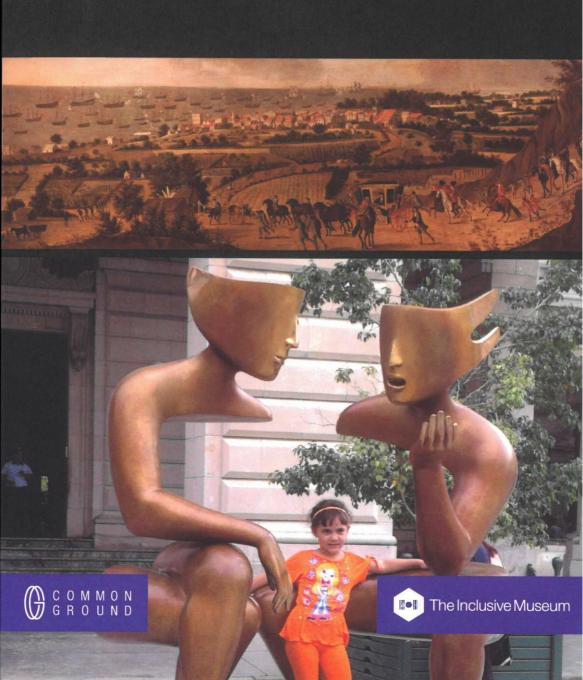
Plantation to Nation

Caribbean Museums and National Identity

Edited by
ALISSANDRA CUMMINS, KEVIN FARMER AND ROSLYN RUSSELL

Series Editor AMARESWAR GALLA



PLANTATION TO NATION: CARIBBEAN MUSEUMS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

EDITED BY
ALISSANDRA CUMMINS,
KEVIN FARMER,
AND
ROSLYN RUSSELL



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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, we wish to acknowledge the scholarship and commitment of key historians and museum persons who were critical sources of support for the preparation of this book, including Senator Sir Trevor Carmichael and Professor Sir Woodville Marshall for their leadership and commitment to improving museum standards in the Caribbean, Mr. Michael Rutherford, Dr. Debbie McCollin, Prof. Isabel Rigol and Dr. Lovell Francis for discussions on Caribbean identity and the need to preserve our heritage, our museums and our collections. Prof. Michel-Rolph Trouillot was a major source of inspiration for the interrogation of the underlying principles and ideologies which had guided the development of our region's museums. His recent death represents an unimaginable loss for the region.

We would also like to thank the staff of the Barbados Museum & Historical Society, most particularly Mrs. Angela Boyce, Ms. Harriet Pierce, Mr. Kerron Hamblin who provided excellent assistance in assembling both information and images for various authors, and Ms. Kaye Hall for her wonderful technical and administrative support, as well as the Common Ground publishing team, who were not only invaluable in the planning, organisation and publication of *Plantation to Nation: Caribbean Museums and National Identity*, but facilitated all our requirements and made the process as smooth as possible.

Of course, none of this could have happened without the enthusiasm, dedication and hard work of our colleagues and the contributors, most of whose chapters were specifically written for this book, but also for their help in identifying other writers and other untapped sources of information for the book. Each author has been invited to participate based on the extensive knowledge and expertise they bring to issues concerning the history and development of museums and museology throughout the region, and all of whom were immediately responsive and committed to the cause. Moreover, their commitment to honouring the memories and perspectives of individuals with respect to the museological praxis, its issues and paradigms, its challenges and revelations, constitutes the book's main strength and significance.

Thanks also must go to the institutions and individuals who provided additional information for the chapters whenever this was requested. We also wish to acknowledge the University of the West Indies Press and Duke University Press who were generous in their permissions to republish two key articles in the book. Finally we offer our deepest gratitude to our families, as it is important to recognise that, without their unstinting support, preparations for this book would have been virtually impossible.

Alissandra Cummins, Kevin Farmer, and Roslyn Russell
Bridgetown and Canberra November 2013

Foreword

The Empire Survey of Museums in the British Empire, conducted between 1931 and 1936, was undertaken during a period of administrative restructuring that embodied the British vision for the entire colonial empire. The Survey gathered evidence of the need for technical services that provided justification for the deployment of professional curators to colonial museums abroad. It also provided, for the first time in the history of the museum, a detailed inventory of museum institutions at a specific point in time, not just in the West Indies but worldwide. Broadly speaking, the thrust of imperial history in Britain at the time was to focus on the development and achievements of the British Empire and, as Godfrey, Lord Elton described it in 1945, her 'civilising mission'. Viewed in that context, West Indian history is part of a complex historical narrative in which competing values are always jostling for attention. The colonial museum was therefore not simply a means of representing local history or identity; in essence it was concerned with minimalizing (if not masking) those complexities. This had the effect of reducing West Indian history (and other territorial histories) almost to irrelevance, or to a caricature of British (and of course European) history. Ultimately, the West Indian museum at this time functioned almost as a form of collective amnesia.

Plantation to Nation seeks to explore, explain and engage in discussion on the evolution of museums of the Caribbean. This publication first reviews the construction of traditional images and myths of 'national' identity promoted within the West Indian museum a century ago; it then highlights some of the important factors that began to erode these established ideas of identity and contributed to a widening historical consciousness. The authors examine which history - or more to the point, whose history - informed the content and collections of the West Indian museums of the period, and they interrogate some of the assumptions that underline the process of history-making in the museum context.

As Chris Healy has argued, the museum 'installed the nation-state as the object of collective identification', performing an essential act of nation creation to which all viewers were expected to subscribe. These selective displays of objects gave authority and legitimacy, in the eyes of both governments and audiences, to the ideas and notions presented as 'authentic'. The importance of these exhibits as displays of power and influence, and their subsequent impact on different sectors of society, should not be underestimated in situations where it became essential to find ways to draw all British subjects together. The results recorded by the Empire Survey Report

¹ Lord Elton, *Imperial Commonwealth*, London, Collins, 1945.

² C. Healy, 'Histories and Collecting: Museums, Objects and Memories,' in K. Darian-Smith & P. Hamilton (eds.), *Memory and History in Twentieth Century Australia*, Melbourne, 1994, p. 38.

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and Directory of Museums in the West Indies were especially revealing. Specifically the report noted that:

However difficult the situation may be in Canada, South Africa, or Australia, the island museums suffer from similar disadvantages plus that of almost insufferable isolation ...These particulars, with the information now available, permit us to make a comparison of the cultural efforts these various islands or isolated colonies are making.³ ...The islands of the British Empire present one of the most difficult problems in the realm of cultural services, and the hope is that in at least one area efforts will be made to evolve the ideal museum and art gallery policy for an island colony.⁴

The Survey Commissioners also acknowledged that historical and possibly 'psychological' reasons might be responsible for the particular circumstances of West Indian museums. Their remoteness, seclusion and insularity were perceived as stumbling blocks, especially when viewed through a prism of Eurocentrism. For the colonial observer and colonial elites, the history of the islands began with their colonization. Implicit in such a rule was the binary perspective that 'colony' equaled 'civilization'. Such a view of island history placed all other histories 'beyond the boundary' and outside the mainstream. Therefore island history could only exist as part of imperial history, not as it is taught today, but as it was perceived over 100 years ago, as dominant and omnipotent.

In reality, such thinking was moribund. The succeeding decades bore witness to a growing self-awareness and burgeoning independence movement that over time engaged that colonial mindset, replacing it with a Caribbean sense of self that the Commissioners would be hard pressed to identify with today. Caribbean identity is both pre- and post-Columbian in its genesis, an identity born of displacement, appropriation and struggle, nurtured to an adulthood that was steeped in survival. The ability to view and interpret such a past is seen in its museums, collections and interpretations. Given the essentially fragmentary nature of Caribbean culture and identity, the term 'intangible heritage', rather than solely the permanence of objects, perhaps best elides with the region's notions of valid expressions of Caribbean history, identity and culture. Contemporary Caribbean curatorship now requires that museums contend directly with how to represent the silences, absences and dislocations which so frequently prescribe both the historical and modern day experiences. Stuart Hall has spoken of the need for museums

to understand their collections and their practices as what I can only call 'temporary stabilisations'. What they are - and they must be

⁴ Museums Association Report, p.8.

³ Henry A. Miers, and S. F. Markham. Compilers. 'Introduction' to Reports on the Museums of Ceylon, British Malaya, the West Indies, etc. to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Museums Association, London, 1933, p.7.

specific things or they have no interest - is as much defined by what they are not. Their identities are determined by their constitutive outside; they are defined by what they lack and by their other ... It has to be aware that it is a narrative, a selection, whose purpose is not just to disturb the viewer but to itself be disturbed by what it cannot be, by its necessary exclusions ... it has to turn its criteria of selectivity inside out so that the viewer becomes [aware] of both the frame and what is framed (Hall, 1990).5

This publication presents for the first time an anthology that aspires, in its pan-Caribbean focus, to chronicle, through case studies and discussions of what is past, a developing museum identity, shedding its imperial antecedents as its audiences demand change and strive to give voice to fledgling Caribbean identities. In fact the Island museum is no longer a point of derision: instead it may be a point of departure from which to describe and ascribe to the ethos of Caribbean museum praxis. Its nexus being the acceptance of duality and change, whether in the past or present, pre-Columbian/post-Columbian, pre-emancipation/post-emancipation, pre or postindependence, or tangible/intangible. This duality is now the basis of the Caribbean museum, the space not so much contested but engaged to allow for the voices from past and present to be heard at one and the same time.

The UN Declarations of Barbados 1994 and Mauritius 2004 have emphasized the need to address the location and challenges of Small Island Development States (SIDS) in the contemporary world. Reviews and discussions are already underway for the Barbados+20 deliberations. These will be debated and discussed by the international community in the context of progress made in the achievement of the UN Millennium Development Goals, A new set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promise to shape the agenda and priorities in 2015. SDGs will be significant for SIDS, which are most under threat by the impacts of climate change. In this context what are the roles and relevance of museums? Plantation to Nation is a seminal volume that makes a timely contribution to the contemporary and contextual museological discourse.

Common Ground and its President Professor Dr. Bill Cope are delighted to present the book Plantation to Nation to its readers. It is an important publication that promotes cross cultural understanding in a rapidly changing world. We sincerely appreciate the editors Alissandra Cummins, Kevin Farmer and Roslyn Russell for their attention and perseverance to ensure contributions that mark a turning point in Caribbean and, indeed, SIDS scholarship.

⁵ S. Hall, 1990, 'Cultural identity and diaspora', in J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity*: Community, Culture, Difference. London, Lawrence and Wishart.

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We are also grateful to Jamie Burns, Brian Kornell, and Ian Nelk, former and current Managing Editors of Common Ground Publishing for making the publication possible.

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Introduction

Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot, in his discussion on how the current global Westernized hegemony treats specific historical events, events chosen for their relevance to the text of Western dominance, has addressed absences (or silences) as 'inherent in the creation of sources, the first moment of historical production' (Trouillot, 1995, p. 51). People and places that are designated 'Third World' often find their history has (or has been) 'disappeared'. He references complex historiographical occurrences of this process of historical production, whereby black and poor societies were not just physically ostracized, but in a sense mentally too as they basically 'disappeared' from the historical text. He states: 'History reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives. What matters most are the process and conditions of such narratives ... Only through that overlap can we discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others.⁶

This book is the first to focus on the growth and development of Caribbean museums and museology, to address museums across the region regardless of nation or language, and to allow for much-needed discourse on their evolution, particularly in relation to the growing field of museum and

⁶ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 25.

heritage studies. Its publication was originally intended to celebrate 20 years of the Museums Association of the Caribbean in 2009. This for various reasons did not eventuate, although a very successful conference was held in Barbados that year to mark the occasion.

Plantation to Nation: Caribbean Museums and National Identity addresses the challenges faced by museums in the Caribbean region, both historically and in the contemporary setting. To date the region's museums have largely been sidelined in the growing field of new museology, especially where this explores the legacies of colonial museum frameworks and the subjugation of local cultures and identities to broader colonialist discourses over the previous two centuries.

The growth in the sheer numbers of museums in the region in the post-independence era, and the expansion of the field of museum studies (as part of heritage studies) which has gained ground within the curricula of regional universities also point to the need for a more intensive examination of Caribbean museums in the early decades of the twenty-first century. Outside the museums, there is a growing interest within communities in expressing elements of their heritage. Some museums in the region have become focal points for such communal expressions of heritage; and others have positioned themselves to take a leadership position in articulating local identities.

The editors, and the contributors whose chapters are included in this book, also view it as a significant contribution to broadening the focus on Small Island Developing States (SIDS), and to identifying those factors that particularly affect SIDS communities. We believe that, by generating new knowledge and consolidating both historical and current museum developments in the Caribbean in book form, this volume will be of interest to all museum professionals across the world, but in particular those in the 52 Small Island Developing States.

The book contains sixteen chapters that make reference, to a greater or lesser degree, to museum developments in nineteen countries: in alphabetical order, Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, Cuba, Curaçao, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Nevis, Saint Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname,

Trinidad & Tobago, and Turks and Caicos Islands.

The majority of these nation states are islands, with the exceptions of Belize, Guyana and Suriname that border the Caribbean Sea, and also share similar histories of colonialism with Caribbean island nations. Bermuda is included, although it is not categorized as a Caribbean nation, as it is a collection of tropical islands in the Atlantic Ocean which has also experienced aspects of the same history as its Caribbean counterparts. It is still in fact a self-governing British Crown Colony.

This book is organised according to the themes of 'Plantation' and 'Nation'. 'Plantation' in this context stands for the colonialist period and the museum institutions and practices that had their genesis in that era of Caribbean history, and the ways in which these are being interrogated and reinvigorated by the application of new museology. The term 'Nation', as

employed in this book, embodies all attempts by museums in the Caribbean to articulate and assert the identities of national cultures in the post-independence period; and to redefine the idea of the 'museum' and its operations to better express the historical complexity, richness and diversity of these Caribbean identities.

Museums and collections that had their origins in the colonialist era, and were founded and assembled in line with the prevailing motivations that governed collecting in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries - scientific curiosity, administrative control of populations, potential for economic exploitation, and antiquarianism - existed and still exist in a number of Caribbean island nation states, as they do elsewhere in the world. Coupled with this tendency in the Caribbean context is the legacy of slavery which, even now, is in danger of being submerged and obscured in museums and heritage sites by narratives that occlude or diminish the histories of the enslaved.

The first chapters of this book, dealing essentially with the 'prehistory' and history of Caribbean museums, consider museums and collections that arose from this colonialist legacy, and assess how far they have travelled from the museum ideology that formed them to a museographical praxis that acts to transcend and transform this legacy. In the course of examining this transition, contributors analyse the complications that arise when memories conflict and historical realities are challenged by nostalgia for the past on the part of some groups, and a strong desire to excavate submerged memories and narratives by others.

Alissandra Cummins in 'Natural History = National History: Early Origins and Organizing Principles of Museums in the English-Speaking Caribbean' investigates the ways in which local histories were established, organized and presented within early regional museums, modeled upon the Imperial Institute. Established to satisfy the demands for scientific observation, documentation and presentation of the accumulating knowledge emanating from nineteenth-century tropical environments, it was designed and driven largely by the imperial government's determined pursuit, control and exploitation of the region's natural (including human) resources to improve the economy of the Empire. This then becomes the context for understanding the ways in which the 'past' was made, authenticated and disseminated, and the types of historical narratives that were constructed in this process. She establishes the influential role of the region's governors seeking 'accommodation' of newly emancipated populations within the context of colonial society, and that it is the very long 'memory' of these 'scientific' considerations which influenced the region's collecting, exhibiting and interpretation of new knowledge until well past the political independence of regional nation states.

In 'Haiti, museums and public collections: their history and development after 1804', Marie-Lucie Vendryes examines the glaring lack of preservation and enhancement of public collections in Haitian museums subsequent to the achievement of the first major regional independence

movement, following the Haitian Revolution whose symbolism for the region cannot be overstated. The reasons: the suppression - or lack - of legal instruments that regulate these memorials and heritage, the difficulty of sustaining the museums, and the absence of a reflection on the choice of a memorial and ethics in preservation. Finally Vendryes examines the international context that has undermined Haiti and makes it susceptible to the abuse of illicit exploitation of its cultural property. This chapter aims to provide a profile of a public institution, the Museum of the Haitian National Pantheon (MUPANAH), to examine the deficiency in its collections, and to try to identify the causes of its deterioration. At a fundamental level this chapter questions why Haiti is so poor in museums when it is so rich in heritage, clearly paralleling the social context.

José Linares, as both the premier museographer and museum architect in Cuba, draws on decades of invaluable experience with the redesign and development of several of the island's major museum institutions to discuss 'The History and Evolution of Cuban Museums'. He opines that the museum phenomenon in this part of the world still needs a particular study and a preliminary analysis of its historical, political and social nature. This is why any analysis of these institutions must take into account these multiple

perspectives.

bus Linares' examination of the process of restructuring Cuba's museums mostly in historic buildings of high heritage value - in the post-revolution context, takes as its point of departure the multiple influences endemic in a society such as Cuba's, where for geographical, historical and cultural reasons European, American and Caribbean cultures and histories have coincided. He insists that it cannot be analysed synchronically with the European evolution of museums nor with North America, although resonances with the latter's developmental process might be demonstrated. Rather he concludes that it is the conditions deriving from both indigenous and immigrant populations, as a result of territorial domination and occupation processes, and the origin of its occupants which may hold the key. Linares' approach in addressing the issue of museological development is through the lens of architectural intervention and lighting as important elements in Cuban museum design, aimed at more effective object-subject communication. Above all, Linares asserts that it is Cuba's specific political and cultural evolution which makes it a phenomenon in the process of identity affirmation, and its consolidation and formation as a nation

Two chapters trace the evolution of Caribbean museums through the differing though related trajectories of natural history collections and a national art museum. In 'The natural history collections of the University of the West Indies (UWI)' Mike G. Rutherford traces the story of the natural history resources identifying their principal collectors from their colonialist origins to the present, and contextualizes their connection to and current use, alongside academically generated collections, in educating present and future generations of Caribbean students through the production of seminal publications and, more recently, websites with online accessible databases. He

essentially establishes for the first time the bases for the development of the university-based natural history and fossil collections in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Veerle Poupeye, in her chapter, 'The National Gallery of Jamaica: A Critical History', examines the history of the National Gallery of Jamaica, established in 1974 as the first national art gallery in the Anglophone Caribbean. Through the development of its collections and through its permanent and temporary exhibitions, education programmes and publications, this institution has articulated a Jamaican art history. Poupeye goes on to describe how these activities have been received by the key stakeholders within the Jamaican artistic community, generating a dialogue which has often been contentious. Special attention is also paid to how the Gallery has engaged, or failed to engage, with local and overseas audiences, and whether it has succeeded in asserting its relevance and utility to Jamaican society as a whole. These developments are examined against the backdrop of the socio-political and economic development of post-colonial Jamaica, the continuing debates about Jamaican culture and its representation, and developments in local cultural policy as well as global and regional museum practice.

Two authors use the context of an historic fort for their examination of the evolution of museum institutions in Bermuda and Suriname. The acknowledgement and interpretation of the colonial fortification as the dominant artefact within a continuing discourse on national identity is a critical aspect which continues to affect many Caribbean museums. Edward Harris relates three decades of museum development in his chapter, 'The Creation of the National Museum of Bermuda, 1974-2011', beginning when a small group of determined volunteers established the maritime museum in the nine-acre fort in the old Royal Naval Dockvard. In 1980, the first professional staff member was appointed and the Bermuda Maritime Museum was reorganized to be independent of government charity. Starting in 1981, the Museum began its major research programmes in history and archaeology (both land and marine) and in the later 1980s it established an annual journal for the dissemination of such work. Major buildings restoration has taken place over the last three decades, with the Commissioner's House being opened in May 2000. With a range of exhibitions and community heritage involvement, the Bermuda Maritime Museum has become, de facto, the national museum of Bermuda, exemplifying similar museum evolutionary processes elsewhere in the region.

Hilde Neus similarly describes the creation of a modern museum in an historic fort in 'Recapturing History: Suriname Museum in Fort Zeelandia'. The Suriname Museum Foundation, host of the largest artefact and antiquarian books collection in Suriname and housed in the historic building of Fort Zeelandia (1652), has lived through a precarious history of developments in the last fifteen years, in different respects. The chapter examines the tumultuous events of the museum's development and establishment which, because of a *coup d'état*, was forced to move in 1981 to its storage facilities and had to make do with declining funds and reduced space

for exhibitions. It survived through these difficult years. The museum in Fort Zeelandia was reopened in 1995 and a number of exhibitions have been organized, sometimes with aid from abroad (mainly from the Netherlands), sometimes by using its own resources. A productive educational programme, set up in 2000, has been very successful, with the yearly number of school children visiting the museum rising from 750 to almost 7000. The museum also aims to make its collection accessible to a larger audience by publishing books in the series 'Libri Musei Surinamensis'. However, despite these successes, the fortunes of the museum remain uncertain; once again its tenuous hold on the Fort may be threatened as the building's value as a symbol of power is harnessed once again under a new dispensation.

The plantation, and the system of slavery that underpinned and sustained it, is the context for two chapters on museological strategies in Martinique and Suriname and Curaçao. Christine Chivallon, in 'Museography and Places of Remembrance of Slavery in Martinique or the Gaps in a Memory Difficult to Express' brings a museological focus to actions now being conducted in Martinique to manage the island's cultural heritage, and calls attention to the ways in which slavery has been reworked. She identifies two strategies for handling this past that relate to socio-racial hierarchies: one seeks to make slavery visible, whereas the other effaces its historical reality. The analysis of these different strategies reveals the inadequacy of the language of museum science, which copies the European model with its 'chronological snare'; and shows how the 'places of memory' of a colonial nostalgia are capable of simultaneously constructing themselves in these attempts to recover the memory of the period of slavery.

Valika Smeulders, in 'New perspectives in heritage presentations in Suriname and Curaçao: From Dutch colonial museums to diversifying representations of enslavement', describes how the first museums in Suriname and Curaçao presented local heritage from a colonial perspective. From the 1990s onwards, however, with ongoing decolonization of Caribbean museums and the global 'de-silencing' of slavery history, she establishes that the number of representations of slavery is growing. The previously underrepresented social history of transatlantic slavery seems to conquer museum walls, while simultaneously occupying specific new alternative and

commercially driven heritage sites.

Using Curaçao and Suriname as case studies, this chapter discusses five types of slavery representations in and beyond the classic museum setting: in seats of colonial rule, plantations, sites of resistance, pilgrim products and replicas. These representations attract distinctive audiences, mostly because of selective marketing channels. Thus, in current slavery representations, traditional museum audience boundaries and subject specific boundaries including education, income and age, national identities, ethnic distinctions and racial identification are either bridged, or reconfirmed.

The latter part of the book largely examines new directions that have informed museum developments in the Caribbean since independence from colonial rule. The independence experiment in the Caribbean emerged full-

fledged from the 1960s, continued evolving into the 1980s and has apparently reached a plateau as we enter the second decade of the twenty-first century. This experiment has resulted in the creation of independent multiparty democratic states with varying demographics comprising persons of African, European and Asian descent, with some countries - notably Dominica, St Vincent, Belize and Guyana - nurturing vibrant if diminutive descendant communities of the indigenous people of the region. Culturally diverse, the region shares a common pre- and post-colonization history, though nuanced by the peculiar local histories and geographies of the individual countries.

Emerging Anglophone Caribbean nation-states turned their attention to the creation of a national identity that went beyond designing a flag, singing a national anthem and reciting a national pledge. The role of identity creation became the core mandate of cultural institutions, many of which were museums and heritage institutions. Kevin Farmer, in 'New Museums on the Block', examines the post-independence landscape for Caribbean museums, and the contested representations that can result when majority populations assert their own culture as the basis for national identity. The duality of contested identities between state sanctioned and marginalized groupings is the focus of this chapter.

Roslyn Russell looks at new museums and displays in Barbados over the last decade in 'Framing identity, encouraging diversity - recent museum developments in Barbados', at a time when government policy has enabled significant investment in museum and heritage development. Private institutions have also developed museums and heritage sites interpreting aspects of Barbados's history and celebrating its social diversity. The chapter explores the themes of the role of museums, galleries and heritage institutions in building national identity; the role played by museums and heritage sites in building audiences both within the Barbadian community and among tourists visiting the island; and the ways in which Barbados's museums and heritage sites - including the World Heritage-listed Historic Bridgetown and its Garrison - reflect its rich history and cultural diversity. Telling the story of Barbadian identity in museums also means exploring the ways in which this has intersected with broader historical themes that have worldwide relevance: slavery and its abolition; immigration and emigration; the advances in democratisation of parliamentary institutions; and the rediscovery and restatement of diasporic identities.

Luisa De Peña Díaz, in 'The Memorial Museum of the Dominican Resistance: Its composition and role in society', traces the evolution of this new museum in Santo Domingo, and its mission to convey the compelling story of human rights violations and the ultimate triumph of democratic values. The museum's narrative begins in 1916 and ends in 1978, including the precedents and consequences of the dictatorship that lasted from 1930 to 1961, and revealing the circumstances that led to a dictatorship and its social consequences.

The Memorial Museum of the Dominican Resistance was born almost two decades ago as an initiative by the victims' families with the objective of conserving its assets and memories. Since then, the museum has become known today as an institution of excellence for rescuing the memory of recent history, for teaching about democratic values and human rights, and for providing an Investigation Center to increase awareness of those values and rights. The museum's collections include a great variety of documents, photographs, audio-visual productions, and victims' personal items, all of them used to inform present and future generations of Dominicans, and the rest of the world, of the need to consolidate a society based on the culture of peace, tolerance, non-discrimination, truth, justice and respect for human rights.

Rebecca Tortello's chapter, "Children Get Your Culture" - Museums, Individualism and Nationalism in Jamaica', uses a cross-section of children's museum experiences to consider the role of culture in education policy and practice in Jamaica. The discussion is primarily based on the reactions of schoolchildren (a significant Jamaican museum-going audience) to their museum experiences, and it is specifically guided by a theoretical examination of the roles museums, as informal education institutions, play as educators, culture brokers, citizenship awareness and community makers.

By considering the role of museums in Jamaica's education policy and practice, this chapter expands critical literature on museum education. It both adds a developing country's perspective, and explores how museums stimulate individualism and creativity. It therefore addresses issues related to the resilience of culture and pedagogical skills related to the rise of intellectual capital. Tortello concludes that museums, as they exist in Jamaica and, by extension, in other developing countries, whether geared at child audiences or not, can provide unique opportunities for the growth of progressive education and the stimulation of critical thinking, creativity, and the appreciation of self

and others - tenets of global citizenship.

Nigel Sadler's chapter, 'Outreach or out of reach? Seeking new audiences: The Turks and Caicos National Museum Children's Club' describes an innovative outreach programme designed for the islands' young audience, a Children's Club. Museums have been moving towards more audience inspired projects leading to the development of a wide variety of outreach programmes, activities and exhibitions. In 2002 the Turks and Caicos National Museum started an outreach programme to bring in new local audiences, who had in the past valued the museum and its work, but had rarely participated. At the heart of this development was the Children's Club. The club was formed to attract children to utilise the museum resources and to offer a facility where they could learn about their heritage and environmental issues in a fun way and in a form that did not exist in the formal education process. This chapter discusses how the Children's Club was formed, operated and the activities it held, and how it fitted into the more general museum outreach programmes on offer.

For young nation states like Saint Lucia the development of a national identity is essential if they are to survive in the present environment of globalization. The development of a national identity depends to a great extent on

the history and heritage of the nation. Winston Phulgence, in 'Museums and the Challenge for Heritage Organizations in Saint Lucia', examines the ways history and heritage may be used in the public education process in order to create a distinct national identity. Museums must play an important role in this process. They protect and preserve heritage and artefacts and, through displays, make them accessible to the wider public and create awareness in ways that written history cannot. Heritage organizations started work in Saint Lucia as early as the 1950s. In the 1970s small museums displayed some of the archaeological heritage of the island. Despite these early attempts, after 30 years of independence there is still no national museum on Saint Lucia. This chapter documents persistent attempts to set up museums on the island, with a focus on a small museum created by the Archaeological and Historical Society during the 1970s. Another attempt by the Saint Lucia National Trust in the 1980s is also explored, along with the challenges that heritage organizations have faced in establishing museums in Saint Lucia in both the pre and post-Independence periods.

In complete contrast to the decades long struggle for control of St. Lucia's heritage collections is the scenario outlined in our final chapter, with the opening in 1992 of a museum in Nassau, the Junkanoo Expo, to display costumes from the annual parade. The museum provided the first public exhibition context for costumes outside of the performance frame of the parade. In her essay 'Destroying While Preserving Junkanoo: The Junkanoo Museum in the Bahamas', Krista Thompson raises a number of critical questions. Was the museum, in its efforts to display costumes that were typically discarded after the festivities, interceding in the cycle of costume creation and destruction? Was the museum inherently unsuitable for the

display of the traditionally temporal arts of Junkanoo?

Ultimately, the final word goes to Thompson, who questions the relevance of the existing museum model for Caribbean societies, and suggests the consideration of new museological approaches which resonate with traditional sensibilities in the modern Caribbean context. Barbadian novelist George Lamming has opined that "this thing we call the Caribbean is an unfinished project and where we are now, it seems to me, is still at the 'scaffolding' of that project. No one has any idea what it will be in another fifty or a hundred years." The editors are convinced that this publication may help reveal the stages through which the Caribbean 'project' must, can and ultimately will, progress.

⁷ The Barbados Advocate, 8 April 2012, p. 13.