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CARIBBEAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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W. Davenport	380	Introduction
G. E. Cumper	386	Household and Occupation in Barbados
W. Davenport	420	The Family System of Jamaica
M. G. Smith	455	Kinship and Household in Carriacou
Rémy Bastien	478	Haitian Rural Family Organization
Peter J. Wilson	511	Household and Family on Providencia
Sidney W. Mintz	528	A Final Note

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Kinship and Household In Carriacou¹

By

M. G. SMITH

THE SETTING

Although the West Indies contain only a minute fraction of the world's population and land area, even this small fraction is many times subdivided under differing governments and among different islands. Of the Antilles, only Cuba and Hispaniola can be classified as large islands. Puerto Rico, Trinidad and Jamaica are of moderate population and size. Places like Barbados, Grenada, Guadeloupe and Antigua are generally referred to by their larger neighbours as "small islands". However, the archipelago contains many units which are far smaller than Barbados or Grenada. The Turks, Caymans and Caicos island dependencies of Jamaica, Saba, the Virgins, and many others are so much smaller in area and population, that they form a separate economic category, and perhaps a separate social category as well. In this essay I shall try to describe kinship conditions on one of the very small units of this area, even though I cannot say whether or not these data are representative of this class of unit.

Grenada is 64 miles from St. Vincent by a route which is strewn with scores of rocks and small islands known together as the Grenadines. Many of these rocks are inhabited by goats and gulls only. Others are used as shelter by the numerous small craft which ply these waters. Only the larger islands of Mairo, Canouan, Bequia, Union and Carriacou contain sizeable populations. Of these five islands, Carriacou with an area of 13 square miles and a population estimated at 6,800 in 1946 is the largest, and the only one dependent on Grenada. To Carriacou folk, Grenada with its area of 100 square miles is "the mainland"; but Carriacou also has its own island dependencies, the largest of which, Petit Martinique, contains a few hundred souls of mixed Afro-French descent who exploit still smaller islands near them.

Until 1763, Carriacou was a French possession and although the British have administered it since 1783, French cultural influences persist in religion and language. The older people are all bilingual, and speak a creolized Romance language similar to that spoken in St. Lucia, Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as English, learned overseas or in the schools. By religion, the population is divided into Anglicans and Catholics; Petit Martinique and a community of Scotch descent at Windward opposite it being wholly

¹I visited Carriacou in 1952-3 in the course of a study of Grenada society and culture as a staff member of the Institute of Social and Economic Research. My observations on Carriacou are set out in two monographs, to be published shortly, *Kinship and Community in Carriacou*, and *West Indian Family Structure*.

Catholic. Unlike the folk of Windward and Petit Martinique, the Negro population who form the majority tend to be mainly Anglican. These Negroes practise an ancestor cult in addition to the Church rituals.

Until 1838, except for the small port and township of Hillsborough, Carriacou was entirely divided into slave plantations, the principal products being sugar-cane and cotton. But even under slavery the value of this island for commercial agriculture was marginal. With its low and erratic rainfall concentrated during the months of May to October, Carriacou is only suitable for crops which mature rapidly. During the slavery period, Carriacou depended on imported camels for internal transport. There are no rivers or streams on the island, and the old cattle-ponds of the sugar plantations now serve as village watering holes. In 1835 on the eve of Emancipation, Carriacou had a population of 3,100, 85 per cent of whom were slaves of African descent. Immediately after the abolition of slavery in 1838, a steady emigration started, the ex-slaves, especially the men, going initially to Grenada and then to Trinidad, which offered higher wages and more liberal employment conditions. In the early 1840's, Carriacou planters were complaining about this labour withdrawal; but after the abolition of Imperial Preference for sugar in 1846, their complaints were lost in the general howl raised by planters throughout the British West Indies. By the 1850's, the planter class had joined the labourers in the emigration from Carriacou. But whereas the labourers maintained their local population, the emigration of the Carriacou planters proved to be permanent; and with them went all the few locals whose skills, wealth and status set them apart from the ex-slaves and identified their interests with the Caribbean elite. By the 1870's the Carriacou plantations were being cultivated on the system of *metayer* or share cropping, under the supervision of local headmen. Cotton, corn, limes, peas and groundnuts were the main crops. With the abandonment of the sugar-cane and the plantation, the islanders lost their main local source of employment. The emigration therefore continued, the men working abroad to acquire the resources with which to establish their own homes and maintain their families afterwards. In the closing decades of the last century, Carriacou emigration flowed to Trinidad and Venezuela where the oil and gold resources were being developed. During this century, these movements continued, Aruba, Curacao, Trinidad, and Venezuela attracting more islanders than Grenada island, only 23 miles away. By 1953 all but two estates on the island had passed into the hands of the peasants, several of them under Government land settlement schemes. In 1953, Dumfries, the last remaining estate of note, was taken over by the Grenadian government for rehabilitation, prior to subdivision and distribution under the land settlement scheme. Marie Galante cotton and groundnuts are now the two principal cash-crops, with limes being grown feebly on the few large land-holdings left. For provisions the population grows peas, maize, okroes, some yams and sweet potatoes. Their sloops and schooners bring other foodstuffs from Grenada, Tri-

nidad and St. Vincent for the weekly market; today, flour and rice are diet staples. Cattle and goats are reared locally, and fish are caught regularly in pots and by seines, lines and nets. In addition, the islanders build and man a fair number of sloops and schooners, sailing the Main and the eastern Caribbean on regular routes, and going as far north as St. Kitts which they call North Island. This schooner traffic has two main centres in Carriacou; among the "Scots" of Windward and the Negroes of L'Esterre, on the western end of the Leeward side.² Clearly, these schooners and sloops have been of great value in the islanders' emigration.

In 1946, the island population was reckoned as 6,769 souls, 3,025 or 44.5 per cent of whom were less than 14 years of age, and of these 3,025 children, 1,493 or 49.3 per cent were males. Of the remaining 3,744 people on the island, only 1,065 were males.³ Thus, males formed only 28.4 per cent of the total population above 15 years of age. If all persons of more than 15 years old are classed as adults, there were 2.5 females for every male adult in Carriacou at the time of this census. Among the children below the age of 15, the sex-ratios were almost exactly equal. The surplus of adult females in this population is the effect and the measure of male emigration. This degree of sex imbalance is no recent feature in Carriacou.

In sum Carriacou depends on emigration, sea-faring, and small-scale agriculture, the men working at sea or abroad while the women work in the fields or "gardens". In this society there are no "classes" or "class-divisions", such as we find in nearby Grenada or St. Vincent. Only among the "French" of Petit Martinique and the "Scots" of Windward, are colour differences socially significant; among the islanders wealth consists mainly of ships, land, cattle or shop goods; prosperity is always contingent on popular esteem and support, and economic differences are never conspicuous. At most there are a dozen families in the island who could be considered affluent, and perhaps there are not many more whom we could regard as destitute. There is also little room for occupational differences in the island. A single bad season or mishap at sea is sufficient to remind the relatively large land-owner or schooner captain of fortune's fickleness, and if the fish run elsewhere, the seines hauled in from the shore are useless to their owners and the villages alike. Restrictive immigration policies or fluctuating overseas trade movements affect all on the island equally. Until 1951 moreover, the island population had no form of representative government. It was administered under the Grenadian Government by a District Commissioner who had magisterial powers. Since then, universal suffrage has been introduced, and Carriacou elects its own member of the Grenadian legislature; but the islanders are well aware that their representative has little influence on the Government's policy, and the District Officer still has the decisive voice in all their local affairs. Preoccupied by problems of subsistence and survival, the islanders have little energy for political activities or disputes.

²See Procope, Bruce, "Launching a Schooner in Carriacou," *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Extra Mural Dept., U.C.W.I., Port of Spain, Trinidad, pp. 122-131.

³West Indian Census, 1946. (1950) Part H. Table 19, p. 19, Govt. Printer, Kingston.

THE LIFE-CYCLE

In Carriacou, the children go to school soon after they are four years old. There are only three Government-supported primary schools on the island, and these merely provide their pupils with the rudiments of literacy. Few children from Carriacou are to be found at either of the Grenadian secondary schools. Adolescent girls remain at home learning womanly work in the kitchen and garden, while the boys are either apprenticed to some local craftsman or turn towards the sea, and prepare to migrate. Most young men of moderate means go abroad to work before they are twenty-one, seeking in this way to save the money they need to build their own home and marry. Some who go away may never return to settle in the island; but a great many do, building their homes, marrying, and then going away once more to earn the money with which to build a shop or vessel, or to purchase the land or cattle which will support the new family until the children are old enough to look after themselves. Since the island offers so little wage-employment and no room for commercial cultivation, each family on the island needs some independent source of cash income to supplement the money obtained from cotton and groundnuts. Shops, rowboats, sloops, schooners, seine-nets, and other fishing tackle, cattle and land are the only forms of investment to be found in Carriacou. House-building for rent or resale is unheard of. It is almost impossible to obtain quarters for rent, although shop-premises and land may be rented for productive purposes. As we shall see, lack of house-rent is assumed by the family organisation of Carriacou.

While their children are of school age, parents are gradually acquiring maturity — women through repeated motherhood, men through increasing involvement in the ancestor rituals held for baptism, the setting up of new homesteads and other familial occasions. These household rituals cannot be held in homes belonging to other people; accordingly house rental is not practised in Carriacou.

When children enter adolescence their parents will be middle aged, and will count among the effective citizens of their community. At this stage fathers should arrange for their sons' apprenticeships, or assist them to go overseas on local vessels or in search of work. Men depend on their wives to supervise their daughters' conduct, and they seek to arrange formal betrothals for these girls. Few girls on this island have children before they are 24 years of age for men who are not formally betrothed to them. A man can formally curse ("wish") his children and junior siblings for conduct of which he severely disapproves. Such a curse, if delivered on just grounds and by the right person, may cut off the accursed from the blessed ancestors. In addition a man may summarily thrash his daughters, or eject them from his home. In such a rare event, the girls may have to leave the island as well as the community, unless their parent is an outsider or otherwise disliked. As age increases, maturity is expressed by increasing seniority in lineage activities. Lineage seniority confers ritual leadership. It is also expressed

in the consultations which precede or mark betrothals, wakes, burials and entombments, baptisms, marriages, land transfers by inheritance and by other means. Progressive increases of seniority mark an individual's approach to the world of the ancestors. In the Big Drum dances which dramatise this ancestor cult most elaborately, only mature individuals may dance in ritual and old persons are the real leaders.

In Carriacou belief, the ancestors inhabit their graves and wander around their villages for forty days after their death. During this period the deceased may be seen by non-kin, and widows must mourn intensely. Thereafter, the dead may make further appearances in dreams when they give "messages", which must always be observed, to any mature person in their village. Often these dreams are requests for "food", that is, for sacrifice or *saraca*, as it is locally called. A person's descendants remain obliged to provide these periodic *saraca*, as well as the anniversary "plate of food", until their dead ancestor has been properly tombed at a "stone-feast" or final funeral rite. Thereafter, the deceased will only help his or her descendants and need no longer be feared.

In such a society, aged heads of families have highest status. From this group are drawn the lineage and community elders as well as the ritual leaders. Their power of ritual curses together with their control of such resources as land, houses, boats or vessels, seine-nets, shops, or cattle, provide these old men with an additional authority which strengthens their kinship position. In consequence, status assignments in Carriacou diverge radically from those in "class-stratified" societies. In Carriacou males have precedence over females, and the old have precedence and authority over the young, whatever the difference in their local wealth or overseas achievements.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

Carriacou society contains three basic units: the community, the lineage and the household. Communities are local units, distinguished by names, boundaries (largely those of old estates), founding family lines, and economic and social interests. Most communities have their own common and water-hole, which they keep in good condition by "maroons" or turnouts of their young men for free group work. In addition, most communities hold their own community sacrifices, as during a drought, or after the maize harvest in August, or on the occasion of some significant economic event, such as a large catch by the local seine, the setting out of a schooner after careening, a launching, a house-opening or the like. Within a community, senior persons may receive dream-messages for some unrelated neighbour. Within communities also, we find the highest degree of marriage and extra-marital mating, the most frequent exchange of labour or goods, the greatest density of share-cropping, share-tending and similar arrangements, and generally the greatest intensity of social life. In the long dry seasons, each community tends to celebrate its own series of secular dances, known as bouquet or company dances. Formerly communities used to play one another at cricket;

unable to afford the necessary gear in recent years, they now compete in dominoes and similar games by selected teams at formal visits, and on St. Peter's day, the great fête for Carriacou, by boat-races at the island capital, Hillsborough.

Each community contains two or more large and solidary groups of kin. At L'Esterre, we find two distinct groups of Josephs, and another Bristol line; at Belmont South and Harvey Vale, we find the Gays, the Gabriels, the Billys and Bedeaux. At Six Roads, the Cudjoes, Raymonds and another branch of Josephs are prominent. Kinship groups of similar scale and organisation which are associated with various other communities of the island include the Georges, the Noels, the Quashies, the Johns, the Alexises, etc.

These large kinship groupings are referred to as "bloods." A blood is a body of agnatic kin within a range of four generations. Within this range, mating and marriage are both prohibited. Bloods are exogamous lineage groups. Children of second cousins who are agnates may marry; their parents may not. When these marriages occur the parents belong to one common blood, while their children belong to separate bloods descended from their respective great-grandfathers. In other words, beyond the fourth generation, bloods are continually being differentiated even though their senior living generations remain members of their original units. Thus, the progressive differentiation of these lineages as inter-marrying units takes place within a wider framework based on the lineage to which the fathers and grandfathers belonged; the resultant segmentation requires a further three generations after exogamy lapses for complete separation of the bloods undergoing such change. In consequence, we can describe agnatic groups, whose junior members may marry, while their seniors are bound by the exogamic rule, as "linked bloods". Bloods linked through their seniors in this way may be settled within one or more communities. Generally, these lineage linkages cross community bounds. Linked bloods participate in one another's ritual events by right and duty, and in these rituals the linkage is reaffirmed and maintained for years after the death of those "old parents" who belonged to the original lineage.

Within the four-generation range of agnatic kinship, bloods are ritually independent as well as exogamous. Each such unit recognises its oldest living male as the head, but headship exercises influence rather than authority and knowledge rather than power. The head and his peers have fullest knowledge of the kinship connections among various families in their own and other neighbouring communities. They are the special custodians of ritual lore, of local history, and land transactions, of wills and the lineage genealogy; they must therefore approve marriage proposals, and they must be consulted about any dream-messages which require sacrifice so that remoter ancestors may be correctly identified. They also supervise the lineage cemeteries, although each only owns that graveyard which keeps his ancestors. By these tombstones genealogical connections can be traced, and to this evidence points in doubt or dispute are referred.

A sacrifice must be held before a man can live in the new home built with his earnings oversea. This rite begins with a sacrifice at the home of his father or grandfather and then moves to the new site. On such occasions the lineage seniors have important roles, and their participation confirms the householder in his new status as a mature member of the lineage group. Later when the stone-feast for the entombment of his father is held, the householder again provides a sacrifice in which his lineage seniors have leading roles.

Despite their relatively shallow depth, and the continual loss of their members through emigration, bloods are important units of the communities to which they belong. At L'Esterre village for instance, one of the Joseph bloods contains the principals of 11 households while another Joseph blood includes 4, and the Bristols are principals in 8 households. Together these three lineages account for one-third of the households in this community. If we include another three lineages, we should account for more than half of the community members. Between these large kinship groupings, both marriages and extra-marital matings occur often, with the result that most persons born in a Carriacou village have large numbers of their mother's and father's kin living close at hand, even those begotten in extra-marital matings.

There is a fair degree of inter-village mating in Carriacou, but rather less movement of persons from one village to another, except at marriage which is predominantly virilocal in this context, and neolocal within villages. Emigrants may remain abroad permanently, nonetheless retaining their community attachments. If they return it is almost certainly to their native village. Movements of men into other villages in the island are not so frequent a basis for inter-village lineage linkages as the non-domestic inter-village matings, under the conventions of which the children remain with their mother and her kin.

The Carriacou patrilineage is rationalized by a dogma of conception. According to this dogma, a child takes its blood from the father only. Women cannot pass on their blood to their children. "With women, the blood finish." However by the fourth generation the original common blood has become so weakened that intermarriage involves no risk of ill-health or incest. "Women only *bear* children, men *make* them." "A cow cannot have a calf unless it visit the bull." In consequence, children belong to their father's blood; and "the children of two sisters, they are not relative, they only style themselves relative; your only relative are your father's family." For this reason marriage occasionally occurs between the children of a brother and sister. The marriage of two ortho-cousins, or of agnatic first-cousins once removed, who are described as second cousins in Carriacou, is forbidden by the lineage exogamy which this theory of conception supports.

A man may have children by two women who are close agnatic kin without thereby contravening the lineage principle or the local moral code. But

a woman who has children for two men belonging to the same exogamous blood is classified as "a prostitute" in Carriacou, and her shame is greatest when the fathers are full siblings. Although the fathers of these children become ritually unclean by their relation with the woman, they do not suffer anything like the intense opprobrium which is her lot thereafter. "Is the owner of the hen response for the hen, and not the owner of the cock."

Yet despite this emphasis on patriline in the social organization, maternal relatives are always important, and they may often be better known than lineage kin. When a man has children by a woman who lives in another community, these children will generally remain with their mother, being brought up among her kin. Under such circumstances, children know their mother's family rather better than their father's. However, even in conditions of this sort, we find that the average individual's knowledge of his father's genealogy far exceeds that of his mother's in depth and range.

Kinship terms, whether in English or in the local creole language, are bilateral in their application and descriptive rather than classificatory. Within the same generation differences of age are marked by the junior's use of address terms such as cousin or brother when speaking to his senior. There may once have been avoidance of the names of paternal grandparents, but at present there is no such observance. Wives of a person's father's brothers or paternal uncles are addressed and referred to as aunt (*tante* or *tan*); but extra-domestic mates of father's brother are referred to as "cousins". The widest range of collaterality recognised in Carriacou coincides with the furthest span of lineage kinship. All agnates of the same generation in linked bloods are cousins reciprocally. Generation differences are expressed by such terms as *Pa*, *Ma*, *Nonc* or *Tante*. First names are in common use, together with the individual's nicknames in Romance Creole or English. Relationships persist however long may be the separation through emigration. The ritual obligations of emigrants are important in maintaining familial bonds and contact. In a population of 1595 persons which I studied at Harvey Vale in 1953, 538 were then overseas, but only the whereabouts of 6 individuals remained uncertain.⁴

In Carriacou folk address and refer to one another in various ways, but generational and kinship seniorities are usually included. A man may call his father's brother's wife, sister or *se*, adding her nickname, as "Se-Shining," in imitation of her children. Or he may call her *tante* using her proper Christian name, which is not hidden in Carriacou as it is in Grenada. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish between true and nicknames as the local folk lavish considerable talent on the naming of their own and other people's children. Thus we come across men called Propeller George, Gay Gay, King Gabriel, Gabriel Gabriel, Feeling (Philip?) Plenty, and the like. Nicknames in Creole are more common for women, such as Popo Dulé, Fiji, Se-Shining, etc. In

⁴Smith, M. G., "The Transformation of Land Rights by Transmission in Carriacou," *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1956. University College of the West Indies, Jamaica, pp. 103-138.

addition, we often find widows or married women referred to by their maiden or lineage names.

Surnames or "titles" are taken from the father, whatever the status of the mating relation. But the bloods are quite distinct from patrilineal name-groups. It sometimes happens that a man adopts his wife's child by some former mate for lack of his own offspring, and in such case the child will generally take the name and inheritance of its adopted parent. It nonetheless remains a member of the lineage of its biological father. Conversely, a man's children who live apart from him with their mothers in his village or elsewhere remain members of his blood, having ritual and other rights and obligations in it. Fathers have unavoidable ritual duties which must be discharged on behalf of their children, and these ritual obligations dramatize and bolster the secular and economic aspects of paternity, ensuring that men will claim all children whose parentage is not genuinely in doubt.

When a man is asked to give his genealogy, he generally begins with his blood, and states their relations, histories and whereabouts in considerable detail. Regarding his matri-kin he is at once less thorough and less conversant, giving his mother's father's kin, and perhaps his mother's paternal grandfather's kin in greater or less detail. The mother's mother may be mentioned, but without further information about her collateral relatives. There is indeed an impressive and general difference in the depths of knowledge which individuals possess about their agnates and matri-kin, even when they were brought up away from their fathers. At wakes, baptisms, marriage ceremonies, sacrifices to mark the establishment of a new household, annual prayer meetings to remember the dead, funeral ceremonies such as those on All Souls' Night, *saraca* at the request of the dead, burials or stone-feasts, agnates are brought together and thus renew their sense of lineage, and knowledge of those bonds and obligations which serve to distinguish them as a unit from other like units in the island society.

In referring to affinal relatives, Carriacou folk use such terms as "step-mother" or "mother-in-law" interchangeably, although the latter is rather more common. Many of these affinal relations are extra-marital, and most of these latter are extra-residential also. A man calls the woman whose daughter has borne children for him by the same term as he calls his wife's mother. Likewise he calls the man for whom his daughter has borne children by the same term as he calls her husband. A man refers to his extra-residential mate as my "keptress" or "kept girl". He refers to and addresses her brothers as "brothers-in-law". A man's wife may address his extra-domestic mate as "wife" half in jest. A man distinguishes between his lawful or legitimate and unlawful or illegitimate children. He distinguishes his "home" children, who are usually legitimate, from "outside" children, who live in other homes, and are usually illegitimate. Since women generally keep their unlawful children as well as their lawful issue, they do not use the distinction between home and outside issue which is met with among men; and they generally distin-

guish their children by the fathers' names, rather than by differences of birth-status.

Between the blood and the individual household, we find an intermediate unit based on siblingship. The significance and size of this grouping varies over time and between families in response to such factors as age, dispersion and sex of its members, full- and half-siblingship, death and the like. But wherever we find adult siblings living near one another in Carriacou, they form a distinctive social group, the widest kinship unit within which economic and social services are given or exchanged on a regular and recurrent basis. There neither is nor can be any particular and uniform pattern for such cooperation. In consequence, one sometimes finds siblings who are notorious for their continual quarrelling. I knew three groups of this sort, and all were composed of women only. This may be purely accidental, but it is remarkable that the many groups of siblings which include or consisted of males were all models of goodwill. Perhaps the disagreements within these groups of sisters reflected the interest differentiations arising through their marriages; and the conflicts to which they gave prompt, regular, and highly audible expression may have expressed the conflicting claims of families of orientation and procreation, or the opposition between women's roles as mothers and wives on the one hand, or sisters and daughters on the other. All groups of dissenting sisters known to me had a common interest in inherited land, and rights in this land figured most frequently in their quarrels. Under such circumstances, cooperation in domestic or ritual undertakings was rare indeed; and in this particular also, the contrast with groups containing brothers is instructive.

Brothers never live together in adult life. Nor do we find a man living with his sister, either as household head or dependent. In the Carriacou social code, a man must build his house, wed, and rear his family within it. Only so may he win recognition as a worthwhile person, or qualify for seniority in the lineage and community status systems. Thus brothers live apart, each with his wife and family. Their mutual cooperation involves inter-household exchanges of labour, supplies, money, and services of various kinds. In its ritual aspect, this sibling group acts as a unit at the anniversary masses or prayer meetings which are held in honour of dead parents. At these prayer meetings the eldest sister may be in charge of preparing the sacrifice, if it is held in her home; but sacrifices which include the Big Drum dance will be held at the home of the eldest brother. The eldest brother has charge of the parental cemetery, and he leads the group in preparations for their parents' entombment. At such events as weddings, baptisms, births, deaths or the ritual first shearing of the curly hair from a new-born child, the solidarity of siblings is again demonstrated. Within this group also counsel is taken about proposals for betrothal or arrangements for marriage, about the partition, trusteeship, or temporary allocation of inherited land, about the siting of homesteads, the emigration or apprenticeship of near kin, and im-

portant economic activities such as farming, fishing, sailing, and the like. Brothers send their wives and children to aid their siblings, and help freely in building or repairing boats and homes. Siblings adopt one another's orphaned children most freely, and are in and out of one another's homes incessantly. Under such circumstances, children learn to respect the opinions and authority of their father's siblings as they do the fathers themselves. The mother's siblings being less evident in their father's households, and perhaps more distant also, are less recognisable by the child as a separate solidary group.

The sibling unit includes half- as well as full-siblings. Where all were brought up together in a common home, there is a degree of solidarity in adult life which can hardly be distinguished from that found between full-siblings, except for the differences of parenthood expressed at separate anniversary sacrifices. Sometimes we find a group of full-brothers with a maternal half-sister operating in the same way as a group of full-siblings. Units of this constitution illustrate the importance of women within sibling groups. Since a man's wife remains a member of her father's blood, however closely identified with him through common family interests, her husband depends on his sisters for female help in ritual and secular kinship affairs. In consequence, men enjoy warm relations with their brothers, and with their sisters, mothers and wives. An emigrant will leave his home and land in the care of his parents or siblings. Siblings will assist one another in trade, with food or labour. Sisters will sometimes take their brother's children into their homes. The more fortunate brother will give the less fortunate his own home when he can build another. Between brothers, seniority by age is the basis of seniority and leadership, although personal skills and factors are taken into account. A man jokes with his brother's wife quite freely, although there is no formal joking relation as such. Men help their brothers' widows as best they can.

THE ORGANIZATION OF MATING

We have seen that there are over twice as many females as males among the resident population of Carriacou. This sex disparity is mainly due to the emigration of males, and to the absence at sea of many sailors for longer or shorter periods. Heavy male migration is in part due to the lack of employment opportunities in the island. It is also regulated by the cultural ideals of marriage and maturity among males. The essential precondition of male maturity in Carriacou is marriage, and the precondition of marriage is the establishment of one's independent homestead. To earn the money for building and maintaining their homes, young men spend long years abroad. Some never return. Some return to marry, and may then emigrate again with their wives and families, or with their wives only, or simply on their own. Those who leave their wives in the island almost always return within a few years, investing their savings locally to provide for their families' future.

As a result of these patterns, 92.4 per cent of male household heads in Carriacou are or have been married. Only 5.4 per cent have or are engaged in consensual cohabitation without being married, and the remaining 4.2 per cent are males of lifelong single status. Of the total adult male population of this sample, 37.5 per cent were below the age of 24 years, and none of these had yet married. Of the remaining 62.5 per cent of this adult male population, 44.4 per cent had at some time been married. Of these, 40 per cent lived with their wives, 3.4 per cent were widowers, and only 1.0 per cent had absent spouses. These figures show how very close are the correlations between marriage and household headship among the male residents of Carriacou, and the high incidence of marriage among men above 24 years of age.⁵

Of the adult female population of this sample, 27 per cent were below the age of 24 years, and very few of these had yet married. Of the remaining 73 per cent, 29 per cent were married at the time of this survey, and a further 15 per cent were widows. Of those women who were married at the time of the survey, more than one in four had absent spouses, and almost all of these were heads of their own households. In only one case was a woman head of the household which contained her husband. Six of the 224 households in this sample contained young couples living in homes of which one of their parents was the head. Five of these anomalous cohabitations were based on marriage, the husbands living in homes of which their wife's mothers were heads.

Less than 5 per cent of the female household heads of this sample were below the age of 39, and 38.2 per cent of these female household heads were persons of lifelong single status, at least one-half of these latter being single mothers also. Only one-tenth of the young women in this sample below the age of 24 were single mothers. Of the total number of female household heads, 45 per cent were widows, and another 14.5 per cent were women whose husbands are absent. In short, marriage is associated with male maturity and household headship; but many women who have never married live with their issue in homes of which they are head.

Granted the extreme sexual imbalance of this population and the strong cultural pressures towards the early marriage of males, those women without husbands must either emigrate, reconcile themselves to their single status with its lifelong chastity, or accept single motherhood. With such degrees of sexual disparity and emigration, the island-society would hardly be able to maintain its numbers under any organization of mating which condemned its surplus women to permanent chastity. On the other hand, the simple size of the surplus female population necessitates some firm regulation of these extra-marital relations if the population is to have an orderly family system.

It is of course unlikely that the Carriacou population developed their pre-

⁵The numbers and ratios mentioned here are taken from a survey of 224 households in four Carriacou villages which I conducted in 1953. This sample represents one-seventh of the island's population.

sent mating organization as a deliberate adjustment to these conditions. Probably the female surplus produced by the initial emigration provided problems and opportunities which have tended to become increasingly patterned and conventionalised over the generations. Moreover, since the initial Carriacou emigration occurred simultaneously with the adoption of marriage by the islanders, the integration of their alternative forms of mating and family may have developed gradually through progressive adjustments of these alternatives to one another.

Nowadays, we find that all men are expected to marry and live in their own households. By and large these expectations are fulfilled. The surplus women are thus available as extra-residential mates of these married men or of other single men in the island. However, as already shown, young women below the age of 24 rarely have children in Carriacou, and then only as a rule for men formally betrothed to them. Consensual cohabitation is ruled out by this system of mating regulation. Only 3.1 per cent of the 224 household heads were principals of this form of union. In Carriacou society, any unwed woman who lives in a "board" (wooden) house with a man to whom she is not married is a prostitute. Very few single women place themselves in this position; but a childless woman separated from her husband may take another partner into her wooden home. Usually, couples who cohabit consensually live in the daub and wattle huts which go by the name of "women's houses," in contradistinction with buildings of wood or concrete ("board houses"), which are described as "men's houses." Almost always a couple cohabiting consensually in a "dirt" house plan to marry as soon as they earn the money to put up the two-room "board" structure which is the minimum prerequisite of married life in Carriacou. Almost always these unmarried couples who enter this form of cohabitation do so in response to pressures from the woman's parents and kin, who threaten to dissolve the relation unless the couple live together while preparing for marriage. Under such circumstances, the woman will usually build herself a small house on or near her parents' home and land, and her mate loses esteem until he is married and lives in his own home. In other words, among the Carriacou folk, consensual cohabitation is rare. When it occurs it is either a prelude to marriage or an adjustment after a broken marriage, and in either event it is disapproved; it is neither statistically nor culturally equivalent to marriage nor is it its alternative.

The Carriacou alternative to marriage for women is single status. For men there is no alternative, except perhaps emigration. For single women, there is freedom of choice with regard to mating. Those who do not wish to mate are free to remain celibate. Others may mate extra-residentially, and their partners in such non-domestic unions are more often than not drawn from the married men in the island. In other words, married men often have two or more mates, their wives living with them, while their "keptresses" remain in their own homes or with their parents and kin. For men therefore, mar-

riage and the extra-residential relation are complementary, and marriage is obligatory, while the other is not. For women however, the extra-residential relation is the only alternative to lifelong continence *after* they have lost the chance to wed. Very occasionally we find an old widower marrying some middle-aged spinster who has already had children by various men; such marriages are also disapproved, and they are so rare that the women who enter their thirties without immediate prospects of marriage generally resign themselves to extra-domestic mating relations or none at all.

Under the Carriacou regulation of mating, young girls may not reply to the addresses of their suitors without the permission of their parents or household heads. In such situations the proper conduct is for the young woman to inform her suitor that he should write to her guardians or parents if he wishes to speak to her, and declare his intentions. These letters of betrothal must be addressed to the young woman's father if she lives with him, to her mother who must show them to her father if the latter lives elsewhere, or to the head of the household in which the young woman lives, if she lives with neither parent. Betrothals are normally arranged by the girl's father or kinsmen. They discuss the proposal with her lineage and other kin before meeting the boy's parents formally for further discussion.

If the girl's guardians disapprove of the young man or his "intentions" as set out in his letter, they make no reply, but instruct the young woman to have nothing further to do with the man in question. Since the young woman's disobedience may entail ejection from her home, or a thrashing and scolding, and uncertainty about the paternity of any children from the liaison, she will generally observe her parents' requests. In addition the senior woman of the household in which she lives is expected to watch the girl's movements closely and to keep her busy and out of harm's way. This means forbidding her to go out in the evenings unescorted to dances or similar meetings. Young women under such control appear in public mainly at wakes, prayer meetings and *nine-night* rites for the newly dead, when sex relations are taboo among participants.

If the betrothal offer is a fair and acceptable one, the parents of both parties meet to discuss the date and arrangements for marriage, including the boy's emigration and prospects oversea. These details being settled, the young man will then be given permission to visit the girl in her home at set times on week-days which are known as 'Visiting days'; and the girl will be instructed on no account to listen to any proposals from other men. These courting visits are supervised by the girl's guardians, whose roles as parents or persons *in loco parentis* include obstructing the young man's attempts "to enjoy the girl's facilities." In due course, the will finds a way, unless the young man departs overseas soon after the betrothal. But if the girl is "in-pregnant" for her betrothed and there is no doubt about the paternity of her offspring, the engagement is strengthened rather than otherwise, since the young man now has a family to care for, and since the girl's parents will

increase their demands for an early fulfilment of the marriage commitment.

Few young women in Carriacou dare to disregard their parents' commands about their sexual conduct. These parental commands are usually based on careful observations of the girl's behaviour, and therefore tend to fit her inclinations. But the consequences of disobedience by the girl are sufficiently severe to control her actions even where her parents' wishes contradict her desires. This is especially true of young women who live with their fathers, since the latter's curse and ejection means virtual banishment from the community and the island. Notably, I could find no instance of such an event. Girls living with their mothers occupy a stronger position, and although at first they must obey their mothers' wishes, by the time they are 24 they may be sufficiently independent economically and socially to manage their own mating affairs.

Young women below the age of 24 hardly ever set up households of their own. Nor can they enter consensual domestic unions of their own will without characterising themselves as prostitutes. In addition, there are no quarters available for rent in this island, and the solidarity of senior kinsfolk with their parents will be expressed by exclusion from the homes of their kin, if they are ejected from that of their parents. In consequence, there are few single mothers in Carriacou below the age of 24; after that age, women whose marital prospects are not promising arrange their own extra-residential matings freely, and several of them soon become heads of their own homes.

Under the Carriacou definition of marriage, husbands, wives and children live as units in households of which the men are heads, and the elementary families are either the core or the total unit. But married men often have children by other women who live outside their homes, and these outside children remain in their mother's care and control. Men can rarely bring their outside children into their homes, since the latter's mothers object that their mate's wife may "not treat the child right". In consequence, married men generally have two families, one of which lives with them in homes of which they are themselves the heads, while the other lives with their extra-residential mates or with the kin of these women.

The relation between extra-residential mates in Carriacou is clearly defined. The relation continues so long as the woman concerned is sexually faithful to the man. There is no difference between the definition of adultery in marriage or extra-residential unions among the Carriacou folk. In neither marriage nor the extra-residential union can men commit adultery; in both forms of mating, adultery denotes sexual infidelity by the woman with other males.⁶

A man gives his extra-residential mate what assistance he can, in labour, money or commodities. These transfers are in no wise to be mistaken for payments. They are the normal exchanges between kin, and are by no means

⁶This qualification is not irrelevant. Lesbianism is current in Carriacou, but its classification as adulterous or otherwise is obscure.

one-way transfers. On his visits, the non-resident mate will probably have a meal prepared by his "keptress", who may also perform other minor domestic functions intermittently for him, apart from rearing his offspring. Even if the relation breaks down temporarily or for good through the man's emigration or the woman's unfaithfulness, he will continue to contribute towards the maintenance of his children in cash and kind, albeit irregularly, as best he can. The parental roles which arise through extra-residential unions are clearly defined so as to be consistent with the other alternatives of mating and parenthood which together form a single, self-perpetuating system of family relations. Ritual values underlie this system as they do other aspects of Carriacou life; and men are under ritual obligations to claim their offspring by extra-residential matings at birth, and to contribute freely as best they can to their maintenance thereafter.

My enquiries revealed that these extra-residential relations are often highly stable and fertile unions. Many of them persist for several years, and give rise to several children. The sole child of a couple is evidence of an early breach in their relation, or of an unintended conception, and is not the norm for unions of this sort. When a man seduces a woman, their offspring is described as a "child in passing, nothing to speak of", and is distinguished sharply from the "outside family," which includes the mother when she is an extra-residential mate. In the Carriacou code, "gentlemen" give women liberal cash payments after seducing them, and their paternal responsibilities are adjusted to these and other conditions of the affair. In this society, women who let themselves be seduced before defining their new relation formally are apt to have no such relation at all, but to participate only in a series of casual love affairs, and to bear socially fatherless children, no man admitting paternity. That only 5 children in a sample of more than 200 at L'Esterre had an obscure paternity indicates the generality of stable mating relations among the Carriacou folk and the willingness of men to claim and maintain their offspring.

The control which a man exercises over those of his children who live with him is much wider and stronger than that which he claims over those who live in their mother's home or with her kin. In the extra-residential union, the principal burden of parenthood falls squarely on the woman, and in consequence she claims the primary right to control the children and to guide their future. In practice, single mothers can decide with whom to leave their children if they themselves are going abroad or wish to marry and leave their children with their kin.

On the data which I collected, 30.6 per cent of all children living apart from both their parents were found in the homes of their patri-kin, while 63 per cent lived with their matri-kin, and the remainder with persons not connected to them biologically. One-third of those children living with their father's or mother's kin apart from both parents were legitimate. This sample shows that an approximately equal number of children also live with one

or other of their parents apart from the other. Of these latter, 93 per cent live with their mother only or with their mother and mother's kin. Only 7 per cent are found living apart from their mothers with their father alone or with their father and his kin. In each case approximately one-third of the children who live apart from one or both parents are legitimate. However, a rather larger number of children live in homes which contain both their parents, and about 95 per cent of these are legitimate issue of the male household heads. From such data, we can see that marriage is the general basis for the co-residence of elementary families, and that the illegitimate offspring of extra-residential unions and more casual forms of sex relation tend to remain with their mothers or mother's kin.

Even so, their father's recognition and roles are both obligatory and important. Under lineage and ritual norms alike, men are obliged to claim all those children for whom they are without doubt responsible. By the kinship rituals during pregnancy of the mother, at birth, baptism, and in early childhood, these paternal relations are sacralized, affirmed, dramatized and given lineage recognition. By the time such children reach adolescence, their father's authority is clear and explicit. The father will arrange apprenticeship or employment aboard some vessel for his outside son just as he would for his "home children". He will supervise the betrothal negotiations of his outside daughter in the same way that he does for his domestic family; and it is at once improper and unwise for the girl's mother to try to handle these negotiations herself, since young men in Carriacou have considerable skill in preparing fair but misleading proposals. Likewise, at the confirmation, marriage or death of his "outside" children, a man's role is essentially the same as for those who live in the home.

THE DOMESTIC ORGANIZATION

We have now described the lineage and mating systems of the Carriacou people, and their demographic and ritual peculiarities have also been indicated. With this background, the domestic organization is easily set forth and understood.

Since men are heavily outnumbered by women in this island, and since many of the senior women are widows or wives with absent husbands, we find more households with female heads than are under males. Moreover, in this social organization, young people find it especially difficult to establish their own households, except by previous emigration in early adulthood. Consequently, we find that the majority of household heads are over 55 years of age, the average age of the female household heads being substantially above that of the males.

Since the basis of domestic units of which males are heads is usually the elementary family founded on marriage, we find that 38 in every 41 households which have male heads are based on the latter's cohabitation.

Of these, 6 contain childless couples, that is, couples whose children have already left their homes, or those who have never had any children of their own. A further 24 contain elementary families of the head, either as exclusive domestic units, or including various accretions, mostly affines of the head. The remainder contain grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the cohabiting pair, with or without the children. Only 3 out of 41 households with male heads contain individuals who live by themselves or with non-kin.

For every 41 households with male heads, there are approximately 59 with female heads in this island. Since cohabitation entails male headship of the household, we do not expect to find many cases of cohabitations in households with female heads. Moreover since widows and wives with absent husbands retain headship of their homes, and since many single mothers live in units of which they are head, a fairly substantial proportion of those units with female heads will consist of women and their children only, or of women and their grandchildren, with or without their children. In every 59 households with female heads, approximately 11.6 contain the heads and their children only, with or without accretions; another 6 contain women and their grandchildren only, without their children; and 21 contain women, their children, and their grandchildren or great-grandchildren. Approximately 17 households in every 59 with female heads consist of women who live alone or with members of marginal kinship categories. Only 2 households of every 59 with female heads contain adult siblings of the head.

We have seen that in Carriacou men build the homesteads which women inherit in their roles as wives or daughters. Moreover, by or shortly after their marriage, men are principals in two families, one of which lives with them while the other is sited elsewhere in the homes of their mates or mates' kin. These dual family relations and roles impose correspondingly heavy obligations on married men; and perhaps the lapse of extra-residential relations — which by no means affects the status of the extra-residential family, ritually or otherwise — is most often due to the man's increasing inability to discharge the minimum economic commitments consistent with the maintenance of these sets of relationships. The simple pressure of these dual family responsibilities on the adult men of Carriacou tends to prevent all but those of fair means from accepting domestic responsibilities for their collaterals, with the possible exception of their siblings' children. In addition, the dual organization of mating and family relations presupposes that each man will maintain his own mates and families independently. This presupposition emphasises the economic and social independence of agnatic kin, especially as regards the familial and mating relations of males. In short, men neither accommodate their children by extra-residential mates in their own homes, nor will they normally accommodate those of their collateral kin, so long as the latter's parents are living in the island.

Excluding the heads themselves, approximately 19 per cent of the population resident in homes with male heads are the wives or mates of these men, and another 66.4 per cent are their issue by these heads. Of the remaining 14.6 per cent, 13.0 per cent are issue or kin of the resident mates of these household heads. Resident collaterals of male household heads are no more frequent in these homes than are adopted persons. In short, besides accepting responsibility for his resident mate and their joint issue, the Carriacou male also accepts responsibility for the accommodation of his mate's issue by former unions and some of her kin in his home, at the same time that he is obliged by the mating and kinship organization to exclude his own kin and issue by other unions.

A detailed analysis of the constitution of the aggregate of persons linked by collateral kinship to female household heads, or to resident mates of male household heads in this sample of Carriacou homes, shows that 69 in a total of 88 such persons are linked through their mothers to the women with whom they live, and 57 of these are known to be illegitimate also. Thus materterine kinship⁷ is the primary basis for the domestic placement of collaterals in Carriacou; and the principals to whom these collaterals trace kinship are almost all female, some being heads of their own homes, while others live with their husbands. In addition, in this society illegitimacy presupposes extra-residential relations between the parents, and it is the prevailing birth-status of the resident collaterals. Thus men undertake to care for the illegitimate offspring of their wives' kinswomen in their own homes, while leaving their own illegitimate offspring in the homes of their mates or mates' kin.

Of the residents descended from the male household heads with whom they live, 85.8 per cent are their children, and of this total 75.5 per cent are known to be legitimate. Only 4.5 per cent are offspring of the sons of these household heads, and three in four of these are legitimate. The remaining 9.7 per cent are daughters' issue, equally distributed between the two birth-statuses. Of residents descended from female household heads, 50.6 per cent are the latter's children, and of these 19.5 per cent are known to be legitimate, the birth-status of an equal number was not clearly determined, and the remaining 11.6 per cent were unlawful. In addition, 14.6 per cent of these women's resident descendants were sons' issue, and more than one-half of these were illegitimate. Of the remaining 34.8 per cent who were daughters' issue, over 23.7 per cent were illegitimate. In other words, women often have illegitimate children by extra-residential unions while living in homes of which their mothers are heads. We have already indicated the difficulties which face young women in Carriacou when they wish to establish their own households. Usually, single women

⁷See Schapera, Isaac, "Marriage of Near Kin Among the Tswana," *Africa*, Vol. 27, 1957, pp. 139-157. See p. 154, text and footnote 2. Schapera says ". . . I use this term (from Latin, "matertera, maternal aunt), for cousins whose mothers are sisters." I extend the reference to include persons whose mothers or maternal grandmothers were sisters or the children of sisters.

acquire houses and headship by inheritance from their parents, and normally from their mother. During the latter's declining years, dependence on her adult daughters increases continuously, and this maternal dependence confers corresponding independence and maturity on the child. Moreover, since women usually express their independence by arranging their mating relations themselves it follows that, as their mothers age, resident daughters are more and more likely to mate extra-residentially whether or not they are betrothed.

Of the dependents living in homes with female heads, 75.9 per cent are lineal issue of the heads themselves. Of the remaining 24.1 per cent, 18.0 per cent are collateral kin of these women, 15.8 per cent of them being siblings or their issue, while 0.3 per cent are parents. A further 2.5 per cent consist of resident mates or spouses of the children or dependents of these female household heads; 1.2 per cent are adopted persons, and only 0.2 per cent are unrelated. In Carriacou the household is a unit exclusively based on kinship ties.

We have seen that men in Carriacou tend to die before their wives, and that their sons are obliged to demonstrate capacity for marriage by building their own houses, thereby leaving the homes in which their parents lived to their sisters, "as a hospital," in the local phrase. In addition, marriage is extremely stable in this society, and very few unions with this basis terminate before widowhood. The adultery of wives is unheard of, but Lesbianism is common, senior women taking the male role with younger ones as their mates.

The intense supervision of girls who live with both their parents ensures a low illegitimacy rate among children of resident daughters of male household heads. However, during their mother's widowhoods or while living with their unwed mothers or materterine kin, young women may enter into extra-residential relations independently or with their mother's approval, and these unions tend to be fertile if they endure. Even though in many Carriacou homes containing women, the daughters and daughters' issue were originally based on the marriage of their heads and can be regarded as residues of units formerly containing elementary families, many others, which have maintained their identity despite changes in their composition due to birth and emigration, have never contained elementary families and are never likely to do so under the Carriacou regulation of mating.

Of the total number of households studied in this island, 19.7 per cent contained single persons living alone or with others not linked to them by ties of mating, parenthood, filiation or siblingship. A further 1.8 per cent contained siblings only with or without their issue, all of these latter being under female heads. An additional 12.0 per cent of the total sample contained single parents and their children, almost all of these having female heads. Thus nearly one-third of the total sample of households contained no elementary families and could not be derived from them struc-

turally or developmentally. A further 6.7 per cent contained childless couples, and 25.9 per cent contained the household heads, and their grandchildren, with or without their children, most of these having female heads. It is obvious from this breakdown that approximately 40 per cent of the households in Carriacou are in no way derivable from domestic elementary family units; they owe their derivation and form to the duality of mating and parenthood among this population. Indeed, given such dual patterns of mating and elementary family organization, the domestic organization could hardly be otherwise.

Apart from these two major alternative forms of household group and their differing developments, it must be remembered that the composition of all units is subject to certain changes consequent on migration, death or the like. Sons tend to move out between their 20th and 24th years, though some remain. Daughters tend to stay put unless marrying or, more rarely, adventuring abroad unaccompanied. Occasionally daughters may bring their husbands or consensual mates to live in or near their parents' homes, usually at the latter's request in order to stabilize an uncertain relation. However, it is most unusual for a wife to live in the home of which her husband's mother is either a member or the head. Our sample contained only one instance of this sort in 224 households, and discussions revealed an unremitting opposition by both sexes to such arrangements.

Collateral kin of the female principals may have already been members of these households at their formation or when headship was transferred, or they may be subsequently introduced in adjustment to such changes as death or emigration. If male, these collaterals on achieving adult status are expected to set about preparing their own homes; if female to seek marriage.

Death, which places a man's household under his wife's headship, is rarely preceded by will-making in this island. It thus transfers a man's estate to his widow for her lifetime. Generally also, their father's death determines those sons who have not yet emigrated to do so, in search of the money with which to support their mother at home and to build their own homesteads. The girls remain behind, and if they do not succeed in marrying, they may contract a stable extra-residential relation which brings children into the home. During the widow's lifetime she allows her children to work the family land either without apportioning it or after an informal subdivision. After her death, the allocation current during her lifetime will continue with such adjustments as death and emigration enjoin. An analysis of land transfers on a Government land settlement after the lapse of two generations reveals the normative nature of these intestate distributions and the complexity of the arrangements to which they give rise.⁸ Though men must build their own homes and fend for their families, they willingly allow their unwed sisters to occupy the family homestead and use the family land. However, disputes occasionally arise between men and their wed sisters, especially where the values at stake are considerable. An ingenious argument

⁸See Smith, M. G., 1956, *op. cit.*

is common in such situations, the brother claiming that his sister on her marriage by taking another surname (title) lost her title to the estate, while the sister correctly replies that changes of title are not changes of blood.

Men occasionally make their sons' portions double those left to their married daughters; but any departure from the norms of equal division requires the preparation of a will. Men will leave house-spots to their "outside" children, and perhaps small parcels of land, orally or by will. Otherwise, the illegitimate offspring is expected to press his claim directly with the legitimate co-heirs, and often receives little for his pains. Since men are expected to provide for their wives, only men and single women are urgently in need of land and other inherited resources. However, since women through inheritance and their brothers' emigration generally acquire control of most of their parents' estate, they are in a better position to transmit land to their children of either birth-status than are their extra-residential mates. Inheritance from fathers is based on the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate issue; but all children of a woman have equal rights in her personal estate, whatever their birth-status. Indeed, on the evidence available to me, it appears that women with adequate land are less prone to wed than those without.

Within households based on cohabitation, the wife has exclusive charge of the kitchen with its store of peas, corn, and other garden crops in the smoky loft. This arrangement preserves both spouses against excessive demands for food crops from the husband's extra-residential mate and her issue. Both spouses examine the amounts removed from these stores for gifts to the kin of either, and wives may offer their husbands' portions to their outside families without being asked, or they may give something to their husbands' other children when these visit his home. What a man sells before bringing his catch or harvest home he keeps for his own use, together with the provisions or fish he has marketed, and the cash-income from crops such as cotton and groundnuts. (These latter yielded an average of £10 and £3 or £4 per producer in 1952 respectively.) That which he brings to his wife or mate is thereafter under her control. In households which contain women only, external marketing is carried out by the kinsmen or mates of the women, and most stores remain in the kitchen-loft under control of the household heads. Units with this female core depend heavily for cash income on young men abroad or in the island, who may be the sons of the senior females or the lovers of the younger ones; but they also receive considerable amounts of goods in kind from the close kin of their adult principals. Men have complete charge of the domestic labour force, and simply direct their wives and children as they will, to work with their kin or friends freely or for nominal wages. Men only undertake the heavier agricultural tasks, leaving the lighter but more tedious ones to their womenfolk, while they themselves are employed fishing, sailing, pasturing stock, making boats, nets, marketing or on other business.

In the context of this family organization and lineage system, ritual kinship has little significance, although it is universal in this population, godparents calling each other *macmé* and *compère*, the godmothers being chosen by the infant's mother, the godfathers by its genitor. Godparents are obliged to help the child with its costume for the confirmation service, and to offer it accommodation at home, should it become a homeless orphan. But the spread of lineage relations and the securities which these provide tend to deprive the godparent-godchild relation of wider significance, though relations between the child's parents and godparents, and among the godparents themselves, are warm and friendly.

A child must honour and obey its godparents and may not marry nor make love to the latter's children. Nor may godparents indulge in love affairs with one another or with the parents of their godchild. Godparents may select the child's Church name, unless otherwise instructed by the child's parents or grandparents. But in a society as classless as Carriacou, the godparent relationship serves no indirect functions as a mode of clientage or patronage, and the securities which it is intended to provide are far better discharged by the system of agnatic kinship. Indeed, the relative unimportance of *macmé* and *compère* relationships to the child and to its parents in Carriacou is only in part expressed by the use of these terms to address strangers of unknown name. Far more revealing is the fact that while *macmé* and *compère* are at Church baptising the child, the parents remain at home busy with the baptismal sacrifice and ritual which incorporates the new-born into their community and introduces him formally to the spirits of his dead ancestors, especially to the "old parents" of the "blood" to which he now belongs.