

Out of the Shadow of Balliceaux: From Garifuna Place of Memory to Garifuna Sense of Place
in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Eastern Caribbean

Niall Finneran and Christina Welch

QUERY SHEET

This page lists questions we have about your paper. The numbers displayed at left are hyperlinked to the location of the query in your paper.

The title and author names are listed on this sheet as they will be published, both on your paper and on the Table of Contents. Please review and ensure the information is correct and advise us if any changes need to be made. In addition, please review your paper as a whole for typographical and essential corrections.

Your PDF proof has been enabled so that you can comment on the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. For further information on marking corrections using Acrobat, please visit <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/acrobat.asp>; <https://authorservices.taylorandfrancis.com/how-to-correct-proofs-with-adobe/>

The CrossRef database (www.crossref.org/) has been used to validate the references. Changes resulting from mismatches are tracked in red font.

AUTHOR QUERIES

QUERY NO.	QUERY DETAILS
Q1	The abstract is currently too long. Please edit the abstract down to no more than 150 words.
Q2	The spelling of “Jordan and Jolliffe 2013” has been changed to “Jordan and Joliffe 2013” to match the entry in the references list. Please provide revisions if this is incorrect.
Q3	The disclosure statement has been inserted. Please correct if this is inaccurate.
Q4	The CrossRef database (www.crossref.org/) has been used to validate the references. Mismatches between the original manuscript and CrossRef are tracked in red font. Please provide a revision if the change is incorrect. Do not comment on correct changes



Out of the Shadow of Baliceaux: From Garifuna Place of Memory to Garifuna Sense of Place in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Eastern Caribbean

Niall Finneran^a and Christina Welch^b

^aDepartment of Archaeology, Anthropology and Geography, University of Winchester, Winchester, UK;

^bDepartment of Theology, Religions and Philosophy, University of Winchester, Winchester, UK

ABSTRACT

The Garifuna ("Black Carib") peoples of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (SVG) define their ethnogenesis in the intermixing of escaped enslaved Africans with indigenous "Island Carib" or Kalinago peoples from the seventeenth century onward. Within the Caribbean context, they thus represent an unusual example of an African diaspora culture. Based upon recent fieldwork, this paper (authored by an archaeologist and a religious studies heritage specialist) examines how non-Garifuna, diasporic Garifuna and Vincentian Garifuna define what it means to "be" Garifuna, and how these often contradictory perspectives can be reconciled within the context of a sustainable community-based heritage tourism strategy. We analyze the nearby island Baliceaux as a significant heritage site and place of memory for the Garifuna. We additionally demonstrate how the Garifuna heritage narrative is now shifting away from an exclusionary focus on Baliceaux and the national hero Joseph Chatoyer to a more broad-based sense of place in response to contemporary political and economic demands.

KEYWORDS

Saint Vincent; Grenadines; Garifuna; community heritage; heritage tourism; indigenous heritage

Introduction

"We don't want our culture to die." – Garifuna community leader, Mrs Michelle Beache, Greiggs Village, SVG, interview with authors, September 2018.

This article charts the evolution of a nascent strategy for sustainable community heritage management and heritage tourism among the Garifuna people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (Windward Islands, South-eastern Caribbean; hereafter SVG, see [Figure 1](#)). It includes a chronological narrative of our fieldwork in SVG during the months of March and September 2018 and March 2019. We also analyze how political expediency, indigenous politics, and the economic precariousness of the Caribbean's insular economies combine to shape approaches to community heritage and heritage tourism in the twenty-first century. Our attention to the intersection of heritage tourism and contemporary economics and politics contributes to a growing literature in the Caribbean on this topic (e.g., Jordan and Joliffe [2013](#); World Travel and Tourism Council [2019](#)).

CONTACT Niall Finneran  Niall.Finneran@winchester.ac.uk  Department of Archaeology, Anthropology and Geography, University of Winchester, Sparkford Road, Winchester SO22 4NR, UK

© 2020 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

50

55

60

Colour online, B/W in print



Figure 1. Map of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines showing sites mentioned in the text. Adapted by authors from an open source map from ArcGIS, Esri.

65

70

75

In our initial foray into this project, we responded to a request from the Saint Vincent National Trust and Garifuna Heritage Foundation to help develop community heritage awareness among both the Garifuna and non-Garifuna peoples in SVG as the foundation for a sustainable and localized heritage tourism strategy. Sometimes called “Black Caribs,” the Garifuna peoples of SVG recognize a dual African and indigenous origin. Many of the Garifuna’s African ancestors had escaped enslavement on neighboring sugar islands; these runaways then mixed with Kalinago (“Island Carib”) peoples beginning in the seventeenth century. Upon our arrival in SVG, we soon realized that in order to work out a strategy for promoting Garifuna cultural heritage to wider audiences, we had to firstly define what the Garifuna meant by “heritage” and how this aligned with their sense of place; we additionally had to consider how other Vincentians perceived Garifuna culture. On latest estimates, Garifuna peoples number approximately 5,000 individuals out of a combined population of over 100,000 people on Saint Vincent; so, they are a minority community (Zoila Browne, personal communication March 2019).

80

85

90

As the project developed, we became aware of a number of competing narratives and tensions. Firstly, SVG Garifuna, diasporic Garifuna, and other Vincentians differed subtly in their expectations and perceptions of what constituted the Garifuna heritage canon. These divergences clearly had significant implications for our work. Secondly, we noted early on the dominance of a single place, the nearby Grenadine island of Balliceaux, within the Garifuna heritage narrative. As we shall see later, Balliceaux remains a potent symbol of resistance, exile, death and survival for the Garifuna, and as such is a significant Garifuna place of memory; yet, for a number of important political and economic reasons it is, and has long been, an inaccessible and problematic part of SVG Garifuna heritage. As crucial as Balliceaux is to Garifuna heritage, memory of the island casts a shadow so huge that it has often obscured a broader heritage narrative for the SVG Garifuna. In a sense, therefore, the public perception of SVG Garifuna heritage needed to shift

from its singular focus on Baliceaux as a place of memory to wider Garifuna lifeways on the island of Saint Vincent. In order to explore the SVG Garifuna's sense of place, we needed discussions of heritage to move out of the shadow of Baliceaux, hence the title of this paper.

Before beginning the chronological narrative of our fieldwork, we first offer a broad summary of heritage and tourism issues in the Caribbean in the twenty-first century within the context of the Garifuna experience. We then provide a brief historical overview of the Garifuna, situating them within the wider framework of indigeneity in the Caribbean; this overview highlights what makes Garifuna's origin and ethnogenesis such an unusual case study. We then examine some of the ideas, both external and internal, that have informed the creation of a Garifuna heritage narrative, with particular attention paid to the island of Baliceaux as a Garifuna place of memory. We examine how Garifuna resistance narratives are commemorated at state and local levels in SVG. Finally, from the results of our fieldwork, we argue that Garifuna heritage narratives, however complex or contradictory they may be, offer a way forward in sustainable cultural heritage tourism. More specifically, in order to build a sustainable and community-oriented heritage tourism strategy in the twenty-first century, we must look beyond Baliceaux.

Producing and consuming heritage in the Caribbean: situating the Garifuna

In this section, we turn firstly to view the wider context of the twin strands of cultural heritage and tourism in the modern Caribbean. Conventional heritage narratives within the islands of the Caribbean (be they Anglophone, Francophone, Dutch, or Spanish) heavily stress the historical dichotomy over the last four hundred or so years between two key population elements: The slave-owning European planter class and the West Africans they imported and enslaved. For the planter class, heritage is broadly represented by ubiquitous extant sugar plantations as well as historic urban centers, military forts, and churches (see Jordan and Joliffe 2013 for a broad overview; Innis and Joliffe 2013; Scher 2013). For the enslaved, heritage is typically couched in terms of African cultural survival and resistance to slavery (Agorsah 1993, 1994; Joseph 2004). However, a second strand in African Caribbean heritage narratives reflects the gradual abolition of slavery from the early nineteenth century onwards. These narratives emphasize African American cultural creation – how once-enslaved people developed their own architectural, religious, musical, literary, artistic, and culinary heritages by drawing from a range of diverse cultural influences in freedom (e.g., Olwig 1999, 2005; Palmié and Scarano 2011).

Occupying an interstice between the dominant heritage narratives of European slavers and enslaved Africans are the Caribbean's remnant indigenous communities. Here the term "indigenous" is used to denote populations present in the Caribbean prior to European contact as well as the descendants of those populations. This article focuses on how one African-indigenous group, the Garifuna, makes sense of their place within the wider narrative arc of Caribbean history and heritage. Indigenous groups are very much the "forgotten Caribbeans" in contemporary Caribbean society (Baronov and Yelvington 2009, 236, 247). Representations of indigenous heritage in the region are few and far between. In the Greater Antilles to the north on the island of Puerto Rico one can still experience the "authentic" taste of a "Taino" village (e.g., Duany 2002, 137–165); the Taino are widely

understood to be among the first New World peoples whom Columbus encountered in 1492, although the ethnonym itself remains a problematic and contested term (Keegan and Hofman 2017, 259; see also Reid 2009 *passim* for a wider perspective). In Trinidad, the Santa Rosa peoples still celebrate their “Carib” or Kalinago identity (Ingram 2008; for a consideration of the ethnohistorical problems of these labels, see Allaire 2013); similarly, on the island of Dominica to the north of Saint Vincent, a vibrant Kalinago community on the eastern (Windward) coast has developed local heritage tours (Hudepohl 2007, 2008).

Yet, for most tourists visiting the Caribbean, be it on a package tour, a cruise, or as an independent traveler, these more obscure heritage narratives remain largely unseen. Indeed, popular tourist understandings tend to focus on the Caribbean islands as beach holiday destinations, with *any* cultural heritage tourism remaining a minority pursuit. Exceptions to this pattern are chiefly limited to ecological tourism, for example in Dominica, or the more overtly “cultural” experiences available through tours of extant Spanish colonial architecture, for example in Cuba or Puerto Rico (see Patullo 1996 for an overview). However, regardless of what motivates visitors to come, one cannot overestimate the importance of the tourism industry to Caribbean economies; these island nations are overwhelmingly economically fragile states, at risk from wider global economic headwinds. Poverty is never far from the surface. For example, in 2018, Barbados – the paradigm of a safe, dependable, and economically successful Caribbean island tourist destination – had to call upon the International Monetary Fund for help in restructuring its economy (International Monetary Fund 2019).

The Caribbean islands are no longer the historic powerhouses of wealth they once were; this past plenty, of course, was built on monoculture sugar agriculture and exploitation of enslaved labor. The Caribbean’s current singular dependence on tourism as an economic driver remains risky, particularly as beach tourism has become an overcrowded market (Jayawardena 2002). To distinguish themselves from the wide array of “sun, sea, and sand” vacation destinations in the region, some Caribbean nations have sought to diversify their offerings to tourists (Conway and Timms 2010; Stupart and Shipley 2012). In this context, heritage tourism offers a new dimension to visitors’ experiences. A focus on indigenous groups, such as the Garifuna, remains especially rare in the region, and so the development of indigenous heritage tourism has a special potential to attract visitors seeking experiences unavailable elsewhere. The economic impact of heritage tourism has the potential to be particularly strong on islands such as Saint Vincent, where the tourist footfall is relatively small overall. By way of regional comparison, Saint Vincent welcomed 303,044 visitors in 2017 while 1,113,579 went to Saint Lucia (Eastern Caribbean Central Bank 2019) and 1,482,193 visited Barbados (Travel Agent Central 2018).

Recent initiatives by the government in Saint Vincent have sought to define pathways to developing greater external tourism revenue in order to help SVG compete for visitors on a wider Caribbean stage (Zoila Browne, personal communication March 2018). Among local officials, there is broad recognition that tourists with different backgrounds will bring differing expectations for and interests in the island’s cultural heritage. European and European-American tourists, for example, tend to maintain more interest in the heritage of Saint Vincent’s European planter class. However, African Americans, other Afro-Caribbeans, and diasporic Garifuna are more likely to gravitate toward African or indigenous cultural heritage sites (Best and Phulgence 2013; Dann and Potter 2001). We must

therefore always consider *whom* heritage is for, not just *what* heritage is (e.g., Scher 2013). Having established the wider landscape of cultural heritage and heritage tourism in the Caribbean, we now turn to a brief sketch of the Garifuna people's origin and history with particular attention paid to their ethnogenesis and subsequent pan-Caribbean diaspora.

Historical and geographical context of the Vincentian Garifuna

A detailed consideration of the archaeological and cultural framework of the eastern Caribbean prior to European contact (that is, before 1492 CE) is beyond the scope of this paper. However, in general terms we may say that the peoples that the first European colonialists (mainly French and English) encountered in the Windward Islands in the seventeenth century were known as "Island Caribs." Their descendants today largely reject that term and call themselves Kalinago. In any case, Columbus erroneously identified these indigenes as ferocious cannibals and warriors (Davis and Goodwin 1990). However dubious Columbus's initial claims, a martial identity – particularly in relation to anti-colonial resistance fighters (Beckles 2008) – remains celebrated today by Kalinago communities in Dominica and Trinidad and by Kalinago and Garifuna ("Black Carib") communities in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (Brown 2002).

The so-called Black Caribs or Garifuna emerged historically in the late seventeenth century on the island of Saint Vincent. They were distinct from indigenous Kalinago ("Island Caribs") as their ethnogenesis resulted from intermingling between that group and formerly enslaved Africans. Some of the Garifuna's African ancestors had been shipwrecked on Saint Vincent in vessels carrying newly enslaved captives from West Africa; others were maroons who had escaped slavery on neighboring islands such as Barbados and came to Saint Vincent as fugitives. Our understanding of the Garifuna's dual indigenous and African origins relies heavily on the analysis of their ethnogenesis by British social anthropologist, the late Charles Gullick, a noted authority on the Vincentian Garifuna (Gullick 1985, 39 ff). Though published in 1985 and based on ethnographic fieldwork from the 1970s, Gullick's work on the mythology and history of Garifuna origins remains the standard of the field. The Garifuna whom Gullick interviewed particularly stressed the origin story of shipwrecked West Africans. Our fieldwork, on the other hand, has demonstrated the more recent emergence of a competing origin story among the Garifuna.

In talking to a number of Garifuna people as well as other Vincentian activists, we learned that the origin narrative that is now popularly stressed has changed since Gullick's fieldwork nearly fifty years ago. Rather than tracing their origins to shipwrecked African captives, the Garifuna see their ethnicity as emerging from the meeting of Kalinago indigenes and a pre-Columbian population of Caribbean Africans who had sailed across the Atlantic from West Africa. This origin story for the Garifuna traces its roots to works published in the 1970s by the Guyanese academic Ivan Van Sertima, who posited a pre-Columbian African population migration into the region and even hypothesized that African culture underpinned the Olmec polities of Mesoamerica (Van Sertima 1976). Historical, archaeological, linguistic, and genetic evidence does not support Van Sertima's theory of an African migration to the Americas prior to European contact (Haslip-Viera, Ortiz de Montellano, and Barbour 1997). However, Van Sertima's views and

assertions should also be read within the wider context of the rise of Afrocentric scholarship in the 1960s and the 1970s as well as the concurrent efforts of African-descendant people around the globe to claim their full civil rights.

The history of the Garifuna on Saint Vincent during the era of colonial rivalry between Britain and France is too lengthy to detail here (see Kirby and Martin 2004). It must suffice to say that Garifuna people (or, as they were known at the time, “Black Caribs”) navigated the tension between these colonial powers strategically, playing each side off against the other before eventually siding with the French. The French and British together signed a treaty that guaranteed Garifuna lands in northern Saint Vincent would be free from colonial control. However, when the British finally established colonial dominance on Saint Vincent, the Garifuna’s prior decision to align themselves with the French did not play out well. The British attempted to seize Garifuna lands and so, together with French settlers, the so-called Black Caribs led a number of insurrections; this resistance resulted in the two Carib Wars of 1769–1773, and 1795–1796 (Taylor 2012). By 1796, the British, led by Sir Ralph Abercromby (1735–1801) succeeded in crushing Garifuna resistance. The British’s eventual victory was largely achieved through weight of numbers. Especially important was British forces’ success in defeating and killing the Garifuna paramount chief, Joseph Chatoyer. To understand the ways in which such historical actors upend our neat historical categories, consider that Chatoyer (also spelled Chatoyér) together with his brother Du Vallée (also spelled Duvallé) oversaw a small plantation with slaves, which was purchased through English loans (Young 1992a, 203, 1992b, 212). Chatoyer thus was not only both indigenous and African; he was also descendent from slaves and yet himself enslaved others. Chatoyer would, as we shall see, go on to become the first recognized Saint Vincentian National Hero.

Following their defeat, a large number of Garifuna (Black Caribs) as well as some Kalinago (Island Caribs) were taken to the nearby Grenadine island of Balliceaux in October 1796. Balliceaux was an island naturally devoid of fresh water with only minimal facilities. A contemporary report by Alexander Anderson (1748–1811), a botanist employed to manage the botanic gardens on Saint Vincent, stated that the British provided accommodation on the island for the Caribs. They also, he claims, provided canoes and fishing tackle for use by the Caribs, together with the services of a surgeon, and regular deliveries of provisions and water (Anderson 1992, 227). Whether or not Anderson’s report is factual, the devastation caused by the forced removal of Garifuna people to Balliceaux is clear. Estimates suggest half of the 4,195 detainees sent to Balliceaux died, mainly from disease, within a few months of their arrival (Taylor 2012, 163). Following these deaths, the surviving indigenous “Island Caribs,” numbering only 102, along with 44 of their slaves, were returned to Saint Vincent (Gonzalez 1988, 35). However, the surviving Black Caribs were taken off the island onboard HMS Experiment on 3 March 1797 and forcibly “settled” on the Honduran island of Roatan where their descendants still live today. From Roatan, the Garifuna diaspora expanded to neighboring areas of Central America (Escure 2004) and as far away as New York City in the United States (Johnson 2007).

For Garifuna descendants now living in diaspora communities, Balliceaux has, by and large, become a byword for death and loss; it specifically connotes the destruction of the Vincentian Black Carib identity in what is often described as the island’s “concentration camp” setting (Alvarez 2008, 32; Garifuna-American Heritage Foundation United 2012;

Hulme 1991, 193; Palacio 2002; Tate and Law 2015, 20). The history of Garifuna exile recognizes Saint Vincent as the motherland of this ethnic and cultural group; it is *Yurumein*, their birthplace and spiritual home (Johnson 2007, 180). However, exile narratives have also helped to frame Balliceaux as a, if not *the*, Garifuna place of pilgrimage and memory. Indeed, because of the significance of exile and diaspora to Garifuna sense of self, Balliceaux is understood as part of *Yurumein*, a birthplace for the community, and as both a physical and mythical space. Such is the importance of this island to Garifuna sense of place as a wider heritage narrative, and so we start our analysis there.

Balliceaux as a site of memory

The dark history of Balliceaux as a site of brief Garifuna settlement (between their exile from Saint Vincent and their conveyance to Roatan) imbues that island with potent meaning for local and diasporic Garifuna. It is a home to the bones of their ancestors, and the continuing presence of the dead is felt by those who pilgrimage there either as part of the structured National Heroes Day celebrations in March each year, or on more personal informal journeys. The island is only accessible by boat from Kingstown (the capital of Saint Vincent) or the nearby Grenadine island of Bequia. Boat hire in SVG is not cheap and the seas are rough – often too rough to safely journey there. What’s more, there is no easy landing place and visitors often have to swim to reach shore. As such, a visit to Balliceaux is a pilgrimage in the truest sense of the word. The island is also, in every sense, a Garifuna site of memory (e.g., Nora 1989) in so far as it is a physical location that has immense symbolic significance to the wider Garifuna population, both local and diasporic, as well as non-Garifuna Vincentians.

A shared site of memory is implicitly connected to how members of a group locate their sense of self and being. Balliceaux is a location of both social memory and mythic history. At sites of memory like this, those who are “outsiders to the place” are considered by inhabitants or, here, the descendants of inhabitants to be incapable of recognizing “the territory’s sacred qualities” (Olúpòná 2011, 24). Indeed, Balliceaux is more than a physical location; it is part of a wider psychic landscape for the Garifuna that contributes to their sense of place. A sense of place is “first and foremost an emotional experience” that speaks to a “feeling of being within something larger and more powerful than ourselves,” and it can often have a revelatory quality (Deloria 1999, 251). It is thus often not confined to a single, specific, and easily recognizable area; this more diffuse definition of sense of place is common among many indigenous peoples across the globe, particularly in communities where land is central to identity, such as in the Scottish Islands (McIntoch 2004).

Sites of memory do not just invoke the past for its own sake but also serve to support a descendant group’s needs in the modern day. For example, these sites often maintain a mythscape – that is, an understanding of the landscape as shaped by mythic history (Bell 2003; Rojas 2013). Myth is typically crucial to the maintenance of group identity and can serve as the bedrock of ritual, thus potentially enforcing community norms. At Balliceaux, the island’s mythscape and the rituals that take place during the pilgrimages to the island, center on the suffering of exiled ancestors, thus reinforcing the perception of the island as a cemetery for those who perished there. This perception of Balliceaux was powerfully expressed by Michael Polonio, President of the Belizean National Garifuna

Council, in a letter sent to the Prime Minister of SVG in 2005. Polonio stated that the island is “the burial ground of our ancestors,” their resting place, and the home to “the souls of our ancestral dead” (quoted in Middleton 2014, 31).

Drawing on grief theory, Balliceaux can be understood as a linking object, providing modern-day Garifuna people with a tangible connection to their ancestors. In this sense, the island provides a sense of solace not only because the ancestors are “at rest” there, but also because, through pilgrimage to Balliceaux, the ancestral bond is retained across the generations (Klass 2017). Indeed, in writings about traditional Garifuna ritual and belief, ancestors are often understood to travel from not only from *Sairi* (the traditional land of the dead) to visit descendants, but also from *Yurumein*, meaning Saint Vincent and Balliceaux (Johnson 2018).

Most Garifuna today are Christian or combine Christianity (in its many different forms) with traditional beliefs (Norales 2011). While the complexity of Garifuna religious expression is beyond the scope of this paper, rituals that involve ancestors are central to traditional Garifuna culture (Foster 1987; Kerns 1983). Regardless of the various methods by which the Garifuna commune with their ancestors, communication does take place, and ritual pilgrimages to Balliceaux strengthen ancestral connections. The island thus inspires and incites expressions of grief; this grief is centered on not only exile, loss, and death (Leland and Berger 1998) but also survivance – a cultural continuation that is greater than just survival (Vizenor 2008). In Andrea Leland’s film *The Garifuna Journey* (1998), tradition bearer Roy Cayetano states that the ancestors who were deported from Saint Vincent provide “strength” to the Garifuna today, and that there are mutual obligations with the recent and ancestral dead that “cut across the borders of this life” (Leland and Berger 1998; see also Leland’s *Yurumein: Homeland* (2014), which depicts the raw emotion surrounding the pilgrimage to Balliceaux and leaves the viewer in no doubt as to the potency of the place).

For the Garifuna, then, Balliceaux is not just a place of pilgrimage. Rather, it is a potent site of memory: It is a location that is central to their self-identification. However, surprisingly, a number of scholarly works on the Garifuna ignore Balliceaux totally (e.g., Anderson 1997; English 1999; Greene 1998; Kerns 1983). Indeed, it is not just academic researchers who have marginalized or disregarded Balliceaux, as the standard *Caribbean Social Studies* school textbook also ignored the island in relation to Garifuna history (Fraser and Joseph 1999). This dichotomy – Garifuna people’s continued recognition of Balliceaux’s historical significance and outsiders’ disregard for that significance – was recently brought into sharp relief. Rumors began to circulate that the current local (but non-Garifuna) owners of Balliceaux, the Lindley family, had put the island up for sale for the sum of 30 million US dollars (PII 2019) in the expectation that the island would be developed as a high-end tourist resort. This backstory brings us to our present involvement.

The shadow of Balliceaux

In September 2014, the then head of the SVG National Trust, Mrs. Louise Mitchell, approached one of this article’s authors (Niall Finneran) to consider undertaking archaeological survey and assessment of Balliceaux ahead of the anticipated sale and development of the island. The proposed fieldwork was planned with the full input and

support of the Garifuna Heritage Foundation. Access issues have so far thwarted this archaeological work, as Balliceaux is currently privately owned. However, Finneran has maintained open lines of communication with the Garifuna Heritage Foundation and SVG National Trust during these delays.

In March 2018, Finneran was joined by co-author Christina Welch, an inter-disciplinary scholar with expertise in religion, history, and death studies, in attending the Fifth International Garifuna Conference in Kingstown entitled “The Island of Balliceaux: Sacred Lands or Economic Opportunity?” This conference focused on how to manage the island as a heritage site as well as, at this stage, how we and other constituents believed field research on Balliceaux would proceed. Our conference paper analyzed the site from a series of approaches drawn from the wider anthropological field of death studies; we presented Balliceaux as a place of memory, grief, and ancestral mourning. Additionally, we and other conference participants offered practical and sustainable solutions to the archaeological investigation of the site as well as the subsequent development of a management plan and interpretative framework for the island. During the conference, it became clear to us how Balliceaux overshadowed all other aspects of Garifuna history and heritage. The island dominated all talk of the Garifuna heritage canon.

Many voices from a range of backgrounds were heard in connection to the Balliceaux problem. The research of local French scholar Vanessa Demirciyan (Demirciyan 2018) shed light on the complexities of ownership of the island and whether the sale of Balliceaux actually would be legal. Calls from the Garifuna for the SVG Government to purchase the island were addressed by the then Minister of Tourism, Camillo Gonsalves (son of the SVG Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves). Gonsalves’s paper (Gonsalves 2018) focused on the pragmatics of the issue at hand, as the SVG Government could not realistically meet the asking price. In 2017, for example, annual Gross Domestic Product of the SVG was 789 million US dollars (Country Economy 2017) and thus the price of the island would be around four percent of GDP. When presented in these stark financial terms, it was clear that Balliceaux could not be purchased by the Government. Instead, Gonsalves suggested that the Garifuna shift the focus of their sense of place from Balliceaux to their own communities on Saint Vincent, creating interlinked Garifuna heritage trails, which could embrace a range of other historic sites on Saint Vincent itself. These sites would be axiomatically, more easily *accessible* sites than a private island too. This would serve the additional purpose of supporting local employment through tourism, an issue high on the SVG Government’s economic development agenda.

In spite of protestations from the Lindley family that the island was not for sale, the prevailing mood of the conference remained gloomy. Some voices demanded the British pay to purchase the island. These demands followed the logic and echoed the statements of the SVG Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves, an outspoken supporter of reparations for slavery. Yet, the more the notion of Balliceaux as a heritage site was discussed, the clearer it became that it would pose a number of difficult challenges for archaeological evaluation as well as site interpretation and management. Furthermore, the island could not be a practical element of any wider heritage tourism itinerary in SVG given its physical isolation. Indeed, it was also apparent that the Lindley family regarded Balliceaux very much as private property and, in theory, it was forbidden to even land there. So, over a period of a week informed by conference discussion, our focus as researchers shifted and our task became more wide-ranging; we moved away from valorizing Balliceaux

alone as a significant place of memory and toward a wider definition of Garifuna sense of place. We wanted to pin down what it meant to “be” Garifuna and to move the heritage discourse beyond just Baliceaux.

The challenge set during the 2018 conference by Minister of Tourism Camillo Gonsalves (and with some vague promises of Government assistance) was for the Garifuna to define their sense of place on the mainland itself with reference to a series of historic Garifuna settlements, such as Grand Sable, Owia, and Fancy, linked by heritage trails and focusing very much on community-oriented heritage tourism initiatives. This plan was something that we felt we could assist with as we had just commenced a wide-ranging community heritage “Sensing Place” project among diaspora and refugee groups in East London. However, given that the Garifuna represent less than five percent of the overall population of the SVG, it seemed more pertinent to ask why it was that the Government was taking such a close interest in their history and heritage. On this point, the specter of political calculation raised its head (Scher 2013).

It was notable that Prime Minister Gonsalves gave a lengthy welcoming speech at the 2018 Baliceaux conference as well as at the National Heroes Day commemorations held at the close of the conference. Then, political speeches took center stage and the emphasis was very much on the wider consideration of financial reparations from the British for the slave trade in the Caribbean as well as for Britain’s historical mistreatment of the Garifuna. Perhaps then, the Garifuna issue was a means for the SVG Government to effectively assert its wider leadership within Caricom on the reparations issue. To understand this more national framework, it is essential to grasp the exact nature of the Garifuna resistance narrative, which exists apart from the narrative of grief, loss, and exile represented by Baliceaux. Here, let us turn to the creation of Paramount Chief Joseph Chatoyer as a Vincentian national hero.

Garifuna heritage as a resistance narrative: Chatoyer as national hero

On 14 March 2001, the SVG Government declared the Garifuna Paramount Chief Joseph Chatoyer (d. 14 March 1795) to be a “national hero.” Indeed, at the time of writing, Chatoyer remains the only official SVG national hero. This term is in common use across a number of Anglophone Caribbean islands, often commemorating prominent politicians from the period of independence from Britain’s Caribbean colonies from the 1960s onwards. National heroes from other Caribbean nations include cultural figures and sportsmen, especially cricketers (see Brown 2002; Phulgence 2015). The language used in official government documentation depicts Chatoyer as a brilliant diplomat, astute military leader, and strong resister of colonization (although, ironically, there is also mention of a so-called “Carib empire” (sic)):

To become a chief of the Caribs, one had to distinguish oneself in war or in other respects. Chatoyer appears not only to have been the paramount military chief, but also the civilian one. In war Chatoyer was an outstanding leader. His forces included not only his fellow Caribs but also Europeans who were French troops. Neither the French nor his fiercely individualistic countrymen would have respected him had he not been an outstanding general ... He was able to mould his army into a remarkable fighting force. The strategies he used, to inflict blows on and to negotiate with the English, indicate he was a man of great character ... It is possible that had this great man Chatoyer lived, the English might not have been able

to so quickly suppress the Caribs and transport them from their homeland to Central America. Chatoyer remains a hero even though his Carib empire has long been destroyed (Ministry of Tourism, Sports, and Culture 2017).

The language used here provides Chatoyer with an almost mythic heroic status and is reflective of his broader national prominence. Indeed, as an individual, Chatoyer dominates any authorized notional discourse on SVG heritage, not just *Garifuna* heritage (Smith 2006, 13). The emphasis upon Chatoyer's anti-colonial resistance is no doubt important to *Garifuna* self-identity but also holds sway within a wider national political context. The current SVG Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves (1946–) of the left-wing Unity Labour Party (ULP) has, as has been noted, consistently pushed for a strong line on slave reparations and is the prime architect of the Caribbean Reparation Commission (CARICOM Reparations Commission 2019). In his speech at the March 2018 National Heroes Day commemorations, he placed the *Garifuna* experience of enforced relocation within the wider context of his calls for reparations for slavery. He heavily stressed Chatoyer's fight against Britain's forces on the island, reinforcing the notion of the *Garifuna* and the people of SVG more broadly as proud underdogs who were defeated only by the weight and brutality of British colonialism.

Visual representations of Chatoyer also support this carefully curated image. One prominent portrait of the national hero is located in the terminal building of Argyle airport. Situated in the upper level departure lounge, the portrait combines two images of the leader on one canvas. The foreground depicts Chatoyer leaping with spear in hand to save a cowering woman and child from an attacking British redcoat soldier; on the same painting, a larger background portrait of Chatoyer depicts the calm demeanor of a proud and diplomatic leader (Figure 2). In the lounge, Chatoyer's portrait is joined by depictions of Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez and the symbolism of these leaders' collocation is clear. A more peaceful and calm representation of him was used on the panel marking the entrance to the Chatoyer National Park at Rabacca. The park was dedicated on 1 August 2018 (1 August is a public holiday in SVG commemorating the abolition of slavery in the British Empire). Chatoyer's life and death are also commemorated annually on 14 March at the granite obelisk atop Dorsetshire Hill overlooking Kingstown. The exact historical circumstances of how he met his end are unclear; some stories suggest a fight to the death in a duel with the British officer Major Alexander Leith, while other sources aver he was shot in the back or ambushed by the British (Culture General Administration 2009, 115; Fraser 2002). Either way, his death – like his life – is remembered as violent and heroic.

At the annual National Heroes Day event, local politicians and dignitaries gather and give speeches; they also witness cultural performances, such as *Garifuna* dance and song. The event culminates in a wreath laying ceremony accompanied by a 21-gun salute, an odd and somewhat jarring juxtaposition of a celebration of indigenous resistance and cultural survival with the trappings of a decidedly colonial-era British military ritual of commemoration. The choreography of the event, which we attended in both 2018 and 2019, is laden with symbolism and political discourse.

Political speeches at the commemoration include contributions from the leader of the political opposition (or a surrogate) as well as the current Prime Minister (or a representative). In 2018, Prime Minister Gonsalves's speech focused on the need for reparations and



Figure 2. Photograph of a public portrait of Joseph Chatoyer located at Argyle International Airport, Saint Vincent, September 2018. Photograph by authors; painting by Calvert Jones.

reparatory justice; this theme was echoed again in the 2019 address by acting Prime Minister Montgomery Daniel, who has also called for the British to help fund the aforementioned Chatoyer National Park (iWitness News 2018). Reparations similarly made an appearance in the 2019 speech by Dr. Godwin Friday, leader of the opposition and member of the more centrist New Democratic Party. In both 2018 and 2019, performances by young Vincentians stressed the admirable personal qualities of Chatoyer as an anti-colonial figure and brilliant politician, mediator, and military general. The emphasis on the fight for freedom was apposite in 2019 as this was the year the SVG celebrated 40 years of independence from Britain. In both years of the festivities that we attended, there was a significant diasporic and indigenous Kalinago presence. In 2018, a large delegation of Surinamese Kalinago attended (Figure 3); in 2019, members of Trinidad's Santa Rosa Kalinago community joined Garifuna diaspora communities from Roatan and the U.S. at the celebrations. In our observations, we noted that the most insistent calls for reparatory justice tended to be from left-wing Unity Labour Party politicians; however, many diasporic Garifuna people also seemed strongly invested in this idea. Chatoyer, then, is very clearly the central historical character not only for the Garifuna but also more broadly for the SVG. He acts as a cipher for local anti-colonial, pro-reparation feeling, as well as being a unifying figure for all Vincentians. Any attempt to capture Garifuna people's sense of place would need to place him and his personal history at the center of the narrative.



Figure 3. Suriname Kalinago people performing a blessing at the National Heroes Day commemorations Dorsetshire Hill, Kingstown, St. Vincent, 14 March 2018 Photograph by authors.

As our conversations with Garifuna activists and community leaders grew and our involvement in local heritage development deepened, we were asked by the Garifuna Heritage Foundation to undertake a community heritage training event in September 2018 for all secondary school history teachers in the SVG to help them understand the place of the Garifuna in Vincentian history. The Garifuna Heritage Foundation and the SVG Ministry of Education sponsored the event. As the head of the Saint Vincent National Trust and former history teacher Mrs. Descima Hamilton explained to us, such training efforts are an important corrective against the imposition of a pan-Caribbean secondary-school history curriculum. This curriculum homogenizes the Caribbean's many pasts and thus marginalizes important local historical variations such as Garifuna heritage in the SVG.

Further to this, we were asked to run a workshop at the Garifuna village of Grieggs to support the local community in its heritage initiatives with the explicit goal of developing a sustainable, small-scale, and economically viable tourism plan. To help develop awareness of sense of place, we adapted a simple questionnaire-based toolkit we had previously developed for a schools-based project in Tower Hamlets, East London (Sensing Place 2018). The object of these exercises was simple: We aimed to get local people to articulate what was most important (in terms of history and heritage) about where they lived – including events, people, landscapes, and activities. Once community members had defined a clear and shared vision of their history and heritage, they could then construct a visitor experience to showcase these most important elements.

Sensing Garifuna place(s)

The basic Sensing Place toolkit we had designed for use in East London (sensingplace.org) underwent considerable reshaping in order to fit the Vincentian context of the study. On a

Caribbean island like Saint Vincent, we could retain questions about historical religious buildings as well as elements of industrial heritage (for example, sugar production, banana planting, arrowroot and spice production, and fishing); however, we needed to downplay other elements of the original toolkit such as an emphatic and explicit appreciation of the heritage of ethnic diversity. Other elements of the original toolkit were designed to be universally applicable, including questions about personal and family heritage, community myths, festivals, and food.

In our initial discussions in planning the schoolteachers' workshop, we learned that many Vincentian history teachers knew very little about the Garifuna. Given this, we decided that the focus of our workshop would be on developing the skills these teachers needed to empower their own students to undertake primary research about Garifuna history and current lifeways. This approach offered several concurrent benefits. For one, substantive student research could help support the development of a body of material about the Garifuna for later use in schools. Garifuna heritage, after all, extends well beyond Balliceaux or Chatoyer. Additionally, participating in such research would help up-skill the pupils and enhance employability skills that might be useful in developing careers as freelance tour guides, for example. We therefore asked the teachers to come up with an idea for a display board that would communicate important aspects of Vincentian history; these significant themes were identified and isolated via the teachers' use of the Sensing Place toolkit. One group of teachers focused on social memory of the highly destructive and socially disruptive 1979 volcanic eruption at Soufriere. Others focused on tangible elements of heritage, such as foodways or places of historical significance; still others considered more intangible elements of heritage, such as local myths.

The key issue we wished to communicate was that the production of small-scale display boards with photographic and text content would be a more useful and sustainable strategy for public education as compared to a series of interactive websites. Websites, after all, would require continual updating and upkeep. Building public repositories of knowledge online is also problematic on an island where, while many people possess smartphones, they often lack the means to connect to the Internet easily through mobile providers; even 3G coverage is patchy on the island (nPerf 2018). Additionally, within the context of sustainable tourist management, the development of small-scale display boards made sense since these boards would be available to tourists while traveling in the SVG. The Vincentian sponsors of our workshop also hoped that teachers would be able to co-create new knowledge and educational materials on the Garifuna with their pupils. In so doing, history teachers would begin to address the continuing lack of knowledge in Vincentian society about the Garifuna. Additionally, the next generation of Vincentian heritage professionals would be drawn from this cadre of history students. Thus, this exercise was ultimately an investment in laying the groundwork for future strategies for heritage tourism and education.

Our second workshop, also held in September 2018, centered on the community at Greiggs. Greiggs is an unusual Garifuna settlement as it is a relatively "new" village allegedly founded by the Garifuna woman Fanny Greigg (alternately Fannie, alternately Greig) in the early nineteenth century. According to one legend Fanny received her last name after she was "kidnapped as a baby by the British soldier Captain William Greig" (The Vincentian 2014), while another story claims that Fanny Greigg was one of the Black Caribs who managed to evade British capture by hiding in the mountains close to the

edge of the La Soufriere volcano. In any case, Fanny Griegg as a historical figure is an important part of the village's self-identity, especially so given the Garifuna are traditionally a matrilineal people (Kerns 1983).

On 14 March 2018, visitors arriving at the village of Greiggs for National Heroes Day were greeted by stalls selling "authentic" Garifuna crafts such as basketry and jewelry; other outlets offered rum, beer, and home-made wines, alongside local foodstuffs (Figure 4). In the center of the village, arranged in a horseshoe shape, was a series of "huts." These structures were constructed for the occasion from bamboo and banana leaf, and they were based on the traditional Kalinago "carbet" structure style. Some were rectilinear, a form for carbet structures that is supported by archaeological evidence. Others were built round and described by Greiggs residents as being "African" in their character. Each of these structures bore the name of a different female leader, including Fanny Greigg. Hers was the sole structure not dedicated to a Rastafarian. At the center of the festival was a sound stage where traditional Garifuna dancing and singing took place. The public celebration at Greiggs was well attended and, although lacking essential infrastructure such as public toilets, attracted a large number of Garifuna and non-Garifuna locals in addition to a few tourists.

With our knowledge of the March 2018 National Heroes Day festival in mind, we undertook Sensing Place training with key members of the Greiggs Tourism Association the following September. This association is a loose cooperative of local people who form the organizing committee for the annual festival. These individuals were drawn from a range of backgrounds, though interest in Garifuna history was particularly strong among local educators. Our main contact, Michelle Beache, was head teacher of the main girls' school in Kingstown; another teacher, Margaret Jackson from Greigg's primary school was a key player in the association.

Our community workshop focused explicitly on the National Heroes Day event with special attention paid to how the community could widen its offerings to attract more



Figure 4. Festivities at Greiggs Village, 14 March 2018. Photograph by authors.

tourists; the village is not wealthy and income from the event is important to residents' livelihood. Further, being in a rural location, the Greiggs community was keen to start thinking about the economic opportunities that a broader emphasis on tourism could bring. Indeed, locals had already constructed a pathway through the forest above the village to a waterfall to encourage visitors to come for gatherings and informal picnics. As participants worked through the key questions in the adapted Sensing Place toolkit, it became apparent that two main themes were dominating our discussions: landscape and food. Given this, we facilitated a collaborative process by which participants together thought through how to interpret the history of the village and its landscape for tourists.

When we returned to Greiggs on 14 March 2019 for the National Heroes Day festivities, we met up with one of our workshop participants, Michelle Beache. She told us that the workshop we had conducted had made her and other community members more deeply appreciate the value of traditional Garifuna foodways; as such, food was now their focus for the 2019 event. Indeed, as a deliberate part of the day's celebrations, the foodstuffs available at each carbet "hut" structure were described from the festival's main stage. One food seller with whom we spoke, Alston Moore, told us that he had recently moved into cocoa growing in the region; for the 2019 celebrations, he had even started marketing his own chocolate, literally a "from bean to bar" product. The festival's new focus on celebrating Garifuna food was proving profitable to Moore and many other villagers. This attention to traditional foodways arose through our earlier workshop at Greiggs; the Sensing Place training exercises pushed local people to think more carefully about what elements of Garifuna heritage they had taken for granted and how these elements could be much more explicitly framed within a heritage tourism context.

In further discussions with Mrs. Beache, she informed us that the village had decided that they would work on erecting a permanent traditional-style carbet structure in Greiggs; the public interpretation of this structure would focus solely on Garifuna heritage and try to give a more rounded representation of that heritage to visiting tourists. Mounting a more public facing tourism strategy meant that the Greiggs Tourism Association began to think more intentionally about how tourists would see and experience the village; they had thus made their March Heroes Day event more user-friendly for non-locals through the provision of public toilets as well as regular stage announcements highlighting the village's amenities and heritage. While the transformation of the March 2019 festival was a success, Greiggs residents hope their village can become a tourist attraction outside of the annual National Heroes Day celebrations.

Back to Balliceaux, beyond Balliceaux

While former Garifuna Paramount Chief Joseph Chatoyer is widely accepted as a part of national SVG history, many Garifuna people still understand their heritage as primarily rooted in a shared history of loss and death at Balliceaux. We argue here that Garifuna communities benefit by taking a broader view of their heritage overall. As shown above, Greiggs residents now celebrate Garifuna food in addition to Chatoyer himself on National Heroes Day. In a similar vein, the Garifuna benefit from looking beyond Balliceaux and toward historical sites on Saint Vincent to build a broader heritage landscape.

Our workshops with Greiggs residents and SVG teachers in September 2018 provided insight into how we might develop the next stage of our heritage work; in particular, we

wanted to empower Garifuna people to build and communicate a broader understanding of their heritage and history that extended beyond both Chatoyer and Balliceaux. In March 2019, we attended the sixth International Garifuna Conference, now re-branded as a Summit, which was entitled “Exploring the Garifuna and Kalinago Heritage and Culture – Cultural Survival, Youth and Opportunities in Heritage Tourism.” The summit focused on education; incidentally, many of the contributors argued for the importance of film as a medium for communicating the Garifuna story. In fact, a number of Garifuna presenters from the diaspora community at Roatan in the Honduras were accompanied to the conference itself by an American film crew. While the analysis of film as a communicative medium for Garifuna heritage is beyond the scope of this paper, we were eager at the conference to empower delegates to envision a broader understanding of what Garifuna heritage is.

Toward the end, we reworked our Sensing Place toolkit to give out a shorter questionnaire, which we distributed to the audience. Delegates included local Vincentians, members of the Garifuna community from SVG and overseas, and secondary school pupils studying social science. Part of our snapshot survey explored what conference delegates identified as Garifuna in the SVG; we additionally requested words they associated with Garifuna heritage. There were 37 respondents for the survey in all. Of these, 12 identified as Garifuna, 16 did not, eight did not comment one way or the other, and one identified as mixed heritage. Twenty-two of the respondents were under the age of 40, a factor partly explained by the large number of secondary schoolchildren present at the event. The respondents were also predominantly female.

The following five figures visually represent the relative frequency of certain keywords in audience members’ responses to survey questions. The word clouds themselves do not differentiate answers from Garifuna and non-Garifuna respondents. However, since the survey inquired after respondents’ cultural background, we can differentiate in broad terms between internal and external notions of what should constitute Garifuna cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, and what a Garifuna sense of place means.

Figure 5 presents the rather diverse terms that respondents most associated generically with being Garifuna. Picking apart the overarching patterns, we can differentiate between Garifuna people’s emphasis on resistance, pride, and resilience. These responses depart from those of non-Garifuna conference participants, which were more generalized overall and included some associations that were not at all complementary. For example, “poverty” and “primitive.” Figure 6 visually represents those places that respondents identified with Garifuna heritage. What is notable in our responses to this question is that while non-Garifuna tended to focus more on Balliceaux and the Joseph Chatoyer monument on Dorsetshire Hill (where he died), responses from Garifuna people were much more varied, providing a wide selection of villages and sites, mostly on the Windward side of the island. This pattern of response suggests that Garifuna residents of SVG are well prepared to map Garifuna heritage onto a broader landscape. However, this broader sense of place for the Garifuna has not yet penetrated the understanding of Garifuna heritage by outsiders, who maintain an overwhelming focus on Chatoyer and Balliceaux.

Because food had been identified as a key element of Garifuna heritage in workshops for Grieggs residents and SVG teachers, we asked conference participants about foods

770

775

780

785

790

795

Colour online, B/W in print



Figure 5. Word cloud showing adjectives respondents to the March 2019 conference survey used to describe the Garifuna people. Image by authors.

associated with Garifuna culture. Here, there was more concurrence between the responses of Garifuna and non-Garifuna respondents, as they both identified cassava breads and fresh fish as defining elements of Garifuna cuisine (Figure 7). These two groups again departed in their perceptions of Garifuna material heritage (Figure 8). Garifuna respondents emphasized dress and basketry as well as less tangible heritage like dance, notably including *Punta*, a well-known energetic genre of music and dance strongly associated with Garifuna women. Non-Garifuna responses were never that specific and included some misassociations like the Layou petroglyphs, which predate the Garifuna. The last word cloud, Figure 9, visually represents the answers conference participants gave when asked what key elements of Garifuna heritage they would

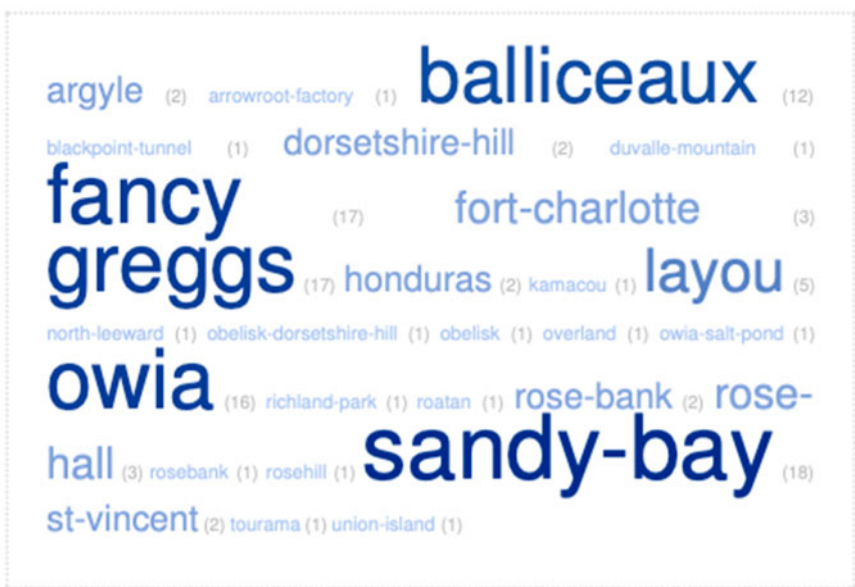


Figure 6. Word cloud showing localities and toponyms respondents to the March 2019 conference survey associated with the Garifuna people. Image by authors.

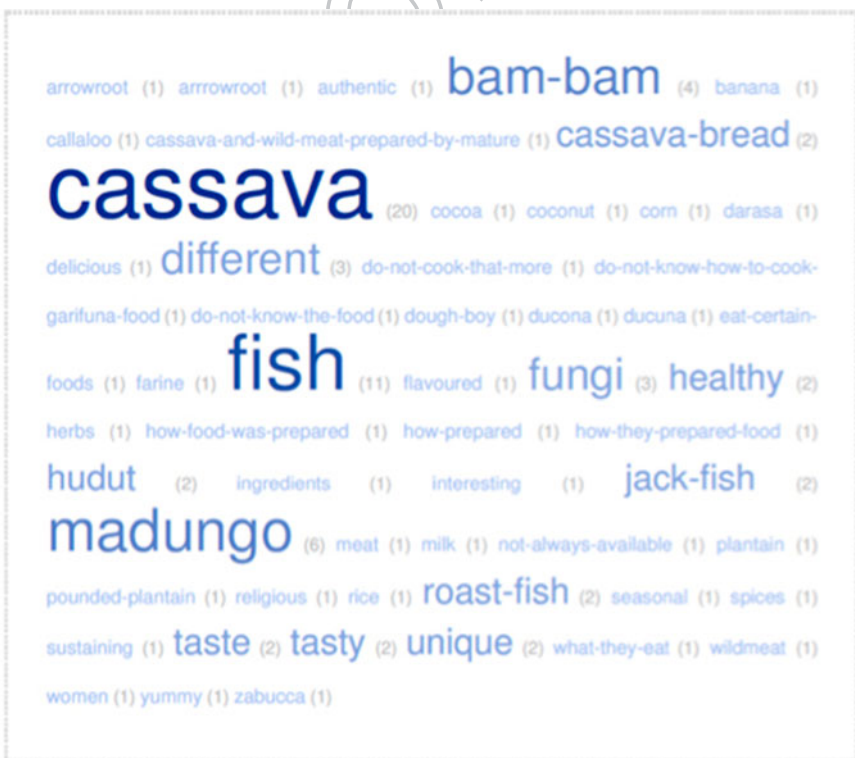


Figure 7. Word cloud showing key words used by respondents to define the cuisine of the Garifuna people in the March 2019 conference survey. Image by authors.

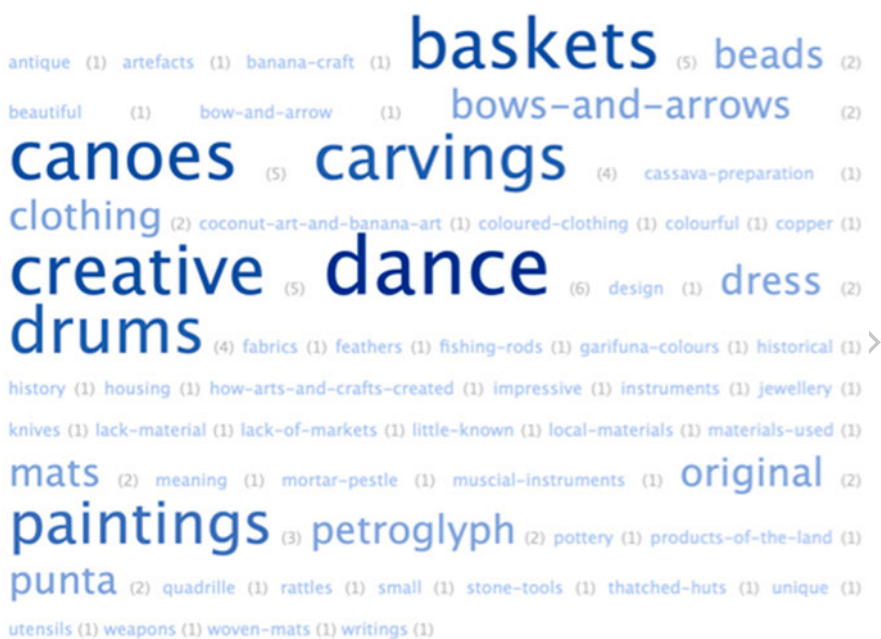


Figure 8. Word cloud showing key words used by respondents to define Garifuna material heritage in the March 2019 conference survey. Image by authors.

promote. Both Garifuna and non-Garifuna respondents agreed that more intangible heritage elements, such as food, music, religion and dance, were more important than physical sites.

These responses point to both challenges and opportunities in moving toward a broader approach to Garifuna heritage in the SVG. While Balliceaux was recognized as an important Garifuna heritage site by most respondents, Garifuna people were able to place the island into a broader set of heritage sites that remain less well-known to non-Garifuna people. Garifuna people's understanding of a broader heritage landscape supports the SVG government's efforts to move away from Balliceaux as the epicenter of Vincentian Garifuna heritage. What was consistent was Garifuna and non-Garifuna



Figure 9. Word cloud showing key areas of Garifuna heritage that respondents felt most worthy of promotion in the March 2019 conference survey. Image by authors.

conference participants' perception of the island as a place of exile and grief. One delegate described the island as a "place of tears," while another declared that the island "needs to be declared sacred." Among younger respondents, these associations were shakier and sometimes even confused. Students tended to perceive Balliceaux as less important than older respondents. Additionally, although many of the youth surveyed understood Balliceaux as part of Garifuna people's exile journey, there were a number of misconceptions that also cropped up. These included the belief that enslaved people were sent to the island. Yet, the responses from Garifuna conference participants continually point the way forward. In addition to recognizing a Vincentian heritage landscape that encompasses more than Balliceaux or Chatoyer, Garifuna respondents also promoted a wider suite of intangible heritage elements rather than just physical places.

While this study of conference participants is obviously skewed toward people with prior interest in the Garifuna, the survey nonetheless revealed that students had a lesser understanding of Garifuna culture and heritage as compared to their elders. The research presented here is from a small-scale and limited study, and more work is needed to make its conclusions generalizable to the SVG overall. Nonetheless, the preliminary pattern identified is concerning. When asked to identify key Garifuna sites, several students named the petroglyphs at Layou, artwork that predates the Garifuna and was evident from the earliest days of "discovery" of the island in 1498 (Huckerby 1914). Further, about one third of the students were unable to name a single famous Garifuna; this result was particularly surprising to us especially since National Heroes Day celebration and the associated commemoration of Chatoyer was planned for the day following the conference. The lack of information about Balliceaux in the national SVG Social Studies textbook may account for some of the students' ignorance of Garifuna history; however, there is a section on Joseph Chatoyer in the textbook and all SVG students study from this book.

The conference participants' survey responses in March 2019 along with our workshop with SVG schoolteachers the previous September both indicate the need for deeper understanding of Garifuna history and heritage in the SVG. Our workshop for secondary school educators focused on developing teachers' ability to organize and supervise their students' independent research on Garifuna history; these grassroots efforts to build a broader archive of historical knowledge will clearly be an important step in developing educational resources about the Garifuna that teachers can return to in future. Unless the Vincentian youth know about the lifeways and heritage of SVG Garifuna, the Garifuna will remain a marginalized part of everyday SVG life. In addition, any meaningful attempt to develop sustainable approaches to Garifuna heritage tourism in the future rests with this young generation. Finally, while this paper has generally supported the SVG government's efforts to broaden the understanding of the Garifuna heritage landscape beyond Balliceaux, it is nonetheless clear that the island needs to have some official protective status. To recognize that there is a network of sites on Saint Vincent that also constitute Garifuna heritage, one need not jettison efforts to protect Balliceaux from commercial development and destruction. Certainly, this protection may be more consequential for Garifuna people than for tourists considering the practical difficulty of reaching the island. Nonetheless, a protective status should be pursued. Those who perished on the island must be appropriately honored not only for Garifuna people in SVG, who live in Balliceaux's shadow, but

also for Garifuna in the diaspora, who often pilgrimage there as part of their return to *Yurumein*, their birthplace.

Conclusion

We began our research from the challenge of deciding how to manage a contentious site of memory, Balliceaux. As our work and public engagement deepened, we became aware of the many economic, political, and practical challenges of developing Balliceaux as a public heritage site. Thus, we shifted our focus to the development of a more local sense of Garifuna heritage on Saint Vincent itself. By adapting our Sensing Places toolkit to the context of the SVG, we established what local Garifuna people saw as being important about their heritage. Building on these results, we developed plans to help local communities such as Greiggs celebrate a broader conception of their heritage (here including food) in a sustainable manner. Such a community-based tourism strategy is not an original approach. For example, the Maroon community at Moore Town Jamaica maintains a similar focus on less tangible aspects of their heritage (Fuller 2017); heritage initiatives among the Kalinago peoples of Dominica are also similar in focus (Hudepohl 2008). Our work with the history teachers of Saint Vincent has sought to showcase this new way of considering the Garifuna people, on their own terms. By decentralizing the construction of historical knowledge about the Garifuna, this approach sought to bring more localized narratives to the teaching of Caribbean history in SVG.

For a very long time, the twin narratives of Balliceaux and Chatoyer have dominated outsiders' conception of Garifuna heritage. Indeed, for Garifuna themselves, much of the cultural driving force of what it means to be Garifuna has been defined by diasporic perspectives and articulated by Garifuna living in Honduras, Guatemala, Belize, or the U.S., and not on the homeland itself (*Yurumein* or Saint Vincent). Our research represents only an incremental step in rectifying this imbalance and giving the Vincentian Garifuna more of a voice in shaping perceptions of their heritage. The physical heritage they identify typically rests on a wider sense of place rooted in the lush volcanic landscapes of the Windward side of Saint Vincent, among a network of historic sites. Here on Saint Vincent, with a renewed focus on opening up the island to a new generation of Caribbean tourists, Garifuna people have begun to celebrate their heritage and identity through less tangible heritage elements including dance, cuisine, drumming, and crafts, with (we hope) positive social and economic consequences for their communities. Beyond tourist initiatives, we also worked to empower local history teachers to more fully engage with the nuances of Garifuna heritage; these educational efforts aimed at youth will hopefully help a new generation of local tourist guides, educators and heritage professionals to emerge with a broader-based understanding of what "being Garifuna" means. Yet, by fostering the development of an approach to Garifuna heritage that moves beyond Balliceaux, in no way do we suggest that the island is historically unimportant and should be open to commercial development. While Balliceaux remains a significant heritage site, this single site simply is not enough for Garifuna people themselves or the other Vincentians and tourists they hope to educate. For the SVG Garifuna, their future lies not in the symbolic shadow of Balliceaux as a place of memory, loss, and exile. Rather, their future lies in their own sense of place among the fields and streams of the wooded flanks of Saint Vincent's La Soufriere volcano.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to express their gratitude to the Garifuna Heritage Foundation for its support during this early phase of work. We have been collaborating closely with the Garifuna community on SVG since 2014, and have forged a number of friendships and connections. Special thanks go to Mrs. Zoila Browne, Ms. Sherise Browne, and Mr. David Williams. Mrs. Aldia Dyer of the Ministry of Education facilitated our workshop with teachers, as did Mrs. Descima Hamilton of the Saint Vincent National Trust. Within the Greiggs community, special thanks go to Mrs. Michelle Beache, Mrs. Margaret Jackson, and Mr. Alston Moore. Ms. Louise Mitchell and Ms. Nicola Redway both provided the initial impetus for the project. Ms. Vanessa Demirciyan very graciously allowed us to quote from her paper and provided us with copies of other papers presented at the workshop (these are in the process of being digitized and will be placed on the Garifuna Heritage Foundation web site in due course; see <http://garifunaresearchcenter.org/call-for-papers-5th-international-garifuna-conference/>). Our work was funded by the University of Winchester. Finally, the authors wish to thank two anonymous referees whose comments and input greatly improved the paper.

Disclosure statement

Q3 No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Niall Finneran (PhD Cambridge 1999; Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute) is Reader in Historical Archaeology and Heritage Studies in the Department of Archaeology, Anthropology and Geography at the University of Winchester. He has undertaken extensive fieldwork in the Caribbean.

Christina Welch (PhD Southampton 2005) is Senior Fellow in the Department of Theology, Religions and Philosophy at the University of Winchester. With Finneran, she is co-author of a forthcoming monograph on the materiality of Caribbean religions.

Q4 References

- Agorsah, E. Kofi. 1993. "Archaeology and Resistance History in the Caribbean." *The African Archaeological Review* 11-11 (1): 175-195.
- Agorsah, E. Kofi. 1994. *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Historical Perspectives*. Mona: University of the West Indies Press.
- Allaire, Louis. 2013. "Ethnohistory of the Caribs." In *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*, edited by William F. Keegan, Corinne L. Hofman, and Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, 97-110. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alvarez, Santiago Jaime Ruiz. 2008. "Preservation Strategies of the Garifuna Language in the Context of the Global Economy in the Village of Corozal in Honduras." PhD diss., University of Florida.
- Anderson, Alexander. 1992. "Alexander Anderson and the Carib War in St Vincent (1798)." In *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*, edited by Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead, 216-229. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Mark. 1997. "The Significance of Blackness: Representations of Garifuna in St. Vincent and Central America, 1700-1900." *Transforming Anthropology* 6 (1-2): 22-35.
- Baronov, David A., and Kevin Yelvington. 2009. "Ethnicity, Race, Class and Nationality." In *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean*, 2nd ed., edited by Richard S. Hillman and Thomas J. D'Agostino, 225-256. New York: Reiner.

- Beckles, Hilary McD. 2008. "Kalinago (Carib) Resistance to European Colonisation of the Caribbean." *Caribbean Quarterly* 54 (4): 77–94.
- Bell, Duncan S. A. 2003. "Mythscales: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity." *The British Journal of Sociology* 54 (1): 63–81.
- Best, Mechelle N., and Winston F. Phulgence. 2013. "Interpretation of Contested Heritage at an Attraction in St. Lucia." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 8 (1): 21–35.
- Brown, Laurence. 2002. "Monuments to Freedom, Monuments to Nation: The Politics of Emancipation and Remembrance in the Eastern Caribbean." *Slavery and Abolition* 23 (3): 93–116.
- CARICOM Reparations Commission. 2019. "About Us." CARICOM Reparations Commission. Accessed May 1, 2019. <http://caricomreparations.org/about-us/>.
- Conway, Dennis, and Benjamin F. Timms. 2010. "Re-branding Alternative Tourism in the Caribbean: The Case for 'Slow Tourism.'" *Tourism and Hospitality Research* 10 (4): 329–344.
- Country Economy. 2017. "Saint Vincent and the Grenadines GDP." *Countryeconomy.com*. Accessed April 10, 2019. <https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/saint-vincent-the-grenadines>.
- Culture General Administration. 2009. "Joseph Chatoyer: SVG Hero." In *Black Caribs – Garifuna: Saint Vincent's Exiled People and the Roots of Garifuna: A Historical Compilation*, edited by Tomás Alberto Ávila, 115–117. Providence, RI: Milenio Associates.
- Dann, Graham M. S., and Robert B. Potter. 2001. "Supplanting the Planters: Hawking Heritage in Barbados." *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration* 2 (3-4): 51–84.
- Davis, Dave D., and R. Christopher Goodwin. 1990. "Island Carib Origins: Evidence and Nonevidence." *American Antiquity* 55 (1): 37–48.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr. 1999. *For This Land: Writings on Religion in America*. New York: Routledge.
- Demirciyan, Vanessa. 2018. "A General View of the Island of Baliceaux." Paper presented at the fifth international Garifuna conference, Kingstown, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, March 13.
- Duany, Jorge. 2002. *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Eastern Caribbean Central Bank. 2019. "Tourism Statistics; Annual 2017." *Eastern Caribbean Central Bank*. Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.eccb-centralbank.org/p/tourism-statistics>.
- English, Sarah. 1999. "Negotiating Race and Place in the Garifuna Diaspora: Identity Formation and Transnational Grassroots Politics in New York City and Honduras." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 6 (1): 5–53.
- Escure, Geneviève. 2004. "Garifuna in Belize and Honduras." In *Creoles, Contact, and Language Change: Linguistic and Social Implications*, edited by Geneviève Escure and Armin Schwegler, 35–66. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Foster, Byron. 1987. "Celebrating Autonomy: The Development of Garifuna Ritual on St Vincent." *Journal of Caribbean Culture* 33 (3-4): 75–83.
- Fraser, Adrian. 2002. *Chatoyer (Chatawae): National Hero of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*. Kingstown: Galaxy Print.
- Fraser, Adrian, and Keith Joseph. 1999. *Caribbean Social Studies 4: St Vincent and the Grenadines*. Oxford: Macmillan Education.
- Fuller, Harcourt. 2017. "Maroon History, Music and Sacred Sounds in the Americas: A Jamaican Case." *Journal of Africana Religions* 5 (2): 275–282.
- Garifuna-American Heritage Foundation United. 2012. "The Garifuna Journey from Bequia to Roatan Island." Garifuna-American Heritage Foundation United. Accessed May 1, 2019. <http://www.garifunaheritagefoundation.org/id6.html>.
- Gonsalves, Camillo. 2018. "Before Baliceaux: Celebrating, Remembering, Studying the Garifuna." Paper presented at the fifth international Garifuna conference, Kingstown, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, March 13.
- Gonzalez, Nancie L. 1988. *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garifuna*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Greene, Oliver N. 1998. "The 'Dugu' Ritual of the Garinagu of Belize: Reinforcing Values of Society Through Music and Spirit Possession." *Black Music Research Journal* 18 (1-2): 167–181.

- Gullick, Charles J. M. R. 1985. *Myths of a Minority: The Changing Traditions of the Vincentian Caribs*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Haslip-Viera, Gabriel, Bernard Ortiz de Montellano, and Warren Barbour. 1997. "Robbing Native American Culture: Van Sertima's Afrocentricity and the Olmecs." *Current Anthropology* 38 (3): 419–441.
- 1085 Huckerby, Thomas. 1914. "Petroglyphs of St Vincent, British West Indies." *American Anthropologist* 16 (2): 238–244.
- Hudepohl, Kathryn A. 2007. "Consuming Culture: Extralocal Exchanges and Kalinago Identity on Dominica." *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 5 (2): Article 3. <https://digitalcommons.trinity.edu/tipiti/vol5/iss2/3>.
- 1090 Hudepohl, Kathryn A. 2008. "Community Agency and Tourism Initiatives in Carib Territory, Dominica." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 3 (4): 231–241.
- Hulme, Peter. 1991. "Rewriting the Caribbean Past: Cultural History in the Colonial Context." In *Interpretation and Cultural History*, edited by Joan H. Pittock and Andrew Wear, 175–198. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ingram, Amelia K. 2008. "Reading History, Performing Carib: The Santa Rosa Festival and Amerindian Identity in Trinidad." *Caribbean Studies* 36 (2): 65–94.
- 1095 Innis, Tara A., and Lee Joliffe. 2013. "The Industrial Heritage of Sugar at World Heritage Sites in the Caribbean." In *Sugar, Heritage and Tourism in Transition*, edited by Lee Joliffe, 89–109. Bristol: Channel View Publications.
- International Monetary Fund. 2019. "Barbados." *International Monetary Fund*. Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.imf.org/en/Countries/BRB>.
- 1100 iWitness News. 2018. "Minister Wants Britain to Fund Chatoyer National Park." *iWitness News*. Accessed May 1, 2019. <https://www.iwnsvg.com/2018/08/02/minister-wants-britain-to-fund-chatoyer-national-park/>.
- Jayawardena, Chandana. 2002. "Mastering Caribbean Tourism." *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 14 (2): 88–93.
- Johnson, Paul Christopher. 2007. "On Leaving and Joining Africanness Through Religion: The 'Black Caribs' Across Multiple Diasporic Horizons." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37 (2): 174–211.
- 1105 Johnson, Paul Christopher. 2018. "'The Dead Don't Come Back Like the Migrant Comes Back': Many Returns in the Garifuna Dügü." In *Passages and Afterworlds: Anthropological Perspectives on Death and Mortuary Rituals in the Caribbean*, edited by Maarit Forde and Yanique Hume, 31–53. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jordan, Leslie-Ann, and Lee Joliffe. 2013. "Heritage Tourism in the Caribbean: Current Themes and Challenges." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 8 (1): 1–8.
- 1110 Joseph, J. W. 2004. "Resistance and Compliance: CRM and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora." *Historical Archaeology* 38 (1): 18–31.
- Keegan, William F., and Corinne L. Hofman. 2017. *The Caribbean Before Columbus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kerns, Virginia. 1983. *Women and the Ancestors: Black Carib Kinship and Ritual*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- 1115 Kirby, I. A. Earle, and C. I. Martin. 2004. *The Rise and Fall of the Black Caribs (Garifuna)*. Toronto: Cybercom Publishing.
- Klass, Dennis. 2017. "Continuing Bonds." In *Handbook of the Sociology of Death, Grief, and Bereavement: A Guide to Theory and Practice*, edited by Neil Thompson and Gerry R. Cox, 141–158. New York: Routledge.
- 1120 Leland, Andrea E., and Kathy L. Berger. 1998. *The Garifuna Journey*. Hohokus, NJ: New Day Films. Digital Versatile Disc (DVD).
- McIntoch, Alastair. 2004. *Soil and Soul: People Versus Corporate Power*. London: Aurum Press.
- Middleton, Beth Rose. 2014. "A Landscape of Cultural Patrimony." *Caribbean Quarterly* 60 (2): 29–52.
- Ministry of Tourism, Sports, and Culture. 2017. "SVG National Hero: Joseph Chatoyer." *Government of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines: Ministry of Tourism, Sports, and Culture*. Accessed April 15, 2019. http://tourism.gov.vc/tourism/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=181&Itemid=118.
- 1125

- Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations* 26: 7–24.
- Norales, Francisca. 2011. "Communicating the Garifuna Culture in Contemporary Church Music." *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 45 (1): 74–88.
- nPerf. 2018. "Lime 2G/3G/4G coverage map, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines." *nPerf*. Accessed April 10, 2019. <https://www.nperf.com/en/map/VC/-/2404.Lime/signal/?ll=13.23693770725126&lg=-61.17084503173829&zoom=12>.
- Olúpònà, Jacob. 2011. *City of Gods: Ilé-Ifè in Time, Space and the Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Olwig, Karen Fog. 1999. "The Burden of Heritage: Claiming a Place for a West Indian Culture." *American Ethnologist* 26 (2): 370–388.
- Olwig, Karen Fog. 2005. *Global Culture, Island Identity: Continuity and Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis*. London: Routledge.
- Palacio, Rita Victoria. 2002. "Baliceaux." *Poets of Seine Bight Village: Young Poets of the Carib Culture of Belize*. Accessed April 10, 2019. <http://hairoun-wabienbara.tripod.com/BALLICEAUX.htm>.
- Palmié, Stephan, and Francisco A. Scarano, eds. 2011. *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Patullo, Polly. 1996. *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Phulgence, Winston F. 2015. "African Warriors, Insurgent Fighters, and the Memory of Slavery in the Anglophone Caribbean." *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 4 (3): 214–226.
- Private Island Inc. 2019. "Baliceaux Island." Private Island Inc. Accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.privateislandsonline.com/islands/baliceaux-island>.
- Reid, Basil A. 2009. *Myths and Realities of Caribbean History*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Rojas, Ignacio. 2013. "Australian Mythscape and National Identity: Re-Imaging Australia." *Creative Approaches to Research* 6 (2): 22–32.
- Scher, Philip W. 2013. "Uneasy Heritage: Ambivalence and Ambiguity in Caribbean Heritage Practices." In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 79–96. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press.
- Sensing Place. 2018. "Sensing Place." Accessed April 10, 2019. <https://sensingplace.co.uk>.
- Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *The Uses of Heritage*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Stupart, Copeland A., and Robert Shipley. 2012. "Jamaica's Tourism: Sun, Sea and Sand to Cultural Heritage." *Journal of Tourism Insights* 3 (1): Article 4. <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/jti/vol3/iss1/4/>.
- Tate, Shirley Anne, and Ian Law. 2015. *Caribbean Racisms: Connections and Complexities in the Radicalization of the Caribbean Region*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Taylor, Christopher. 2012. *The Black Carib Wars: Freedom, Survival and the Making of the Garifuna*. Oxford: Signal Books.
- Travel Agent Central. 2018. "Stats: Barbados Sets Tourist Arrival Record for 2017." Accessed February 28, 2018, <https://www.travelagentcentral.com/destinations/barbados-sets-tourist-arrival-record-for-2017>.
- Van Sertima, Ivan. 1976. *They Came Before Columbus*. New York: Random House.
- The Vincentian. 2014. "Greiggs Abuzz for National Heroes Day." *St. Vincent and the Grenadines*. 7. Accessed April 10, 2018. <http://discoversvg.com/index.php/de/home/latest-news/855-greiggs-abuzz-for-national-heroes-day>.
- Vizenor, Gerald, ed. 2008. *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- World Travel and Tourism Council. 2019. "St Vincent and the Grenadines: 2019 Annual Research: Key Highlights (Global Data 2018)." World Travel and Tourism Council. Accessed April 18, 2019. <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic-impact-research/countries-2019/stvincentandthegrenadines2019.pdf>.

Young, William. 1992a. "William Young and the Black Charaibs (1772/1792)." In *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*, edited by Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead, 189–209. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, William. 1992b. "William Young's Tour of the Islands (1791)." In *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*, edited by Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead, 210–215. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PROOF ONLY