

**CARNIVAL AND OTHER SEASONAL
FESTIVALS**

**in the West Indies, U.S.A. and Britain:
a selected bibliographical index**

by

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First published as: *Bibliographies in Ethnic Relations* No. 10, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations,
September 1991, University of Warwick, Coventry, CV4 7AL

John Cowley has published many articles on blues and black music. He produced the Flyright-Matchbox series of LPs and is a contributor to the *Blackwell Guide To Blues Records*, and *Black Music In Britain* (both edited by Paul Oliver). He has produced two LPs of black music recorded in Britain in the 1950s, issued by New Cross Records. More recently, with Dick Spottswood, he has compiled and produced two LPs devoted to early recordings of Trinidad Carnival music, issued by Matchbox Records. His 'West Indian Gramophone Records in Britain: 1927-1950' was published by the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations. 'Music and Migration,' his doctorate thesis at the University of Warwick, explores aspects of black music in the English-speaking Caribbean before the Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad. (This selected bibliographical index was compiled originally as an Appendix to the thesis.)

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Introduction

The study of the place of festivals in the black diaspora to the New World has received increased attention in recent years. Investigations range from comparative studies to discussions of one particular festival at one particular location.

It is generally assumed that there are links between some, if not all, of these events. Much less work, however, has been undertaken in co-ordinating this wealth of material to produce a more comprehensive interpretation of these seasonal celebrations. Limited by the resources available to an individual compiler, this selected bibliography has been produced as a contribution to the latter objective.

The principal focus is the English-speaking Caribbean. Ancillary references are provided for the United States and Britain. Similarly, there are a few references to the relationship of West Indian masquerade to that of West Africa. Selected items relating to carnivalesque in Britain, and the subject in general, are also included.

A primary limitation has been the accessibility of references. The criterion for inclusion has been inspection by the compiler. Books and articles in journals provide the primary sources, although a few relevant newspaper articles have been added where they are considered of importance. This is also the case for documents held by the Public Record Office, Kew, London.

A brief résumé of Carnavalesque

The usual foundation for assessing the origin of Carnival in Europe is the work of J. G. Fraser. He argued that it is based on the New Year Roman festival of the Kalends of January which spread throughout the Roman empire and 'was celebrated by the relaxation of all ordinary rules of conduct and the inversion of customary social status' [Welsford, 1927]. In turn this season is close to the similar Roman ploughing and sowing festival of Saturnalia, and other earlier 'pagan fertility rites' (also identified by Fraser).

Irrespective of the accuracy of this interpretation, this period of festivity was adopted by the Catholic Church — witness the days of Christian celebration between All Souls Day (2 November) and Candlemas (2 February). The Christmas festival is said to extend across this period. By some it is considered to end at the time of Shrovetide Carnival. The latter is the ultimate division between the indulgences of Christmastide and New Year revelry and the abstinence of Lent in the Christian calendar. Thus, more often than not, in early modern Europe the festive season was sustained until Shrove Tuesday (when sins were shriven, or confessed). The same time scale was adopted by European settlers of Roman Catholic creed in the New World. The focal point for European settlers of Protestant persuasion was the Christmas-New Year period.

Essentially, these and other Christian festivals are founded in the agricultural seasons and, therefore, are times of celebration that would have been equally familiar to black slaves brought under duress to the New World from Africa. Despite different religious traditions in Europe and Africa, therefore,

these festive elements are likely to have been understood in common by black and white settlers in the Americas.

Although he accepts that 'no Carnival was like any other Carnival,' Peter Burke's discussion of such festivals in early modern Europe points up similar aspects in these celebrations. Burke identifies four 'less formally structured events which went on intermittently throughout the carnival season':

- (i) eating/feasting
- (ii) drinking
- (iii) singing and dancing in the streets
- (iv) masks and fancy dress: including 'men dressed as women, women as men' and popular costumes depicting 'clerics, devils, fools, wild men, and wild animals'.

Additionally, he distinguishes three more elements which usually occurred in the Carnivals themselves:

- (i) a procession with floats carrying individuals dressed as mythical figures
- (ii) popular competitions (often of an aggressive nature)
- (iii) the performance of some kind of play, normally farce.

Underlying these were three major themes, both real and symbolic in their enactment: 'food, sex and violence.' The last named included the licence of verbal aggression, where 'maskers were allowed to insult individuals, [and] to criticise the authorities.'

If these elements were usual throughout the Carnival period and in particular at the Shrovetide event itself, the reasons for their seasonal occurrence must be examined. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation for the focal point of festivals when 'the world is turned upside down,' is the rites de passage model conceived by the French folklorist Arnold van Gennep, to describe the key ceremonial stages in the life of an individual or individuals. Each rite is delineated by three phases (sometimes not in this order):

- (i) preliminal (separation from what went before)
- (ii) liminal (threshold)
- (iii) postliminal (aggregation into the new state).

In the case of Carnival, these are paralleled by three types of ritual behaviour: 'masquerade, role reversal, and formalities.' These can be seen to operate as a series of binary opposites. Shrovetide is the opposite of austere Lent in the Christian calendar, and its rituals can be said to be antithetical both to the spiritual values of Christianity and its Lenten period of rigorous fasting. The reasons, however, why Carnival or other similar seasonal rites should have been and continue to be such a focal point for communal 'misrule' are perhaps not so easily defined. As Peter Burke points out 'what is clear is that Carnival was polysemous, meaning different things to different people.'

The functionalist view of Carnival is that it serves as a safety-valve in a politically repressive society—in other words it is part of a system of social control. On the surface, and in given circumstances, this argument seems the most satisfactory explanation. Hierarchies probably allowed Carnival on these grounds in early modern Europe and it appears that in the West Indies the ruling white elite took a similar attitude. An examination of the history of Jonkunu, the elaborate Christmas carnival in Jamaica, shows that it was supported for this purpose only until the immediate post-Emancipation period.

Other analysts, however, see carnivals as a time when social change might be effected, or at the very least influenced. For early modern Europe this has been demonstrated by Emmanuel Roy Ladurie. Robert Dirks has made a case for the ritual expression of conflict in British West Indian slave plantations, a period he calls the 'Black Saturnalia'. Needless to say, Dirks views pre-Emancipation Jonkunu in Jamaica in this light.

Roger D. Abrahams and Richard Bauman express another view of such festivities, based on studies of two differing twentieth-century communities — the West Indian island of St. Vincent [Carnival] and the Le Harve Islands, Nova Scotia [Christmas belsenicking (mumming)]. They observe that 'far from constituting events that have hostility and conflict as their organizing principle, carnival and belsenicking appear to us to draw together opposite elements in the two societies in which they occur, and to draw them together more closely and harmoniously than at any time in the year.'

St. Vincent, British prior to its independence, is one of the islands in the Caribbean that was at one time ruled by the French. In this respect Abrahams has examined the traditional black festive celebrations in the English-speaking Caribbean, contrasting those territories which were greatly influenced by Roman Catholic perceptions and those where Protestantism was the principal Christian religious model. His observations provide a background to the festivals described in this bibliographical index.

He notes in his study of Christmas and Carnival in St. Vincent that: 'In the eastern Caribbean where there was little influence from the Catholic (French and Spanish) islands, Christmas was the traditional time of freedom and licence for the slaves — so much so that their other major holiday, Easter, was called "Pickinny Christmas." Thus on islands like Jamaica, Nevis, St. Kitts, Antigua, and Barbados, the formal and licentious types of ceremonies were commingled in the observation of the Christmas season, though revelry certainly was the more important activity. In the more southern islands, most of which were at some time under French rule, Carnival is also played, thus creating the situation where motives of formality and decorousness could be attached to one celebration, "nonsense" and revelry the other.'

These are generalisations. Almost certainly a detailed examination of the historical record will show variation in function and in time dependent on social circumstances. The bibliographical index has been designed to assist in this process.

Acknowledgements

The assembly of this material has been assisted by friends in:

(i) *Trinidad and Tobago*

Peta Bain, Diane Dumas, Jean Pearse; and at the University of the West Indies: Bridget Brereton (Senior Lecturer in History), and Kim Gransauil (W. I. Collection, Main Library);

(ii) *United States of America*

Archie Green, Donald R. Hill, Lorna McDaniel, Richard K. Spottswood; and at the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress: Joseph C. Hickerson (Head of Archive);

(iii) *Britain*

Graham Johnstone, Richard Noblett, Paul Oliver, Howard Rye, Marina Salandy-Brown, Marika Sherwood; the staff of the British Library (i) National Sound Archive, (ii) Newspaper Library, (iii) Reference Division (in particular Ilse Sternberg, Head, Overseas English Section); the staff of the Library of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; the Librarian and staff of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London (in particular David Blake); the staff of the Public Record Office; the Librarian (Terry Barringer) and staff of the Library of the Royal Commonwealth Society; the Librarian and staff of the Library, University of Warwick (in particular William Pine-Coffin, and Sue Wallington); the Librarian (Malcolm Taylor) of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, English Folk Dance and Song Society.

Apologies to any person or organisation inadvertently omitted from this list. All matters of interpretation are the responsibility of the compiler.

HOW TO USE THIS INDEX

The index is divided into six sections with, where necessary, subdivisions:

(A) WEST INDIES: Carnavalesque/Seasons [by territory]

1. Christmas/New Year
2. Carnival
3. Easter
4. Whitsun
5. Cropover
6. Emancipation Day
7. Others
8. General

(B) NORTH AMERICA: Carnavalesque (African and West Indian Diaspora)

1. Canada [by conurbations]
2. U.S.A. [by States]
3. General

(C) BRITAIN: Carnavalesque (West Indian) [London]

(D) WEST AFRICA: Carnavalesque (West Indian Links) [by country]

(E) BRITAIN: Carnavalesque (General) [selected non-West Indian comparative items]

(F) CARNIVALESQUE: General

Each section and sub-division is self explanatory. Within the discipline of these headings (in sections A, B, C and D) items are identified by territory, then author's name and year of publication. Pagination, where necessary, is given in a third column. The fourth column contains particulars of the date of the description/discussion (where known to be different from the year of publication), and other comments relevant to the history of the event.

Sections E and F provide selected comparative material for Britain and Carnavalesque in general. Each gives the name of the author, title of publication (or article), and year of publication. A full bibliography follows this index, arranged alphabetically by author's surname.

Reports of events from the nineteenth century (and before) have been taken principally from two standard collections dealing with black culture in the United States and the English-speaking Caribbean in this period. These are Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed, *After Africa* (abbreviated AA in column three), and Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals* (abbreviated STS in column three). (*Trinidad Carnival* by Errol Hill is abbreviated TC in column three). All pertinent entries in 'Festivals, Carnival, Holidays and JonKanoo' (Chapter 5 of *After Africa*) are included.

Two exceptions to the focus on the English-speaking Caribbean are chapters on 'Cuban festivals,' and 'Rara in Haiti,' in the volume *Caribbean Festival Arts* edited by John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim. This applies also to the article on the Hosein festival (of East Indian origin) in the same publication. They have been included to provide a complete inventory for this important book.

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
(A). WEST INDIES: Carnivalesque/Seasons			
I. CHRISTMAS/NEW YEAR			
<u>Antigua</u>			
	Mrs. Lanigan, 1844	(AA, p. 268)	
	Janet Schaw, 1927	(AA, pp. 228-9)	[Dec. 1724]
<u>Bahamas</u>			
	L. D. Powles, 1888	(AA, pp. 277-8; 319-20)	
	Amelia Dorothy Defries, 1917 [republished 1929]		[1916]
	Dougald MacMillan, 1926		[1925]
	Alan Parsons, 1926		[1924]
	Robert A. Curry, 1928		
	Ira De A. Reid, 1942		[1801 (?)-1941]
	H. M. Beel, 1950		
	Mary Moseley, 1955-56		[1850s-1955-6]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1979		[1864 (?), 1871 —]
	John A. Holm and Alison Watt Shilling, 1982		
	Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)		
	Rosita M. Sands, 1989		
	Rosita M. Sands, 1991		[1831; 1911; 1987, etc.]
<u>Barbados</u>			
	Trelawny Wentworth, 1834	(AA, p. 257)	[possibly Virgin Islands]
	William Lloyd, 1839	(AA, pp. 258-9)	[1836 dance]
	Charles William Day, 1852	(AA, pp. 313-5 and original)	(i) Christmas (ii) New Year [dances] [pre. 1920s]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1928		
	Jerome S. Handler & Charlotte J. Frisbie, 1972		
	Louis Lynch, 1964		[slavery period]
<u>Barbuda</u>			
	Charles William Day 1852	(AA, p. 315 and original)	[saturnalia/ dance]
<u>Belize/Honduras</u> (and Central America)			
	Capt. G. Henderson, 1809		
	<i>Honduras Almanac</i> , 1830		
	Thomas Young, 1847		[1840-42]
	A. Gibbs, 1883		[pre 1834]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1928		[1920s (?)]
	Margaret Shedd, 1933		
	Louise Wright George, 1952		
	Nancie L. Solien, 1971 [1959]		[Christmas/New Year 1956-57]
	Emory C. Whipple, 1971		
	Richard E. Hadel, 1973		
	Gladys Stuart, 1973		
	Virginia Kerns & Robert Dirks, 1975		[1840, 1900s]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1976		[1840, 1900s]
	Richard Hadel, 1976		
	Judith Bettelheim, 1979		[1900s]
	Robert Dirks, 1979 (1)		
	Robert Dirks, 1979 (2)		
	Nancie L. Gonzales, 1983		[1829]
	Hipolite Bautista, 1987		
	O. Nigel Bolland, 1987		[19th century]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)		

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
<u>Bermuda</u>	Susette Harriet Lloyd, 1835		[1829]
	Theodore L. Godet, 1860		[pre 1860]
	H. Carrington Bolton, 1890		
	Bertha March, 1929		
	E. C. McLaughlin, 1932		
	M. M. Hansford, 1938		
	E. A. McCallan, 1948		
	Lythe Orme De Jon, 1956		[1880s]
<u>Carriacou</u>	Judith Bettelheim, 1979		[1829 —]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)		
	Donald R. Hill, 1977		[Christmas/ New Year]
<u>Dominica</u>	Christine David, 1985		
	Mabel Caudieron, 1982, 1988		
<u>Dominican Republic</u>	Alan Gamble, 1986		
	John Storm Roberts, 1972		[All entries refer to festivities celebrated by 1920s migrants from Nevis and St. Christopher]
<u>Grenada</u>	John Storm Roberts, 1973		
	Verna Gillis, 1976		
	Kenneth M. Bilby, 1985		
	Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)		
<u>Guyana</u>	Julian A. Marryshow, 1955		
	M. G. Smith, 1957-60		[past]
<u>Guyana</u>	George Pinkard, 1806	(Vol. III, pp. 208-9)	
	C. D. Dance, 1881		
	J. Van Sertima, 1899	(AA, pp. 278-9; 326-7)	
	J. Graham Cruickshank, 1914		[slavery period]
	J. Graham Cruickshank, 1933		[slavery period]
	Evelyn Waugh, 1934		[1932]
	V. B., 1955		[past]
	P. H. Daly, 1955		[1920s]
	Barbara de Weever, 1955		[past]
	Lynette Dolphin, 1955		
	V. Jones, 1955		
	A. L., 1955		[1890s]
	Ronald Lovell, 1955		[past]
	Winifred McDavid, 1955		[1935]
	Edgar Mittelholzer, 1955		
	Editte Pieters, 1955		[past]
	Frank Pilgrim, 1955		[past]
	Lewine Robinson, 1955		[past]
	A. J. Seymour and Joy Alsopp, 1955		[past]
	Vivi Thorne, 1955		[past]
P. A. Brathwaite, comp. Serena U. Brathwaite, ed., 1962			
Wordsworth McAndrew 1965			
'Music in Guyana,' 1967			
Honduras see Belize			
<u>Jamaica</u>	[virtually all entries refer to <i>Jonkunnu</i>]		
	Edward Long, 1774	(AA, p. 229)	[1769]
	Peter Marsden, 1788	(AA, pp. 229-30; <i>STS</i> , p. 83)	
	William Beckford, 1790	(AA, pp. 230-3)	
anon., 1797	(AA, pp. 233-5)		

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	James Stewart, [1808], 1823	(AA, pp. 247-8, 299-301)	
	H. T. De La Beche, 1825	(AA, pp. 248-9, 301-2; STS, p. 86)	[1823-4]
	Alexander Barclay, 1826	(AA, pp. 253-5; STS, p. 86)	
	Cynric R. Williams, 1826	(AA, pp. 249-52; STS, pp. 85-6)	[1823]
	anon., 1828	(AA, pp. 252-3; STS, p. 53)	
	Charles Campbell, 1828	(AA, pp. 255-6)	
	Michael Scott, 1829-33	(AA, pp. 235-40)	[1806-22]
	Matthew Gregory Lewis, 1834	(AA, pp. 240-6)	[1816]
	James Kelly, 1838	(AA, pp. 257-8; STS, p. 87)	[1831]
	I. M. Belisario, 1837-38	(AA, pp. 259-63 and original)	
	Maria Nugent, 1839	(AA, pp. 235)	[1801]
	Metcalfe to Stanley, 1842		[1841 riot etc.]
	James Mursell Phillipo, 1843	(STS, pp. 88-9)	
	William Cathcart, [1845]		[1841 riot]
	John William Kaye, 1854	(Vol. II, p. 418)	[1841 riot]
	Major Alan Chambre, 1858	(AA, p. 270)	
	William G. Sewell, 1862	(AA, pp. 271-2)	
	Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell, 1863		[1829, and 1831 slave rebellion]
	W. J. Gardner, 1873	(AA, pp. 276-7)	
	Frank Cundall, 1905	(p. 30)	
	Walter Jekyll, 1907	(pp. 262-3)	[John Canoe dance]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1922		[1919-22]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1923		[1921-22]
	Helen H. Roberts, 1924		[Winter 1920-1]
	Helen H. Roberts, 1925		
	E. A. Clarke, 1927		[1924]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1928 [with revised versions of 1922 and 1923 pamphlets]		[1919-24]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1929	(pp. 149-5, 204)	[1919-24]
	Clara Maude Garrett, 1935		[past]
	Richardson Wright, 1937 [1969]	(pp. 238-47)	[1700s-1838]
	Zora Neale Hurston, 1938 [1981]	(pp. 39-40)	
	Ira De A. Reid, 1942		[1769 —]
	P. M. Sherlock, 1950s		[1837-38]
	Madeline Kerr, 1952	(pp. 143-4)	
	Calvin Bowen, 1954		[1951 —]
	Aileen Fraser, 1955		[past]
	Mary Moseley, 1955-56		[1800s]
	Frederic G. Cassidy, 1966		
	F. G. Cassidy and R. B. Le Page, 1967		
	Edward Brathwaite, 1968	(pp. 339-40)	[slavery period]
	Herma Diaz, 1969		
	Ivy Baxter, 1970		
	Sylvia Wynter, 1970		
	Edward Brathwaite, 1971	(pp. 227-32)	[1800s]
	Frederick G. Cassidy, 1971 [1961]	(pp. 256-62)	
	Orlando Patterson, 1973 [1967]	(pp. 236-48)	[1800s]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1976		[1837 —]
	Sheila Barnett, 1979		
	Judith Bettelheim, 1979		
	Edward Kamau Brathwaite, 1981	(pp. 21-7)	[1800s-1970s]
	Cheryl Ryman, 1984		[1655 —]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1985 (2)		[1800s-1970s]
	Kenneth M. Bilby, 1985		

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Leslie Thompson, 1985	(p. 19)	[1920s — this reference may be to Emancipation Day]
	Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)		
<u>Leeward Is.</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833	(AA, pp. 305-6; STS, pp. 86-7; and original)	[1826-29]
<u>Montserrat</u>	Teddy McDowell, 1955 John C. Messenger, 1973		
<u>Nevis</u>	Richard Watson, 1817 Roger D. Abrahams, 1962 Richard Frucht, 1962 Roger D. Abrahams, 1964 Roger D. Abrahams, 1968 (1) Roger D. Abrahams, [1968] 1970 Roger D. Abrahams, 1970 Richard Walser, 1971 Roger D. Abrahams, 1973 Judith Bettelheim, 1979 Frank L. Mills, <i>et al.</i> , 1984 Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)	(AA, pp. 246-7)	[1969] [1908]
<u>St. Christopher</u> (St. Kitts)	Alfred M. Williams, 1896 [Louise Kennedy], 1896 W. W. N[ewell]., 1897 Dorothy Harding, 1901 Roger D. Abrahams, 1968 (1) Roger D. Abrahams, 1970 Judith Bettelheim, 1979 Frank L. Mills, <i>et al.</i> , 1984 Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1)		[New Year] [1896]
<u>St. Croix</u>	James Smith, 1840	(AA, pp. 312-3)	[dance]
<u>St. Lucia</u>	Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, 1838 Daniel J. Crowley, 1955 (1), (2) Daniel J. Crowley, 1957 Harold F. C. Simmons, 1963 Joyce Auguste, 1986	(pp. 118-9)	[1837]
<u>St. Thomas</u>	Johan Peter Nissen, 1838	(STS, p. 88)	[New Year]
<u>St. Vincent</u>	Sir William Young, 1801 Mrs. Carmichael, 1833 Roger D. Abrahams, 1972 Roger D. Abrahams, 1977	(STS, pp. 57-8, 83 and original) (AA, pp. 256-7 and original)	[1791, Moko Jumbie] [Tea Meetings]
<u>Tortola</u>	Richard Watson, 1817	(AA, pp. 246-7)	
<u>Trinidad</u>	Mrs. Carmichael, 1833 Charles William Day, 1852 J. H. Collens, 1888 Lionel Mordaunt Fraser, 1891 Andrew Pearse, 1956 (1) Olive Walke, 1959 Gertrude Carmichael, 1961 J. D. Elder, 1966 (1) Herbert Halpert, 1969	(AA, p. 256 and original)	[dancing etc.] [1847] [1805, slave rebellion] [pre-1834] [1805, slave rebellion] [kalenda] [New Year to Shrove Tuesday masking-and- house-visit custom]

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	V. S. Naipaul, 1969 [republished 1973]		(reported by Miss Yvonne Lange) [1805, slave rebellion]
	Maureen Warner, 1972		[Africans in 19th century]
	Sylvia Moodie, 1977 [1983]		[Parang]
	Daphne Pawan Taylor, 1977		[Parang]
	Krister Malm, 1978		[Parang]
	Bridget Brereton, 1979	(p. 157)	[1894]
	Bridget Brereton, 1981		[1805, slave rebellion]
	Anthony de Verteuil, 1987		[1805, slave rebellion]
<u>Virgin Islands</u>	Trelawny Wentworth, 1834	(AA, p. 257)	[possibly Barbados]
	Thurlow Weed, 1866	(AA, pp. 272-6)	
	'Christina...', 1965		
	Del Anduze, 1965		
2. CARNIVAL			
<u>Carriacou</u>	Frances Kay, 1971		[including Canboulay]
	Donald R. Hill, 1977		[including Canboulay]
	Christine David, 1985		[including Canboulay]
<u>Dominica</u>	Helen Cameron Gordon, 1942		
	Patrick Leigh Fermor, 1950		
	H. M. Frampton, 1957		
	Lennox Honychurch, 1975		[19th-20th century]
	Mabel Caudieron, 1982, 1988		
	Lennox Honychurch, 1982, 1988		[19th-20th century]
	Lennox Honychurch, 1984		[19th-20th century]
	Alan Gamble, 1986		
<u>Grenada</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833		[1826-29]
	Mr. Alleyne, 1951 [Pearse Papers]		[kalenda]
	'Kalenda in Grenada,' 1954 [Pearse Papers]		[1916 in Sauters etc.]
	M. G. Smith, 1957-60		
	Frances Kay, 1971		
	Wilfred A. Redhead, 1985		[c. 1910s; mentions Canboulay]
	'Grenada Shortney,' in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
<u>Leeward Is.</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833	(AA, pp. 305-6; STS, pp. 86-7; and original)	[1826-29]
<u>St. Lucia</u>	Daniel J. Crowley, 1955 (1), (2)		[including Canboulay]
	Daniel J. Crowley, 1957		[including Canboulay]
	Harold F. C. Simmons, 1960		[including Canboulay]
<u>St. Vincent</u>	Roger D. Abrahams, 1972		
	Roger D. Abrahams & Richard Bauman, 1978		
<u>Tobago</u>	Heath Bowman & Jefferson Bowman, 1939		
	Roger D. Abrahams, 1968 (2)		
	Roger D. Abrahams, [1968] 1970		
<u>Trinidad</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833		[1826-29]
	Charles William Day, 1852	(AA, pp. 268-70 and original)	[1847]

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Philopolis, 1858		[disturbances]
	Censor, 1881		[pre 1834, etc. Canboulay]
	L. M. Fraser, 1881		[1797-1881]
	<i>Mr Hamilton's Report</i> [R. G. Hamilton], 1881		[Canboulay riot, 1881, etc.]
	X, (and [X]), 1881		[pre 1834, etc.: Canboulay]
	Pierre-Gustave-Louis Borde, 1882 [translation, 1982]	(p. 306)	[1797]
	J. H. Collens, 1888		
	Jose M. Bodu, 1890		[Canboulay riot, 1881]
	'The Carnival,' 1899		[1810s-1899]
	Eugene Francis Chalamelle, 1901		[1890s]
	Lewis Osborn Inniss, 1910		[1880s]
	J. M. Brierley, 1912		[1880s]
	Theodore Roosevelt, 1917	(pp. 185-6)	[1916]
	'Carnival Bands At Practice,' 1919		
	'The Makers of Masks,' 1919		
	'Old Time Carnival,' 1919		[stick-fighting, 1870s-80s]
	George H. Masson, 1927		[past]
	Joseph Belgrave, 1932		[1900s]
	Lewis O. Inniss, 1932 (1), (2)		[from 1858 (1)]
	Owen Rutter, 1933		
	[republished 1936]		
	Aldous Huxley, 1934		[1933]
	Seepersad Naipal, 1934		[1933]
	William C. White, 1937		
	Dorothy Whittenberger, 1937		[kalenda]
	John W. Vandercook, 1938		
	Arthur Calder-Marshall, 1939		[1938]
	H. C. Collier, 1939[revised, 1943]		
	Helen Cameron Gordon, 1942		[1937]
	Charles S. Espinet Harry Pitts, 1944		
	Albert Gomes, 1944		[1942]
	A. H. Maloney, 1946	(pp. 226-9)	[c. 1910s]
	Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits, 1947		[1939]
	Charles Jones, 1947		[1900-1947]
	Earl Leaf, 1948	(pp. 167-74)	
	P. T. Etherton, [1950]		[c. 1948-49]
	'Trinidad Carnival,' 1951		
	L. A. Dunn, 1952		[1830s-1940s]
	H. Neal Fahey, 1952		[1880s-90s]
	Charles S. Espinet, 1953		
	Constance Marie Leschaloupe, 1953		
	Dom Basil Matthews, 1953		[late nineteenth century stick- fighting bands]
	Dan Crawley [Crowley], 1954		
	Jose Ramon Fortune, 1954		
	M. M. Gardner, 1954		
	Godfrey Philip, 1954		
	D. E. R., 1954		
	'Carnival in Trinidad,' 1955		
	Andrew T. Carr, 1956		
	Daniel J. Crowley, 1956 (1)		
	Daniel J. Crowley, 1956 (2)		
	Andrew Pearse, 1956 (1)		[1783-1900]
	Andrew Pearse, 1956 (2)		[19th century]
	Barbara E. Powrie, 1956		
	Bruce Procope, 1956		

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Ann Elliott, 1957		
	Patrick Jones, 1957		[Jour Ouvert]
	Daniel J. Crowley, 1959		
	Raymond Quevedo, 1959		[1908-1958]
	Lisa Lekis, 1960	(pp. 132-7)	
	Arthur F. Raymond, 1960		[1919]
	Gertrude Carmichael, 1961		[1849-1891]
	Raymond Quevedo, 1961		[Dame Lorraine]
	George Cabral Snr., 1962		
	Harry Pitts, 1962		[1900s]
	J. D. Elder, 1964		
	Charles Graves, 1965		[1964]
	J. D. Elder, 1966 (1)		[kalenda]
	J. D. Elder, 1966 (2)		[thesis]
	Robin Bryans, 1967		[1966]
	Wilfred Carty, 1967		
	Donald Wood, 1968	(pp. 243-8)	[1842-71]
	J. D. Elder, 1969 [1972]		
	Herbert Halpert, 1969		[New Year to Shrove Tuesday masking-and- house-visit custom (reported by Miss Yvonne Lange)] [1783-1962]
	Errol Hill, 1972		
	Ronald Ramdin, 1972		
	Maureen Warner, 1972		[Africans in 19th century Carnival bands]
	Howard Johnson, 1973		[black police from Barbados in Canboulay riot] [1870-1900]
	Bridget Brereton, 1975		
	Andrew Carr, 1975		
	Errol Hill, 1976		
	C. R. Ottley, 1978	(pp. 67-78)	[1851-1900]
	Bridget Brereton, 1979	(pp. 160-75)	[1870-1900]
	Bridget Brereton, 1981		[1780s-90s; 1860s -80s; 1940s-50s]
	De Sayles Grey, 1981		
	Keith Q. Warner, 1982 [1983]		
	Raymond Quevedo, 1983		
	Michael Anthony, 1985		[c. 1839; c. 1900]
	John Cowley, 1985		
	Errol Hill, 1985		[pre 1834- c. 1955]
	John Mendes, 1985		
	Richard D. E. Burton, 1986		[interpretation of history]
	Errol John in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	Leslie Palmer in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	Mitto Sampson (1) and (2) in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	J. Stewart, 1986		
	The Roaring Lion, c. 1987		
	P. Jackson, 1988		[summary of history]
	Renu Juneja, 1988		
	Abbé Armand Massé, 1988	(Vol. VI, pp. 143-9)	[1879-1882]
	John Nunley, 1988 (1)		
	Kelvin Singh, 1988		[comparison of Carnival in 1880s with Hosein massacre of 1884]
	<i>Trinidad Carnival</i> , 1988		

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Michael Anthony, 1989		[1839-1918 in brief, 1919-1989 in detail]
	Gordon Rohlehr, 1990		[1800s-1962]
	Daniel Miller, 1991		[1988 etc.]
	Donald R. Hill unpublished, n.d.		
3. EASTER			
<u>Barbados</u>	Jerome S. Handler & Charlotte J. Frisbie 1972		[slavery period]
<u>Carriacou</u>	Donald R. Hill, 1977 Guyana J. Graham Cruickshank, 1933		[slavery period]
<u>Jamaica</u>	H. T. De La Beche, 1825	(AA, pp. 248-9)	
	W. J. Gardner, 1873	(AA, p. 277)	
<u>Leeward Is.</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833	(AA, pp. 305-6; STS, pp. 86-7; and original)	[1826-29]
<u>St. Vincent</u>	Charles William Day, 1852 Roger D. Abrahams, 1977		[Tea Meetings]
<u>Trinidad</u>	J. H. Collens, 1888 J. D. Elder, 1966 (1)		[kalenda]
4. WHITSUN			
<u>Guyana</u>	J. Graham Cruickshank, 1933		[slavery period]
<u>Jamaica</u>	W. J. Gardner, 1873	(AA, p. 277)	
<u>Leeward Is.</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833	(AA, pp. 305-6; STS, pp. 86-7; and original)	[1826-29]
5. CROPOVER			
<u>Barbados</u>	Greville John Chester 1869 Jerome S. Handler & Charlotte J. Frisbie [1972]	(AA, p. 318)	[slavery period]
<u>Carriacou</u>	Donald R. Hill, 1977		[in past]
<u>Grenada</u>	M. G. Smith, 1957-60		
<u>Guyana</u>	J. Graham Cruickshank, 1933		
<u>Jamaica</u>	Alexander Barclay, 1826 anon., 1828	(AA, p. 83) (STS, p. 53)	
<u>Leeward Is.</u>	F. W. N. Bayley, 1833	(AA, pp. 305-6; STS, pp. 86-7; and original)	[1826-29]
<u>St. Vincent</u>	Mrs. Carmichael, 1833		
6. EMANCIPATION DAY			
<u>Antigua</u>	Frank E. Manning, 1977		[1834, from 1957 (Carnival)]

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Frank E. Manning, 1978		[1834, from 1957 (Carnival)]
<u>Bermuda</u>	Frank E. Manning, 1973		[1834, from 1902 (Cup match)]
	Frank E. Manning, 1977		[1834, from 1902 (Cup match)]
<u>Grenada</u>	M. G. Smith, 1957-60		
<u>Guyana</u>	anon. [John Brumell], 1853 Rev. J. S. Scoles, 1885		[fancy ball]
<u>Jamaica</u>	Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell, 1863 Walter Jekyll, 1907	(pp. 259-60)	[1838] [2nd figure Quadrille] [1919-22] [1921-22]
	Martha Warren Beckwith, 1922 Martha Warren Beckwith, 1923 Martha Warren Beckwith, 1928 [with revised versions of 1922 and 1923 pamphlets] Martha Warren Beckwith, 1929		[1919-24]
	Claude McKay, 1933 B. W. Higman, 1979 Adina Henry, 1984 Olive Lewin, 1984 Hilary S. Carty, 1988 Edward Pilkington, 1988	(pp. 48-86)	[fiction] [1834-] [Bruckins Party] [Bruckins] [1920s]
<u>St. Lucia</u>	Daniel J. Crowley, 1955 (2)	(p. 13)	
<u>St. Vincent</u>	Roger D. Abrahams, 1977		[Tea Meetings]
<u>Trinidad</u>	E. L. Joseph, 1838 Lieutenant Colonel [Henry] Capadose, Vol. I, 1845 Jose M. Bodu, 1890 R. P. M. Bertrand Cothonay, O. P. 1893	(Hill, TC, pp. 30-1; Brereton, 1979, p. 157; Brereton, 1983, p. 76)	[1834] [1834] [1888] [1882-83]
	Lewis Osborn Inness, 1910 E. M. Encinas, 1927		[French creole 'slaves'?]
	Publications of the Trinidad & Tobago Historical Society, No. 256 J. D. Elder, 1966 (1) Bridget Brereton, 1983 Michael Anthony, 1985		[1834] [kalenda] [1838-88] [1834-38]
7. <u>OTHERS</u>	[Festivals where known are underlined in the comments column]		
<u>Bahamas</u>	Daniel J. Crowley, 1958 (1)		<u>Guy Fawkes Day</u> †
<u>Belize/Honduras</u> (and Central America)	Thomas Young, 1847		[dancing at wake (<i>seekroe</i>) among Miskito Indians c. 1839]†

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
(B). NORTH AMERICA: Carnavalesque (African and Contemporary West Indian Diaspora)			
I. CANADA			
<u>Ontario</u> (Toronto)	Frank E. Manning, 1983 John Nunley, 1988 (2)		[W. I.: contemporary]
<u>Quebec</u> (Montreal)	Frank E. Manning, 1983		[W. I.: contemporary] [mentioned]
2. U.S.A.			
<u>California</u> (Los Angeles)	Frank E. Manning, 1983		[W. I.: contemporary] [mentioned]
<u>Florida</u> (Key West)	Marshall W. Stearns, 1964 Rosita M. Sands, 1991		[W. I.: contemporary] Jonkunnu Jonkunnu
<u>Georgia</u> (St. Mary's)	Henry Benjamin Whipple, c. 1937	(AA, p. 384; STS, p. 156; and original)	<u>Christmas</u> [parade in 1843]
<u>Illinois</u> (Chicago)	Frank E. Manning, 1983		[W. I.: contemporary] [mentioned]
<u>Louisiana</u> [1] (New Orleans)	Berquin-Duvallon, 1806 Christian Schultz Jun., 1810 Pierre C. de Laussat, 1831 Lafcadio Hearn, 1883 [1925] Lyle Saxon, et al., 1945 Robert Tallant, 1948 Alan Lomax, 1950 Munro S. Edmonson, 1956 Paul Oliver, 1965 Henry A. Kmen, 1966 Fin Wilhelmsen, 1971 John W. Blassingame, 1973 Mary Collins, ed. Frank J. Gillis and John W. Miner, 1974 Leonard V. Huber, 1977 Michael Smith, 1984 Jason Berry, et al., 1986 Aileen Ribeiro, 1986 Jason Berry, 1988 Barbara Bridges, 1988 Rosita M. Sands, 1991	(STS, p. 92) (STS, p. 52, 93) (STS, p. 84) (pp. 14-5) (p. 77) (p. 145) (pp. 12-3)	<u>Carnival</u> [balls in 1802] <u>May Day</u> [dancing] <u>Carnival</u> [dancing at <u>Mardi Gras</u> , 1808] <u>Carnival</u> <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> <u>Carnival</u> (etc) early 1900s <u>Carnival</u> <u>Carnival</u> <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) 1860-1880 <u>Carnival</u> (etc) early 1900s <u>Carnival</u> <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc) <u>Carnival</u> (etc)
<u>Louisiana</u> [2] (General)	Mrs Metta V. Victor, c. 1861	(STS, p. 158)	<u>Christmas</u>

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Lauren C. Post, 1974 [1962]	(pp. 163-8)	<u>Mardi Gras</u> [white cajuns]
	Nicholas Spitzer, 1977		<u>Mardi Gras</u> [white cajuns, black creoles] <u>Easter</u> [white cajuns, black creoles]
	Nick Spitzer, 1979	(pp. 11-3)	<u>All Saints Day</u> [white cajuns, black creoles] <u>Mardi Gras</u> [black creoles]
<u>Massachusetts</u> (Boston)	Frank E. Manning, 1983		[W. I.: contemporary] [mentioned]
<u>Michigan</u> (Detroit)	Frank E. Manning, 1983		[W. I.: contemporary] [mentioned]
<u>New England</u>	William D. Pierson, 1988		Election Days [1700s]
<u>New York</u> (New York City and the Hudson Valley)	James Fenimore Cooper, [1845]	(p. 67)	<u>Pinkster</u> (Whitsun) [c. 1757]
	James Eights, 1867	(AA, pp. 378-84)	<u>Pinkster</u> [Albany c. 1807]
	George Rogers Howell, 1886	(STS, pp. 67-8)	<u>Pinkster</u> [Albany c. 1815]
	Shane White, 1989		<u>Pinkster</u> [early 1800s]
(New York City)	Donald R. Hill & Robert Abrahamson, 1979		[W. I.: contemporary]
	Frank E. Manning, 1983		<u>Labor Day</u> [etc] [mentioned]
	John Nunley, 1988 (2)		
	Donald R. Hill, n.d.		<u>Labor Day</u> [etc]
<u>North Carolina</u>	Captain Gregory Seaworthy [George Higby Throop], 1851	(AA, pp. 384-6)	<u>Christmas</u> †
	Mrs Harriet [Brent] Jacobs, 1861	(STS, p. 131 and original)	<u>Christmas</u> † <u>Christmas</u> † <u>Christmas</u> / <u>New Year</u> † <u>4th July</u> † <u>Halloween</u> †
	Dougald MacMillan, 1926		[<u>Christmas/New</u> <u>Year</u> in Newborn (sic), 1739-40]
	Ira De A. Reid, 1942		<u>Christmas</u> † [1824-1888: black people; c. 1905 white people]
	George Whitefield, 1960	(STS, p. 208)	<u>Christmas</u> † (1839-1860)
	Richard Walser, 1971		<u>Christmas</u> † [1823-1905]
	Nancy R. Ping, 1980		
	Elizabeth A. Fenn, 1988		
<u>Pennsylvania</u> (Philadelphia)	Susan G. Davis, 1982		<u>Christmas</u>
	Susan G. Davis, 1986		<u>Christmas</u> ; Emancipation Day [of black people in British West Indies]

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
<u>South Carolina</u>	John Pierpont, 1805	(STS, p. 84)	<u>Christmas</u> , [Georgetown District]
	Henry Wiliam Ravenel, 1936	(STS, pp. 123-4)	<u>Christmas</u> , [St. John's Berkeley, (1836 or 1846)]
	Charles Joyner, 1984		<u>Christmas</u> [mid 1800s]
<u>Virginia</u> (Danville)	H. H. Farmer, 1892	(STS, p. 212)	<u>Christmas</u> [1855]
	Elizabeth A. Fenn, 1988		<u>Christmas</u> [pre 1831]
† — Jonkunnu			

3. GENERAL

Roy Bryce Laporte, 1980
 Frank E. Manning, 1983
 William H. Wiggins, Jr., 1987
 Joshua Berrett, 1988

(C) **BRITAIN: Carnivalesque** (West Indian)

[Unless identified in the comments column these are not at Shrovetide]

London

'Mardi Gras: From New Orleans to the Port of Spain,' 1950		<u>Carnival</u> [<u>Mardi Gras</u> dance, 1950]
Humphrey Lyttelton, 1958		<u>Carnival</u> [<u>Mardi Gras</u> dance, 1952]
'Carnival in a Strange Land,' 1974		
'Mas Across The Atlantic,' 1975		
Venetia Newall, 1975		[calendar customs]
'Don't Stop the Carnival,' February 1976		
'Editorial: Our Position on Carnival '76,' April 1976		
'The Road Make To Walk On Carnival Day,' April 1976		
'Carnival As Usual,' May 1976		
'Carnival Belongs to Us,' September 1976		
'Editorial: Carnival Belongs to Us,' September 1976		
Darcus Howe, "'...Is a Police Carnival,'" September 1976		
Darcus Howe, 'An Open Letter To The Carnival Development Committee,' September 1976		
"'Last Week It Was Soweto This Week It's Notting Hill,'" September 1976		
Frances Stadlen, November 1976		
<i>The Road Make to Walk On Carnival Day</i> , 1977		[1974-77]
Patrick Wintour, 1977		
Cecil Gutzmore, 1978		
Hal Austin, 1978-79		[1971-80]
'Carnival time again in Notting Hill,' 1979		
Abner Cohen, 1980		[1971-80]
Dennis Duerden, 1980		[in historical context]
Corinna Adam, 1982		
Abner Cohen, 1982		[1966-70]

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Source / Year</u>	<u>Pagination</u>	<u>Dates / Comments</u>
	Cecil Gutzmore, 1982		[1966-78]
	Roy Kerridge, 1983		
	Frank E. Manning, 1983		[mentioned]
	Everton A. Pryce, 1985		[1976-78]
	Vivian Comma in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	'Grenada Shortney' in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	Errol John in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	Kwesi Owusu, 1986		
	Leslie Palmer in <i>Masquerading</i> , 1986		
	'Britain gets the Carnival it Deserves,' 1987		
	'Carnival' Issue of <i>Lambeth Arts</i> , 1987		
	'Carnival, the police and the press,' 1987		
	Leroy Witter, 1987		
	Rose Christie in <i>City Limits</i> , No. 359, 1988		
	David Dabydeen, 1988		
	Max Farrer, 1988		
	Rizu Harrid, 1988		
	Stephen Howe, 1988		
	P. Jackson, 1988		[1966-80s]
	John Nunley, 1988 (2)		
	Kwesi Owusu and Jacob Ross, 1988 (1)		[history]
	Kwesi Owusu and Jacob Ross in <i>City Limits</i> , No. 359, 1988 (2)		
	'Peaceful Notting Hill Carnival,' 1988		
	'Press goes to town on carnival hysteria,' 1988		
	'Stay Solid — Support Your Carnival,' 1988		
	Carol Tulloch in <i>City Limits</i> , No. 359, 1988		[history]
	David Upshal, 1988		
	Jacob Ross, 1989		
	Michael La Rose, 1990		
	' <i>Police Carnival</i> ' 1989, [1990]		

(D). WEST AFRICA: Carnivalesque (West Indian Links)

<u>Gambia</u>	Judith Bettelheim, 1985 (1)
<u>Ghana</u>	J. Kedjanyi, 1967 Rosita M. Sands, 1991
<u>Nigeria</u>	'The New Year in Calabar,' 1956
<u>Senegal</u>	Judith Bettelheim, 1985 (1)
<u>Sierra Leone</u>	John W Nunley, 1985

(E) BRITAIN: Carnivalesque [Selected non-West-Indian comparative items]

Sandra Billington	<i>A Social History of the Fool</i> , 1984.
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- E. C. Cawte *Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographic Study of Animal Disguise in the British Isles*, 1978.
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(F) CARNIVALESQUE: General

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- James George Fraser *The Illustrated Golden Bough*, 1978.
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