

Acknowledgments, Notes, and Bibliography for

*The Root of Roots:
Or, How Afro-American Anthropology Got Its Start*

by Richard Price and Sally Price

Chicago, Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003

Acknowledgments

Kevin Yelvington, who had been asked to write an article for *History of Anthropology* on the Herskovitses' Suriname fieldwork, very kindly brought to our attention the existence of the Herskovitses' unpublished documents, most of which, unbeknownst to us, had been available at the Schomburg Center since the late 1980s. He also made available to us copies of relevant correspondence he had obtained from the Melville J. Herskovits Papers at Northwestern University. We are extremely grateful for Kevin's collegial generosity, which launched us on this project.

Several friends have provided comments that helped us to improve the manuscript: Roger Abrahams, Ken Bilby, Vince Brown, Nahum Chandler, John Collins, Virginia Dominguez, Bill Maurer, Phil Morgan, Gert Oostindie, Leah Price, Peter Redfield, and Kevin Yelvington. Gilles Colleu helped recover details in several of the historical photos.

Finally, RP wishes to put on record that he was wrong to criticize David Scott (Price 2001:44) for having suggested that Herskovits "discovered" precisely what he wished to demonstrate regarding Africa among the Saramaka. When that article was written, we had not yet read Herskovits' diaries, which strongly support Scott's claim (1991:269).

Notes

We list here sources for all quotations for which the date of the entry is not provided in the text of *The Root of Roots*. References cited in these notes (e.g., "Trouillot 2002") are listed in full at the bottom of the document.

The diaries that Melville Herskovits kept while in Suriname are relatively detailed and personal; his ethnographic notes are often included in them, though he also kept some separate notebooks with interview data. Frances Herskovits kept diaries with personal comments only for the beginning of the 1928 summer. Her written materials, which far outweigh those of her husband, are dominated by folktale and other transcriptions in Sranan-tongo but also include ethnographic notes, some from Saramaka but most from her research with Creoles in Paramaribo.

Abbreviations:

FSH D = Frances Herskovits' diaries, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits Papers.

MJH D = Melville Herskovits' diaries, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New

York Public Library, Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits Papers.
MJH N = Melville Herskovits' fieldnotes, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New
York Public Library, Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits Papers.
RD = *Rebel Destiny* (M. J. & F. S. Herskovits 1934).

All correspondence, unless otherwise attributed, is from the Melville J. Herskovits Papers,
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

page number

3. "a sort of anthropological metonym" ... Scott 1991:269
4. "a profound influence ... and the Bantu *Zambi*" ... F. Herskovits 1966:vii-viii.
4. "a social laboratory" ... F. Herskovits 1966:vii.
5. "Duffy by name" ... MJH D 7/10/28.
5. "have our outfit all ready upon arrival" ... Kahn to MJH, letter of 4/17/28.
7. "a literate young woman" ... F. Herskovits 1966:viii.
7. "a comfortable private house with a garden" ... MJH D 7/18/28.
8. "is a mine of information ... the prize boy to see things wrong" ... MJH D 7/17/28, 7/20/28,
7/23/28.
9. "About two hours and a half" ... MJH D 7/24/28.
9. "white bush negroe" ... Rogalli to MJH, letter of 11/27/28.
9. "reads a great deal" ... MJH D 8/1/28.
10. "He's a good man" ... MJH D 7/26/28.
11. "Toward the stern" ... MJH D 7/31/28.
14. "On our way home" ... MJH to L. Rutgers, the governor of Suriname, letter of 10/7/29.
14. "My husband began outlining" ... F. Herskovits 1966:viii.
15. "A Dutchman on board from Paramaribo" ... MJH D [aboard the *Cottica*, bound for
Suriname] 7/8/28.
15. "I went 150 miles" ... Kahn to MJH, letter of 10/18/27.
16. "They certainly look like West Africans" ... MJH to Kahn, letter of 10/26/27.
16. "one of the most valuable things" ... MJH to Kahn, letter of 5/7/28.
16. "working with a Kru informant" ... MJH to van Panhuys, letter of 5/7/28.
16. "He had already moved considerably away from his 1925 assimilationist position" ...
Herskovits 1925a, Jackson 1986, Mintz 1990.
16. "manner of speech, her expressions" ... MJH to E.M. Hornbostel, letter of 6/10/27, cited in
Jackson 1986:107.
17. "The civilized negro must lose his contempt" ... Vandercook 1926: xv-xvi.
17. "So vain" ... Vandercook 1926:227-228.
17. "my primary interest" ... MJH to L. Rutgers, the governor of Suriname, letter of 5/28/28.
18. "this was still the period in his research" ... F. Herskovits 1966:viii.
18. "the organization of the courts" ... MJH D 7/17/28.
18. "I got relationship terms" ... MJH D 7/18/28.
18. "Indian axe-head" ... MJH D 7/21/28.
18. "Just beyond was what I imagine" ... MJH D 7/25/28.
18. "It is African" ... MJH D 7/30/28.
18. "The African remnant paper" ... MJH D 7/30/28.

18. "the most indisputably African thing"... MJH D 7/31/28.
19. "[The Granman's son-in-law] was a real gentleman"... MJH D 7/17/29.
19. "Much African hallooing"... MJH D 7/26/29.
19. "The iron pots on sticks" ... MJH N 7/12/29
20. "Lalani ... said that when they returned from digging"... MJH N 7/12/29.
20. "simple projector ... states of possession"... RD:258, 260.
- 20-21. "Fann showed them pictures ... rest of the village were there"... MJH D 7/17/29, 7/28/29, 7/29/29, 7/31/29.
21. "In the other corner"... RD:156.
21. "They attribute to their canoemen"... RD:55.
21. "today as in the eighteenth-century" ... Schumann 1778, s.v. *fundu*.
22. "*Mamadam*, the great falls of the Saramacca"... RD:351.
22. "the Herskovitses quote a proverb"... RD:opening epigraph, 67.
22. "which was recorded in that form as early as 1778"... Schumann 1778, s.v. *buli*
22. "found a couple more examples"... MJH D 7/29/28.
22. "These people ... have evolved an art"... M. & F. Herskovits 1930[1966]:158.
23. "the much more nuanced"... M. J. Herskovits 1930a.
23. "The Bush-Negroes of Dutch Guiana"... M. & F. Herskovits 1930[1966]:160.
23. "A Trip to 'Africa' in the New World" ... M. J. Herskovits 1929.
23. "Right after returning from Suriname in 1928"... MJH to Linton, letter of 10/1/28, MJH to Du Bois, letter of 10/29/28—both cited in Jackson 1986:108.
24. "We count it fortunate"... M. J. Herskovits 1929/1930:394.
24. "Their every day language is the usual 'Talkee, talkee' of the colony"... Kahn to MJH, letter of 10/18/27.
25. "The term 'Dipi' may be applied" ... T. J. Price 1970:65-66.
25. "The Bakra said he knew something"... RD:50.
25. "The Bak'a knows the land of the Negroes"... RD:200.
26. "[Saramakas] said, ... 'You must have strong obia'" ... RD:259-260.
26. "From boat to boat"... RD:24.
26. "It was whispered"... RD:62.
26. "[Schmidt] told me yesterday"... MJH D 7/28/28.
28. "Analysis of [Bush-Negro art] is impossible"... M. & F. Herskovits 1930[1966]:159-160.
29. "took off a rubbing"... MJH D 7/29/28.
29. "There are two snakes"... RD:276.
30. "Will Bayo be married?" ... RD:289, 300.
30. "I went over some pictures" ... MJH D 8/9/29. Here, MJH actually wrote "Tutui," but later (8/6/29) referred to "Tutui, or Tutú, as I now learn his name to be."
30. "Bayo could take up many of our photographs"... RD:282-283.
33. "If Mrs. Herskovits accompanies us"... Kahn to MJH, letter of 11/2/27.
33. "They have suitable arrangements ... on their boats" ... Kahn to MJH, letters of 5/11/28 and 5/26/28.
33. "A wife's place"... MJH D 6/26/28.
34. "Speaking very frankly"... Kahn to MJH, letter of 11/2/27.
34. "I realize, of course"... MJH to Kahn, letters of 11/16/27, 12/6/27.
34. "If it were my wife"... Kahn to MJH, letter of 12/21/27.

36. "I think we will work according to your suggestions"... MJH to Kahn, letter of 2/1/28.
36. "I think it an excellent plan" ... Kahn to MJH, letter of 3/7/28.
36. "Diary entries from their trip" ... MJH D 7/11/28.
36. "There will be a [winti] dance"... MJH D 7/19/28.
36. "I shall be very happy to have [Bundel] go with" ... MJH to Rogalli, letter of 4/23/29.
37. "Soon after they arrive"... MJH D 7/12/29, MJH N 7/14/29.
37. "I explained all the horrors to Frances"... MJH to Kahn, letter of 2/29/28.
- 37-38. "[the women] swarmed ... twins from the women" ... MJH D 7/24/29, 7/27/29,7/29/29, 7/30/29, 8/1/29.
39. "We walked to the store" ... MJH D 6/27/28.
39. "From the provision grounds" ... RD:169.
40. "[In the Suriname interior] the use of informants" ... M. J. Herskovits 1950[1966]:63.
41. "It's an ethnological gold-mine here" ... MJH D 7/25/28, 7/28/28.
41. "From the point of view of ethnographic field method" ... MJH 1929/30:397-398.
42. "[*Rebel Destiny*] is not an ethnographic treatise ... or has not been witnessed by ourselves" ... RD:xii-xiii.
42. "literary rather than ... scientific" ... MJH to van Panhuys, letter of 1/5/34.
42. "romantic relativism" ... Jackson 1986:121.
43. "The old fellow [Granman Djankuso] is a big man" ... MJH D 7/26/29.
43. "After a silence, the Granman spoke" ... RD:181.
44. "a lumber factor down the river" ... RD:199.
44. "my best informant" ... MJH to F. van Haaren (the colonial secretary), letter of 5/13/29.
44. "Schmidt, the school-master at Gansee"... MJH D 7/25/28.
44. "He knows the culture" ... MJH to Reverend Burkhardt, letter of 10/1/28.
45. "once in a technical article on social organization"... Herskovits 1930b.
46. "there was a Catholic priest" ... MJH D 7/24/28.
48. "It is a sort of ethnological Paradise" ... MJH to Kahn, letter of 12/6/27.
49. "The two new boils that developed were ripening" ... MJH D 8/1/28.
49. "the thrill of my life" ... MJH D 7/10/28.
49. "If I could take a good piano" ... FSH D 7/24/28.
49. "And Walter Jackson describes FSH" ... Jackson 1986:99-100.
49. "It will be nearly impossible to study Bush negroes" ... Van Panhuys to MJH, letter of 4/28?/28.
54. "I woke up about 8 o'clock" ... MJH D 7/12/29.
54. "I got up feeling wretched" ... MJH D 8/17/29.
54. "Up feeling rather tired" ... MJH D 7/13/29.
54. "I took some castor oil" ... MJH D 7/14/29.
55. "Stood at the window" ... FSH D 7/24/28.
55. "Negroes, negroes—scarcely ever a white face" ... MJH D 6/27/28.
55. "[Kahn] must be good and lonesome by now" ... MJH D 7/19/28.
55. "alone in the interior" ... MJH D 8/2/29.
55. "got a good scare" ... MJH D 7/26/28.
56. "We sat and talked until half-past ten" ... MJH D 7/26/28.
57. "much African hallooing" ... MJH D 7/26/29.
57. "the true, true Saramacca country" ... RD:170.

58. "If they're afraid of what we learned" ... MJH D 8/2/29.
58. "childish or kiddish attitude" ... Kahn to MJH, letter of 11/27/28.
58. "plans for presentation of the material" ... MJH D 7/17/28.
59. "I am increasingly confident ... and more." ... MJH D 7/8/28, 7/28/28, 8/2/28.
59. "I haven't seen much ... but wasn't very successful." ... MJH D 7/27/29, 7/28/29, 7/30/29, 8/1/29.
59. "confident when he was in full control" ... Simpson 1973:7.
59. "a bouncing, cheerful, unquenchable extrovert" ... Mead cited in Simpson 1973:3.
59. "tended to be more concerned" ... Simpson 1973:7.
60. "We were away by 7" ... MJH D 7/26/29.
60. "I suppose we came thru all right" ... MJH D 7/27/29.
61. "In the evening we sat" ... MJH D 7/28/29.
61. "I showed African pictures" ... MJH D 7/29/29.
61. "Fann made it plain" ... MJH D 7/30/29.
62. "We went to A Kissi a mau" ... MJH D 7/31/29.
62. "Grrr!, what a day." ... MJH D 8/1/29.
63. "A worse day—and an anxious one" ... MJH D 8/2/29.
63. "We're alone in the interior" ... MJH D 8/2/29.
64. "Again an anxious day" ... MJH D 8/3/29.
64. "putting on his white hat" ... MJH D 8/4/29.
64. "Two days downriver" ... MJH D 8/5/29.
66. "both imagine that most of the people" ... MJH D 8/10/29.
66. "I'm sure if they knew" ... MJH D 8/3/29.
67. "I am hoping" ... MJH to van Panhuys, letter of 5/28/29.
68. "I don't know how many kilos" ... MJH D 7/28/29.
69. "the clipped, rapid 'deep-Saramacca' speech ... informally to one another" ... RD:271.
69. "When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders" ... Kahn 1931:33-34.
70. "As a result we ate cold food" ... MJH D 8/1/29.
71. "wondered if he was to be paid" ... MJH D 7/19/28.
71. "They're so damned round about" ... MJH D 7/19/28.
71. "Djukas appeared with their favorite phrase" ... MJH D 7/26/28.
71. "I went out and got ... and save me much." ... MJH D 8/3/28, 8/4/28.
- 71-72. "Lalani said ... I shall not pay" ... MJH D 7/20/29, 7/21/29, 7/22/29, 7/23/29, 7/25/29, 8/2/29.
72. "we started, and talked" ... MJH D 8/3/29.
72. "MJH complained about Rogalli" ... MJH D 8/3/28.
72. "[Jacoba] has a tendency" ... MJH D 7/10/29.
72. "We won't have many more days" ... MJH D 7/23/29.
74. "Schloss and Jacoba made me furious" ... MJH D 8/7/29.
74. "obviously very friendly" ... MJH D 7/26/29.
74. "We had a very unpleasant incident" ... MJH D 7/28/29.
75. "Wolff has been marvellous" ... MJH D 7/29/29.
75. "We're here for 9 or 10 days" ... MJH D 7/30/29.
75. "When we found Jacoba" ... MJH D 8/1/29.
75. "I was about to test the [wax-cylinder] reproducer" ... MJH D 8/2/29.

77. "From the family plots" ... Trouillot 2002:191.
77. "the miracle of creolization" ... Trouillot 2002:189.
78. "essentially [to] findings of field research" ... M. J. Herskovits 1941:15. One source for MJH's ideas, sometimes claimed by Brazilians, now seems unlikely. Though Gilberto Freyre worked on an M.A. (not a Ph.D.) at Columbia in 1920 and 1921, it appears he and MJH never met during the period, nor did Boas remember, not long after that time, ever having met Freyre (despite being much-praised and thanked by him in print). We are grateful to Olivia Maria Gomes da Cunha for this information.
78. "Some younger, 'postcolonial' scholars" ... See, for example, Scott 1991, 1999.
79. "Africa-centrists" ... See, for example, Lovejoy 1997.
79. "creation theorists" ... See, for example, Alleyne 1988:23.
81. "Suzanne Blier's analysis" ... Blier 1989.
82. "the classic period of Anthropology" ... Stocking 1992:357.
84. "The career of Ruth Landes" ... See, for example, Cole 1995 and subsequent writings. (See also Gomes da Cunha n.d.)
84. "Her reward for a book" ... J. Lorand Matory adds to the list of sins for which Herskovits (and his Brazilian colleague Arthur Ramos) punished her the fact that she revealed to a North American public (the open secret of) "passive" male homosexuality in the Candomblé priesthood (2004).
85. "any given culture" ... Herskovits 1925b:60.
85. MJH's hand-drawn map is in the Schomburg collection, box 7, folder 27.
85. "We hope to be" ... MJH to Wolff, letter of 1/13/31.
86. "Robert Farris Thompson's *Flash of the Spirit*" ... see S. Price 2004.
86. "no one hereafter writing"... Du Bois' review of MJH's *Myth*, cited in Jackson 1986:120.
86. "It is difficult to imagine"... Mintz 1990:xviii.
87. "Fandya continued to urge our staying" ... RD:90.

References Cited

- Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1988. *Roots of Jamaican Culture*. London: Pluto Press.
- Blier, Suzanne Preston. 1989. "Field Days: Melville J. Herskovits in Dahomey." *History in Africa* 16:1-22.
- Cole, Sally. 1995. "Ruth Landes and the Early Ethnography of Race and Gender." In Ruth Behar and Deborah A. Gordon (eds.), *Women Writing Culture*. Berkeley, University of California Press, pp. 166-185.
- Gomes da Cunha, Olivia Maria. n.d. "Gaining Intimacy: The Brazilian Racial Landscape and National Imagination in the U.S. South, 1937-1945." In George Yudice (ed.), *Theory of the Americas*. (forthcoming)
- Herskovits, Frances S. 1966. "Introduction." In Frances S. Herskovits (ed.), *The New World Negro*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, pp. vii-xi.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1925a. "The Negro's Americanism." In Alain Locke (ed.), *The New Negro*, New York, Charles and Albert Boni, pp. 353-60.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1925b. "Social Pattern: A Methodological Study." *Social Forces* 4:57-69.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1929. "A Trip to 'Africa' in the New World." *Northwestern University*

- Alumni News* 8(6):10-12.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1929/1930. "The Second Northwestern University Expedition for the Study of the Suriname Bush-Negroes, 1929." *De West-Indische Gids* 11:393-402.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1930a. "The Negro in the New World: The Statement of a Problem." *American Anthropologist* 32:145-155.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1930b. "The Social Organization of the Bush-Negroes of Suriname." *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists* 23:713-727.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1941. *The Myth of the Negro Past*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Herskovits, Melville J. 1950. "The Hypothetical Situation: A Technique of Field Research." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6:32-40. (Reprinted in Frances S. Herskovits [ed.], *The New World Negro*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, pp. 62-71.)
- Herskovits, Melville J. & Frances S. Herskovits. 1930. "Bush Negro Art." *The Arts* 17(51):25-37. (Reprinted in F. S. Herskovits [ed.], *The New World Negro*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, pp. 157-167.)
- Herskovits, Melville J. & Frances S. Herskovits. 1934. *Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Herskovits, Melville J. & Frances S. Herskovits. 1936. *Suriname Folk-lore*. Columbia University Publications in Anthropology 27. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Jackson, Walter. 1986. "Melville Herskovits and the Search for Afro-American Culture." In George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others: Essays on Culture and Personality*, History of Anthropology 4, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 95-126.
- Kahn, Morton C. 1931. *Djuka: The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana*. New York: Viking.
- Lovejoy, Paul E. 1997. "Identifying Enslaved Africans: Methodological and Conceptual Considerations in Studying the African Diaspora." Paper prepared for UNESCO/SSHRCC Summer Institute, York University.
- Maurer, Bill. 2002. "Fact and Fetish in Creolization Studies: Herskovits and the Problem of Induction, or, Guinea Coast, 1593." *New West Indian Guide* 76:5-22.
- Matory, J. Lorand. 2004. *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (forthcoming)
- Mintz, Sidney W. 1964. "Melville J. Herskovits and Caribbean Studies: A Retrospective Tribute." *Caribbean Studies* 4(2):42-51.
- Mintz, Sidney W. 1990. "Introduction." In Melville J. Herskovits, 1941, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, Boston, Beacon Press, pp. ix-xxi.
- Mintz, Sidney W. & Richard Price. 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Price, Richard. 2001. "The Miracle of Creolization: A Retrospective." *New West Indian Guide* 75:35-64.
- Price, Sally. 2004. "Seaming Connections." In Kevin A. Yelvington (ed.), *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora*, Santa Fe NM, School of American Research.
- Price, Thomas J. 1970. "Ethnohistory and Self-Image in Three New World Negro Societies." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., and John F. Szwed (eds.), *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*, New York, The Free Press, pp. 63-73.
- Schumann, C. L. 1778. "Saramaccanisch Deutsches Wörter-Buch." In Hugo Schuchardt, *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger in Surinam. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van*

- Wetenschappen te Amsterdam* 14(6), 1914, Amsterdam, Johannes Müller, pp. 46-116.
- Scott, David. 1991. "That Event, This Memory: Notes on the Anthropology of African Diasporas in the New World." *Diaspora* 1(3):261-284
- Scott, David. 1999. *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Simpson, George Eaton. 1973. *Melville J. Herskovits*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stocking, George W., Jr. 1992. *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2002. "Culture on the Edges: Caribbean Creolization in Historical Context." In Brian Keith Axel (ed.), *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and its Futures*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, pp. 189-210.
- Vandercook, John Womack. 1926. *Tom-Tom*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Contact information for Richard and Sally Price: <www.richandsally.net>