

Policy Papers in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: David W. Jamieson

1. Barry Turner and Peter Hill: *From the Chalk Face: School Responses to an LPA's Policy on Multicultural Education*
2. Simon Galloway: *Affinity Party to the Legal Profession: A Disciplinary Party*
3. John Solomos: *A Tale of Two Cities: Race and Politics*
4. Wendy Hall: *Policy Innovation on Multicultural Education in 'Eastshire' Local Education Authority*
5. John Wrench: *'Unequal Curriculum': Trade Unions, Equal Opportunity and Politics*

CARNIVAL AND OTHER SEASONAL FESTIVALS

in the West Indies, U.S.A. and Britain:

a selected bibliographical index

6. John Wrench: *Black and White: The Interplay of School and Society*
7. Wendy Hall: *Equal Opportunities: A Case Study in One Local Authority*
8. Malcolm Cross: *A Cause for Concern: Ethnic Minority Youth and National Training Policy*
9. John Gaffney: *Interpretations of Violence: The Handsworth Riot of 1985*
10. Bob Carter, Clive Harris & Shirley Jodit: *The 1961-65 Conservative Government and the Racialisation of Immigration*
11. Malcolm Cross, Mark Johnson: *Black Welfare and local government: Section 11 and Social Services Departments*
12. John Council: *For the Welfare of Immigrants: Unequal Migration: The European Community's unequal treatment of migrants and refugees*
13. George Abregado: *The Role of Members of Parliament in Immigration Cases*

Bibliographies in Ethnic Relations No.10

14. Donald Joy: *Racial Equality Policy in England*
15. Chris Smith: *The Immigration Act 1988: A discussion of its effects and implications*
16. John Solomos: *From Equal Opportunity to Anti-Racism: Racial Inequality and the Limits of Reform*
17. John Solomos: *Race Relations Research and Social Policy: A Review of Some Recent Debates and Controversies*
18. John Solomos and Chharpal Singh: *Opening, Racial Equality and Local Politics: Policy Making in a Changing Context*
19. Mike McLeod: *Ethnic Trade and the Inner Cities: West Indian Business*

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL

September 1991

Statistical and Methods Papers in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: Mark Johnson

1. Heather Booth: *Second Generation Migrants in Western Europe: Demographic Data Sources and Needs*

Policy Papers in Ethnic Relations

Series Editors: Danièle Joly & Beatrice Drury

1. Barry Troyna and Wendy Ball Views from the Chalk Face: School Responses to an LEA's Policy on Multicultural Education
2. Selina Goulbourne Minority Entry to the Legal Profession: A Discussion Paper
3. John Benyon A Tale of Failure: Race and Policing
4. Wendy Ball Policy Innovation on Multicultural Education in 'Eastshire' Local Education Authority
5. John Wrench Unequal Comrades: Trade Unions, Equal Opportunity and Racism
6. John Wrench YTS, Racial Equality and the Trade Unions
7. John Solomos Riots, Urban Protest and Social Policy: The Interplay of Reform and Social Control
8. Wendy Ball Post-Sixteen Education and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities: A Case Study of Policies and Provision in One Local Authority
9. Malcolm Cross A Cause for Concern: Ethnic Minority Youth and Vocational Training Policy
10. John Gaffney Interpretations of Violence: The Handsworth Riot of 1985
11. Bob Carter, Clive Harris & Shirley Joshi The 1951-55 Conservative Government and the Racialisation of Black Immigration
12. Malcolm Cross, Mark Johnson & Brian Cox Black Welfare and local government: Section 11 and Social Services Departments
13. Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants Unequal Migrants: The European Community's unequal treatment of migrants and refugees
14. Cosme Morgado The Role of Members of Parliament in Immigration Cases
15. Daniele Joly Harmonising asylum policy in Europe
16. Chris Platt The Immigration Act 1988: A discussion of its effects and implications
17. John Solomos From Equal Opportunity to Anti-Racism: Racial Inequality and the Limits of Reform
18. John Solomos Race Relations Research and Social Policy: A Review of Some Recent Debates and Controversies
19. John Solomos and Gurharpal Singh Housing, Racial Equality and Local Politics: Policy Making in a Changing Context
20. Mike McLeod Ethnic Trade and the Inner Cities: West Indian Business Links with the Caribbean - Summary
21. Muhammad Anwar Race Relations Policies in Britain: Agenda for the 1990s
22. Mohan Luthra and Robin Oakley Combating Racism Through Training: A Review of Approaches to Race Training in Organisations

Statistical and Methods Papers in Ethnic Relations

Series Editor: Mark Johnson

1. Heather Booth Second Generation Migrants in Western Europe: Demographic Data Sources and Needs

Monographs in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: Harry Goulbourne

1. Heather Booth **Guestworkers or Immigrants? A Demographic Analysis of the Status of Migrants in West Germany**
2. Robin Ward **Race and Residence in Britain, Approaches to Differential Treatment in Housing**

Monographs in Ethnic Relations (new series)
Series Editor: Malcolm Cross

1. Malcolm Cross, with Harbhajan Brar and Mike McLeod **Racial Equality and the Local State**
2. Jean Ellis **Meeting Community Needs**
3. Mike McLeod **Trading with the Inner Cities**
4. Rainer Baubock **Immigration and the Boundaries of Citizenship**
5. John Rex **Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Mobilisation in Britain**
6. John Wrench, Harbhajan Brar and Paul Martin **Invisible Minorities: Race Relations in a New Town**

Bibliographies in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: Heather Lynn

1. Zig Layton-Henry **Race and Politics in Britain (Revised Edition)**
2. Anne-Marie Phizacklea **The Employment of Migrant/Immigrant Labour in Britain (Revised by John Solomos)**
3. Peter Ratcliffe **Race and Housing in Britain: a bibliography**
4. Mark Johnson **Race and Health**
5. Mark Johnson **Race and Place (Geographical)**
6. Daniele Joly and Jorgen Nielsen **Muslims in Britain: An Annotated Bibliography 1960-1984**
7. Mark Johnson **Race and Care**
8. Darshan Singh Tatla and Eleanor M. Nesbitt **Sikhs in Britain: An Annotated Bibliography**
9. Daniele Joly **Refugees in Britain: an annotated bibliography**
10. John Cowley **Carnival and other Seasonal Festivals in the West Indies, U.S.A. and Britain: a selected bibliographical index**

Occasional Papers in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: Harry Goulbourne

1. John Cowley **West Indian Gramophone Records in Britain: 1927-1950**
2. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations **Research Programme (1985-1989)**
3. John Rex **The Concept of a Multi-Cultural Society: A lecture**
4. Harry Goulbourne **West Indian Political Leadership in Britain**
5. John Wrench and Evelyn Reid **Race Relations Research in the 1990s: Mapping out an Agenda**
6. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations **Research Programme (1989-93)**

Reprint Papers in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: Heather Lynn

1. Barry Troyna **"Policy Entrepreneurs" and the Development of Multi-Ethnic Education Policies: A Reconstruction**
2. Daniele Joly **The Opinions of Mirpuri Parents in Saltley, Birmingham, About Their Children's Schooling**
3. Azril Bacal **Ethnicity in the Social Sciences: A view and a review of the literature on ethnicity**

Research Papers in Ethnic Relations
Series Editor: Mel Thompson

1. Peter Weinreich **Manual for Identity Exploration Using Personal Constructs (Revised Edition)**
2. Mark Johnson and Malcolm Cross **Surveying Service Users in Multi-Racial Areas: The Methodology of the Urban Institutions Project**
3. Parminder Bhachu **Parental Educational Strategies: The Case of Punjabi Sikhs in Britain**
4. Daniele Joly **Making a Place for Islam in British Society: Muslims in Birmingham**
5. Robin Oakley **Changing Patterns of Distribution of Cypriot Settlement**
6. Mai Wann **Chiot Shipowners in London: An Immigrant Elite**
7. Fazlul Alam **Sallience of Homeland: Societal Polarization within the Bangladeshi Population in Britain**
8. Francis Robinson **Varieties of South Asian Islam**
9. Daniele Joly **Refugees from Vietnam in Birmingham: Community, Voluntary Agency and the Role of Local Authorities**
10. Vaughan Robinson and Samantha Hale **The Geography of Vietnamese Secondary Migration in the UK**
11. Catherine Neveu **Ethnic Minorities, Citizenship and Nationality. A case study for a comparative approach between France and Britain**
12. Philip N. Sooben **The Origins of the Race Relations Act**
13. Ronald Kaye and Roger Charlton **United Kingdom Refugee Admission Policy and the Politically Active Refugee**
14. Les Back **Racist Name Calling and Developing Anti-Racist Initiatives in Youth Work**
15. Freda Hawkins, Ann Dummett, Cathie Lloyd, Danièle Joly and John Wrench **Special Seminar Series on 1992**

The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations is a Designated Research Centre of the Economic and Social Research Council. The Centre publishes a series of Research, Policy, Statistical and Occasional Papers, as well as Bibliographies and Research Monographs. The views expressed in our publications are the responsibility of the authors.

© Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations 1991

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recorded or otherwise, without the prior permission of the authors.

Price: £3.50 (including handling charge and VAT)

Orders for Centre publications should be addressed to the Administrative Assistant, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, Arts Building, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL. Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to the University of Warwick. Please enclose remittance with order.

ISSN 0267-7458
ISBN 0 948303 57 3

The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations is a Designated Research Centre of the Economic and Social Research Council. The Centre publishes a series of research papers, statistical and occasional papers, as well as bibliographies and Research Monographs. The views expressed in our publications are the responsibility of the authors.

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations 1981

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

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.)

Heather Lynn is the editor of the Bibliography Series produced by the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations. She is Librarian of the Centre's Resources Centre.

Contents

Introduction 1

Acknowledgements 4

How to use this index 5

Bibliographical index 5

Bibliography 30

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) preliminary (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. As has been pointed out, 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. Carnival was probably allowed on these grounds by hierarchies 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 Jonkunnu, 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 Jonkunnu 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 belsnickling (mumming)]. They observe that 'far from constituting events that have hostility and conflict as their organizing principle, carnival and belsnickling 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 Geransanel (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 Salanday-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) CARNAVALESQUE : 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 Hosien festival (of East Indian origin) in the same publication. They have been included to provide a complete inventory for this important book.

(A) WEST INDIES: Carnavalesque/Seasons

1. CHRISTMAS/NEW YEAR

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

| <u>Territory</u> | <u>Source/Year</u> | <u>Pagination</u> | <u>Dates/Comments</u> |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------|--|
| | Emory C. Whipple, 1971 Richard E. Hadel, 1973 Gladys Stuart, 1973 Virginia Kerns & Robert Dirks, 1975 Judith Bettelheim, 1976 Richard Hadel, 1976 Judith Bettelheim, 1979 Robert Dirks, 1979 (1) Robert Dirks, 1979 (2) Nancie L. Gonzales, 1983 Hipolite Bautista, 1987 O. Nigel Bolland, 1987 | | [1840, 1900s] [1840, 1900s] [1900s] [1829] [19th century] |
| | Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1) | | |
| <u>Bermuda</u> | Susette Harriet Lloyd, 1835 Theodore L. Godet, 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 Judith Bettelheim, 1979 Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1) | | [1829] [pre 1860] [1880s] [1829 -] |
| <u>Carriacou</u> | Donald R. Hill, 1977 Christine David, 1985 | | [Christmas/New Year] |
| <u>Dominica</u> | Mabel Caudieron, 1982, 1988 Alan Gamble, 1986 | | |
| <u>Dominican Republic</u> | John Storm Roberts, 1972 John Storm Roberts, 1973 Verna Gillis, 1976 Kenneth M. Bilby, 1985 Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1) | | [All entries refer to festivities celebrated by 1920s migrants from Nevis and St. Christopher] |
| <u>Grenada</u> | Julian A. Marryshow, 1955 M.G. Smith, 1957-60 | | [past] |
| <u>Guyana</u> | George Pinkard, 1806 | (Vol.III, pp.208-9) | |

| <u>Territory</u> | <u>Source/Year</u> | <u>Pagination</u> | <u>Dates/Comments</u> |
|------------------|---|--|--|
| | C.D. Dance, 1881 J. Van Sertima, 1899 | (AA, pp.278-9; 326-7) | |
| | J. Graham Cruickshank, 1914 J. Graham Cruickshank, 1933 Evelyn Waugh, 1934 V.B., 1955 P.H. Daly, 1955 Barbara de Weever, 1955 Lynette Dolphin, 1955 V. Jones, 1955 A.L., 1955 Ronald Lovell, 1955 Winifred McDavid, 1955 Edgar Mittelholzer, 1955 Editte Pieters, 1955 Frank Pilgrim, 1955 Lewine Robinson, 1955 A.J. Seymour and Joy Alsopp, 1955 Vivi Thorne, 1955 P.A.Brathwaite, comp. Serena U. Brathwaite, ed., 1962 Wordsworth McAndrew 1965 'Music in Guyana', 1967 | | [slavery period] [slavery period] [1932] [past] [1920s] [past] [1890s] [past] [1935] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] [past] |
| <u>Honduras</u> | See Belize | | |
| <u>Jamaica</u> | [virtually all entries refer to Jonkunnu] | | |
| | Edward Long, 1774 Peter Marsden, 1788 William Beckford, 1790 anon., 1797 James Stewart, [1808], 1823 H.T. De La Beche, 1825 Alexander Barclay, 1826 Cynric R. Williams, 1826 anon., 1828 Charles Campbell, 1828 Michael Scott, 1829-33 Matthew Gregory Lewis, 1834 James Kelly, 1838 I.M. Belisario, 1837-38 Maria Nugent, 1839 Metcalf to Stanley, 1842 | (AA,p.229) (AA,pp.229-30; STS, p.83) (AA,pp.230-3) (AA,pp.233-5) (AA,pp.247-8, 299-301) (AA,pp.248-9, 301-2; STS, p.86) (AA,pp.253-5; STS, p.86) (AA,pp.249-52; STS, pp.85-6) (AA,pp.252-3; STS, p.53) (AA,pp.255-6) (AA,pp.235-40) (AA,pp.240-6) (AA,pp.257-8; STS, p.87) (AA,pp.259-63 and original) (AA,pp.235) | [1769] [1823-4] [1823] [1806-22] [1816] [1831] [1811] [1841 riot etc.] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-----------|---|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| | James Mursell Phillipo, 1843 | (STS,pp.88-9) | [1841 riot] |
| | William Cathcart, [1845] | (Vol.II, p.418) | [1841 riot] |
| | John William Kaye, 1854 | (AA,p.270) | |
| | Major Alan Chambre, 1858 | (AA,pp.271-2) | |
| | William G. Sewell, 1862 | | [1829, and 1831 slave rebellion] |
| | Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell, 1863 | | |
| | W.J. Gardner, 1873 | (AA,pp.276-7) | |
| | Frank Cundall, 1905 | (p.30) | [John Canoe dance] |
| | Walter Jekyll, 1907 | (pp.262-3) | |
| | 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 | (pp.227-32) | [1800s] |
| | Edward Brathwaite, 1971 | | |
| | 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 -] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| | Judith Bettelheim, 1985 (2) | | [1800s-1970s] |
| | Kenneth M. Bilby, 1985 | | |
| | 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 | (AA, pp.246-7) | |
| | 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 | | [1969] |
| | Roger D. Abrahams, 1973 | | |
| | Judith Bettelheim, 1979 | | [1908] |
| | Frank L. Mills, et al., 1984 | | |
| | Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1) | | |
| <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) | | [New Year] |
| | Roger D. Abrahams, 1970 | | |
| | Judith Bettelheim, 1979 | | [1896] |
| | Frank L. Mills, et al., 1984 | | |
| | Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (1) | | |
| <u>St. Croix</u> | James Smith, 1840 | (AA,pp.312-3) | [dance] |
| <u>St. Lucia</u> | Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, 1838 | (pp.118-9) | [1837] |
| | Daniel J. Crowley 1955 (1), (2) | | |
| | Daniel J. Crowley, 1957 | | |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-----------------------|--|--|---|
| | Harold F.C. Simmons, 1963 Joyce Auguste, 1986 | | |
| <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 V.S. Naipaul, 1969 [republished 1973] Maureen Warner, 1972 Sylvia Moodie, 1977 [1983] Daphne Pawan Taylor, 1977 Krister Malm, 1978 Bridget Brereton, 1979 Bridget Brereton, 1981 Anthony de Verteuil, 1987 | (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 (reported by Miss Yvonne Lange)] [1805, slave rebellion] [Africans in 19th century] [Parang] [Parang] [Parang] [1894] [1805, slave rebellion] [1805, slave rebellion] |
| <u>Virgin Islands</u> | Trelawny Wentworth 1834 Thurlow Weed, 1866 'Christina...', 1965 Del Anduze, 1965 | (AA,p.257) (AA,pp.272-6) | [possibly Barbados] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|--------------------|--|--|--|
| 2. CARNIVAL | | | |
| <u>Carriacou</u> | Frances Kay, 1971 Donald R. Hill, 1977 Christine David, 1985 | | [including Canboulay] [including Canboulay] [including Canboulay] |
| <u>Dominica</u> | Helen Cameron Gordon, 1942 Patrick Leigh Fermor, 1950 H.M. Frampton, 1957 Lennox Honychurch, 1975 Mabel Caudieron, 1982, 1988 Lennox Honychurch, 1982, 1988 Lennox Honychurch, 1984 Alan Gamble, 1986 | | [19th-20th century] [19th-20th century] [19th-20th century] |
| <u>Grenada</u> | F.W.N. Bayley, 1833 Mr. Alleyne, 1951 [Pearse Papers] 'Kalenda in Grenada', 1954 [Pearse Papers] M.G. Smith, 1957-60 Frances Kay, 1971 Wilfred A. Redhead, 1985 'Grenada Shortney', in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | [1826-29] [kalenda] [1916 in Sauters etc.] [c.1910s; mentions Canboulay] |
| <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) Daniel J. Crowley, 1957 | | [including Canboulay] [including Canboulay] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-----------|---|-------------------|---|
| | J.D. Elder, 1966 (1) | | [kalenda] |
| | J.D. Elder, 1966 (2) | | [thesis] |
| | Robin Bryans, 1967 | | [1966] |
| | Wilfred Carty, 1967 | (pp.243-8) | [1842-71] |
| | Donald Wood, 1968 | | [New Year to Shrove Tuesday masking and-house-visit custom (reported by Miss Yvonne Lange)] |
| | J.D. Elder, 1969 [1972] | | [1783-1962] |
| | Herbert Halpert, 1969 | | [Africans in 19th century Carnival bands] |
| | Errol Hill, 1972 | | [black police from Barbados in Canboulay riot] |
| | Ronald Ramdin, 1972 | | [1870-1900] |
| | Maureen Warner, 1972 | | [1851-1900] |
| | Howard Johnson, 1973 | | [1870-1900] |
| | Bridget Brereton, 1975 | (pp.67-78) | [1780s-90s; 1860s-80s; 1940s-50s] |
| | Andrew Carr, 1975 | (pp.160-75) | |
| | Errol Hill, 1976 | | |
| | C.R. Ottley, 1978 | | |
| | Bridget Brereton, 1979 | | |
| | Bridget Brereton, 1981 | | |
| | De Sayles Grey, 1981 | | |
| | Keith Q. Warner, 1982 [1983] | | |
| | Raymond Quevedo, 1983 | | [c.1839; c.1900] |
| | Michael Anthony, 1985 | | [pre 1834-c.1955] |
| | John Cowley, 1985 | | [interpretation of history] |
| | Errol Hill, 1985 | | |
| | John Mendes, 1985 | | |
| | Richard D.E. Burton, 1986 | | |
| | Errol John in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | Leslie Palmer in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | Mitto Sampson (1) and (2) in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | J. Stewart, 1986 | | |
| | The Roaring Lion, c. 1987 | | |
| | P. Jackson, 1988 | | [summary of history] |
| | Renu Juneja, 1988 | | |
| | Abbè Armand Massé, 1988 | (Vol.VI,pp.143-9) | [1879-1882] |
| | John Nunley, 1988 (1) | | |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|--------------------|--|--|--|
| | Kelvin Singh, 1988 | | [comparison of Carnival in 1880s with Hosien massacre of 1884] |
| | Trinidad Carnival, 1988 | | [1839-1918 in brief, 1919-1989 in detail] |
| | Michael Anthony, 1989 | | [1800s-1962] |
| | Gordon Rohlehr, 1990 | | [1988 etc.] |
| | Daniel Miller, 1991 | | |
| | 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 | | |
| <u>Guyana</u> | J. Graham Cruickshank, 1933 | | [slavery period] |
| <u>Jamaica</u> | H.T. De La Beche, 1825 W.J. Gardner, 1873 | (AA, pp.248-9) (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>Territory</u> | <u>Source/Year</u> | <u>Pagination</u> | <u>Dates/Comments</u> |
|----------------------------|--|--|----------------------------------|
| <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 | | [slavery period] |
| <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)] |
| | 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>Territory</u> | <u>Source/Year</u> | <u>Pagination</u> | <u>Dates/Comments</u> |
|--------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| <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] |
| | Martha Warren Beckwith, 1922 | | [1919-22] |
| | Martha Warren Beckwith, 1923 | | [1921-22] |
| | Martha Warren Beckwith, 1928 [with revised versions of 1922 and 1923 pamphlets] | | [1919-24] |
| | Martha Warren Beckwith, 1929 | | |
| | Claude McKay, 1933 | (pp.48-86) | [fiction] [1834 -] [Bruckins Party] |
| | B.W. Higman, 1979 | | |
| | Adina Henry, 1984 | | |
| | Olive Lewin, 1984 | | |
| | Hilary S. Carty, 1988 | | [Bruckins] [1920s] |
| | Edward Pilkington, 1988 | (p.13) | |
| <u>St. Lucia</u> | Daniel J. Crowley, 1955 (2) | | |
| <u>St. Vincent</u> | Roger D. Abrahams, 1977 | | [Tea Meetings] |
| <u>Trinidad</u> | E.L. Joseph, 1838 | | [1834] |
| | Lieutenant Colonel [Henry] Capadose, Vol. I, 1845 | | [1834] |
| | Jose M. Bodu, 1890 | | [1888] |
| | R.P.M. Bertrand Cothonay, O.P. 1893 | | (Hill, TC, pp.30-1; Brereton, 1979, p.157; Brereton, 1983, p.76) |
| | Lewis Osborn Inniss, 1910 | | [1882-83] |
| | E.M. Encinas, 1927 | | [French creole 'slaves?'] |
| | Publications of the Trinidad & Tobago Historical Society, No. 256 | | [1834] |
| | J.D. Elder, 1966 (1) | | [kalenda] |
| | Bridget Brereton, 1983 | | [1838-88] |
| | Michael Anthony, 1985 | | [1834-38] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|---|--|---|--|
| 7. OTHERS [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 (and Central America)</u> | Thomas Young, 1847 | | [dancing at wake (<u>seekroe</u>) among Miskito Indians c. 1839]* <u>Devil Feasts [1840-42]</u> |
| <u>Carriacou</u> | Donald R. Hill, 1977 | | <u>All Saints Day</u> <u>All Souls Day</u> |
| <u>Jamaica</u> | Hans Sloan, 1707 Matthew Gregory Lewis, 1834 anon., 1860 | (AA, p.281) (AA, pp.245-6) (AA, pp.317-8) | <u>Feast Days</u> <u>Holiday*</u> [1816] <u>Tattoo*</u> |
| <u>St. Lucia</u> | Henry H. Breen, 1844 Harold Simmons, 1953 Daniel J. Crowley, 1955 (1) Daniel J. Crowley, 1955 (2) Daniel J. Crowley, 1957 Daniel J. Crowley, 1958 (2) Harold F.C. Simmons, 1963 Douglas K. Midgett, 1977 Joyce Auguste, 1986 | (AA, pp.85-6; 263-8 and original) | <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>May Day</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals**</u> |
| <u>St. Vincent</u> | Charles William Day, 1852 | (AA, pp.315-6 and original) | <u>Jumbie Dance</u> |
| <u>Trinidad</u> | Louis A.A. de Verteuil, 1858 | (p.301) | <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals</u> [<u>Santa Rosa</u>] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|
| | Louis A.A. de Verteuil 1884 | (pp.287-8) | <u>Fetes</u> <u>Patronals</u> [<u>Santa Rosa</u>] |
| | Jose M. Bodu, 1890 | (p.90) | <u>All Saints Night</u> , <u>San Fernando [1888]</u> |
| | Donald Wood, 1968 | (p.100) | <u>All Saints Night</u> , <u>Port of Spain [1889]</u> |
| | Bridget Brereton, 1979 | (p.44) | <u>Fetes Patronals</u> [<u>Santa Rosa, 1857</u>] |
| | Anthony de Verteuil, 1987 | (p.157) | <u>All Saints Night</u> , <u>San Fernando [1894]</u> [Supposed slave revolt, <u>All Saints Day, 1823</u>] |
| * | = | Jonkunnu | |
| ** | = | Rose and Marguerite Societies | |
| 8. GENERAL | | | |
| | Roger D. Abrahams, 1967 | | <u>Folklore traditions</u> |
| | Robert Dirks, 1975 | | <u>Christmas-</u> <u>New Year</u> |
| | Robert Dirks, 1987 | | <u>Christmas-</u> <u>New Year</u> |
| | John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., 1988: items not annotated elsewhere | | |
| | 1. Judith Bettelheim, 1988 (2) | | <u>Cuban festivals</u> |
| | 2. Judith Bettelheim, John Nunley, 1988 | | <u>Hosien in</u> <u>Guyana, Jamaica,</u> <u>Trinidad</u> |
| | 3. Judith Bettelheim, John Nunley, Barbara Bridges, 1988 | | |
| | 4. Rex Nettleford, 1988 | | |
| | 5. Robert Farris Thompson, 1988 | | |
| | 6. Dolores Yonker, 1988 | | <u>Rara in Haiti</u> |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|--|--|---|---|
| (B) NORTH AMERICA: Carnavalesque (African and Contemporary West Indian Diaspora) | | | |
| 1. 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) | Christmas [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 | (STS, p.92) (STS,p.52,93) | Carnival [balls in 1802] May Day [dancing] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|
| | Pierre C. de Laussat, 1831 | (STS, p.84) | Carnival [dancing at Mardi Gras, 1808] |
| | Lafcadio Hearn, 1883 [1925] Lyle Saxon, et al., 1945 Robert Tallant, 1948 Alan Lomax, 1950 | (pp.14-5) | Carnival Carnival (etc) Carnival Carnival (etc) early 1900s |
| | Munro S. Edmonson, 1956 Paul Oliver, 1965 Henry A. Kmen, 1966 Fin Wilhelmsen, 1971 John W. Blassingame, 1973 | (p.77) (p.145) | Carnival Carnival Carnival (etc) Carnival (etc) Carnival (etc) 1860-1880 |
| | 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 | (pp.12-3) | Carnival (etc) early 1900s Carnival Carnival (etc) Carnival (etc) Carnival (etc) Carnival (etc) Carnival (etc) |
| <u>Louisiana</u> [2] (General) | Mrs Metta V. Victor, c.1861 Lauren C. Post, 1974 [1962] Nicholas Spitzer, 1977 | (STS, p.158) (pp.163-8) | Christmas Mardi Gras [white cajuns] Mardi Gras [white cajuns, black creoles] Easter [white cajuns, black creoles] All Saints Day [white cajuns, black creoles] Mardi Gras [black creoles] |
| <u>Massachusetts</u> (Boston) | Frank E. Manning, 1983 | (pp.11-3) | [W.I.: contemporary] [mentioned] |

| <u>Territory</u> | <u>Source/Year</u> | <u>Pagination</u> | <u>Dates/Comments</u> |
|--|--|------------------------------|--|
| <u>Michigan</u> (Detroit) | Frank E. Manning, 1983 | | [W.I.: contemporary] |
| | | | [mentioned] |
| <u>New England</u> | William D. Piersen, 1988 | | Election Days [1700s] |
| <u>New York</u> (New York City and the Hudson Valley) | James Fenimore Cooper, [1845] | (STS, p.67) | Pinkster (Whitsun) [c. 1757] |
| | James Eights, 1867 | (AA, pp.378-84) | Pinkster [Albany c. 1807] |
| | George Rogers Howell, 1886 | (STS, pp.67-8) | Pinkster [Albany c.1815] |
| | Shane White, 1989 | | Pinkster [early 1800s] |
| (New York City) | Donald R. Hill & Robert Abrahamson, 1979 Frank E. Manning, 1983 John Nunley, 1988 (2) Donald R. Hill, n.d. | | [W.I.: contemporary] Labor Day [etc] [mentioned] Labor Day [etc] |
| <u>North Carolina</u> | Captain Gregory Seaworthy [George Higby Throop], 1851 | (AA, pp.384-6) | Christmas* |
| | Mrs Harriet [Brent] Jacobs, 1861 | (STS, p.131 and original) | Christmas* |
| | Dougald MacMillan, 1926 | | Christmas* Christmas* Christmas/ New Year* |
| | Ira De A. Reid, 1942 | | 4th July* Halloween* |
| | George Whitefield, 1960 | (STS, p.208) | [Christmas-New Year in Newborn (sic), 1739-40] |
| | Richard Walser, 1971 | | Christmas* [1824-1888: blacks; c.1905 whites] |

| <u>Territory</u> | <u>Source/Year</u> | <u>Pagination</u> | <u>Dates/Comments</u> |
|---|--|-------------------|---|
| | Nancy R. Ping, 1980 | | Christmas* (1839-1860) |
| | Elizabeth A. Fenn, 1988 | | Christmas* [1823-1905] |
| <u>Pennsylvania</u> (Philadelphia) | Susan G. Davis, 1982 Susan G. Davis, 1986 | | Christmas Christmas, Emancipation Day [of blacks in British West Indies] |
| <u>South Carolina</u> | John Pierpont, 1805 | (STS, p.84) | Christmas, [Georgetown District] |
| | Henry William Ravenel, 1936 | (STS, pp.123-4) | Christmas, [St. John's Berkeley, (1836 or 1846)] |
| | Charles Joyner, 1984 | | Christmas [mid 1800s] |
| <u>Virginia</u> (Danville) | H.H. Farmer, 1892 | (STS, p.212) | Christmas [1855] |
| | Elizabeth A. Fenn, 1988 | | Christmas [pre 1831] |
| | * = Jonkunnu | | |
| 3. GENERAL | | | |
| | Roy Bryce Laporte, 1980 Frank E. Manning, 1983 William H. Wiggins, Jr., 1987 Joshua Berrett, 1988 | | |
| (C) <u>BRITAIN: Carnavalesque</u> (West Indian) | | | [Unless identified in the comments column these are not at Shrovetide] |
| <u>London</u> | 'Mardi Gras: From New Orleans to the Port of Spain', 1950 | | Carnival [Mardi Gras dance, 1950] |
| | Humphrey Lyttelton, 1958 | | Carnival [Mardi Gras dance, 1952] |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-----------|---|------------|-------------------------|
| | '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 | | |
| | <u>The Road Make to Walk On Carnival Day</u> , 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 | | [1966-70] |
| | Abner Cohen, 1982 | | [1966-78] |
| | Cecil Gutzmore, 1982 | | |
| | Roy Kerridge, 1983 | | |
| | Frank E. Manning, 1983 | | [mentioned] |
| | Everton A. Pryce, 1985 | | [1976-78] |
| | Vivian Comma in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | 'Grenada Shortney' in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | Errol John in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | Kwesi Owusu, 1986 | | |

| Territory | Source/Year | Pagination | Dates/Comments |
|-----------|--|------------|----------------|
| | Leslie Palmer in <u>Masquerading</u> , 1986 | | |
| | 'Britain gets the Carnival it Deserves,' 1987 | | |
| | 'Carnival' Issue of <u>Lambeth Arts</u> , 1987 | | |
| | 'Carnival, the police and the press', 1987 | | |
| | Leroy Witter, 1987 | | |
| | Rose Christie in <u>City Limits</u> , 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 <u>City Limits</u> , 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 <u>City Limits</u> , No.359, 1988 | | [history] |
| | David Upshal, 1988 | | |
| | Jacob Ross, 1989 | | |
| | Michael La Rose, 1990 | | |
| | 'Police Carnival' 1989, [1990] | | |

(D) WEST AFRICA: Carnavalesque (West Indian Links)

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

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

- Sandra Billington A Social History of the Fool, 1984.
Sandra Billington Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama, 1991.
Theresa Buckland 'Wakes and Rushbearing, c.1780-c.1830: A Functional Analysis', 1982.
Theresa Buckland 'The Tunstead Mill Nutters of Rossendale Lancashire', 1986.
Bob Bushaway By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England 1700-1800, 1982.
E.C. Cawte Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographical Study of Animal Disguise in the British Isles, 1978.
Alex Helm The English Mummings' Play, 1981.
Roy Judge The Jack-In-The-Green: A May Day Custom, 1979.
May Day In England: An Introductory Bibliography, 1988.
Charles Kightly The Customs and Ceremonies of Britain: An Encyclopaedia of Living Traditions, 1986.
Graham Seal 'Tradition and Agrarian Protest in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', 1988.

(F) CARNIVALESQUE: General

- Peter Burke Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe, 1978.
Dennis Duerden 'The Meaning of Carnival', 1980.

- James George Fraser The Illustrated Golden Bough, 1978.
Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, eds. Christmas Mummings in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History, 1969.
P. Jackson 'Street life: the politics of Carnival', 1988.
Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie Carnival in Romans: A People's Uprising at Romans, 1981.
Maria Leach, ed. Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology & Legend, 1975.
J.H. Kwabena Nketia 'Traditional Festivals in Ghana and Community Life', 1976.
John W. Nunley Moving with the Face of the Devil: Art and Politics in Urban West Africa, 1987.
Alexander Orloff Carnival: Myth and Cult, 1981.
Simon Ottenberg Masked Rituals of Afikpo: The Context of an African Art, 1975.
Bob Pegg Rites and Riots: Folk Customs of Britain and Europe, 1981.
Hal Rammel Nowhere in America: The Big Rock Candy Mountain And Other Comic Utopias, 1990.
Aileen Ribeiro 'The Old and New World of Mardi Gras', 1986.
Victor W. Turner The Ritual Process, 1969.
Victor Turner, ed. Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, 1982.
Arnold van Gennep The Rites of Passage, 1960.
Enid Welsford The Court Masque, 1927.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrahams, Roger D. 'Christmas on Nevis', Swarthmore College Bulletin, Vol.60, No.4, 1962, pp.1-2, 4-7.
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'The Cowboy in the British West Indies', in Mody C. Boatright, Wilson M. Hudson, Allen Maxwell, eds., A Good Tale and a Bonnie Tune, Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1964, pp.168-175.
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'The Shaping of Folklore Traditions in the British West Indies,' Journal of Inter-American Studies, 9, 1967, pp.456-480.
- Abrahams, Roger D. '"Pull Out Your Purse and Pay": A St. George Mummung from the British West Indies', Folklore, Vol.79, 1968, pp.176-201. [1968 (1)]
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'Speech Mas' on Tobago', in Wilson M. Hudson, ed., Tire Shrinker to Dragster, Austin, Encio Press, 1968, pp.125-144. [1968 (2)]
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'Patterns of Performance in the British West Indies', in Norman E. Whitten and John F. Szwed, eds., Afro-American Anthropology, Contemporary Perspectives, New York, Free Press, 1970, pp.163-179, [article first published 1968]. [Also reprinted in Abrahams' The Man-of-Words in the West Indies, 1983].
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'British West Indian Folk Drama and the "Life Cycle" Problem', Folklore, Vol.81, Winter 1970, pp.241-265.
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'Christmas and Carnival on Saint Vincent', Western Folklore, Vol.31, No.4, October 1972, pp.275-289. [Reprinted in Abrahams' The Man-of-Words in the West Indies, 1983].
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'Christmas Mummings On Nevis', North Carolina Folklore, 21, 1973, pp.120-131.
- Abrahams, Roger D. 'The West Indian Tea Meeting: an Essay in Civilization', in Ann M. Pescatello, ed., Old Roots in New Lands, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1977, pp.173-208.
- Abrahams, Roger D. The Man-of-Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Abrahams, Roger D. and Richard Bauman 'Ranges of Festival Behaviour', in Barbara A. Babcock, ed., The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1978, pp.193-208.
- Abrahams, Roger D. and John F. Szwed eds., After Africa: Extracts from British Travel Accounts and Journals of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries concerning the Slaves, their Manners, and Customs in the British West Indies, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983.
- Adam, Corinna 'Dancing on Air', Spectator, Vol.249, No.8043, 4 September 1982, p.13.
- Alleyne, Mr. interview, 15 May 1951 (Andrew Pearse Papers).
- Anduze, Del 'Good morn-ing! Good morn-ing! An' ah wish yo' Merry Christmas!', Virgin Islands View, Vol.1, No.7, 1965, pp.14-23.
- anonymous 'Characteristic Traits of the Creolian and African Negroes in Jamaica, etc.,' Colombian Magazine, April-October 1797 [reprinted in Barry Higman, ed., untitled in secondary source, Mona, Jamaica, Caldwell Press, 1976, pp.21-23] in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.233-5.
- anonymous Marly: or a Planter's Life in Jamaica [a novel], Glasgow, R. Griffin, 1828, pp.293-294, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.252-3; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.53 [Christmas]; and p.46, Epstein, op. cit., [Cropover].
- anonymous 'Sketches in the West Indies', Dublin University Magazine, Vol.61, 1860, pp.613-614, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.317-8.
- Anthony, Michael First in Trinidad, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Circle Press, 1985.
- Anthony, Michael Parade of The Carnivals of Trinidad, 1839-1989, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Circle Press, 1989.
- Anthony, Michael and Andrew Carr eds., David Frost Introduces Trinidad & Tobago, London, Andre Deutsch, 1975.
- Atila the Hun : see Quevedo, Raymond.
- Auguste, Joyce comp., Oral and Folk Traditions of Saint Lucia, (Cultural Heritage Series, No.1), St. Lucia, West Indies, Lithographic Press, 1986.
- Austin, Hal 'Carnival: reflections on a community', New Community, Vol.7, No.1, Winter 1978/9, pp.114-117.
- B., V. 'Christmas Delights: Remember...' (From London, I), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.225.
- Babcock, Barbara A. ed., The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Barclay, Alexander A Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies..., London, 1826, pp.10-13 in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.83, 253-5; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.86.
- Barnett, Sheila 'Jonkonnu: Pitchy Patchy', Jamaica Journal, 43, March 1979, pp.18-32.
- Bautista, Hipolite 'Kris-mus Brring E Down Mon-ney', Belize Today, Vol.1, Nos. 9-10, November-December 1987, pp.6-7.
- Baxter, Ivy The Arts of an Island: The development of the culture and the folk and creative arts in Jamaica 1494-1962 (Independence), Metuchen, Scarecrow Press, 1970.
- Bayley, F.W.N. Four Years' Residence in the West Indies, London, William Kidd, 1833, pp.437-9; and excerpts in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.305-6; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, pp.86-87.
- Beckford, William A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica, London, 1790, Vol.I, pp.386-92, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.230-233.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren Folk Games of Jamaica, Poughkeepsie, Vassar College, 1922 [reprinted, with 'Addenda' in her Jamaica Folklore, New York, 1928].
- Beckwith, Martha Warren Christmas Mummings in Jamaica, Poughkeepsie, Vassar College, 1923 [reprinted, with 'Addenda' in her Jamaica Folk-Lore, New York, 1928].

- Beckwith, Martha Warren Jamaica Folk-Lore, New York, American Folklore Society, 1928.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1929.
- Beel, H.M. 'They Play Carnival at Christmas', Port of Spain Gazette, 19 February 1950, p.12 [reprinted from Canada-West Indies Magazine, exact citation from that source not known].
- Belgrave, Joseph 'Reflections on Carnival', Beacon, Vol.2, No.1, May 1932, pp.16-17.
- Belisario, I.M. Sketches of Character, In Illustration of the Habits, Occupation and Costume of the Negro Population, In the Island of Jamaica, Drawn after Nature and in Lithography, Kingston, Jamaica, The Author, No.1, 1837, Nos. 2 and 3, 1838; and excerpts in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.259-263.
- Berrett, Joshua 'The Golden Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation,' Black Perspective In Music, Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1988, pp.63-80.
- Berry, Jason Jonathan Foose and Tad Jones Up From the Cradle of Jazz: New Orleans Music Since World War II, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1986.
- Berry, Jason 'African Cultural Memory in New Orleans Music,' Black Music Research Journal, Vol.8, No.1, 1988, pp.3-12.
- [Berquin-Duvallon], Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year 1802, Giving a Correct Picture of those Countries, translated from the French with notes, &c., by John Davis, New York, I. Riley, 1806, p.27, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.92.
- Bettelheim, Judith 'The Jonkonnu Festival: its relation to Caribbean and African masquerades', Jamaica Journal, Vol.10, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, December 1976, pp.21-27.
- Bettelheim, Judith 'Jamaican Jonkonnu and Related Caribbean Festivals', in Margaret E. Crahan and Franklin W. Knight, eds. Africa And The Caribbean: The Legacies of a Link, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, pp.80-100.
- Bettelheim, Judith 'The Lantern Festival in Senegambia', African Arts, Vol.XVIII, No.2, February 1985, pp.50-53, 95-97, 101-102. [1985 (1)]
- Bettelheim, Judith 'The Jonkonnu Festival in Jamaica', Journal of Ethnic Studies, Vol.13, No.3, Fall 1985, pp.85-105. [1985 (2)]
- Bettelheim, Judith 'Jonkonnu and other Christmas Masquerades', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.39-83. [1988 (1)]
- Bettelheim, Judith 'Carnivals and Festivals in Cuba', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.137-146. [1988 (2)]
- Bettelheim, Judith and John Nunley 'The Hosay Festival', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.119-135.

- Bettelheim, Judith John Nunley and Barbara Bridges 'Caribbean Festival Arts: An Introduction', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.31-37.
- Bilby, Kenneth M. 'Caribbean Crucible' in Geoffrey Haydon and Dennis Marks, eds. Repercussions: A Celebration of African-American Music, London, Century Publishing, 1985, pp.128-151.
- Billington, Sandra A Social History of the Fool, Brighton, Harvester Press, 1984.
- Billington, Sandra Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama, Oxford, Clarendon, 1991.
- Blassingame, John W. Black New Orleans 1860-1880, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Boatright, Mody C. Wilson M. Hudson and Allen Maxwell eds., A Good Tale and a Bonnie Tune, Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1964.
- Bodu, Jose M. comp., Trinidadiana: Being a Chronological Review of Events which have occurred in the island from the Conquest to the Present Day, with brief notices of the careers of some Eminent Colonists, Port of Spain, A.C. Blondel, 1890.
- Bolland, O. Nigel 'African Continuities and Creole Culture in Belize Town in the Nineteenth Century', African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Research Review, No.2, 1987, pp.63-82 [in a special edition of the periodical: Charles V. Carnegie, ed., Afro-Caribbean Villages In Historical Perspective].
- Bolton, H. Carrington 'Gombay, A Festal Rite of Bermudian Negroes', Journal of American Folklore, 3, 1890, pp.222-226.
- Borde, Pierre-Gustave-Louis trans. A.S. Mavrogordato, The History of Trinidad under the Spanish Government, Second Part (1622-1797), Port of Spain, Trinidad, Paria Publishing Co., 1982 [first published in French, Paris, Maisonneuve et Cie., 1882].
- Bowen, Calvin 'Jamaica's John Canoe', Caribbean Commission Monthly Information Bulletin, Vol.8, No.1, August 1954, pp.10-12.
- Bowman, Heath and Jefferson Bowman Crusoe's Island in the Caribbean, Indianapolis, Bobbs Merrill, 1939.
- Brathwaite, Edward ed., Iouanaloo: Recent Writings from St. Lucia, Castries, St. Lucia, Department of Extra Mural Studies, 1963.
- Brathwaite, Edward 'Jamaican Slave Society, A Review,' Race, Vol. IX, No.3, 1968, pp.331-342.
- Brathwaite, Edward The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Brathwaite, Edward Kamau Folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica, London, New Beacon Books, 1981 [revised edition of a chapter from his The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica].
- Brathwaite, P.A. comp., Serena U. Brathwaite, ed., Musical Traditions: Aspects of Racial Elements with Influence on a Guyanese Community, Guyana, [s.n.], 1962.

- Breen, Henry H. St. Lucia: Historical, Statistical and Descriptive, London, Frank Cass, 1970 [first published, London, 1844]. Excerpts in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.85-86, 263-268.
- Brereton, Bridget 'The Trinidad Carnival 1870-1900', Savacou, 11-12, September 1975, pp.46-57, 109-110.
- Brereton, Bridget Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1900, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Brereton, Bridget A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962, London, Heinemann, 1981.
- Brereton, Bridget 'The Birthday of Our Race: A Social History of Emancipation Day in Trinidad, 1838-88', in B.W. Higman, ed., Trade, Government and Society In Caribbean History 1700-1920, London, Heinemann, 1983, pp.69-83.
- Bridges, Barbara 'Black Indian Mardi Gras in New Orleans' in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.156-163.
- Brierley, J.N. Trinidad Then And Now, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1912.
- Brinkley, Frances Kay: see Kay, Frances.
- 'Britain gets the Carnival it Deserves', Race Today, Vol.17, No.6, October-November 1987, p.3.
- anon. [Brumell, John] British Guiana After Fifteen Years of Freedom, London, T. Bosworth, 1853.
- Bryans, Robin Trinidad and Tobago: Isles of the Immortelles, London, Faber and Faber, 1967.
- Buckland, Theresa 'Wakes and Rushbearing, c.1780-c.1830: A Functional Analysis', Lore and Language, Vol.3., No..6, 1982, pp.29-44.
- Buckland, Theresa 'The Tunstead Mill Nutters of Rossendale Lancashire', Folk Music Journal, Vol.5, No.2, 1986, pp.132-149.
- Burke, Peter Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe, London, Temple Smith, 1978.
- Burton, Richard D.E. 'Cricket, Carnival And Street Culture In The Caribbean', paper presented at the Caribbean Societies seminar, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 3 February 1986 (copy available at the Institute).
- Bushaway, Bob By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England 1700-1800, London, Junction Books, 1982.
- Cabral, George Snr. 'Carnival in Trinidad', Humming Bird, Carnival No., 1962, p.7.
- Calder-Marshall, Arthur Glory Dead, London, Michael Joseph, 1939.
- Campbell, Charles Memoirs of Charles Campbell, Glasgow, 1828, pp.16-17, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.255-6.
- Capadose, Lieutenant Colonel [Henry] Sixteen Years In The West Indies, 2 vols., London, T.C. Newby, 1845.
- Carmichael, Gertrude The History Of The West Indian Islands Of Trinidad And Tobago 1498-1900, London, Alvin Redman, 1961.
- Carmichael, Mrs. Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies, 2 vols., London, Whittaker, Treacher & Co., 1833 [republished as Five Years in Trinidad and St. Vincent, 2 vols., London, Whittaker and Co., 1834]. Excerpts in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa: Christmas (Trinidad and St. Vincent), pp.256-257.
- Carnegie, Charles V. ed., Afro-Caribbean Villages In Historical Perspective, a special edition of the African-Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Research Review, No.2, 1987.
- 'The Carnival', Port of Spain Gazette, 11 February 1899, p.7.
- 'Carnival' issue of Lambeth Arts, n.d., [1987].
- 'Carnival as usual', Race Today, Vol.8, No.5, May 1976, pp.102-103.
- 'Carnival Bands At Practice; Keen Interest Displayed; Preparation In Full Swing', Trinidad Guardian, 23 February 1919, pp.4-5.
- 'Carnival Belongs To Us', Race Today, Vol.8, No.9, September 1976, pp.171-172.
- 'Carnival in a Strange Land', Race Today, Vol.6, No.10, October 1974, pp.270-271.
- 'Carnival In Trinidad', Caribbean, Vol.8, No.8, March 1955, pp.174-5.
- 'Carnival, the police and the press', Race and Immigration, No.208, October 1987, pp.4-5.
- 'Carnival time again in Notting Hill', Economist, Vol.272, No.7094, 18 August 1979, p.23.
- Carr, Andrew T. 'Pierrot Grenade', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, pp.281-314.
- Carr, Andrew [T.] 'Carnival', in Michael Anthony and Andrew Carr, eds., David Frost Introduces Trinidad and Tobago, London, Andre Deutsch, 1975, pp.57-72.
- Carty, Hilary S. Folk Dances of Jamaica: An Insight, London, Dance Books, 1988.
- Carty, Wilfred The West Indies: Islands in the Sun, Camden, N.J., Thomas Nelson, 1967.
- Cassidy, Frederic G. "'Hipsaw" and "John Canoe"', American Speech, Vol.41, February 1966, pp.45-51.
- Cassidy, Frederic G. Jamaica Talk: Three Hundred Years of the English Language in Jamaica, 2nd. ed., London, Macmillan, 1971 [1st ed. 1961].
- Cassidy, F.G. and R.B. Le Page eds., Dictionary of Jamaican English, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967 [2nd ed., 1980].
- Cathcart, William comp., The Jamaican Almanac For the Year 1846..., Kingston, Jamaica, William Cathcart, [1845].

- Caudeiron, Mabel 'Music and Songs of Dominica', in Lennox Honychurch, Our Island Culture, Roseau, Dominica, Dominica Cultural Council, 1982, pp.226-31; 2nd. ed., Roseau, Dominica, Dominica National Cultural Council, 1988, pp.48-54.
- Cawte, E.C. Ritual Animal Disguise: A Historical and Geographical Study of Animal Disguise in the British Isles, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1978.
- Censor 'The Origin of Canboulay And The Old Way Of Playing It', Trinidad Chronicle, 16th March 1881, p.3.
- Chalamelle, Eugene Francis Some Reflections on the Carnival of Trinidad, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Fair Play Typ., 1901.
- Chambre, Major Alan Recollections of West End Life in London..., London, 1858, Vol.II, pp.151-153, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.270.
- Charles, Hubert Raphael: see Roaring Lion.
- Chester, Greville John Transatlantic Sketches..., London, 1869, p.80, 81-82, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.318.
- Christie, Rose 'Party Politics', City Limits, No.359, 18-25 August 1988, p.15, 92.
- 'Christina: The Lady With The Mandolin', Virgin Islands View, Vol.1, No.7, 1965, pp.30-39.
- Clarke, E.A. 'The John Canoe Festival in Jamaica', Folklore, 38, 1927, pp.72-75.
- Cohen, Abner 'Drama and Politics in the Development of a London Carnival', Man, new series, 15, 1980, pp.65-87.
- Cohen, Abner 'A polyethnic London carnival as a contested cultural performance', Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol.5, No.1, January 1982, pp.23-41.
- Collens, J.H. A Guide To Trinidad, 2nd ed., London, Elliot Stock, 1888.
- Collier, H.C. 'Trinidad Fantasia', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.28, No.2, February 1939, pp.7-11.
- Collier, H.C. 'Carnival Capers In Calypso Land', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.32, No.1, January 1943, pp.19-22 [slightly revised version of 1939 article].
- Collins, Mary Frank J. Gillis and John W. Miner eds., Oh Didn't He Ramble: The Life Story of Lee Collins, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1974.
- Comma, Vivian 'Carnival in London', in Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986, pp.24-29.
- Cooper, James Fenimore Satanstoe; or Littlepage Manuscripts. A Tale of the Colony, Mohawk ed., New York, G. Putnam's Sons, n.d., pp.66-67 [first published 1845], in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.67.
- Cothonay, R.P.M. Bertrand, O.P. Trinidad: Journal d'un missionnaire dominican des antilles anglaises, Paris, Victor Retaux, 1893, pp.62-66, in Errol Hill, Trinidad Carnival, pp.30-1; Brereton, 1979, p.157; 1983, p.76.
- Cowley, John 'Carnival in Trinidad: Evolution and Symbolic Meaning; a Background to Calypso', Musical Traditions, No.4, early 1985, pp.4-8.

- Crahan, Margaret E. and Franklin W. Knight eds., Africa And The Caribbean: The Legacies of a Link, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.
- Crawley [Crowley], Dan 'The Meaning of Carnival', Clarion, February 1954, p.1, 9.
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'Kinds of Folk Music Differentiated According to Social Institution: St. Lucia', Caribbean Society and Culture Notes, Vol.1, No.2, December 1955, pp.8-9. [1955 (1)]
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'Festivals of the Calendar in St. Lucia', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, No.2, December 1955, pp.99-121. [1955 (2)]
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'The Traditional Masques of Carnival', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, pp.194-223. [1956 (1)]
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'The Midnight Robbers', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, pp.263-274. [1956 (2)]
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'Song and Dance in St. Lucia', Ethnomusicology, 9, January 1957, pp.4-14.
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'Guy Fawkes Day at Fresh Creek, Andros Island, Bahamas', Man, 58, July 1958, pp.114-115 [No.158]. [1958 (1)]
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'La Rose and La Marguerite Societies in St. Lucia', Journal of American Folklore, Vol.71, No.282, Oct-Dec 1958, pp.541-552. [1958 (2)]
- Crowley, Daniel J. 'Toward a Definition of Calypso', Part 1, Ethnomusicology, Vol.3, No.2, May 1959, pp.57-66; Part 2, No.3, September 1959, pp.117-124.
- Cruickshank, J. Graham 'Yule Tide In Slavery Time', West India Committee Circular, Vol.29, No.423, 15 December 1914, pp.581-582.
- Cruickshank, J. Graham '"Good Time" in Slavery Days', West India Committee Circular, Vol.48, No.919, 21 December 1933, pp.507-508.
- Cundall, Frank Jamaica In 1905: A Handbook Of Information For Intending Settlers And Visitors, Kingston, Jamaica, The Gleaner Co. Ltd., 1905.
- Curry, Robert A. Bahamian Lore, Paris, privately printed, 1928.
- Dabydeen, David 'Man to Pan: David Dabydeen on how West Indians have revived the carnival', New Statesman & Society, Vol.1, No.12, 26 August 1988, pp.40-41.
- Daly, P.H. 'Christmas in the Nineteen-Twenties', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.217-221.
- Dance, C.D. Chapters From a Guianese Log Book, Georgetown, Demarara, The Royal Gazette Establishment, 1881.
- David, Christine Folklore of Carriacou, Wildey, St. Michael, Barbados, Coles Printery, 1985.
- Davis, Susan G. '"Making Night Hideous": Christmas Revelry And Public Order In Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia', American Quarterly, Vol.34, No.2, Summer 1982, pp.185-199.

Davis, Susan G. Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1986.

Day, Charles William Five Years' Residence In the West Indies, 2 vols., London, Colburn & Co., 1852. Excerpts in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa: Christmas (Barbados and Barbuda), pp.313-315; Carnival (Trinidad), pp.268-270; Jumble Dance (St. Vincent), pp.315-316.

De La Beche, H.T. Notes on the Present Conditions of the Negroes in Jamaica, London, 1825, pp.40-42, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.248-9, 301-2; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.86.

de Laussat, Pierre C. Memoire sur ma Vie Pendant les Annees 1803 et Suivantes...a la Louisianne..., Pau, France, 1831, p.395; in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.84.

de Leon, Rafael: see Roaring Lion.

de Verteuil, Anthony A A History Of Diego Martin 1784-1884, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Paria Publishing Co., 1987.

de Verteuil, Louis A.A. Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Administration, Present Condition and Prospects, London, Ward & Lock, 1858.

de Verteuil, Louis A.A. Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Administration, Present Condition and Prospects, London, 2nd ed., Cassell & Co., 1884.

de Weever, Barbara 'Christmas Delights: Remember...' (from New York, II), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.227.

Defries, Amelia Dorothy In A Forgotten Colony: Being Some Studies In Nassau And At Grand Bahama During 1916, Nassau, Guardian Office, 1917, [republished as The Fortunate Islands, 1929].

Defries, Amelia The Fortunate Islands: Being Adventures with the Negro in the Bahamas, London, Cecil Palmer, 1929.

De Jon, Lythe Orme 'The Gombey's of Bermuda', Dance Magazine, 30, May 1956, pp.32-33, 54-55.

Diaz, Herma 'Merry, Merry John Canoe In Jamaica', Dance Magazine, Vol.43, No.12, December 1969, pp.16-17.

Dirks, Robert 'Slaves' Holiday', Natural History, Vol.84, No.10, December 1975, pp.82-84, 87-88, 90.

Dirks, Robert 'John Canoe: Ethnohistorical and Comparative Analysis of a Carib Dance', Actes du XLII Congres International des Americanistes, 6, 1979, pp.487-501. [1979 (1)]

Dirks, Robert 'The Evolution of a Playful Ritual: The Garifuna's John Canoe in Comparative Perspective', in Edward Norbeck and Claire R. Fawer, eds., Forms of Play of Native North Americans, 1977 Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, St. Paul, West Publishing, 1979, pp.89-109. [1979 (2)]

Dirks, Robert The Black Saturnalia: Conflict and its ritual expression on British West Indian Slave Plantations, Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1987.

Dolphin, Lynette 'Music at Christmas', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.234-236.

'Don't Stop The Carnival', Race Today, Vol.8, No.2, February 1976, pp.36-37.

Duerden, Dennis 'The meaning of carnival', New Society, Vol.53, No.929, 21 August 1980, pp.357-359.

Dunn, L.A. 'Carnival Through The Years', Pt.1, Trinidad Evening News, 25 February 1952, p.11; Pt.2, 26 February 1952, p.2, 11.

'Editorial: Carnival Belongs To Us', Race Today, Vol.8, No.9, September 1976, p.170.

'Editorial: Our Position On Carnival '76', Race Today, Vol.8, No.4, April 1976, p.75.

Edmonson, Munro S. 'Carnival in New Orleans', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1956, pp.233-245.

Edwards, Bryan The History, Civil And Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies, Vol.III, London, John Stockdale, 1801.

Eights, James 'Pinkster Festivities in Albany Sixty Years Ago,' Collections on the History of Albany, Vol.II, Albany, 1867, pp.323-327, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.378-384

Elder, J.D. 'Colour, Music, and Conflict: A Study of Aggression in Trinidad with Reference to the Role of Traditional Music', Ethnomusicology, Vol.8, No.2, May 1964, pp.128-136.

Elder, J.D. 'Kalinda - Song of the Battling Troubadours of Trinidad', Journal of the Folklore Institute, Vol.3, No.2, August 1966, pp.192-203. [1966 (1)]

Elder, Jacob Delworth Evolution of the Traditional Calypso of Trinidad and Tobago: A Socio-Historical Analysis of Song Change, unpublished PhD dissertation, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1966. [1966 (2)]

Elder, J.D. From Congo Drum to Steelband: A Socio-Historical Account of the Emergence and Evolution of the Trinidad Steel-Orchestra, St. Augustine, Trinidad, University of the West Indies, 1969; [cover date, 1972]

Elliott, Ann 'Real, Real Calypso: How It Is Sung and Danced In Trinidad', Dance, 31, July 1957, pp.30-33, 90-93; Oct. 1957, pp.36-37, 72-75.

Encinas, E.M. 'Emancipation Day', in Alfred Richards, comp., Discovery Day Celebration 1927: Souvenir, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1927, p.72.

Epstein, Dena J. Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1978.

Espinet, Charles S. 'Origin and Development of Trinidad Carnival', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.43, No.1, January 1953, pp.22-23, 25.

Espinet, Charles S. and Harry Pitts Land of the Calypso: The Origin And Development of Trinidad's Folk Song, Port-of-Spain, Guardian Commercial Printery, 1944.

Etherton, P.T. Haunts of High Adventure: Sidelights and Cameos on Travels in Venezuela, Panama, Mexico, Cuba and the West Indies, London, John Long, [1950].

- Fahey, H. Neal 'Divergence Of Opinion On Recent Carnival Explained', Trinidad Evening News, 12 March 1952, p.3.
- Farmer, H.H. Virginia, Before and During the War, Henderson, Ky., the author, 1892, p.17, 29 in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.212.
- Farrar, Max 'Chaos of Carnival', New Statesman & Society, Vol.1, No.9, 5 August 1988, pp.26-27.
- Fenn, Elizabeth A. "'A Perfect Equality Seemed to Reign": Slave Society and Jonkonnu', North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 65, No. 2, April 1988, pp.127-153.
- Fermor, Patrick Leigh The Traveller's Tree: A Journey Through Caribbean Lands, London, John Murray, 1950.
- Fortune, Jose Ramon 'The Days When Stick-Fighting Was a Major Trinidad Sport', Trinidad Sunday Guardian, 7 March 1954, p.4a (sport).
- Frampton, H.M. 'Carnival Time In Dominica', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.47, No.5, May 1957, p.9.
- Fraser, Aileen 'Christmas in Jamaica', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.248-249.
- Fraser, James George ed. Mary Douglas, abridged and illustrated by Sabine McCormack, The Illustrated Golden Bough, London, Macmillan, 1978.
- Fraser, L.M. 'History of the origin of the Carnival,' 16 March 1881: Public Record Office CO 295/289/81.
- Fraser, Lionel Mordaunt History of Trinidad: (First Period), From 1781 to 1813, Vol.1, Port of Spain, Government Printing Office, 1891.
- Frucht, Richard 'Some Notes On A Christmas In The West Indies', Democrat, 22 December 1962, p.3.
- Gamble, Alan Chanté Dominitjen: Folk Songs of Dominica, Roseau, Dominica, Dominica Institute, 1986.
- Gardner, M.M. 'The Greatest Show of its Kind on Earth: Trinidad's Carnival', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.44, No.5, May 1954, pp.26-27, 29-31.
- Gardner, W.J. A History of Jamaica, London, 1873, p.183, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.276-7.
- Garrett, Clara Maude 'Caribbean Christmas', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.25, No.1 [?], December 1935, pp.22-23.
- George, Louise Wright 'Shakespeare in La Ceiba', Shakespeare Quarterly, Vol.3, No.4, October 1952, pp.359-365.
- Gibbs, A. British Honduras: An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Colony from its Settlement, 1670, London, Sampson Low, 1883, pp.75-76, in O. Nigel Bolland, 1987, p.72.
- Gillis, Verna 'Cradle of the New World: Music from the Dominican Republic, Vol.3', booklet notes to the long playing record of the same title, Folkways FE 4283, New York, Folkways Record & Service Corp., 1976.

- Godet, Theodore L. Bermuda: Its History, Geology, Climate, Products, Agriculture, Commerce & Government, London, Smith Elder & Co, 1860.
- Gomes, Albert Selected Speeches of Albert Gomes, Port of Spain, Guardian Commercial Printery, 1944.
- Gonzalez, Nancie L. 'New Evidence On The Origin of the Black Carib: With Thoughts On the Meaning of Tradition', Nieuwe West Indische-Gids, Vol.57, Nos. 3 & 4, 1983, pp.143-172.
- Gordon, Helen Cameron [Lady Russell] West Indian Scenes, London, Robert Hale, 1942.
- Graves, Charles Fourteen Islands in the Sun, London, Leslie Frewin, 1965.
- 'Grenada Shortney' in Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986, pp.22-23.
- Grey, De Sayles 'Trinidad And Calypso', Jazz Spotlight News, Vol.II, No.3, Spring-Summer 1981, pp.30-36.
- Gutzmore, Cecil 'Carnival, The State and The Black Masses in the United Kingdom', The Black Liberator, No.1, December 1978, pp.10-27.
- Gutzmore, Cecil 'The Notting Hill Carnival', Marxism Today, August 1982, pp.31-33.
- Hadel, Richard E. 'Carib Dance Music and Dance', National Studies [Belize], 1, November 1973, pp.4-10.
- Hadel, Richard 'Black Carib Folk Music', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.XXII, Nos.2-3, June-Sept. 1976, pp.84-96.
- Halpert, Herbert 'A Typology of Mummung', in Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story, eds., Christmas Mummung in Newfoundland, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp.34-61.
- Halpert, Herbert and G.M. Story eds., Christmas Mummung in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- [Hamilton, R.G.] Mr. Hamilton's Report on the Causes and Circumstances of the Disturbances in Connection with the Carnival in Trinidad, 13 June 1881, (Confidential Print, September 1881): Public Record Office CO 884/4/40.
- Handler, Jerome S. and Charlotte Frisbie 'Aspects of Slave Life In Barbados: Music And Its Cultural Context', Caribbean Studies, Vol.11, No.4, January 1972, pp.5-46.
- Hansford, M.M. 'The Gombey Dance', Dancing Times [London], December 1938, pp.275-276.
- Harding, Dorothy 'Mystery Plays in the West Indies', Wide World Magazine, Vol.VII, No.38, May 1901, pp.189-191.
- Harrid, Rizu 'Carnival', Spare Rib, No.195, October 1988, pp.14-15.
- Haydon, Geoffrey and Dennis Marks eds., Repercussions: A Celebration of African-American Music, London, Century Publishing, 1985.

- Hearn, Lafcadio 'New Orleans In Carnival Garb', Harper's Weekly, 24 February, 1883, reprinted in Albert Mordell, ed., Occidental Gleanings by Lafcadio Hearn, Vol.2, London, William Heinemann, 1925, pp.269-273.
- Helm, Alex The English Mummers' Play, Woodbridge, D.S. Brewer, 1981.
- Henderson, Capt. G. An Account of the British Settlement at Honduras ..., London, Baldwin, 1809, pp.76-77, in O. Nigel Bolland, 1987, p.72.
- Henry, Adina 'Bruckins Party', Jamaica Journal, Vol.17, No.3, August-October 1984, p.25. Printed also in Laura Tanna, (ed.), Jamaican Folk Tales And Oral Histories, Kingston, Jamaica, Institute of Jamaica Publications, 1984, p.53.
- Herskovits, Melville J., and Frances S. Herskovits Trinidad Village, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1947.
- Higman, B.W. 'Slavery Remembered: The Celebration of Emancipation in Jamaica', Journal of Caribbean History, Vol.12, 1979, pp.55-74.
- Higman, B.W. ed., Trade, Government And Society In Caribbean History 1700-1920, London, Heinemann, 1983.
- Hill, Donald R. 'The Impact of Migration on the Metropolitan and Folk Society of Carriacou, Grenada', Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol.54, Pt.2, September 1977, pp.189-392.
- Hill, Donald R. Calypsonians Speak For The Record: An Ethnohistorical Study of Trinidadian Calypso 1784-1950, unpublished ms.
- Hill, Donald R. and Robert Abramson 'West Indian Carnival in Brooklyn', Natural History, Vol.88, No.7, August-September 1979, pp.72-85.
- Hill, Errol The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate For A National Theatre, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1972.
- Hill, Errol 'The Trinidad Carnival: Cultural Change and Synthesis', Cultures, Vol.3, No.1, 1976, pp.54-86.
- Hill, Errol 'Traditional Figures In Carnival: Their Preservation, Development And Interpretation', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.31, No.2, June 1985, pp.14-34.
- Holm, John A. and Alison Watt Shilling Dictionary of Bahamian English, Cold Spring, New York, Lexik House Publishers, 1982.
- Honduras Almanac, Belize, 1830, p.17, in O. Nigel Bolland, 1987, p.72.
- Honychurch, Lennox The Dominica Story: A History of the Island, [Dominica, the author (?)], 1975.
- Honychurch, Lennox Our Island Culture, Roseau, Dominica, Dominica Cultural Council, 1982.
- Honychurch, Lennox The Dominica Story: A History of the Island, 2nd. ed., Roseau, Dominica, Dominica Institute, 1984.
- Honychurch, Lennox Our Island Culture, 2nd ed., Roseau, Dominica, Dominica National Cultural Council, 1988.

- Horowitz, Michael M. ed., Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader, Garden City N.Y., Natural History Press, 1971.
- Howe, Darcus "'...Is A Police Carnival'", Race Today, Vol.8, No.9, September 1976, pp.173-175.
- Howe, Darcus 'An Open Letter To The Carnival Development Committee', Race Today, Vol.8. No.9, September 1976, pp.178-179.
- Howe, Stephen 'Whose nation?', New Statesman & Society, Vol.1, No.12, 26 August 1988, p.21.
- Howell, George Rogers Bi-centennial History of Albany; History of the County of Albany, N.Y., from 1609 to 1886..., New York, W.W. Munsell, 1886, p.725, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, pp.67-68.
- Huber, Leonard V. Mardi Gras: A Pictorial History of Carnival in New Orleans, Gretna, Pelican Publishing, 1977.
- Hudson, Wilson M. ed., Tire Shrinker To Dragster, Austin, Encio Press, 1968.
- Hurston, Zora Neale Tell My Horse, Berkeley, Turtle Island, 1981 [first published 1938].
- Huxley, Aldous Beyond The Mexique Bay, London, Chatto & Windus, 1934.
- Inniss, Lewis Osborn Trinidad And Trinidadians: A Collection of Papers, Historical, Social And Descriptive About Trinidad And Its People, Port-of-Spain, Mirror Printing Works, 1910.
- Inniss, Lewis O. 'Carnival in the Old Days (From 1858)', Beacon, Vol.1, No.12, April 1932, pp.12-13. [1932 (1)]
- Inniss, L.O. Reminiscences Of Old Trinidad, Port-of-Spain, Yullies Printerie, 1932, [reprinted in Voices (Trinidad), Vol.2, No.2, April 1970]. [1932 (2)]
- Jackson, P. 'Street life: the politics of Carnival', Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol.6, No.2, 1988, pp.213-227.
- [Jacobs, Mrs. Harriet (Brent)], Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself..., ed. Maria Child, Boston, published for the Author, 1861, pp.179-80, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.131, [reprinted 1988 by Oxford University Press].
- Jekyll, Walter Jamaican Song And Story, London, David Nutt, 1907, [reprinted, New York, Dover Publications, 1966].
- John, Errol 'Mama looka Mas', in Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986, pp.7-19.
- Johnson, Howard 'Barbadian Immigrants in Trinidad 1870-1897', Caribbean Studies, vol.13, No.3, October 1973, pp.5-30.
- Jones, Charles (Duke of Albany), Calypso & Carnival of Long Ago And Today, Trinidad, Port of Spain Gazette, 1947.
- Jones, Patrick 'Jour Ouvert', Humming Bird, Carnival No., 1957, p.19.
- Jones, V. 'Steelband Magic', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.321, 1955, pp.236-237.

- Joseph, E.L. History Of Trinidad, Trinidad, Henry James Mills, 1838, [reprinted London, Frank Cass, 1970].
- Joyner, Charles Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1984.
- Judge, Roy The Jack-In-The-Green: A May Day Custom, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1979.
- Judge, Roy May Day in England: An Introductory Bibliography, London, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library and The Folklore Society, 1988.
- Juneja, Renu 'The Trinidad Carnival: Ritual, Performance, Spectacle and Symbol', Journal of Popular Culture, Vol.21, Spring 1988, pp.87-99.
- 'Kalenda in Grenada', letter about exponent John O'Neil, 20 February 1954 (Andrew Pearse Papers).
- Kay, Frances This-Is Grenada, St. Georges, Grenada, Carenage Press, 1971.
- Kaye, John William The Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe..., 2 vols., London, Richard Bentley, 1854.
- Kedjanyi, J. 'Masquerade Societies In Ghana', Research Review, III, 2, 1967, pp.51-57.
- Kelly, James Voyage to Jamaica, Belfast, 1838, pp.20-21, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.257-8; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.87.
- [Kennedy, Louise] 'David and Goliath in St. Kitts', Journal of American Folklore, Vol.9, No.35, October-December 1896, p.296.
- Kerns, Virginia and Robert Dirks 'John Canoe', National Studies [Belize], 3, 6, November, 1975, pp.1-15.
- Kerr, Madeline Personality and Conflict in Jamaica, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1952.
- Kerridge, Roy 'Carnival time', Spectator, Vol.251, No.8095, 3 September 1983, pp.9-11.
- Kightly, Charles The Customs and Ceremonies of Britain: An Encyclopaedia of Living Traditions, London, Thames and Hudson, 1986.
- Kmen, Henry A. Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years 1791-1841, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1966.
- L., A. 'Christmas in the 1890s', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.215-216.
- La Rose, Michael comp., Mas In Notting Hill: Documents in the Struggle for a Representative and Democratic Carnival 1989/90, London, New Beacon Books, 1990.
- Ladurie, Emmanuel Le Roy trans. Mary Feeny, Carnival in Romans: A People's Uprising at Romans, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1981.
- Lanigan, Mrs. Antigua and the Antiguans, London, 1844, Vol.II, pp.129-30, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.268.
- Laporte, Roy Bryce 'The Urban Carnival in North America', Trinidad and Tobago Review, Vol.3, No.8, 1980, pp.6-7.

- "Last Week It Was Soweto This Week It's Notting Hill", Race Today, Vol.8, No.9, September 1976, pp.176-177.
- Leach, Maria ed., Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology & Legend, London, New English Library, 1975.
- Leaf, Earl Isles Of Rhythm, New York, A.S. Barnes & Co., 1948.
- Lekis, Lisa Dancing Gods, New York, Scarecrow Press, 1960.
- Leschaloupe, Constance Marie 'Carnival in Trinidad: Masquerades and Steelbands', Canada-West Indies Magazine, Vol.43, No.10, October 1953, pp.12-14.
- Lewin, Olive 'Emancipation Songs and Festivities', Jamaica Journal, Vol.17, No.3, August-October 1984, pp.18-21, 23.
- Lewis, Matthew Gregory Journal of a West India Proprietor, London, 1834, pp.50-59, 73-76, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.240-6.
- Lloyd, Susette Harriet Sketches of Bermuda, London, James Cochrane & Co., 1835.
- Lloyd, William Letters from the West Indies During a Visit in the Autumn of MDCCCXXVI and the Spring of MCCCXXVII, London, 1839, pp.56-57, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.258-259.
- Lomax, Alan Mister Jelly Roll: The Fortunes of Jelly Roll Morton, New Orleans Creole and "Inventor of Jazz", New York, Duell, 1950.
- Long, Edward The History of Jamaica, London, 1774, Vol.II, pp.424-25, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.229.
- Lovell, Ronald 'Christmas Delights: Remember...' (From New York, I), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.227.
- Lynch, Louis The Barbados Book, London, Andre Deutsch, 1964.
- Lyttleton, Humphrey Second Chorus, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1958.
- MacMillan, Dougald 'John Kuners', Journal of American Folklore, Vol.39, Jan-March 1926, pp.53-57.
- McAndrew, Wordsworth 'Masquerade Bands', Artana, No.2, January 1965, p.6.
- McCallan, E.A. Life on Old St. David's Bermuda, Hamilton, Bermuda Historical Monuments Trust, 1948.
- McDavid, W[inifred] 'Christmas in 1935', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.223-224.
- McDowell, Teddy 'Christmas in Montserrat', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.244.
- McKay, Claude Banana Bottom, New York, Harper & Row, 1933.
- McLaughlin, E.C. 'Gombeys And Casava Pie', Bermudian, December 1932, p.8, p.38.
- 'The Makers of Masks: A Little-Known Industry in Port of Spain', Trinidad Guardian, 23 February 1919, p.4.

Malm, Krister 'The Parang of Trinidad: A Case of Transformation through Exploitation', Antropologiska Studies, Nos. 25-26, 1978, pp.42-49.

Maloney, A.H. Amber Gold: An Adventure in Autobiography, Boston, Meador Publishing Company, 1946.

Manning, Frank E. Black Clubs in Bermuda: Ethnography of a Play World, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1973.

Manning, Frank E. 'Cup Match [Bermuda] and Carnival [Antigua]: Secular Rites of Revitalization in Decolonizing Tourist Orientated Societies', in Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds., Secular Ritual, Assen/Amsterdam, Van Gorcum, 1977, pp.265-281.

Manning, Frank E. 'Carnival in Antigua (Caribbean Sea): An Indigenous Festival in a Tourist Economy', Anthropos, 1/2, 73, 1978, pp.191-204.

Manning, Frank E. 'Carnival and the West Indian Diaspora', Round Table, No.286, April 1983, pp.186-196.

March, Bertha Bermuda Days: Intimate Glimpses of the Island, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1929.

'Mardi Gras: From New Orleans to the Port of Spain', Jazz Illustrated, Vol.1, No.6, May 1950, pp.6-7.

Marryshow, Julian A. 'Christmas in Grenada', Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.245-247.

Marsden, Peter An Account of the Island of Jamaica, Newcastle, 1788, pp.33-34 in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.229-30; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.83.

Martinez, Raymond J. comp. and ed., Portraits of New Orleans Jazz: Its People and Places, New Orleans, Hope Publications, 1971.

'Mas Across the Atlantic', Race Today, Vol.7, No.9, September 1975, p.211.

Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986.

Massé, Abbé Armand M.L. de Verteuil, trans. The Diaries of Abbé Armand Massé 1878-1883, 4 vols., Port of Spain, Trinidad, published privately by the translator, 1988.

Masson, George H. 'Progress of Health Conditions in Trinidad and Tobago', in Alfred Richards, comp., Discovery Day Celebration 1927: Souvenir, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1927, pp.40-43.

Matthews, Dom Basil Crisis Of The West Indian Family: A Sample Study, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Extra Mural Department, University College of the West Indies, 1953.

Mendes, John comp., Cote ce Cote la: Trinidad & Tobago Dictionary, Trinidad & Tobago, Syncreators (1976) Ltd., 1985.

Messenger, John C. 'African Retentions in Montserrat', African Arts, Vol.6, No.4, Summer 1973, pp.54-57, 95-96.

Metcalf, Sir C. to Lord Stanley, 3 January 1842: PRO CO 137/261/1.

Midgett, Douglas K. 'Performance Roles and Musical Change in a Caribbean Society', Ethnomusicology, Vol.21, No.1, January 1977, pp.55-73.

Miller, Daniel 'Absolute Freedom in Trinidad,' Man, new series, Vol.26, No.2, 1991, pp.323-341.

Mills, Frank L. S.B. Jones-Hendrickson and Bertram Eugene Christmas Sports In St. Kitts-Nevis: Our Neglected Cultural Heritage, [Fredericksted, V.I., Eastern Caribbean Institute, 1984].

Mittelholzer, Edgar 'Christmas Delights: Remember....' (From Barbados), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.231.

Moodie, Sylvia 'Parang! Parang! Parang! Survival of Hispanic Religious Songs in Trinidad Folklore', Trinidad & Tobago Review, Vol.2, No.4, December 1977, pp.17-21, 23; No.5, January 1978, pp.17-21, 23, [reprinted in Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.29, No.1, March 1983, pp.1-31].

Moore, Sally F. and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds., Secular Ritual, Amsterdam, Van Gorcum, 1977.

Moseley, Mary 'The John Canoe Festival', Nassau Magazine, Vol.8, No.2, Winter 1955-56, p.29, 31.

'Music in Guyana', Kaie, No.4, July 1967, pp.48-54.

Naipal, Seepersad, 'Carnival Calypsos - and the Creole Troubadours', Trinidadian, 2, 1, Feb-March 1934, p.13, 38-40.

Naipaul, V.S. The Loss Of El Dorado: A History, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1973, [first published London, André Deutsch, 1969].

Nettleford, Rex 'Implications for Caribbean Development', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.183-197.

'The New Year in Calabar', The Times British Colonies Review, No.24, Fourth Quarter, 1956, pp.23-24.

Newall, Venetia 'Black Britain: The Jamaicans and their Folklore', Folklore, Vol.86, Spring 1975, pp.25-41.

N[ewell] W.W. 'The St. Kitts Miracle Play', Journal of American Folklore, Vol.10, No.36, Jan-March 1897, p.81.

Nissen, Johan Peter Reminiscences of a 46 Years' Residence in the Island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies, Nazareth, Pa., Senseman, 1838, p.165, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.88.

Nketia, J.H. Kwabena 'Traditional Festivals in Ghana and Community Life', Cultures, Vol.3, No.1, 1976, pp.33-44.

Nugent, Maria Frank Cundall, ed. Lady Nugent's Diary, London, 1907, pp.65-66 [first published 1839], in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.235.

Nunley, John W. 'The Lantern Festival in Sierra Leone', African Arts, Vol.XVIII, No.2, February 1985, pp.45-49, 97, 102-103.

Nunley, John W. Moving with the Face of the Devil: Art And Politics In Urban West Africa, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Nunley, John [W.] 'Masquerade Mix-up in Trinidad Carnival: Live Once, Die Forever', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.85-116. [1988 (1)]

Nunley, John [W.] 'Festival Diffusion into the Metropole', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.165-181. [1988 (2)]

Nunley, John W. and Judith Bettelheim eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988 [in association with the Saint Louis Art Museum].

'Old Time Carnival: The Days Of The Stick Fighters; Ferocious Battles Recalled; A Retired Warrior's Memoirs', Trinidad Guardian, 2 March 1919, p.7.

Oliver, Paul Conversation with the Blues, London, Cassel, 1965.

Orloff, Alexander Carnival: Myth and Cult, Wörgl [Austria], Perlinger Verlag, 1981.

Ottenberg, Simon Masked Rituals of Afikpo: The Context of an African Art, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1975.

Ottley, C.R. The Trinidad Callaloo (Life in Trinidad from 1851 to 1900), Diego Martin, Crusoe Publishing House, 1978.

Owusu, Kwesi The Struggle For Black Arts In Britain, London, Comedia Publishing Group, 1986.

Owusu, Kwesi and Jacob Ross Behind the Masquerade: The Story of Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Media Group, 1988. [1988 (1)]

Owusu, Kwesi and Jacob Ross, 'Mas Appeal', City Limits, No.359, 18-25 August 1988, pp.12-15. [1988 (2)]

Palmer, Leslie 'Memories of the Notting Hill Carnival' in Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986, pp.20-21.

Parsons, Alan A Winter in Paradise, London, A.M. Philpot, [1926].

Patterson, Orlando The Sociology of Slavery: An analysis of the origins, development and structure of Negro slave society in Jamaica, St. Albans, Granada Publishing, 1973 [first published 1967].

'Peaceful Notting Hill Carnival', Race and Immigration, No.219, October 1988, pp.6-9.

Pearse, Andrew 'Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3 and 4, March-June 1956, pp.175-193. [1956 (1)]

Pearse, Andrew ed., 'Mitto Sampson on Calypso Legends of the Nineteenth Century', Caribbean Quarterly, vol.4, nos.3 and 4, March-June 1956 pp.250-262. [1956 (2)]

Pearse Papers Cultural documents collected by Andrew Pearse and his associates held in the West India collection of the library of the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad.

Pegg, Bob Rites and Riots: Folk Customs of Britain and Europe, Poole, Blandford, 1981.

Pescatello, Ann M. ed., Old Roots in New Lands: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on Black Experiences in the Americas, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1977.

Phillip, Godfrey 'The National Fete', Clarion, February 1954, p.7.

Phillipo, James Mursell Jamaica: Its Past and Present State, 1843 (reprinted with a new introduction by Philip Wright, London, Dawsons, 1969, pp.241-43) in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, pp.88-9.

Philopolis 'The Last Carnival', Trinidad Sentinel, 4 March 1858, p.2, (typescript: Andrew Pearse Papers).

Pierpont, John Journal, 1805, ms., pp.10-13, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.84.

Pierson, William D. Black Yankees: The development of an Afro-American Sub-culture in Eighteenth-Century New England, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Pieters, Editte 'Christmas in New Amsterdam' (Berbice), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.232-233.

Pilgrim, Frank 'Christmas delights: Remember...' (From London, II), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.226.

Pilkington, Edward Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots, London, I.B. Tauris, 1988.

Ping, Nancy R. 'Black Musical Activities In Antebellum Wilmington, North Carolina,' Black Perspective In Music, Vol.8, No.2, 1980, pp.139-160.

Pinkard, George Notes on the West Indies..., 3 vols., London, Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orm, 1806.

Pitts, Harry 'Calypso: From Patois To Its Present Form', Trinidad Sunday Guardian Independence Supplement, 26 August 1962, p.41, 43.

'Police Carnival' 1989: A Report on the 1989 Notting Hill Carnival, London, Association for a People's Carnival, [1990].

Post, Lauren C. Cajun Sketches: From the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1974 [first published 1962].

Powles, L.D. The Land of the Pink Pearl or Recollections of Life in the Bahamas, London, 1888, pp.147-49, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.277-8, 319-20.

Powrie, Barbara E. 'The Changing Attitude of the Coloured Middle Class Towards Carnival', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, pp.224-232.

'Press goes to town on carnival hysteria', Searchlight, No.160, October 1988, pp.18-19.

Procope, Bruce 'The Dragon Band', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, pp.275-280.

- Pryce, Everton A. 'The Notting Hill Gate Carnival, - Black Politics, Resistance and Leadership 1976-1978', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol.31, No.2, June 1985, pp.35-52.
- Publications of the Trinidad & Tobago Historical Society, No.256, 'The Gazette', [editorial], Port of Spain Gazette, 5 August 1834, p.3.
- [Quevedo, Raymond] Atilla the Hun, 'Calypsoes From 1908-1958.' Trinidad Calypso Book, Trinidad, C. Roach, [1959], p.11, 13, 15, 18-19, 21, 23, 56.
- Quevedo, Raymond 'Dame Lorraine,' Humming Bird, Carnival No., 1961, p.4.
- Quevedo, Raymond Atilla's Kaiso: A Short History of Trinidad Calypso, St. Augustine, Trinidad, University of the West Indies, 1983.
- R., D.E. 'Carnival - Then & Now,' Clarion, February 1954, p.3, 5, 9.
- Ramdin, Ronald 'Carnival in Trinidad', Race Today, Vol.4, No.12, December 1972, pp.392-393.
- Rammel, Hal Nowhere in America: The Big Rock Candy Mountain and Other Comic Utopias, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1990.
- Ravenel, Henry William 'Recollections of Southern Plantation Life,' Yale Review, vol.25, June 1936, [pp.748-777], pp.768-769, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, pp.123-124.
- Raymond, Arthur F. 'Origin of the Savannah Carnival and the Development of the Down Town Celebrations,' Humming Bird, Carnival No., 1960, pp.8-10.
- Redhead, Wilfred A. A City On A Hill, Barbados, Letchworth Press, 1985.
- Reid, Ira de A. 'The John Canoe Festival: A New World Africanism', Phylon, Vol.III, No.4, 1942, pp.349-370.
- Ribeiro, Aileen 'The Old And New Worlds Of Mardi Gras', History Today, Vol.36, February 1986, pp.30-35.
- Richards, Alfred comp., Discovery Day Celebration 1927: Souvenir, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1927.
- 'The Road Make To Walk On Carnival Day', Race Today, Vol.8, No.4, April 1976, pp.76-77.
- The Road Make To Walk On Carnival Day: The Battle for the West Indian Carnival In Britain, London, Race Today Publications, 1977.
- The Roaring Lion [Rafael de Leon: Hubert Raphael Charles] Calypso: from France to Trinidad 800 Years of History, San Juan, Trinidad, General Printers, c.1987.
- Roberts, Helen H. 'Some Drums and Drum Rhythms of Jamaica', Natural History, Vol.24, 1924, pp.241-251.
- Roberts, Helen H. 'A Study of Folk Song Variants based on field work in Jamaica,' Journal of American Folklore, Vol.38, No.148, April-June 1925, pp.149-216.
- Roberts, John Storm sleeve notes to the long playing record, Caribbean Island Music, Nonesuch H-72047, New York, Nonesuch Records, 1972.
- Roberts, John Storm Black Music Of Two Worlds, London, Allen Lane, 1973.

- Robinson, Lewine 'Christmas Delights: Remember...' (From Jamaica, II), Kyk-Over-Al, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.229.
- Rohlehr, Gordon Calypso & Society in Pre-Independence Trinidad, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Gordon Rohlehr, 1990.
- Roosevelt, Theodore 'Where the Steady Trade Winds Blow,' Scribner's Magazine, Vol.LXI, No.2, February 1917, pp.169-188.
- Ross, Jacob 'New Road for the Carnival', First Glance, No.5, 1989, pp.2-3.
- Rutter, Owen If Crab No Walk: A Traveller in the West Indies, London, Hutchinson 1933 [2nd ed. as A Traveller in the West Indies, 1936].
- Ryman, Cheryl 'Jonkonnu: A Neo-African Form,' Part 1, Jamaica Journal, Vol.17, No.1, February 1984, pp.13-23; Part 2, No.2, May 1984, pp.50-61.
- Sampson, Mitto 'The Origins of the Trinidad Carnival', in Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986, pp.30-34. [1986 (1)]
- Sampson, Mitto 'Pan, A Musical Miracle', in Masquerading: The Art of the Notting Hill Carnival, London, Arts Council, 1986, pp.34-37. [1986 (2)]
- Sands, Rosita M. 'Conversation with Maureen "Bahama Mama" Du Valier and Ronald Simms: Junkanoo Past, Present, and Future,' Black Perspective In Music, Vol.17, Nos. 1 & 2, 1989, pp.93-108.
- Sands, Rosita M. 'Carnival Celebrations in Africa and the New World: Junkanoo and the Black Indians of Mardi Gras,' Black Music Research Journal, Vol.11, No.1, Spring 1991, pp.75-92.
- Saxon, Lyle Edward Dreyer and Robert Tallant comps., Gumbo Ya Ya: A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1945.
- Schaw, Janet Journey of a Lady of Quality..., New Haven, 1927, pp.107-109, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.228-9.
- Schultz, Christian Jun. Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and through the territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Orleans; Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles, New York, printed by Isaac Riley, 1810, p.197, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.52, 93.
- Scoles, Rev. J.S. Sketches of African and Indian Life in British Guiana, Demarara, 1885.
- Scott, Michael Tom Cringle's Log, London, J.M. Dent, 1969, pp.241-45 [first published 1829-33], in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.235-40.
- Seal, Graham 'Tradition and Agrarian Protest in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', Folklore, Vol.99, No.2, 1988, pp.146-169.
- Seaworthy, Captain Gregory [George Higby Throop] Bertie: or, Life in the Old Field..., Philadelphia, 1851, pp.217-219, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.384-386.
- Sertima, J. Van Scenes and Sketches of Demarara, Georgetown, Demarara, 1899, p.99, 102, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.278-9, 326-7.

- Sewell, William G. *The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies...*, London, 1862, pp.216-18 in Abrahams and Szwed, *After Africa*, pp.271-2.
- S[eymour], A.J. and J[oy] A[lsopp] 'About Christmas', *Kyk-Over-Al*, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, pp.212-214.
- Shedd, Margaret 'Carib Dance Patterns', *Theatre Arts Monthly*, 17, January 1933, pp.65-77.
- Sherlock, P.M. 'West Indian Society A Century Ago', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.2, No.3 [early 1950s], pp.47-48.
- Simmons, Harold 'The Flower Festivals of St. Lucia', *Voice of St. Lucia*, 27 August 1953, p.2.
- Simmons, Harold F.C. 'Terre Bois Bois', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.6, No.4, 1960, pp.282-285.
- Simmons, Harold F.C. 'Notes on Folklore in St. Lucia' in Edward Brathwaite, ed., *Iouanaloo: Recent Writings from St. Lucia*, Castries, St. Lucia, Department of Extra Mural Studies, 1963, pp.41-49.
- Singh, Kevin *Bloodstained Tombs: The Muharram Massacre 1884*, London, Macmillan, 1988.
- Sloan, Sir Hans *A Voyage to the Islands of Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christopher and Jamaica with the Natural History of the ... Last of These Islands ...*, London, printed by B.M. for the author, 1707, in Abrahams and Szwed, *After Africa*, p.281.
- Smith, James *The Winter of 1840 in St. Croix, with an Excursion to Tortola and St. Thomas*, New York, 1840, pp.19-21, in Abrahams and Szwed, *After Africa*, pp.312-3.
- Smith, M.G. 'Dark Puritan: The Life and Work of Norman Paul', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.5, No.1, June 1957, pp.34-47; Vol.5, No.2, February 1958, pp.85-98; Vol.5, No.4, June 1959; Vol.6, No.1, 1960, pp.48-59.
- Smith, M.G. *Dark Puritan*, Mona, Jamaica, University of the West Indies, 1963 [a fuller version of the above articles].
- Smith, Michael P. *Spirit World: Pattern In The Expressive Folk Culture of Afro-American New Orleans*, New Orleans, New Orleans Urban Folklife Society, 1984.
- Solien, Nancie L. 'West Indian Characteristics of the Black Carib', in Michael M. Horowitz, ed. *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader*, Garden City, N.Y., Natural History Press, 1971, pp.133-149 [article first published, 1959].
- Spitzer, Nicholas 'Cajuns and Creoles: The French Gulf Coast', in Allen Tullus, ed., *Long Journey Home: Folklife in the South*, a special edition of *Southern Exposure*, Vol.5, Nos. 2-3 [Chapel Hill, N.C.], Summer-Fall 1977, pp.140-195.
- Spitzer, Nick *Zodico: Louisiana Cr ole Music*, booklet notes to the long playing record of the same title, Rounder Records 6009, Somerville, Massachusetts, 1979.
- Stadlen, Frances 'The Carnival is over...fire next time?', *Times Educational Supplement*, No.3208, 26 November 1976, pp.10-11.
- 'Stay Solid - Support Your Carnival', *Team Work*, Vol.IV, No.1, July-August 1988, pp.1-2, 11.
- Stearns, Marshall W. booklet notes to the long playing record, *Junkanoo Band - Key West Folkways FE 4492*, New York, Folkways Records & Service Corp., 1964.
- Stevenson, Robert *A Guide to Caribbean Music History*, Lima, Ediciones Cultura, 1975.
- Stewart, James *A View of the Past and the Present State of the Island of Jamaica*, Edinburgh, 1823, pp.273-74 [first published anonymously, London, 1808] in Abrahams and Szwed, *After Africa*, pp.247-8, 299-301.
- Stewart, John 'Patronage and Control in the Trinidad Carnival' in V. Turner and E.M. Bruner, eds., *The Anthropology of Experience*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1986, pp.289-315.
- Stuart, Gladys 'The Christmas That Went Before', *National Studies* [Belize], 1, January 1973, pp.11-13.
- Sturge, Joseph and Thomas Harvey *The West Indies in 1837*, London, Hamilton Adams & Co., 1838.
- Tallant, Robert *Mardi Gras*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1948.
- Tanna, Laura [ed.], *Jamaica Folk Tales And Oral Histories*, Kingston, Jamaica, Institute of Jamaica Publications, 1984.
- Taylor, Daphne Pawan *Parang of Trinidad*, Port of Spain, National Cultural Council of Trinidad and Tobago, 1977.
- Thompson, Leslie *Leslie Thompson: An Autobiography as told to Jeffrey P. Green*, Crawley, Rabbit Press, 1985.
- Thompson, Robert Farris 'Recapturing Heaven's Glamour: Afro-Caribbean Festivalizing Arts', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., *Caribbean Festival Arts*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.17-29.
- Thorne, Vivi 'Christmas delights: Remember...' (From Jamaica, I), *Kyk-Over-Al*, Vol.6, No.21, 1955, p.228.
- Throop, George Higby: see Captain Gregory Seaworthy [his pseudonym].
- 'Trinidad Carnival', *West India Committee Circular*, Vol.LXVI, No.1248, December 1951, p.282.
- Trinidad Carnival*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Paria Publishing Co., 1988 [a slightly edited republication of *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, 1956. For the relevant articles in this publication see the respective entries for Andrew T. Carr, Daniel J. Crowley, Munro S. Edmonson, Andrew Pearse, Barbara E. Powrie and Bruce Procopie.]
- Tulloch, Carol 'Claudia Jones: Mother of Mas', *City Limits*, No.359, 18-25 August 1988, p.14.
- Tullus, Allen ed., *Long Journey Home: Folklife in the South*, a special edition of *Southern Exposure*, Vol.5, Nos. 2-3, [Chapel Hill, N.C.] Summer-Fall 1977.
- Turner, Victor W. *The Ritual Process*, London, Routledge, 1969.

- Turner, Victor ed., Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1982.
- Turner, V. and E.M. Bruner eds., The Anthropology of Experience, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Upshal, David 'Pre-Carnival tension', New Statesman and Society, Vol.1, No.5, 8 July 1988, p.33.
- Van Gennep, Arnold trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee The Rites of Passage, London, Routledge, 1960.
- Vandercook, John W. Caribbe Cruise: A Book of the West Indies, New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1938.
- Victor, Metta V. Maum Guinea, and Her Plantation "Children"; or, Holiday Week on a Louisiana Estate, A Slave Romance, New York, Beadle, c.1861, p.37, in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.158.
- Waddell, Hope Masterton Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A Review of Missionary Work and Adventure 1829-1858, London, Thomas Nelson, 1863.
- Walke, Olive 'Christmas Music of Trinidad', Shell Trinidad, Vol.5, No.9, December 1959, pp.5-6.
- Walser, Richard 'His Worship The John Kuner', North Carolina Folklore, Vol.19, 1971, pp.160-172.
- Warner, Keith Q. Kaiso! The Trinidad Calypso: a study of the calypso as oral literature, Washington, D.C., Three Continents Press, 1982 [published in Britain as The Trinidad Calypso: A Study Of The Calypso As Oral Literature, London, Heinemann, 1983].
- Warner, Maureen 'Africans In 19th-Century Trinidad', African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletin, Part I, No.5, Dec. 1972, pp.27-59; Part II, No.6, 1973, pp.13-37.
- Watson, Richard A Defense of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the West Indies..., London, 1817, pp.121-22, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.246-7.
- Waugh, Evelyn Ninety-Two Days, London, Duckworth, 1934.
- Weed, Thurlow Letters from Europe and the West Indies, Albany, 1866, (reprinted in Virgin Islands View, Vol.2, No.7, December 1966, pp.32-38) in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.272-6.
- Welsford, Enid The Court Masque, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1927.
- [Wentworth, Trelawny] The West India Sketch Book, London, 1834, pp.37-38, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.257.
- Whipple, Emory C. 'Music of the Black Caribs of British Honduras', M. Mus thesis, University of Texas at Austin, August 1971: abstract in Robert Stevenson, A Guide to Caribbean Music History, Lima, Ediciones Cultura, 1975, pp.63-66.
- Whipple, Henry Benjamin Lester B. Shippee, ed. Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary 1843-1844, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, c.1937, pp.50-51; and in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, p.384; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.156.
- White, Shane 'Pinkster: Afro-Dutch Syncretization in New York City and the Hudson Valley', Journal of American Folklore, Vol.102, No.403, January-March 1989, pp.68-75.
- White, William C. 'The Calypso Singers: You May Not Understand Their Trinidad Accent but the Songs have a Rhythm you can't Forget', Esquire, 37, September 1927, p.46, 109.
- Whitefield, George Journals, A New Edition Containing Fuller Material Than Any Hitherto Published, [London], Banner of Truth Trust, 1960, pp.378-82; in Epstein, Sinful Tunes, p.208.
- Whitten, Norman E. and John F. Szwed eds., Afro-American Anthropology, Contemporary Perspectives, New York, Free Press, 1970.
- Whittenberger, Dorothy 'Miss U.S.A. Sees: "Kalenda" Display in St. James', Trinidad Guardian, 9 February 1937, p.2.
- Wiggins, William H. Jr. O Freedom!: Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1987.
- Wilhelmsen, Fin 'The Mardi Gras Indians', in Raymond J. Martinez, comp. and ed., Portraits of New Orleans Jazz: Its People and Places, New Orleans, Hope Publications, 1971, pp.50-52.
- Williams, Alfred M. 'A Miracle-Play In The West Indies', Journal of American Folklore, Vol.9, No.33, April-June 1896, pp.117-120.
- Williams, Cynric R. A Tour through the Island of Jamaica..., London, 1826, pp.21-27, 62-64, in Abrahams and Szwed, After Africa, pp.249-52; Epstein, Sinful Tunes, pp.85-86.
- Wintour, Patrick 'Bored Enough To Riot', New Statesman, Vol.94, No.2424, 2 September 1977, pp.291-292.
- Witter, Leroy 'The Police vs Carnival', Race Today, Vol.17, No.6, October-November 1987, p.7.
- Wood, Donald Trinidad In Transition: The Years After Slavery, London, Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Wright, Richardson Revels In Jamaica, 1682-1838, New York, Benjamin Blom, 1969 [first published, 1937].
- Wynter, Sylvia 'Jonkonnu in Jamaica: Towards the Interpretation of Folk Dance as a Cultural Process', Jamaica Journal, Vol.4, No.2, June 1970, pp.34-38.
- X 'The Origin of the Cannes Boulées', [in French] Port of Spain Gazette, 19 March 1881, p.3.
- [X] 'The Origin of the Cannes Boulées, [in English] Port of Spain Gazette, 26 March 1881, p.5.
- Yonker, Dolores 'Rara in Haiti', in John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., Caribbean Festival Arts, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.147-155.
- Young, Thomas Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore..., 2nd ed., London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1847.

Young, Sir William 'A Tour Through Several Islands of Barbados, St. Vincent, Antigua, Tobago and Grenada in the Years 1791 and 1792', in Bryan Edwards, The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies, Vol.III, London, John Stockdale, 1801, pp.261-301; and Epstein, Sinful Tunes, pp.57-58, 83.

White, William, 'The Negroes and the Abolition of Slavery', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.

Williams, G. E. 'The Negroes of Barbados and the Problem of the Slave Trade', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1937, p.155.