

**The Garifuna of Pearl Lagoon: Ethnohistory of an Afro-American Enclave
in Nicaragua**



William V. Davidson

Ethnohistory, Vol. 27, No. 1. (Winter, 1980), pp. 31-47.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0014-1801%28198024%2927%3A1%3C31%3ATGOPLE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>

Ethnohistory is currently published by Duke University Press.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/duke.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE GARIFUNA OF PEARL LAGOON: ETHNOHISTORY OF AN AFRO-AMERICAN ENCLAVE IN NICARAGUA

by

William V. Davidson
Louisiana State University

ABSTRACT

Approximately one-half (200,000) of the coastal population of Caribbean Central America is negroid. Among these, the small Garifuna-speaking community on Pearl Lagoon, Nicaragua, has been isolated for about a century from the larger Garifuna realm around the Bay of Honduras. Using travelers' reports, cartographic records, and family histories, the movements of Garifuna are traced from northeastern Honduras to six sites on the lagoon. The two modern villages, Orinoco and La Fe, are mapped in detail to show the progression and patterns of settlement. Decline of the enclave is suggested by the wave erosion of La Fe, increased pressures from Nicaraguan farmers, and marriages outside the community. Oral accounts were more valuable than other sources for the reconstruction of recent settlement history.

Introduction

The Caribbean coastlands of Central America are home for over 200,000 Afro-Americans (slightly less than one-half of the coastal population between Mexico and Colombia, see Table 1). Readily identifiable components of the population include the Garifuna, or Black Caribs, who live principally around the Bay of Honduras, the Spanish-speaking "colonial Negroes" of northern Panama, and the Afro-Antilleans of West Indian origins who live throughout the littoral (Figure 1). (The 17,800 coastal Miskito in Honduras and Nicaragua, often considered as an Afro-group, are not included.)

Previous research on these people is not lacking, but seems to have clustered as a matter of scale. Very few studies have focused on the ethnohistory of a small population or an individual settlement.¹ Scholars, for the most part, have worked at scales employing deductive rather than inductive approaches. Of course, several projects have taken place in a single village, particularly in Belize (see Taylor 1951; Hadel 1972; Sanford 1971; Whipple 1979; and Kearns 1977; also, for Guatemala, see Gonzales 1969 and Ghidinelli 1977; for Nicaragua, see Nietschmann 1973), but these are not ethnohistories.

In a sense then, this article represents a new perspective — a large-scale historic view of the development of a small ethnic settlement area. Further, it hints at the eventual demise of an Afro-American community in Latin America — another perspective that will surely attract more attention as the process of Hispanicization proceeds all along the Caribbean coast of Central America.

Table 1
Negro Populations in Caribbean Central America:
Coastal, Rural, and Urban, approximate for 1975

Country	Population of country	Total	Caribbean Coast ^a		
			Total	Rural	Urban ^c
Belize	140,000	60,000	58,000	8,000	50,000
Guatemala	6,200,000	45,000	9,500	500	9,000
Honduras	2,800,000	144,000	57,000	44,000	13,000
Nicaragua	2,000,000	40,000	17,500	7,500	10,000
Costa Rica	2,000,000	31,000	12,000	3,000	9,000
Panama	1,800,000	140,000	64,000	16,500	47,500
Totals	14,940,000	460,000	218,000	79,500	138,500

Sources: personal field surveys, 1973-1975; national censuses, with interpolations from latest available published data; Arauz 1970; Koch 1975; Nuhn, Krieg, and Schlick 1975, karte IV: "Bevölkerungsverteilung 1970/71" and page 57; Olién 1967.

^aPopulation of urban ports, coastal towns, and rural settlements within two miles of the shore and coastal lagoons.

^bGenerally, this category includes Garífuna and the "Negro colonials" and "Negro Antillanos" of Nuhn (1975). The coastal Miskito, 7,300 in Honduras and 10,500 in Nicaragua, are not counted here.

^cCentral places generally with a population over 5,000: Belize City, Dangriga, Livingston, Puerto Barrios, Puerto Cortés, Tela, La Ceiba, Trujillo, Puerto Cabezas, Bluefields, Limón, Colón.

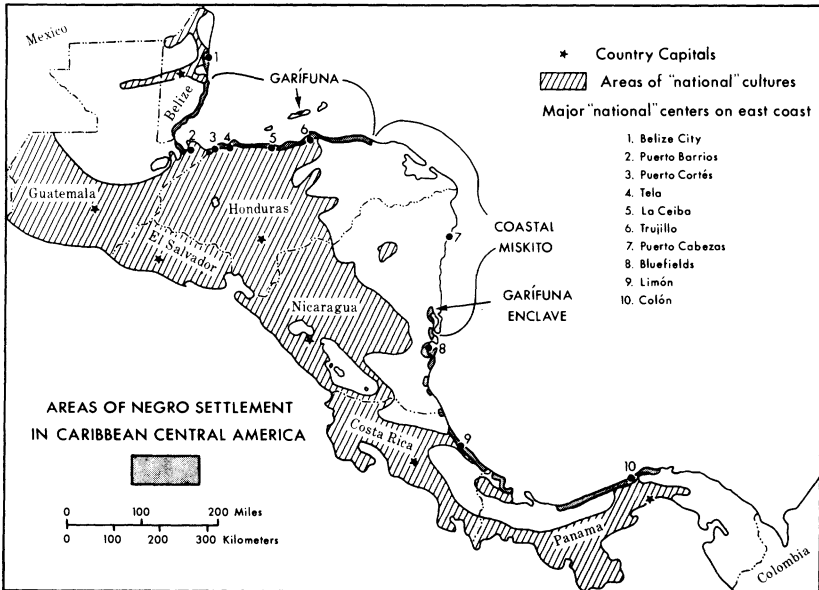


Fig. 1 Map.

The specific subject of study here is the Garifuna enclave at Pearl Lagoon, Nicaragua. The settlement is particularly intriguing for ethnohistorians because the Garifuna are considered to be a tight-knit group who cluster settlements near other Garifuna villages (Davidson 1976). Yet, while the bulk of the population, some sixty to seventy thousand strong, lives in fifty-two settlements in Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras, a few hundred of their kindred have remained for almost a century isolated 300 miles to the south in Nicaragua. The settlement history of the Nicaraguan Garifuna is discussed at three levels: 1) the migration of Honduran Garifuna into Nicaragua, 2) the selection of sites around the shores of Pearl Lagoon, and 3) the changes that have occurred within the two modern villages of La Fe and Orinoco. Because so much has been recorded in the literature about Garifuna, only the briefest sketch will be presented to introduce the ethnic group.²

Origins of the Garifuna can be traced to St. Vincent Island in the southern Lesser Antilles where during the 17th and 18th centuries the Antillean Indians mixed with Africans. The hybrid population, then known by the British as Black Caribs, had frequent conflicts with the Europeans over possession of the island, and finally were defeated and deported to Central America in 1797. In the four decades that followed the Garifuna established settlements around the Bay of Honduras from Stann Creek (now Dangriga, Belize) to the mouth of the Black River in eastern Honduras (Figure 1). They are perhaps the most populous and most cohesive Negroid folk population in the Americas.

The primary forces that unify the Garifuna community are the language that they alone speak and rituals based on the remembrances of their ancestors. Their songs, dances, and folk-stories are also important to maintain continuity with the past. Females have an unusual devotion to home, and to other female companions; they practice an agriculture and food preparation that centers on bitter manioc. Male attention is to the sea, and to fishing-related activities. They are a coastal folk, living virtually always within a few hundred yards of the Caribbean shore.

Garifuna Entry into Nicaragua

The initial problem in tracing Garifuna along the coast of Nicaragua is to determine when the population was recognized as a group new to the area. Evidence of the entry is clouded primarily by the indiscriminant use of the term *Carib* to refer to the Garifuna (Black Caribs) as well as to the Nicaraguan Indians who were thought to be related by race or language to South American Caribs. During the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries travelers along the coast normally labeled any resident Indian as a 'Carib'.³ Although the misnomer continued in use into the 19th century, it also became attached to the Garifuna when they arrived; Garifuna had been known as Caribs since their arrival in the western Caribbean (1797) by the British in Belize and elsewhere. But to my knowledge, 'Garifuna' has never been used on the coast of Nicaragua, and only rarely have the words, 'Trujillanos', 'Vincentinos', and 'morenos' been applied to the Garifuna. Obviously, Garifuna could not have appeared before the 19th century, but a careful reading is required of all literature from the period to distinguish Garifuna from others also called 'caribs'. As late as 1897 (Church 1897) 'Carib' is used in reference to non-Garifuna Nicaraguans.

A second confusing issue is whether the accounts of the first half of the 19th century refer to Garífuna as permanent settlers or merely as sojourners. Individuals off on temporary wage-earning trips, can hardly be considered as new residents of Nicaragua. Several reports place Garífuna men just south of Bluefields at the mouth of the San Juan River in the 1860s (Boyle 1868:I:6, 16; Collinson 1870:154; Pim 1863:312; Pim and Seemann 1869:3600. Great excitement over the possibility of a trans-isthmian canal through Nicaragua attracted many explorer-adventurers who often teamed with Caribs to traverse the route from the port of Greytown up the San Juan River. The activity at Greytown, and the possibilities of wage work there, also must have attracted the Garífuna.⁴ They enjoyed a good reputation as boatmen and handled the mail through the surf at Greytown (Boyle 1868:I:6). Garífuna were also employed as mahogany cutters in Nicaragua during the 1860s and 1870s (Boyle 1868:I:6; Lévy 1873:482; Reclus 1897:II:289), but that activity was seasonal and the workers normally returned to their families in Honduras. The ethnographical reconnaissance of Kirchoff in 1868 leaves little doubt that the Garífuna were not recognized as a significant population, and certainly not in permanent residence, on the Mosquito Shore at that time.

Settlement on Pearl Lagoon

Permanent settlement by Garífuna seems to have taken place a couple of decades later and was restricted to Pearl Lagoon, thirty miles north of Bluefields (Figure 2). To reconstruct the progression of settlement three types of information were employed: 1) reports of travelers in the area, including government records; 2) old maps; and 3) oral histories as recalled by modern Garífuna at Pearl Lagoon. The search for archival and cartographic documentation has been underway three years, and continues; family histories were gathered during two trips of June, 1974, and the winter of 1977-1978.⁵

Cartographic evidence of Garífuna settlement at Pearl Lagoon has been reproduced in Figure 3. There is a 36-year period between two maps used (1856 and 1892) and this is of course too great a gap to allow a good indication of time of first settlement. The problem, however, is not a lack of maps for the period, but that the scales are too small to show details for Pearl Lagoon. To date, the first map known that shows a "Carib settlement" at Pearl Lagoon is the 1892 Newstead, a manuscript map from the Foreign Office Collection, Public Record Office, London.⁶ Two years later, H. G. Higley's manuscript map, now at the Library of Congress, shows a lone "Caribtown" in approximately the same location — on the peninsula across the lagoon from the mainland.⁷ A second village, Orinoco, appears on the U.S. Navy chart of 1912.

Family histories, according to remembrances of elderly people currently residing around Pearl Lagoon, indicate there have been six Carib settlements in Nicaragua, not two, as shown on the historic maps. By asking questions solely about family — where they, their parents, and their grandparents were born and died — the following chronology of settlements emerged:

1. San Vicente, also called Square (or Squared) Point, was the first site of a Carib village on Pearl Lagoon (Figure 4). Joseph Sambola, originally from Sangrelaya, Honduras, settled there in the early 1880s, possibly just before 1881. A Capuchin priest now in Bluefields reported seeing a baptismal record for a Carib man born in 1881 at Square Point.⁸ Supposedly, Sambola had come to Nicaragua as captain of his small

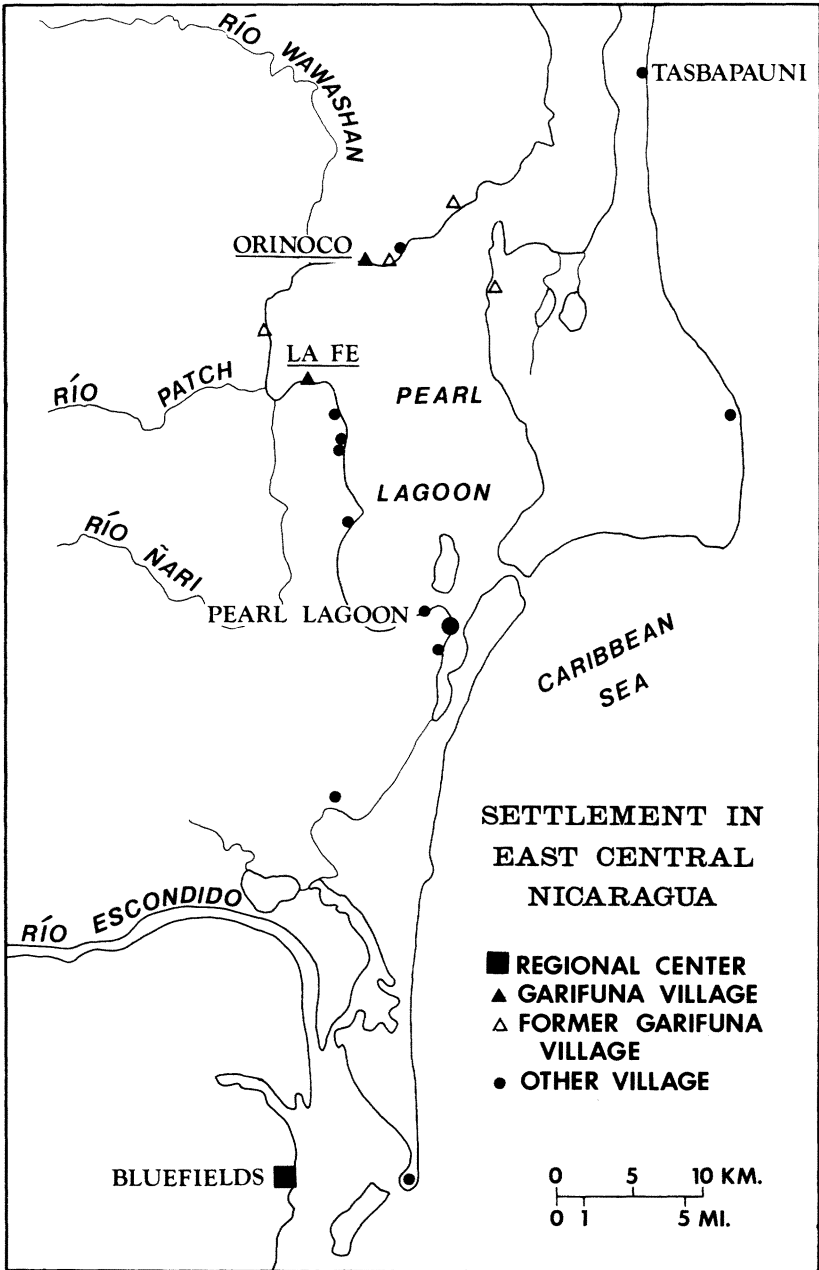


Fig. 2 Map.

MAPS OF PEARL LAGOON, 1856-1912

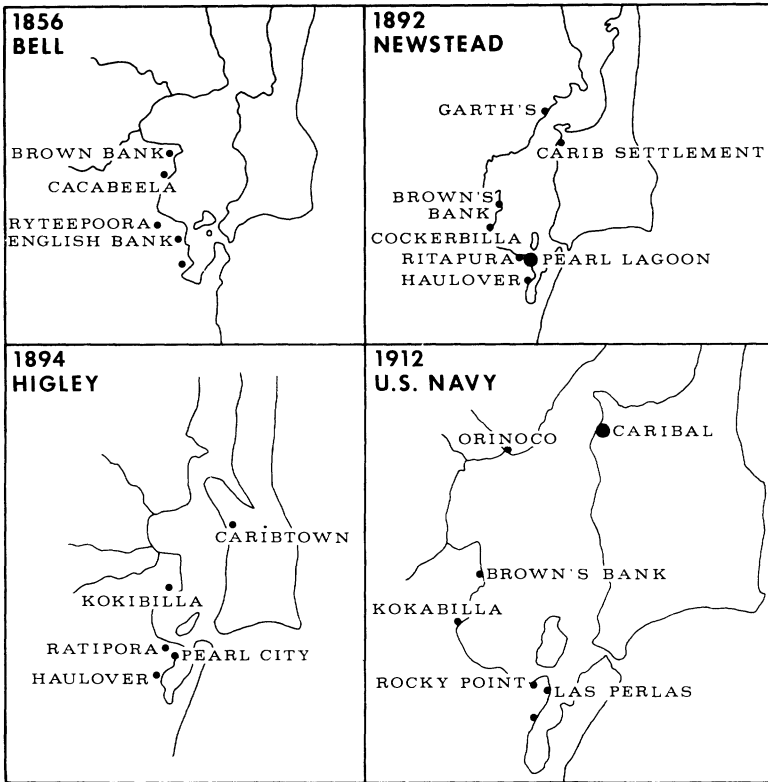


Fig. 3 Map.

sailing craft to work as a lighter in the harbor of Greytown. Possibly, he was one of the Greytown Caribs known by the English travelers for his "endurance, capability for work, faithfulness, and orderly behavior" (Pim 1863:349). Later, Sambola lived in Bluefields with his sister, and up the Krinwas River, before settling at San Vicente. Most informants say Sambola was eventually attracted to the mahogany cuttings at Squared Point, so-named because logs were squared there before being loaded on board ships.⁹ When the operation became bankrupt, and the management left,¹⁰ Sambola remained and brought the few Garífuna workers into a little hamlet under his leadership. Felipe Lopez and Isidor Zenon, other Honduran Garífuna, were with him, but informants emphasized the role of Sambola as leader. Perhaps this was because he was the son of a widely-recognized Garífuna chief in Honduras and the great-grandson of the last Carib chief on St. Vincent Island (Table 2). A minority recollection is that Sambola came to work in the banana plantations.

Both traditions are feasible. According to Helms' (1971:29) sketch of economic history for the Mosquito Coast, both mahogany and bananas were first worked during the 1880s. Unfortunately, I have no record of these activities specifically around Pearl Lagoon in the 1880s. Bananas were concentrated nearer to Bluefields (Adams 1914:84);

Table 2
The Family Sambola of Nicaragua: A Line of Descent

Hypothetical birthdate for generation		Birth Place	Buried	Source
1775	Chief Sambola	St. Vincent	St. Vincent	Young 1842:130
1800	Col. Sambola	St. Vincent	Sangrelaya (Honduras)	Young 1842:130
1825	Capt. Vicentino Sambola	Sangrelaya	Sangrelaya	Young 1842:124
1850	Joseph Sambola	Sangrelaya	San Vicente (Nicaragua)	Field interview
1875	John Sambola	Sangrelaya	Orinoco (Nicaragua)	Field interview
1900	Alejandro Sambola	Square Point (Nicaragua)	Orinoco	Field interview
1925	Presentacion Sambola	Orinoco	lives	Field interview
1950	Francisco Sambola	Orinoco	lives	Field interview
1975	young son	Orinoco	lives	Field interview

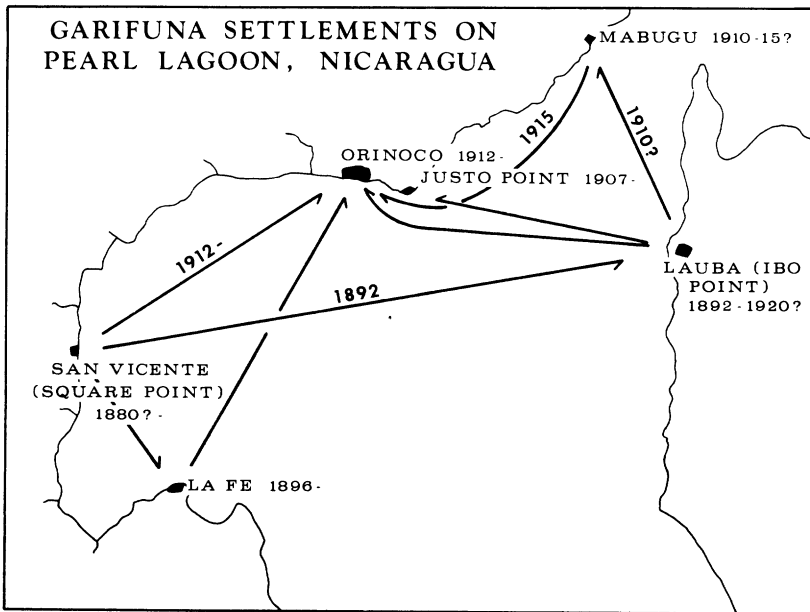


Fig. 4 Map.

mahogany was up the Wawashan (Nietschmann 1973:40), but the date of first exploitation is unknown. Some slight further evidence that San Vicente was the initial site of Garífuna habitation is the place name that must hark back to the original homeland in the Lesser Antilles. Only one family remains at San Vicente today.

2. Lauba, also known as Ibo Point, and shown on the old maps as “the Carib settlement,” was founded by individuals from San Vicente in 1892. By coincidence that is the year it is noted on the Newstead map. The village lasted just under thirty years. The name, Lauba, in Garífuna signifies ‘the other side’ and supports the idea of an earlier settlement across the lagoon, presumably at San Vicente. Further, we know from the notes of Walter Lehmann (1920:16), a German ethnographer and linguist who was wandering the Mosquito Shore in 1909, that at the time the Garífuna were settled in two villages: Ibo (a corrupted form of Ibo Point, now Lauba) and Square Point. La Fe was also settled by this time, but the single-family, two dwelling hamlet evidently did not attract sufficient attention to warrant the distinction of ‘village’.

3. La Fe, two miles southeast of San Vicente, was founded by Lino Lopez in 1896. Lopez was born in Aguan, Honduras, and came to Nicaragua with his father, before mentioned, who was at Square Point. Materials are abundant for reconstructing the history of the village and will be discussed later.

4. At Justo Point, just across the lagoon from Lauba, is a single-family settlement developed in 1907. It is now inhabited by a very few, traditional Garífuna, whose origins can be traced via Lauba to the Velasquez family of Irióna and Tocomacho in eastern Honduras.

5. For a brief period, probably only five years between 1910 and 1915, another family from Lauba lived at Mabugu. They moved to be near the good fishing hole on the upper lagoon, but soon removed when the settlement at Orinoco began to flourish. It is at this time that G. H. Heath (1913:51) noticed the “small settlements of Caribs on Pearl Lagoon.”

6. The final settlement occurred at Orinoco in 1912. A squabble between Sambola cousins at San Vicente caused the first movement. John Sambola¹¹ and his children moved to the site of his farm on the north coast ridge. The first born of Orinoco (in 1915) still lives there, as does his mother.

For the period of in-migration, 1880-1910, members of three generations, representing sixteen families of Honduran Garífuna, entered Nicaragua — the bulk of them during the 1890s (Table 3). Some of the in-migration of the '90s might have resulted from the internal wars fought in Honduras. Garífuna often found themselves on the side of the losing faction, and until the winners granted the ritualistic declaration of amnesty, some Garífuna might have fled to Nicaragua (Documents 1895:xi). The source region for the immigrants was the Honduran coast east of Trujillo, with but one exception — Tomas Estrada came from Stann Creek (now Dangriga) in Belize. Tocomacho, the old prominent village at Cape River since about 1820 (Roberts 1827:274), contributed about one-third of the pioneers at Pearl Lagoon.

By 1910, virtually all movement from Honduras into Nicaragua had ceased. The border dispute between the countries was most intense in 1906 when it was closed to travel (Algunos 1938:112). Thus, the migration came to an end, and the Garífuna at Pearl Lagoon were isolated. Perhaps they should not be thought of as a stranded community whose members wished to rejoin families in Honduras; there is little

Table 3
Garifuna Families Represented in Nicaragua,
by Generation and by Approximate Date of Arrival

Generation	Average birthdate for generation	Family	Sex	Birth Place in Honduras	Period of entry
I	1850	J. Sambola	M	Sangrelaya	(1880-1890)
		F. Lopez	M	Aguan	
		I. Zenon	M	Tocomacho	
		U. Zenon	F	Tocomacho	
II	1875	G. Alvarez	M	?	(1890-1900)
		J. Alvarez	F	?	
		F. Arana	M	?	
		? Casildo	M	Cristales (Trujillo)	
		J. Centeno	F	?	
		C. Crisanto	M	?	
		D. Gonzales	F	Tocomacho	
		L. Lopez	M	Aguan	
		S. Morales	M	Tocomacho	
		B. Sambola	M	Sangrelaya	
		N. Sambola	M	Sangrelaya	
		A. Velasquez	F	Tocomacho	
		G. Velasquez	F	Iriona	
		F. Velasquez	M	Iriona	
F. Velasquez	F	Tocomacho			
J. Zenon	M	Tocomacho			
M. Zenon	M	Tocomacho			
III	1900	? Alvarez	M	?	(1900-1910)
		? Arana	M	?	
		? Centeno	M	?	
		? Colendres	M	?	
		T. Estrada	M	Stann Creek (Belize)	
		P. Flores	M	Aguan	
C. Velasquez	M	Tocomacho			

evidence that such a desire existed. They had established settlements and plantings, and perhaps most importantly, buried their dead. Garifuna are not inclined to leave a site once their ancestors have been buried there. One case of return migration resulted in the establishment of Buena Vista and La Fe, small settlements at the mouth of the Río Negro in Honduras in 1911.¹²

The Modern Sites: La Fe and Orinoco

The physical setting of Pearl Lagoon is typical of much of the Mosquito Coast (Figures 2 and 5; see also Radley 1960:65-79). The lagoon is relatively shallow (three to eighteen feet deep), and is separated from the sea by a narrow, heavily-forested sand

peninsula. Trade winds blow on shore over the peninsula and whip up waves, which become larger with distance from the eastern shore and with daylight into the afternoon. Seasonality is expressed abruptly by amounts of rainfall and related flooding; the lagoon water level varies about five feet throughout the year. From mid-June until November Pearl Lagoon gets more than 160 inches of rain, and flood water comes primarily down the Wawashan River. (The river coincidentally is the major route used by Spanish-speaking farmers from the interior to enter Garifuna lands.) Generally, land around the lagoon is low, often marshy, but on the north, west, and south sides a few terraces of decayed volcanic tuffs and clay are exposed as low, cliffed areas, locally called *banks*.

It is atop one such bank that the settlers of La Fe have erected their dwellings. Today about 100 people live in 23 houses (Figure 6). The village has a spacious feel about it; houses are well-separated, and few trees exist aside from the ancient groves of mango and coconut. Cattle-cropped grass is the dominant ground cover. The settlement is backed by a marsh, now encroaching upon the cemetery, which is located strategically to the leeward of the dwellings. Water comes from wells. In the middle of the site a

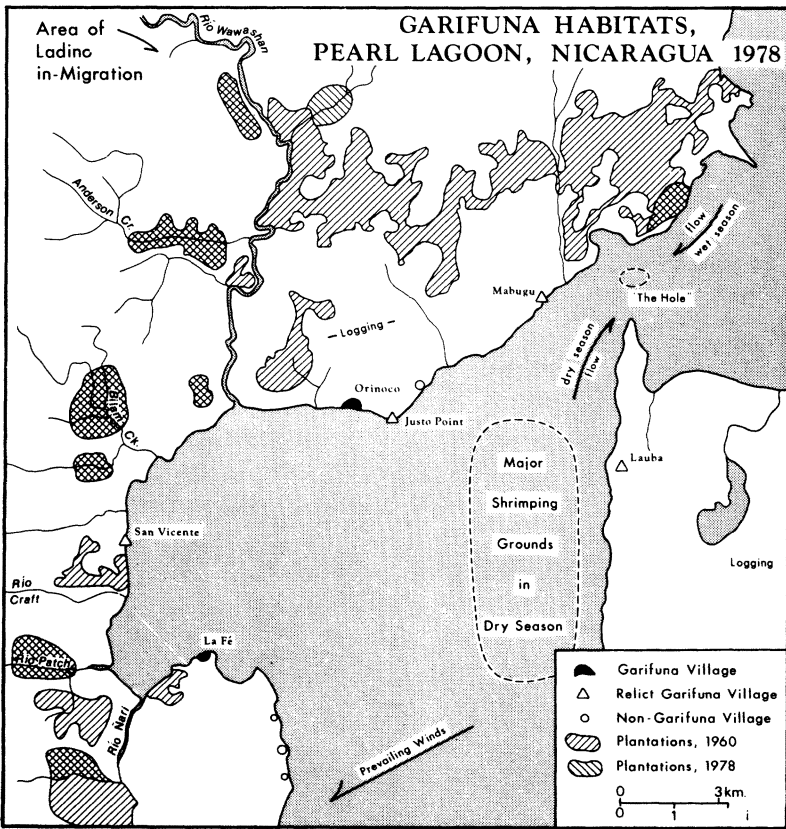


Fig. 5 Map.

bowling alley pits men against the women. Locals call it "kitty-alley," a term derived probably from the English game of *skittles*, which can be traced to 14th century England (Strutt 1947:47). Then, it was played lawfully only during the Christmas holidays; at La Fe it is played as well only during that holiday, another reminder of the influence of Englishmen in Mosquitia (Floyd 1967).

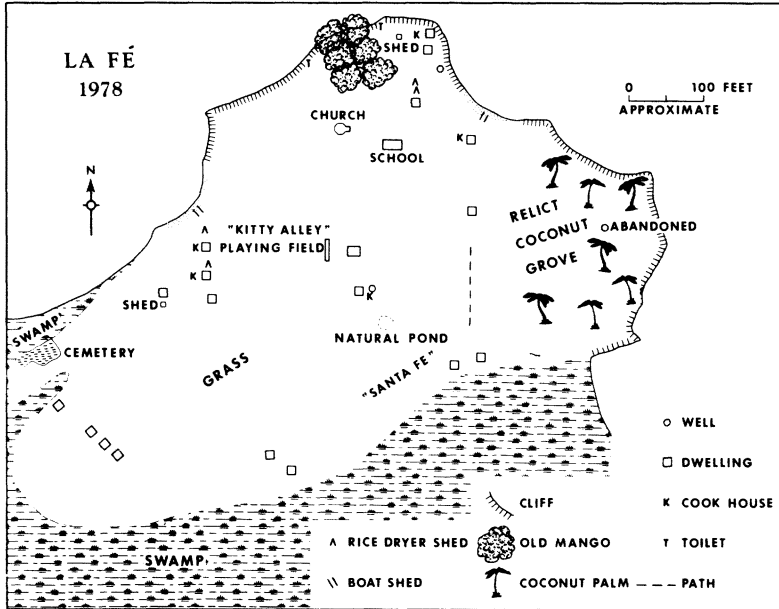


Fig. 6 Map.

The most intriguing aspect of modern La Fe is that waves from the lagoon are washing away the site. Residents are aware of the erosion and can show where the shoreline was in 1928, the date of founder Lino Lopez's death. According to the original land title, which is kept by Lino's son in a bottle, and the memories of the locals, approximate sizes of the bank can be reconstructed for 1928 and 1906 (Figure 7). Today, the bank is eroding at two varying rates: the western sector of about 200 feet, which is open to early morning north winds across the small stretch of lagoon, seems to be washing at about three feet annually, the northern and eastern sectors, a length of about 800 feet that is open to the more energetic waves of the afternoon, are losing between ten and twelve feet yearly. If the present rates have remained relatively constant since the establishment of the settlement in 1906, slightly over 600,000 square feet (approximately fourteen acres) of bank have been lost to the lagoon.

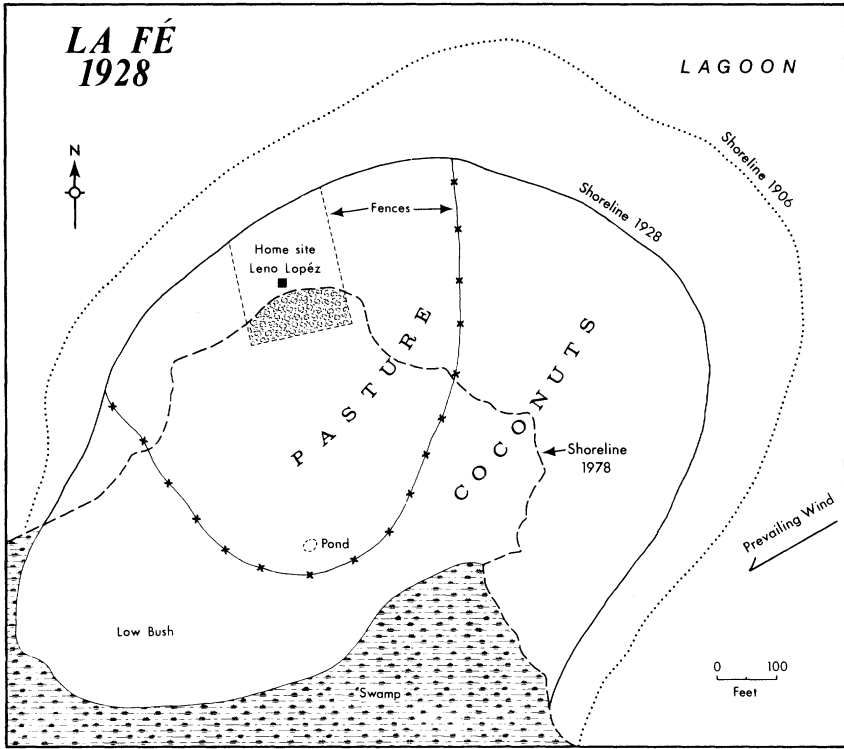


Fig. 7 Map.

The problem remains for residents: If windward shore erosion averages twelve feet per year, how long will it take before the remaining high ground washes away and leaves them in the marsh? For this reason, the larger protected site across the lagoon at Orinoco is expected to be the final, single site of Garífuna on Pearl Lagoon.

Viewed from the lagoon, like La Fe, Orinoco appears atop a bank. Unlike conditions at La Fe, winds are seldom on shore and the shoreline shows only slight washing. Lowlands lie to the east and west below the bank, but a 10- to 20-foot-high ridge runs far to the interior (Figure 8).

The area of initial settlement was on the highest ground near the sea on the eastern side of the present village. There are the old trees, and the only two extended-family groupings that contain more than two adult generations. As generations passed, the settlement grew to the interior along the ridge. Thus, the oldest families are settled in a linear fashion from lagoon to backland. More recent residents, often non-Garífuna, have taken land on the west side of the dock, in some cases, on the less desirable, often flooded, land below the ridge.

Orinoco has a population of 600-700, in nearly 100 dwellings. Houses are typically of lumber and thatch, in the style of modern Miskito Indian. The last 'Carib style' house with mud walls 'melted' about fifteen years ago.¹³

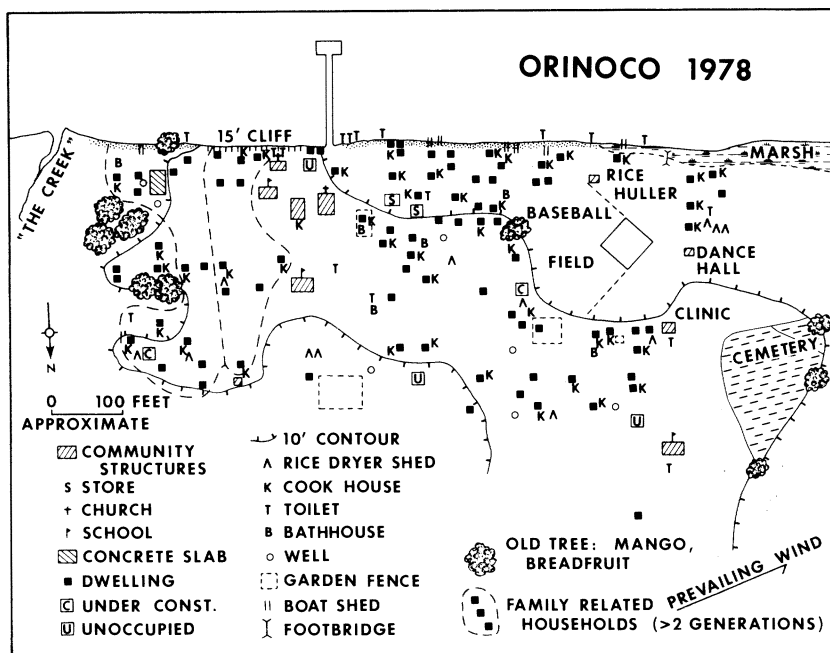


Fig. 8 Map.

Concluding Remarks

The movement of Pearl Lagoon Garifuna continues. The primary migration today is by young people to the outside world of Bluefields, and in lesser numbers to Managua, to San José in Costa Rica, and even to the United States. But the villages on the lagoon will not die from out-migration; there is sufficient population tied to the life of the lagoon to sustain the villages. What seems eminent is the demise of Garifuna culture there.

The national influences from interior Nicaragua are being felt more strongly each year. Spanish-speaking farmers are entering lands traditionally farmed by the Garifuna. The government is constructing an intracoastal canal through the lagoon to bring oceanic transports along the coast. With the increased pressures of foreign ways around the lagoon, marriages outside the Garifuna communities are becoming increasingly prevalent and Garifuna ways are being lost by the younger generations. No one under 34 converses in the language; no one in the previous generation speaks it regularly (only the "old heads" do so on occasion and then it is with watery eyes); the last ancestor ritual (*dugu*) took place seven years ago (it was considered unsuccessful); and no more Garifuna dances are held. Also, the physical erosion of La Fe will eventually cause abandonment of that site. Orinoco, the more-protected settlement, will probably receive those settlers.

This case permits two final points: one is specifically focussed on the Garifuna and the other is of general theoretical relevance. For students of Garifuna geography, the study suggests that living sites first selected for settlement appear not always to be the

best. While there are many variables in the decision to select a specific living site, a group who remains in an area for 20 to 30 years seems destined to settle their final village on the lagoon.

This case additionally brings new data to bear on a number of important theoretical questions in ethnohistory, where there is a long standing debate over the value of oral history data. Day (1972) suggests that even though oral history primarily should be used to complement case findings established by document research, "salvage oral history" data gathering should proceed before it is lost through the death of key cultural specialists. Likewise, Carmack (1972:236) indicates a need for using oral traditions that have proven historical validity, while Hudson (1972:133) notes that oral history is primarily valuable because it is a means of understanding the "social reality" or philosophy of history of preliterate people. Finally, Vansina (1970:168) concludes that it is only by piecing together local oral histories that widely applicable diachronic models of cultural change can be developed. This case study, in part, fills the need for, and reaffirms the utility of, local oral histories that present a people's social reality. In addition, in this instance, oral history was better for reconstructing settlement progression than were historic maps and accounts from travelers. This is not always the rule. I have argued the opposite for the history of Garífuna settlement along the northeast coast of Honduras (Davidson 1979). There, 175 years of oral tradition seems less valid than the old maps and records of travelers. The important issue of why oral history is valuable in one case but less so in another requires much more attention.¹⁴

NOTES

1. One example of a small settlement ethnohistory is Roy S. Bryce-Laporte's *Social Relations and Cultural Persistence among the Jamaicans in a Rural Area of Costa Rica*, a Ph.D. dissertation from the University of Puerto Rico in 1962.
2. The bibliography of research on the Garífuna now contains over 150 references. It is available without charge from the author by writing to the Department of Geography and Anthropology, LSU, Baton Rouge, LA 70803.
3. Conzemius (1938:914-941) listed seven groups that were specifically known as Caribs: Aguilas, Bocaes, Chontal, Civa, Guaytubaguas, Musutepes, and Yalasanés.
4. There are reports that Garífuna still live, at least a couple of families, at Greytown. Lehmann (1920:16) used a Belizean Garífuna named Apolinario Bonilla as an informant there in 1906.
5. Funding for the fields trips were provided by the National Geographic Society. Clifton Dixon assisted during the second trip.
6. This map was brought to my attention by Dr. John Holm, currently a professor of linguistics at the College of the Bahamas, Nassau.
7. Nietschmann (1973:41) reproduced part of the map in his study on Tasbapawnie.
8. During an interview with Victoriano Colón, a resident of Río Esteban, Honduras (January, 1979), I learned that he was born at Square Point, Nicaragua. Members of the elderly man's family could not agree on the year of his birth, but all believed it to be between 1882 and 1889. Sr. Colón's parents were both from Irióna, Honduras, and he remembered that the Sambula family lived at Square Point. Colón had returned to Honduras when he was a young man.
9. Garífuna had a grand reputation as loggers throughout the east coast of Central America during the 19th century. Lévy (1873:482) knew the Garífuna as preferred loggers specifically in Nicaragua.
10. It seems to have been common practice for North American commercial ventures to abandon their relocated native workers in times of financial difficulty. The U.S. Nicaragua Company, a large logging concern headquartered at Cape Gracias a Dios, after transporting workers from Honduras, Belize, and Nicaragua, left them when bankruptcy occurred in 1906 (USNA).

11. One photograph of an elderly John Sambola was reproduced in Carr (1953:opposite page 221). Carr reported that Sambola founded Orinoco in 1898 (p. 203). Perhaps this was the year that he began his plantings there.
12. Beaucage (1970:172) learned that the origins of the settlements were before 1900.
13. Because Orinoco was once a village of mud walled dwellings, so unlike the neighboring styles of construction, a Nicaraguan writer thought the inhabitants were of Colombian origins (Ruiz y Ruiz 1927:102).
14. The author is greatly indebted to the residents of La Fe and Orinoco for their hospitality and openness to my questions. Especially I want to thank Erasmus Zenon for introducing me to his village (Orinoco), Alejandro Estrada (Captain of the Ship *Polly*) for sharing his home, and Manuel Lopez for keeping me excited about the project by his correspondence. Father Paul Schmitz (Bluefields priest), John Holm, Safar Benoir (Bluefields political leader), and Faran Dometz of Pearl Lagoon also played major roles in the completion of the project.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Frederick U.
 1914 *Conquest of the Tropics*. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co.
Algunos Documentos importante sobre los límites entre Honduras y Nicaragua
 1938 New York: s. i.
- Araúz, R. T.
 1970 Los grupos humanos de Panama, *Lotería* (Panamá) 174:21-34.
- Beaucage, Pierre
 1970 *Economic Anthropology of the Black Carib of Honduras*. Ph.D. dissertation in Social Anthropology, University of London.
- Bell, Charles N.
 1862 Remarks on the Mosquito Territory, its climate, people, productions. *Journal, Royal Geographical Society* 32:242-268.
- Belt, Thomas
 1874 *The Naturalist in Nicaragua*. London: J. Murray.
- Boyle, Frederick
 1868 *A Ride across a Continent*. 2 vols. London: R. Bentley.
- Bryce-Laporte, Roy S.
 1962 *Social Relations and Cultural Persistence (or Change) among the Jamaicans in a Rural Area of Costa Rica*. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of Puerto Rico.
- Carmack, Robert M.
 1972 Ethnohistory: A Review of its Development, Definitions, Methods, and Aim. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*. B. Siegel et al., Eds. Palo Alto, California: Annual Reviews, pp. 227-246.
- Carr, Archie
 1953 *High Jungles and Low*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Church, George E.
 1897 Costa Rica. *Geographical Journal*, X (July-December):56-84.
- Collinson, John
 1870 The Indians of the Mosquito Territory. *Memoirs, Anthropological Society of London* 3:148-156.
- Conzemius, Eduard
 1938 Les tribus indiennes de la côte des Mosquitos. *Anthropos* 33:910-942.
- Davidson, William V.
 1976 Black Carib (Garifuna) Habitats in Central America. In *Frontier Adaptations in Lower Central America*, M. Helms and F. Loveland, Eds. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, pp. 85-94.
 1979 Dispersal of the Garifuna in the Western Caribbean. *Actes du XLII^e Congrès International des Américanistes* (Paris, 1976), Vol. VI:467-474.

- Day, Gordon M.
 1972 Oral History As Complement. *Ethnohistory* 19:2:99-108.
Documents relating to the Affairs in Bluefields, Republic of Nicaragua, in 1894
 1895 Washington: Press of W. F. Roberts.
- Floyd, Troy S.
 1967 *The Anglo-Spanish Struggle for Mosquitia*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Ghidinelli, Azzo
 1977 *La Familia entre los Caribes Negros, Ladinos, y Kekchies del Municipio de Livingston*. (Special issue of *Guatemala Indigena*, Guatemala City.)
- Gonzalez, Nancie S.
 1969 *Black Carib Household Structure*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Hadel, Richard E.
 1972 *Carib Folk Songs and Carib Culture*. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of Texas, Austin.
- Heath, G. R.
 1913 Notes on Miskuto Grammar and on other Indian Languages of Eastern Nicaragua. *American Anthropologist* 15:48-62.
- Helms, Mary
 1971 *Asang: Adaptations to Culture Contact in a Miskito Indian Community*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Hudson, Charles
 1973 The Historical Approach In Anthropology. In *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, J. J. Honigmann, Ed. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co, pp. 111-141.
- Kerns, Virginia
 1977 *Daughters Bring In: Ceremonial and Social Organization of the Black Carib of Belize*. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of Illinois, Urbana.
- Kirchhoff, T.
 1868 Die Indianer an der Moskitoküste, Centralamerika. *Globus* 13:285.
- Koch, Charles W.
 1975 *Ethnicity and Livelihood, A Social Geography of Costa Rica's Atlantic Zone*. Ph.D. dissertation in Geography, University of Kansas.
- Lehmann, Walther
 1920 *Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas*. 2 vols. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Lévy, Pablo
 1873 *Notas Geográficas y Económicas sobre la República de Nicaragua*. Paris: E. Denné Schmitz.
- Nietschmann, Bernard Q.
 1973 *Between Land and Water: The Subsistence Ecology of the Miskito Indians, Eastern Nicaragua*. New York: Seminar Press.
- Nuhn, H. P. Krieg, and P. Schlick
 1975 *Zentralamerika, Karten zur Bevölkerungs-und Wirtschaftsstruktur*. Hamburg: Inst. für Geographie, Wirtschaftsgeographie, Univ. Hamburg.
- Olien, Michael D.
 1967 *The Negro in Costa Rica: Ethnohistory of an Ethnic Minority in a Complex Society*. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of Oregon.
- Pim, Bedford C.
 1863 *The Gate of the Pacific*. London: L. Reeve and Company.
- Pim, B. and B. Seemann
 1869 *Dottings on the Roadside in Panama, Nicaragua, and Mosquitia*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Radley, Jeffery
 1960 *The Physical Geography of the East Coat of Nicaragua*. M.A. thesis in Geography, University of California, Berkeley.

Reclus, Elisee

- 1897 *The Earth and its Inhabitants, II: Mexico, Central America, West Indies*, A. H. Keane, editor. New York: Appleton.

Roberts, Orlando W.

- 1827 *Narrative of Voyages and Excursions on the East Coast and in the Interior of Central America*. Edinburgh: Constable and Company.

Ruiz y Ruiz, F.

- 1927 *Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua* (1925). Managua: Tipografía Alemana.

Sanford, Margaret

- 1971 *Disruption of the Mother-Child relationship in conjunction with matri-focality: A study of child-keeping among the Carib and Creole of British Honduras*. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Strutt, Joseph

- 1947 *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*. London: Methuen and Co.

Taylor, Douglas M.

- 1951 *The Black Carib of British Honduras*. (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Number 17.) New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation.

USNA (United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

- 1906 Trimmer to Asst. Secretary of State, letter 15 June. Microcopy T-538, Roll 1 (Despatches from U.S. Consuls, Cape Gracias a Dios).

Vansina, Jan

- 1970 Cultures Through Time. In *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology*. R. Naroll and R. Cohen, Eds. Garden City, New York: Natural History Press, pp. 165-179.

Whipple, Emory C.

- 1979 Carib Music, Dance, and Folklore. *Actes du XLII^e Congrès International des Américanistes* (Paris, 1976), Vol. VI:503-512.

Young, Thomas

- 1842 *Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore*. London: Smith, Elder and Co.