoes. . . . Such is approximately the culture of the existing stock.

"The Carib stock is one of the most extensively distributed in the southern continent. At the discovery, its dialects were found on the Lesser Antilles, the Caribbee islands, and on the mainland from the mouth of the Essequibo to the Gulf of Maracaibo. . . . All the island, Orinoco, and Guiana Caribs can be traced back to the mainland of northern Venezuela. . . . The physical features of the Caribs assimilate closely to those of the Arawaks. They are taller, in the average, and more vigorous; but their skulls are equally brachycephalic and orthognathic. . . . The Caribs have had a bad reputation on account of their anthropophagous tendencies; indeed, the word *cannibal* is a mispronunciation of their proper name."[1]

An ancient writer says that this word was first heard off the coast of Haiti,—*canniba*, an aboriginal word, meaning man-eater;—"And finding in *canniba* the word *can* (Khan), Columbus was of the opinion that these pretended man-eaters were in reality merely subjects of the great Khan of Cathay, who, for a long time, had been scanning these seas in search of slaves."

The Caribs were quite on a par with their neighbors, the Arawaks, and in some respects superior to them. "For instance, their canoes were larger and finer (?), and they had invented the device of the sail, which seems to have been unknown to all the other tribes on the continent. . . . To some extent they were agricultural, and their pottery was of superior quality."—*Brinton.*

We may deduce, then, from these desultory observations, that these people, so different in many ways, and yet with striking resemblances, had a southern origin; that they were still in the neolithic period, possessing no books, paper, hieroglyphs or ideographs; the rude pet-

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[1] "The American Race," by Daniel G. Brinton. New York, 1891.

roglyphs being their nearest approach to the graphic arts; and there was little promise of that extraordinary development of an indigenous civilization on the lines of advance followed by the natives of Mexico and Central America. They seem to have been isolated from every country and every contact except in the south.

Trusting that this fragmentary contribution will be accepted in the spirit of its intention: as containing suggestions for other and better-equipped students to follow out and develop; and that it may prove acceptable to the honorable gentlemen with whom it is the writer's privilege to be allied, it will now be brought to a conclusion.