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Representations of deference and defiance in the novels of Caryl Phillips

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Abstract

This paper will argue that the novels of Caryl Phillips challenge ideologically fixed notions of victims and victors. His work explores the uncomfortable notion of the 'Uncle Tom' and representations of vulnerability in the coloniser. The paper will focus on the sections entitled 'Pagan Coast' in *Crossing The River* and 'Heartland' in *Higher Ground* and *Cambridge*.

Phillips reworks historical material to examine the Atlantic Triangle from various perspectives including the Afro-Englishman on England, the Afro-American on Africa and the corrosive effect of colonisation on Europeans. His representations focus on the exchanges between individuals caught up in diasporic movement. He depicts flawed and contradictory characters attempting to negotiate their way through the paradoxes of colonisation without supra-historical hindsight.

His representations defy racialised conceptions of creolization as watered down expressions of ethnic purity. At the same time he resists any idealised conception of creolization as the harmonious union of different cultures. Phillips's narrative perspectives and characterisation represent encounters between coloniser and colonised as ranging from bitter conflict, through mutual incomprehension and intimate curiosity. This paper will explore the way in which Phillips's narratives navigate a complex connection between deference and defiance in colonial relationships.

In deploying the aesthetics of personalism, Phillips rejects the 'comfortable' ideological fixtures to be found in victim/victor representations. Phillips's novels challenge both those from colonising and colonised backgrounds by examining the uncomfortable, creolizing encounters between captives and captors. His novels position readers to consider the vulnerability of the coloniser, and the *active*, cultural negotiations of the colonised. Phillips's novels are fictive realisations of Brathwaite's definition of creolization as inter-cultural action between people who, although not -equal in colonial order, are equally active in generating new culture.

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This year is the 150th anniversary of the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Writing in *The Guardian* in March, Gary Younge argues that 'it is time that Uncle Tom was rehabilitated.'¹ He maintains that the term 'uncle Tom' became a 'racial slur' in order 'to keep black people in check.' The phrase is a pernicious instrument in racialised discourse. He argues for the reader's focus to settle on the complex humanity of a character, 'If you are looking for a revolutionary role model; someone who remains master of his own destiny in the most humiliating of circumstances then Uncle Tom is not your man. But then few people are.'

Uncle Tom carries two burdens: the accusation that he is *deferential* to, and reluctant to *defy* those who hold power in his world. In this sense the Uncle Tom is a key figure in modernity because he expresses the experiences of most of us. Of course, the notion of the Uncle Tom in a colonial context has certain specificities. However, the power relations of colonial order are deeply rooted in the social class stratification of the metropolitan centres. The angst of the Uncle Tom, or to put it another way, the tension between deferring to power in order to survive, and working out strategies of defiance in order to foster self-respect, is an experience that speaks *from* the process of decolonisation and *to* a twenty-first century world, a key motif of which is the gulf between power and powerlessness.

This paper offers a reading of how Caryl Phillips explores the Uncle Tom phenomenon in the sections of his novels *Higher Ground*, *Cambridge* and *Crossing The River*² that are set during the transatlantic slave trade. These novels deal with characters who could be described as Uncle Toms, or as people confronted by overwhelming power and their own need for dignity. Phillips draws lessons from the perverse power relations of the slave trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and addresses a twenty-first century audience that is faced by unrestrained globalised power centres and localised vulnerability and resistance. However, these novels are not chiefly sociological in character. Phillips's work centres on the equivocations within the individual subject that are generated by unequal power relations.

These three works of fiction are in part based on Phillips's reading of the lives of people of African descent who lived in Britain during the slave trade, and who managed to negotiate ways through the threats to their physical well-being and the psychological pressures of living in a society increasingly distorted by race theory.³ One of these people was Ignatius Sancho. He was born on board a slaveship in 1729, worked in the Duke of Montagu's household and later ran his own shop in Westminster. His letters, published in 1782, provide an insight into the world of a man navigating his way through a society the wealth of which depended heavily on the enslavement of people such as himself. According to Edwards and Rewt, Sancho's letters give the impression that he was 'almost wholly assimilated into the lifestyle and values of polite eighteenth century English society, while displaying tensions and contradictions on matters of race.'⁴

It is those tensions and contradictions that Phillips revisits in his fictional characters. Phillips's approach is illuminated by his own writing on Ignatius Sancho. Conscious of the suspicion Sancho might attract because of his relationship with the polite English society that also enslaved Africans, Phillips argues that, 'To view this family man as an 'Uncle

Tom' is to misread both the historical period and the nature of the man.' He argues that Sancho provides 'an alternative mirror into which one might peer and spy a black man beyond the model of the stage fool...or the protestor and pamphleteer.'⁵ Like Gary Younge, Phillips is concerned with liberating history and literary texts from racialised fixtures, and these racialised caricatures can be expressed through images of docile submission and also idealised militancy.

Phillips argues that 'Britain provides the earliest model of vigorous interaction between those of the African diaspora and those of European origin.'⁶ This view works against victim/victor conceptions of relations between Africans and Europeans. The idea of 'vigorous interaction' between colonizers and the colonized is an important aspect of the debate about the nature of creolization. In Phillips's novels we encounter characters, colonizers and colonized alike, who are engaged in the inter-cultural action that Brathwaite identifies as a key component of creolization.⁷ This perspective stresses the activity of *all* those involved in the colonial trauma and does not consign the colonized to the role of passive victim or idealised revolutionary.

The African-European encounter has passed through a complex web of economic, military, cultural and intimate domestic exchanges. The process of negotiation, jockeying for social position, struggling for material advantage and cultural expression has not, of course, taken place in a context of democratically agreed reforms. Bolland argues that creolization should not be understood as a homogenising process but as a process of contention.⁸ However, beyond events such as the Haitian revolution or the Baptist War in Jamaica, contention has taken place in the context of power relations that required masked and ironic challenges. Bhabha argues that an important change in perspective occurs when, what he calls, hybridisation is seen to be the effect of colonial power 'rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions.'⁹

Phillips explores what Gilroy refers to as the 'untidy workings of diaspora identities' and their 'chronically impure cultural forms.'¹⁰ In *Higher Ground*, *Cambridge* and *Crossing The River* we encounter protagonists who move between deference and defiance in improvised strategies of survival. In each case they are drawn in comparison to representatives of the colonizing agency. Phillips does this not to assert the moral authority of the colonized, but often to depict the vulnerability of the colonizer. Free of crass stereotypes of master and slave, Phillips's novels allow what Ledent calls the 'equivocal human being' to emerge, African and European.¹¹

The representation of dynamic contact between colonizer and colonized also serves to disrupt the colonial view of Europeans as the agents of Modernity and Africans as the embodiment of traditions anchored in the past. In Phillips's work Modernity and Tradition are shown to have a living relationship not a linear one. He represents Africans as active agents in the creation of the modern world.

The narrative voices that Phillips deploys in these three novels indicate the complexity of his purpose. The two largest sections in *Cambridge* are narrated by Emily Cartwright, the daughter of an absentee plantation owner, and the enslaved educated Christian Cambridge. Eckstein has identified that these sections draw heavily from the writings of eighteenth and nineteenth century colonialists, and from the work of Ignatius Sancho, Ottobah Cugoana, James Gronniosaw and Olaudah Equiano.¹² In approaching the narrative in this way Phillips recaptures the form of the discourse in its historical moment. Emily's view of plantation life veers between a vague unease about slavery and highly racialised sentiments about Africans. Cambridge creolizes Emily's account with observations that

locate contradictions between Christian doctrine and the practice of slavery. In both accounts, Phillips creates characters attempting to fashion an identity in the oppressive atmosphere of plantation society riven with racial and social class stratification.

In 'The Pagan Coast' section of *Crossing The River* the narrative is delivered in a voice very close to the sympathies of the slave owner Edward Williams. When Edward visits west Africa to track down his beloved slave Nash, sent to Liberia to embark on evangelical activity, the landscape is described in terms that would not be out of place in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Africa is represented as menacing and unknowable, 'he could see only a forested horizon which appeared to mask a huge, roaming jungle in which nothing stirred, and whose only sound was a mournful roar of silence.' (CR p.46) In Nash's letters to Edward the narrative is that of an American having to adapt to the tensions of a migrant colony made up of African-Americans in Africa. Phillips avoids any easy ideological posturing. Edward and Nash, master and slave, are devoted to each other and Christian missionary work. However, just as Cambridge has to reinterpret Christian doctrine to maintain his dignity, so Nash is obliged step by step to break with his master and ultimately Christianity in order to survive.

The narrative in 'The Heartland' section of *Higher Ground* is delivered from an even more difficult place. Unlike the heroic Kunta Kinte in Alex Haley's *Roots*, Phillips's narrator is an African collaborating with slave traders as a translator. Yet this collaborator/translator speaks throughout with the wisdom of one who has mastered the difference between deferential public persona and subversive, private psychological insight about the slave traders he is collaborating with.

The narrative forms Phillips deploys are shaped in order to focus on the intimacy of personal encounters between colonizers and colonized. The narratives of Cambridge, Nash and the nameless collaborator are those of men facing difficult choices, whose mode of address is shaped by the deference of self-preservation, whose own understanding of the colonial system is set in the period and not enhanced by twenty first century hindsight. They are flawed and imperfect. We follow them from, at times, abject submission to their masters towards fates they fashion for themselves. In allowing his characters to be imperfect, in freeing them from post-colonial sensibilities, Phillips creates narratives that represent the often puzzling paradoxes of the struggle towards decolonisation.

A key part of Phillips's narrative strategy is his handling of the master/colonizer. In 'The Pagan Coast' slave owner Edward Williams defines his own worth in terms of his slaves. Edward is unaware that his wife is destroying the letters Nash is sending him from Liberia. He thinks his favourite slave has turned his back on him. He decides he must travel to Africa not to reprimand Nash, but 'to confirm that his life's work, and more importantly his own life, had been of some worth.' (CR p.14) Phillips explores the wretchedness of a man who measures his own worth by the degree to which his emancipated slave carries out his Christian mission. This situation is made all the more compelling because *both* Edward and Nash think they are involved in good work. When Edward reaches Africa he becomes a figure of decadent colonialism. To banish despair he takes to drink. (CR p.52) In the bar he encounters other men who are 'adrift and washed up on this farthest shore of civilisation.' (CR p.55) When he is finally taken to the place where Nash lived and realises that his slave emissary had deserted Christianity, Edward feels 'abandoned.' (CR p.69) The colonial identity depends on the subordination of the colonized, without that the colonial master becomes dissolute and rudderless.

Phillips shows the captive demystifying the captor. He does this in part by revealing social class differences between the Europeans. Olumide (Cambridge's African name) notes on board the ship to England 'the mind superior to prejudice' of John Williams who is teaching him English compared to the 'ill-bred abuse of the vulgar crew.' (C p.140) In 'Heartland,' the African narrator observes 'discord' between the relatively cultivated Governor and the brutish Price.(HG p.18) He hears Price hectoring the Governor in terms that reveal a colonial order poisoned by resentment, 'Here rank has little to do with privilege of birth...There is no superior officer for you to report me to, no society to sneer and point a finger at me...if I return to your world of silks and fine wines there you might reproach me, but here sweating in this hellish climate with these savages there comes a point at which your rank and order must fall away and be replaced by natural order.' (HG p.31) Paradoxically the presence of 'savages' opens up differences between the Europeans rather than unite them. The social class system of the colonial order betrays its divisions under the pressure of maintaining the illusion of European superiority over the Africans.

The vulnerability of the master who sees no human virtues in his slaves prevents him from recognising an intelligence watching him. When the educated David Henderson is re-enslaved and stands on the auction block about to be renamed Cambridge, our captive narrator says of his captors, 'I faced these white men, with more knowledge of their country than they could possibly imagine.' (C p.157) Similarly, when the collaborator in 'Heartland' is re-enslaved he notes that, 'The soldiers are fearful. The sheer wretchedness of watching threatens to overtake their lives.' (HG p.59) What Phillips shows here is the deep knowledge that the marginalized in society have about those that marginalize them. He achieves this with considerable intensity in 'Heartland' when the Governor, attempting to open a dialogue with the collaborator about the way the African sees the world, discloses his own insecurity. The Governor describes Africans as feral, base and ignorant. But there is a paradoxical vulnerability in his questions to the narrator, 'Do you see me as a man? Do you see me as your superior?' (HG p.52) The Governor's questions betray a sense that his slave trading degrades him, makes *him* something other than a man. Phillips reads, what Wilson Harris refers to as, the 'innermost vulnerability within civilizations and cultures.'¹³

In order to show the contradictory routes towards defiance, Phillips depicts examples of subservience. Reflecting on the man who renamed him Tom, Cambridge recalls that, 'My master grew fond of his black Tom, and I loved him in return. I would observe his manner, and by my actions I hoped to introduce him to the notion that my sole pleasure in life derived from the great privilege of being able to serve him.' (C p.142) The same sentiments emerge in a letter Nash writes to his master in 'The Pagan Coast', 'I was fortunate enough to be born in a Christian country...and that you were kind enough to take me, a foolish child, from my parents and bring me up in your own dwelling as something more akin to son than servant. Truth and honesty is great capital, and you instilled such values in my person at an early age, for which I am eternally grateful to you and my creator. Had I been permitted simply to run about, I would today be dwelling in the same robes of ignorance which drape the shoulders of my fellow blacks.' (CR p.21) In these passages Phillips conjures up the abject submission to the master's view, and the denial of any virtue in being African. Both characters learn that survival will depend on leavening deference with increasing degrees of independent action.

Cambridge, Nash and the nameless narrator develop different survival strategies. In the novel *Cambridge* Phillips creates three other characters that further explore Ledent's notion of the 'equivocal human being.' David Henderson, before he is renamed Cambridge, finds himself mocked by Clarence de Quincey who Henderson describes as a

'notorious fop'. Cambridge reflects on de Quincey's survival strategy, 'he sought to make a figure that would obscure what he imagined to be the objectionable nature of his complexion.' (C p.151-2) He occupies a niche in English society as an object of ridicule. Phillips draws our attention to the way in which racialised society can absorb and find a place for black people on the basis of self-ridicule. During Emily Cartwright's narrative we read of her encounter with a Cobbler musician. 'On observing us the black rolled up his eyes until only the whites were visible, and then, holding his little flannel cap in one hand, he prostrated himself before us in a gesture of base supplication...However, truly I was unsure, in the case of this *sambo*, whether or not he was making sport of us, for I detected about his free person touches of wit which he appeared to be only partly concealing, but to what purpose I could not fathom.' (C p.105) This episode reveals Phillips exploring the tension between deference and defiance. Emily requires and looks for deference. What she receives is 'base supplication,' so base in fact that she suspects partly concealed wit. The cobbler laughs at the uncertainty he sets up in the mind of one who assumes she is superior. Phillips allows Emily sufficient perspicacity for the reader to identify with the cobbler as he performs abject passivity in order to mock colonial hubris.

Christiania is an obeah woman. She is the white overseer's concubine. She becomes Cambridge's wife but refuses to adopt his Christianity. Christiania frightens Emily in her use of traditional practices. Ledent notes that, 'In Christiania's secret realm, it is indeed blacks, no longer whites, who wield power through knowledge.'¹⁴ Christiania represents an important strand in Modernity. Her insistence on practising Obeah identifies the urgency of Tradition in Modernity as a palliative to the degradations of Modernity, such as slavery. She is also the one who openly defies the hypocrisy of colonial sexual conventions. The Overseer uses her for sex, so she insists on the right to sit at his dining table. In so doing she resists victimhood, despite the fact that she is regarded as a mad woman. These secondary characters in *Cambridge* serve to provide a spectrum of responses to the choices between deference and defiance.

Nash, Cambridge and the nameless narrator are all characters who exist between different worlds and who attempt, for reasons of self-preservation, to find ways of reconciling the differences. They have cross-cultural identities. In order to secure their own social position they are obliged to mobilise their cross-culturalism. They undertake a role that Harris describes as creolizing the chasm between privileged and afflicted cultures.¹⁵ In 'Heartland' the narrator's role as translator is deployed to show the cross-cultural character offering modified visions of Africa to Europe and vice versa. When he travels with Price to a local village to find a girl to sate Price's lust, the narrator tones down the foolish desperation of the European and keeps to himself the threats the village Headman makes to him. At the same time the village elders ask him to describe the world to which all the enslaved people go. He is held in contempt by both Europeans and Africans and yet they both depend on him to make sense of the engagement between the two cultures.

In 'The Pagan Coast,' Nash, the African-American, builds a Christian colony in Liberia and learns the local dialect. Nash's identity is richly cross-cultural. Sold out of Africa by his metaphorical father, he acquires English and Christianity, is returned to Africa by his master to colonise an Africa he is alien to, only to find he must allow it to modify him in order to survive. At each stage there is a translation, literal and metaphorical, going on *within* Nash. The American speaks to the African about literacy and Christianity. The African speaks against America's slave system and the American must learn a local African language. As this inter-cultural action develops within him so the creolizing intelligence of the novel's narrative takes shape.

In *Cambridge* Christianity is placed at the centre of the chasm between Europe and Africa. Cambridge finds that he must redefine his new religion in order to assemble an identity he can live with. Cambridge recalls his conversion to Christianity under the instruction of Miss Spencer who encouraged him, 'to drive old Africa' from his mind because 'black men were descended from Noah's son Cham, who was damned by God for his disobedience and shamelessness.' Cambridge concludes his recollection of this episode with the remark, 'banished was black Tom, and newly born she gave to the world David Henderson.' (C p.144) Later on Miss Spencer proposes that David Henderson undertake a tour of England to present a living example to English people that not all Africans were irreversibly savage, 'Truly I was now an English man, albeit a little smudgy of complexion,' (C p.147) he says. No matter how assimilated Henderson becomes he cannot escape his African traces. He always has to deal with his duality. From his deference to England and Christianity he develops a creolized defiance. He negotiates his way through Christian doctrine to assert, 'Did not He that made them, make us; and did not One fashion us in the womb?' (C p. 148) It is his assertion that he is an Englishman that gives irresistible force to his anti-slavery case, 'The air of our island is too pure for slavery to breathe in.' (C p. 148) The African claims England as 'our' island and uses Christianity to assert one humanity. England's claims to modernity are being tested and reworked by an Englishman with a 'smudgy complexion.' For an African to quote English purity back at the English in an argument against slavery is ironically subversive. Cambridge's apparent deference becomes a vital instrument in assembling a defiant stand against slavery and race theory.

This knowing deference, the ability to navigate a course with a public persona that does not betray subversive, psychological insights is explored in some depth in 'Heartland.' In the young soldier Lewis, the narrator sees an immature and homesick young man who drinks too much, but he is also a threat to the African and eventually it is Lewis who betrays the narrator for keeping a girl in his quarters. In the Governor the narrator sees a cultivated man, but one who is too weak to command men in these brutalising circumstances. The narrator prefers the company of Price whose brutish behaviour is easier to predict. It is to the African that Price secretly turns to organise the purchase of a girl. The African attempts to learn as much as he can about the world of these Europeans but he says, 'I go about my day-to-day business with the sedulity of a man who knows what is good for him.' (HG p.21) Sedulity, permanent alertness, encapsulates the tense vantage point of the creolized subject as he moves between deference and defiance.

The African translator explains his relationship with the slave traders to the African girl he hides in his quarters, 'I have no excuses for my present circumstances, they were thrust upon me and I accepted them' (HG p.44) These remarks indicate a man who has been terrorized into collaboration and as such has an intelligence about his tormentors from the outset. In 'The Pagan Coast' Nash emerges from his deference, in part because his circumstances in Liberia necessitate a reconsideration of his loyalties but in particular because he thinks that Edward has abandoned him. Neither character is aware that Edward's wife intercepts their post and destroys it. This plot device serves the political allegory. Edward the colonial master deserts his colonial charge, who in learning to fend for himself rejects the old master. New loyalties and a sense of abandonment feed the emergence of Nash's new identity. Early on he begins to reveal a mild criticism of American opulence, 'America is...a land of milk and honey, where people are not easily satisfied. Things that seemed to me then to hold so much value are now, in this new country, and in my new circumstances, without value.' (CR p.25) Later he notes the persistence of slave trading under the protection of the Star Spangled Banner that he

describes as 'a stain on the name of our country.' (CR p.41) He develops a political consciousness that stems from disappointment in his master.

His final letter traces in highly condensed form the steps towards the decolonisation of his mind, 'Despite my earlier protestations, I resort again to pen and paper in a final attempt to engage with you. I find the process humiliating, and I fail to see what hurt I ever inflicted upon you that could justify such a cruel abandonment of your past intimate.' This sense of hurt and injustice evolves into an assertion of political independence, 'We, the colored man, have been oppressed long enough. We need to contend for our rights, stand our ground, and feel the love of liberty that can never be found in your America.' (CR p.61) He goes on to explain that he has suspended his faith in Christ and 'my faith in you is broken.' He finishes his letter by urging Edward 'to remain in your country.' (CR p.63) Nash has evolved from deferent colonized subject to a politically conscious identity telling his old master to stay away from a land he once colonized.

In *Cambridge* the defiance is expressed even more dramatically. Cambridge, more susceptible to revenge following his re-enslavement, will no longer endure the Overseer's abuse of Christiania. It is a rebellious stand, but one motivated by conservative impulses. He decides to act in the name of The Bible. 'The Bible instructed me that it is a man's duty, with God's blessing, to outwit tyranny in whatever form it appears.' (C p.164) The deferential man navigates his way through a sea of psychological obstacles, to commit the ultimate act of slave rebellion – the murder of the master. But Phillips is at every stage keen to avoid any easy ideological fix. Although Cambridge's killing of Brown is emotionally satisfying, Cambridge's narrative ends with him praying to be forgiven for 'heathen behaviour.' (C p.167) Finally he is summarily executed for his 'crime.' Similarly the end result of the narrator's desire for the African girl in 'Heartland' is to be condemned to a slave ship. Nonetheless, as Ledent points out 'when he orders Lewis to stay away from the girl hidden in his quarters and thereby challenges the white man's authority, the African factor definitively relinquishes his role of underling to take his life into his own hands. Even though this seals his fate, it helps him preserve his dignity.'¹⁶

In tracing the journeys that three slaves make during the transatlantic slave trade, Phillips elaborates a critique of Modernity. His narratives support Eric Williams's conception that slavery was not a pre-modern aberration, but in fact a flywheel of capitalist development.¹⁷ The evolution of identities in the slave trade reveal much about the character of Modernity itself. In the case of Cambridge and Nash Williams, Phillips shows characters who wrestle cross-culturally with Modernity's contradictions. Nash achieves a post-colonial consciousness in the act of rejecting the USA, the nation that embodies anti-colonial democracy flawed by its system of slavery. He decolonises his mind from within his master's project to colonise Liberia for Christianity.

Cambridge experiences the two extremes states of Modernity, the liberty of free speech, during his time as an evangelist in England, and the slavery in the Caribbean that once underpinned its economic order. He acquires the literacy that signifies Modernity to find that he must deploy this talent against another part of Modernity's rational order, race theory. In Christiania Phillips gives form to the palliative balm of Traditional practices against the violations of Modernity. However, it is the nameless African in *Higher Ground* who perhaps best renders current anxieties about Modernity. He is the diasporic subject who sits between cultures with deep knowledge about both and consequently permanently vigilant about the vulnerability of his position. Phillips valorises the cross-culturalism of the diasporic identity navigating survival between deference and defiance.

John Ford
May 21st 2002.

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- ¹ Gary Younge 'Don't blame Uncle Tom' in *The Guardian* Saturday Review March 30th 2002.
- ² Caryl Phillips *Higher Ground*, London: Viking, 1989, *Cambridge*, London: Bloomsbury, 1991. *Crossing The River*, London: Bloomsbury, 1993.
- ³ H.F. Augstein discusses the development of race theory in her 'Introduction' to *Race: The Origins of An Idea, 1760-1850*. Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996, pp ix-xxxiii.
- ⁴ Paul Edwards and Polly Rewt's 'Introduction' to *The Letters of Ignatius Sancho*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1994, p. 3.
- ⁵ Caryl Phillips, 'Ignatius Sancho: A Black British Man of Letters' in *A New World Order*, London: Secker & Warburg, 2001, pp 251-252.
- ⁶ *ibid*
- ⁷ Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 296.
- ⁸ O. Nigel Bolland, 'Creolisation and Creole Societies: A Cultural Nationalist View of Caribbean Social History' in Verene A. Shepherd and Glen L. Richards eds., *Questioning Creole: Creolisation Discourses in Caribbean Culture*, Oxford: James Currey, 2002, pp 38.
- ⁹ Homi Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders' in *The Location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1994, p.112.
- ¹⁰ Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Nations, Cultures and the Allure of Race*, London: Penguin, 2000, p. 129.
- ¹¹ Bénédicte Ledent, *Caryl Phillips*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, p. 96.
- ¹² Lars Eckstein, *Dialogism in Caryl Phillips's Cambridge, or the Democratisation of Cultural Memory*, a paper presented to EACLALS Conference, Copenhagen, March 2002.
- ¹³ Wilson Harris, 'Creoleness: The Crossroads of a Civilization?' in Andrew Bundy ed., *Selected Essays of Wilson Harris: The Unfinished Genesis of the Imagination*, London: Routledge, 1999, p. 241.
- ¹⁴ Ledent, p.91.
- ¹⁵ Harris, p.241.
- ¹⁶ Ledent, p. 64.
- ¹⁷ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, London: André Deutch, 1964.

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