

Writing Caribbean Intellectual History

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ABSTRACT: Arguing that *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* is an important text in the emerging field of Caribbean intellectual history, this essay suggests that missing from this important text is the working through of an intellectual history that grapples with black religious practices as modes of thought. It also argues that if Caribbean thought gets knotted up in the trope of Caliban, it will not decolonize itself and begin to wrestle with what Kamau Brathwaite has called the "inner plantation."

The writing of Caribbean intellectual history is a tricky matter. There are not only conventional linguistic divides that balkanize Caribbean thought but also the more critical matter of what constitutes Caribbean ideas and thought, and thus a Caribbean intellectual tradition. Is this tradition constituted primarily of political ideas, literature, economic thought, or the historical knowledge of the region? In this mix, where do Afro-Caribbean and Indo-Caribbean religious practices fit? Do these religious practices not invoke, as Joan Dayan argues, a "project of thought," with the "intensity of interpretation" that is allowed by such practices?¹ And if they do, then what does this mean for an intellectual history of the region and for the category of thought itself?

There is also the matter of popular culture as one of the ways in which subaltern classes both represent and produce, in Antonio Gramsci's phrase, "ways of seeing things and acting."² And finally, there is a thematic problem. In what ways can we characterize Caribbean intellectual history? In other words, what are the critical preoccupations of this history, not an intellectual laundry list of writers, thinkers, and practices, but rather preoccupations that allow us to reflect upon our historical experiences—historical experiences that at first blush oftentimes seem impossible to represent and in which official memory circulates as mnemonic spectacle. These are knotty issues that, although present at the "inauguration" of Caribbean intellectual history, assume today a vital centrality.

In thinking about these issues while reading Silvio Torres-Saillant's *An*

Intellectual History of the Caribbean, one recalls Elsa Goveia's 1956 observation: in writing Caribbean history, we should "seek [to go] beyond the narrative of events, [to get] a wider understanding of the thoughts, habits and institutions of a whole society."³ Writing before the formal political independence of the British Caribbean colonies, Goveia urged us on to a possible way in which we should consider history not just as the narrative of events to be recounted but instead as perhaps the most important frame for a postcolonial society understanding itself on its own terms. Almost twenty years later, Kamau Brathwaite in what has become a seminal essay in Caribbean thought, "Caribbean Man in Space and Time," attempted to provide an answer to Goveia's observation when he constructed two typologies for studying the Caribbean. One typology, the "outer plantation," congealed itself into a disciplinary field calling itself Caribbean Studies. Arguing that historical study was the major preoccupation of this field in the early twentieth century, Brathwaite suggests that historical work cleared the way for "the concept of the plantation in Caribbean scholarship."⁴ The concept of the plantation Brathwaite suggests draws on the 1927 writings of Gurrea y Sanchez. The plantation has been a central leitmotif in Caribbean thought, becoming a conceptual marker for the work of Lloyd Best and what eventually became known as the New World Group.⁵ Although appearing at a critical moment in Caribbean intellectual history, the theoretical framework of the plantation did not have full explanatory power. The reason for this, Brathwaite argued, was that plantation theory, although it claimed to be a theory of totality, did not "contain all that was planted."⁶ For Goveia's call to be properly answered, Brathwaite suggested that Caribbean writers and theorists needed to turn their gaze to the "inner plantation." In this inner plantation, he says, "we are concerned with cores and kernels: resistant local forms: roots, stumps, survival rhythms; growing points."⁷ Brathwaite's call was not a narrow linguistic one.

What does it mean to examine the inner plantation? I would suggest that this requires first and foremost the recognition that one of the key defining historical moments of Caribbean societies is to be found in the profound human paradox of what the Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén calls "the corpse that lives." Writing in his poem "I Came on a Slaveship," Guillén says:

I see Menendez stretched out.

Immobile, Tense

The open lung bubbles

His eyes see, are seeing

The corpse lives⁸

This living corpse cannot be understood in a phrase that is increasingly popular in the academy: "bare life," which is conceptualized as a set of exclusions of human bodies from a polity while at the same time being constitutive of that polity in relation to sovereign power.⁹ Rather, it may be understood as the profound contradiction, the trauma created, when a human being is placed in constituted states of social and civil deaths, and inside these constituted states, the human figure has both voice and speech, the two critical requirements of any polity. Both voice and speech exist in the living corpse not as potential but as exercised utterances; in some of the defining moments of Caribbean history, utterances and practices from the living corpse may have opened up an alternative way of thinking, into which we still have yet to tap.

Much has occurred since 1975 and Brathwaite's essay. In particular there have been notable attempts to study Caribbean thought beyond the siren call of the events-narrative, and to construct a template of what can be called a Caribbean intellectual tradition. Perhaps the most successful attempt to date has been Gordon Lewis's *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought*. Blurring some of the conventional regional linguistic divide, Lewis's work focuses on the central ideological and historical issues in Caribbean society from 1491 to 1900. All forms of writing, literature, political tracts, and historical works were located within dominant ideological frames of Caribbean society: pro-slavery, antislavery, or nationalist thought. For Lewis, working through the lens of political history, Caribbean thought was ideological thinking. Hence, at the beginning of the concluding chapter, he writes: "The Caribbean entered the twentieth century carrying with it all of the inherited baggage of the various ideologies that had gone to make up its history since the Discovery itself."¹⁰ In 1987, Denis Benn published *The Growth and Development of Political Ideas in the Caribbean, 1774-1983*.¹¹ His text, however, focused only on the English-speaking Caribbean. Limiting himself to political ideas, Benn discussed the writings of the British colonial writers as well as the twentieth-century political ideas of black power, Marxism, the political economy of the New World group, and of course early-twentieth-century Caribbean anticolonial nationalism. In a recently revised edition published in 2004, Benn renames the text *The Caribbean: An Intellectual History, 1774-2003*.¹² In the revision, he acknowledges that his version of intellectual history excludes the vast literary tradition within the region. He notes: "This study recognizes the importance of the literary dimension of Caribbean intellectual history. . . . [A] survey of the literary tradition of the Caribbean would require a separate study."¹³

One study that succeeds both in crossing at least some of the linguistic divide of the region and in moving between disciplinary boundaries is Antonio Benítez-Rojo's *The Repeating Island*. For Benítez-Rojo, the Caribbean is a space in which "magic coexists with reason, history with myth, the epic sound of the bugle with that of the ritual drumbeat."¹⁴ I do not want to critique here the binaries that are reproduced in Benítez-Rojo's work, which suggest, for example, that history is wholly separate from myth, and magic from reason. Instead, what I would wish to convey is Benítez-Rojo's exemplary attempts to frame the Caribbean within a theory, and to develop critical aspects of that theory from within a historical understanding of some aspects of Caribbean society. Thus, using the work of the Cuban scholar Fernando Ortiz, Benítez-Rojo notes, "Afro-Caribbean beliefs appear together with the rumba and the carnival as forms of knowledge as valid as those proper to scientific knowledge."¹⁵ To my mind this understanding of new knowledges at sites which are not formally and conventionally considered as knowledge repositories needs to be explored and brought to the surface; it is currently one of the missing elements of Caribbean intellectual history. This is of course not so much about things said or unsaid but rather about matters seen outside the frames of thinking as we continually induct ourselves into the Cartesian model of knowledge affirmation. This model has disabled the Caribbean intellectual tradition (although one should not with any certitude speak of a single monolithic tradition) and has stymied what George Lamming called for in 1995: the inventory of the traces that comprise the critical elaboration of Caribbean consciousness.¹⁶

Of course, Paget Henry's text *Caliban's Reason* attempts to take some of the critical figures within the tradition and establish two sets of typologies for Caribbean thought: historicism and poeticism. It is a thoughtful but problematic framework because one feature of radical Caribbean thought is its penchant to glide within what one may call the interstices of formal European categories. In other words, radical Caribbean thought is not stable, static, and formulaic. Its trajectories of thinking have sought to bring forth the Caribbean subject into existence, to make the living corpse speak against the might of both historical and contemporary forms of domination. Thus the complex modes of radical Caribbean thought "reveal stories beneath History most essential for understanding us, stories no books speaks of."¹⁷ There are two other matters here. A Caribbean intellectual history has both conservative and radical currents. My preoccupation, similar to that of Torres-Saillant's book, has been with radical Caribbean thought. For radical Caribbean intellectual history, two issues are still problematic. The first is what precisely constitutes the "radical." The second has been a perennial one: how to speak of, to

represent if you will, the inner plantation and constitution of Caribbean subjectivities. Of course the latter has been an abiding concern of Caribbean literature, music, and various Afro-Caribbean religious practices. It is within this frame, that of the appearance in the last decade or so of texts proclaiming to represent an intellectual history of the region, that I wish to write a few remarks about the latest attempt in this emerging field of thinking about the region: Silvio Torres-Saillant's *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean*.¹⁸ (I write these comments not as a book review but proceeding along the lines of how the book stimulated ideas about the writing of Caribbean intellectual history.)

The Text

To say that *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* is a significant text in the burgeoning field of Caribbean intellectual history is to state the obvious. There are many important things about this book: its attempts to bridge the regional linguistic divide; the attention it pays to Haiti and the Dominican Republic; the ways in which it attempts to argue about the conceptions of history in the Caribbean and its engagement with the trope which became the central anti-colonial figure of the twentieth-century anticolonial nationalist period in the Caribbean-Caliban. Then of course there is the text's own radical edge, as it is clearly not only engaged with radical Caribbean thought but stands within the radical tradition in its own textual outlook. All these qualities of the text make it an important one, adding a new dimension in some ways to the study of the Caribbean. However, in spite of this, *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* does not adequately grapple with Brathwaite's injunction about the inner plantation. This is troublesome since from the outset the book announces: "The pages that follow will insist in saying that Caribbean thought has a history of its own, coterminous with the differentiated history of the people in the region."¹⁹ Although Torres-Saillant makes the point that the text will focus on "literary utterances and intellectual discourse," it is very troubling that while the author does not offer any specific definition of "intellectual discourse," it is clear that he does not intend to include the religious practices of the region. Secondly, he is clearly hostile to what one may call a version of cultural studies which privileges Caribbean music. To put this another way, the author himself, while speaking clearly about domination and systems of exploitation in the region, does not pay sufficient attention to the intellectual products of the dominated.

It should be clear that any intellectual history of the region that does not begin to come to grips with religious ideas and practices in the region cannot claim deep understanding. This is not only about the operations of

symbolic power nor any gesture about reflecting a religious register of a human population group. If Derek Walcott is accurate in saying that the language of religion is crucial in Afro-Caribbean thought ("It is the beginning of the poetry of the New World. And the language used, is like the religion, that of the conqueror of the God. But the slave had wrested God from his captor."²⁰), then for us to think about and inside a Caribbean intellectual tradition without paying attention to religious ideas and practices is to miss a great deal.²¹ Sylvia Wynter has carefully pointed out in her discussion of Myalism and Rastafari that within the Middle Passage, a "new cultural signifying system" was rearticulated. This new system, in her words, then became a "counter symbolic order."²² From a radical perspective we need to account for the work of these counter symbolic orders. One does not need to be religious in any way to attempt this; however, I posit that one cannot begin to grapple with the inner plantation of the region without taking cognizance of this dimension of Caribbean life.

But there is another reason for my worry about the absence of religion as a "system of thought." Torres-Saillant makes sweeping statements about what one may call the "musical turn" and the ways in which academic production has come to privilege this turn in Caribbean Studies as a moment of possible liberation.

In ironic tones, Torres-Saillant notes the imposing presence of reggae in Jamaica, refers briefly to the historic "peace concert" (22 April 1978), and then suggests that there is an "incongruity between the power that writers and cultural critics ascribe to Caribbean music and the power that the rhythms . . . actually exhibited in the modern history of the region."²³

I think that the point Torres-Saillant wants to make is that Caribbean music does not equal liberation politics. And in a profound sense he is right. No music does, no text does, since liberation politics at its outer limits requires mass human action. However, we now know that these historical explosive actions which reconfigure our horizons and how we live do not appear with great frequency. But since systems of domination are never static, particularly those of racial and colonial types, battles for hegemony are regularly engaged. Rex Nettleford has called this the "battle for space."²⁴ I would want to suggest that progressive popular genres of Caribbean music fall within this field of the battle for space. Marley could not have cajoled Manley and Seaga on stage that night if he did not represent at the symbolic level an artist who chanted down Babylon. Indeed the real moment of brief peace only arrived when in response to state murder, important male figures of both political parties from Kingston's inner cities drew up their own peace program and tried to make

it work.²⁵ There is in other words a politics of culture, a cultural politics if one wishes, which works its ways through questions of hegemony.

There have been many arguments about whether "popular culture" is mass culture, and if one can use the term to describe those elements of culture that have been left out of the canon of "high culture." This is obviously not the place to engage in this debate. However, it is important to note that while popular culture may be "constituted through the production of popular meaning located at the moment of consumption,"²⁶ such meanings, as Stuart Hall notes, are always profoundly contested. Following Gramsci we may take the site of popular culture to be one of "common sense," the taken-for-granted aspect of human beings practicing ways of life. However, Gramsci observes that this is the most contested terrain of thought and knowledge and it is the space where hegemony is required to both battle and create settlement. In thinking about Caribbean intellectual history from the point of view of oppressed social groups, it would seem to me that it is on the terrain of cultural politics and symbolic life that small victories occur to maintain the everyday humanity of the oppressed. Thus those of us who work within the Caribbean radical tradition now need to create the inventory of these battles and the ideas around which they have been fought. To my mind, that labor involves paying some attention to the musical forms of the region, not instead of other domains of Caribbean life but alongside them.

Some critics may argue that what I am advocating is really a form of cultural history, not intellectual history, and that, given the fact that definitions of culture are themselves very slippery, for anyone to embark on such an enterprise would be foolhardy. My response would be that instead of getting caught in the noose of culture, we might wish to think about a kind of historical writing of representations and symbolic life that includes practices. Thus, instead of writing about the history of music we might think about the history of musical performances in all their complexities, a history of religious practices rather than a history of religion and theology.

For the Caribbean, this is important, since the dominant forms of power historically did not operate in any liberal mode but functioned as power in the flesh, in which the shaping of bodies worked jointly and in tandem with creating subjects.²⁷ This leads to another point. Given the contours of Caribbean history, all forms of historical writing have to grapple with memory and the figuration of the archive. Here we bump up against formal academic conventions. For what is the relationship between memory and archive particularly where memory remains a source of unspeakable horrors of the historical experience? And what happens when archives no longer exist in their typical forms, but when landscape, dance, and art

become other archival possibilities? It would seem to me that the emergence of Caribbean intellectual history allows us to make a visual turn, one in which art and the body become central to our intellectual labors. Such a turn would not be a new fad, but rather would be rooted in Fanon's understanding about the centrality of the human body in the colonial project.²⁸

Caliban as Trope

I think that in the current postcolonial moment of Caribbean history, Caliban is a problematic figure to evoke when thinking about the region. Although I myself in writing about the political thought of C. L. R. James have made extensive use of the figure, I would want to argue that perhaps the time has come for us to begin to move beyond it. Torres-Saillant presents us with a lucid historical account of how Caliban came into Caribbean thought, and the various uses of the trope. He writes, "The figure of Caliban remains unrivalled as signifier of the tensions existing at the core of human experiences in the Caribbean."²⁹ This has been historically true, but can we say so today? At this point I am not so much interested in Caliban as an outside figure, a creation of William Shakespeare and who can be notarized as native. Instead, what I want to offer is a possible reading of Aimé Césaire's play, *A Tempest*, and follow with the suggestion that the play puts an end to this trope having any real power in Caribbean thought in the postcolonial moment. To put this another way, if Caliban captured what Torres-Saillant calls "hermeneutic power" in the Caribbean "cultural situation," does it still have that power now? Thinking alongside Torres-Saillant as he argues that Caliban "exhibits multiformity and a series of mutations so rapid that none can predict the ideological path he will take," we need to ask the question: what work does Caliban as a "signifier" do?³⁰ Let us attempt to answer this by reviewing Césaire's play.

Although written in 1969, Césaire's play was not premiered in the United States until 1991. The play was deeply shaped by the 1969 moment, when the radical black movement was on the ascendancy in many parts of the Caribbean and in the United States. In addition, the anticolonial momentum in Africa had gathered speed with the formation and activities of the various armed national liberation movements in Southern Africa, Algeria, and Guinea-Bissau. Based on Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, there are two significant alterations in Césaire's play: Ariel is made a mulatto slave and Caliban becomes a black slave. Césaire announces by these changes that his revisions will take on a different meaning in what is clearly a postcolonial context. Césaire also adds one character, Eshu (a figure in the Yoruba religious pantheon), whom he makes a black devil god.

All the other characters remain the same as in the original play. However, while the characters remain the same, the dialogue of the play is different: not only is it "modern" (in its translated form), it is overtly political.

In the original Shakespeare play, when Caliban is first introduced, he is described by Prospero as "a freckled whelp, hag born, not honoured with [a] human shape."³¹ For Prospero, Caliban is the slave who "yields . . . no kind answer"; he makes the fire, fetches the wood, and "serves in offices that profit" his masters.³² When Caliban as character enters the play, he complains of how the island was taken from him and how he facilitated this by loving Prospero and showing him "all of the qualities o'th'isle."³³ In the dialogue between Miranda, Prospero, and Caliban, Caliban proclaims, "You taught me language, and my profit on't is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you for learning me your language."³⁴ Here, Caliban recognizes that although he can curse Prospero so that the latter knows he is being cursed, something has been lost to him in learning the language of his master.

It is this fact that Cesaire seizes upon when he introduces Caliban in *A Tempest*, in a scene where there is a dramatic confrontation between Caliban and Prospero, which begins with this dialogue:

Prospero: (Calling) Caliban! Caliban! (He sighs)

Enter Caliban

Caliban: Uhuru!³⁵

At this point Prospero realizes that Caliban is speaking in his native language, and then there follows a series of exchanges in which Prospero chides him for being ugly, to which Caliban retorts in kind. Caliban also responds to Prospero's claims that he "educated, trained" Caliban, and "dragged [him] up from the bestiality that clings to [him]."³⁶ Then comes the critical move in this first act of the play. Caliban announces to Prospero: "You didn't teach me a thing! Except to jabber in your own language so that I could understand your orders.: chop the wood , wash the dishes, fish for food . . . and as for your learning, did you ever impart any of that to me?"³⁷ As the dialogue between the two becomes sharper, Caliban then announces to Prospero, "I don't want to be called Caliban any longer. . . . Because Caliban isn't my name. . . . It's the name given me by your hatred. . . . Call me X. . . . Like a man without a name . . . a man whose name has been stolen. . . . You talk about history . . . , well, that's history and everyone knows it."³⁸ It would seem to me that this is the precise moment when in Caribbean thought Caliban as a figure is

overthrown. Something else needs to happen, another figure needs to emerge, a name needs to be given to the living corpse who now not only sees but also has voice and speech.

George Lamming, in a remarkable talk at the 1956 *Présence Africaine* conference, acutely observed that "it is one of the mischievous powers of language, particularly that aspect of language that relates to names. . . . Language in this respect is intentional and the intention clearly part of the human will to power. A name is an infinite source of control."³⁹ It is the rupture from this control within the domain of Caribbean thought that I think will allow us to develop the necessary Caribbean gaze that Torres-Saillant so passionately calls for.

For how can Caliban be a synecdoche figure? How can he stand in part for the whole when he himself is a creation of the master power? Surely within the postcolonial moment, when the decolonization process calls for a language of the self, not of the other, this should mean that we break from Caliban? For, as Césaire makes clear, Caliban is a fiction of the master's domination. Torres-Saillant has produced a major work in Caribbean intellectual history. He has added important dimensions to the study of the Caribbean intellectual tradition, posing issues that are vital to the politics of the academy and to knowledge. But he has done so without using his words like a machete, to chop a new way for us to think about this history and tradition. The task of naming Guillén's corpse, which is alive, and of representing its voice and speech remains a pressing one, something we still have to address.

[Footnote]

1. Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), xvii.
2. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. and ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 333.
3. Elsa Goveia, *Historiography of the British West Indies* (1956; reprint, Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1980), 177.
4. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, "Caribbean Man in Space and Time," *Savacou*, nos. 11-12 (1975): 3.
5. For a set of essays reviewing the intellectual history and work of the New World Group, see Norman Girvan, ed., *The Thought of the New World* (Kingston: Ian Randle Press, 2008).
6. Brathwaite, "Caribbean Man," 4.
7. *Ibid.*, 6.
8. Nicolas Guillén, *Man-making Words: Selected Poems of Nicolas Guillén*, trans. Robert Marquez and Arthur McMurray (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 187.
9. The work of Giorgio Agamben is of course important here. See Giorgio Agamben,

Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

10. Gordon Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in Its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900* (1983; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 321.

11. Denis Benn, *The Growth and Development of Political Ideas in the Caribbean, 1774-1983* (Kingston: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1987).

12. Denis Benn, *The Caribbean: An Intellectual History, 1774-2003* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004).

13. *Ibid.*, xix.

14. Antonio Benítez-Rojo, *The Repeating Island* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 303.

15. *Ibid.*, 175.

16. See George Lamming, *Coming, Coming Home: Conversations II* (Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehesi, 1995).

17. Patrick Chamoiseau, *Texaco* (New York: Vintage, 1998), 35. See also Paget Henry, *Caliban's Reason: Introducing Afro-Caribbean Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

18. Silvio Torres-Saillant, *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). I do not have the space to refer to all the major texts that have appeared in the last decade or so in this field of Caribbean intellectual history, but I need to mention at least four: Faith Smith, *Creole Recitations* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002); Selwyn Cudjoe, *Beyond Boundaries* (Wellesley, MA: Calaloux Publications, 2003); Nana Wilson-Tagoe, *Historical Thought and Literary Representation in West Indian Literature* (Kingston: University Press of the West Indies, 1998); and Nick Nesbitt, *History and Subjectivity in French Caribbean Literature* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003).

19. Torres-Saillant, *Intellectual History*, 2.

20. Derek Walcott, *What the Twilight Says* (New York: Faber and Faber, 1998), 47.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Sylvia Wynter, " 'We Know Where We Are From': The Politics of Black Culture from Myal to Marley," unpublished 1977 paper in author's possession.

23. Torres-Saillant, *Intellectual History*, 33.

24. Rex Nettleford, "The Continuing Battle for Space-The Caribbean Challenge," *Caribbean Quarterly* 43, nos. 1-2 (March-June 1997): 90.

25. For a discussion of this process, see Anthony Bogues, "Rethinking the Political: Violence and Sovereignty in Caribbean Society," in Brian Meeks, ed., *Race, Culture and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall* (Kingston: Ian Randle Press, 2007), 206-24.

26. Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 47.

27. For discussion of this form of power, see chap. 2 of Anthony Bogues, *Empire of Liberty: Power, Freedom and Desire* (Lebanon: University of New England Press, 2008).

28. Already some scholars are making this turn. See, in particular, Krista Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

29. Torres-Saillant, *Intellectual History*, 200.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, eds., *The Tempest* (London: Nelson and Sons, 1999), 171.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, 174.
34. *Ibid.*, 176.
35. Of course, this is a Ki Swahili word meaning "freedom."
36. Aimé Césaire, *A Tempest*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Ubu Repertory Theater Publications, 1992), 11.
37. *Ibid.*, 11-12.
38. *Ibid.*, 14-15.
39. George Lamming, "The Negro Writer and His World," in Richard Drayton and Andaiye, eds., *Conversations: Essays, Addresses and Interviews, 1953-1990* (London: Karia Press, 1992), 45.

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