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## PREHISTORIC CULTURE OF CUBA

By J. WALTER FEWKES

### INTRODUCTION

Although the early Spanish writers ascribed to Cuba a large aboriginal population, they recorded very little regarding racial differences of natives in different parts of the island. The majority, considering the inhabitants as homogeneous in culture, paid little attention to variations in language or to diversity in mode of life, while later authors, who are few in number, have added little to earlier accounts. Archeological investigations, to which we must now look for more light on this subject, have thus far been limited, and our museums are very poor in prehistoric Cuban objects. Few specimens are known to have been found in the province of Pinar del Rio, or the western end of the island, and local collectors are unanimous in saying that all the aboriginal objects they possess came from the eastern extremity. This limitation is significant, especially when we consider that Yucatan, where the natives attained high culture, is such a short distance from the western end of Cuba, and that it was from the Cubans that the Spaniards first heard of the highly developed Indians of Mexico. The present paper, based on studies and collections made during a brief visit to Cuba in 1904, suggests an explanation for this paucity of prehistoric objects and the limitation of the localities from which those known have been obtained.

A study of the available evidence, both documentary and archeological, shows that the aboriginal culture of Cuba differed in different parts of the island. Some of the inhabitants reached a

comparatively high degree of culture development, others were rude savages ; the former had polished stone implements and knew how to make the fertile soil yield their food supply, but the latter were naked cave-dwellers who gathered for food roots or tropical fruits that grow spontaneously in the rich soil of the island. There were also fishermen, who subsisted on a natural supply of the products of the sea when their habitat made it possible ; contact with people of higher culture had raised them somewhat above the dwellers in the mountains to whom they were related.

Columbus commented on the resemblance of the aborigines of Cuba to those of the Bahamas, regarding them the same in language and customs ; but this supposed identification was true only in a very general way. The diary of the first voyage of the discoverer, as found in the writings of Las Casas, affords no direct evidence of a more primitive race in Cuba, although it suggests the theory that such a people existed.

Historians do not agree as to the first landfall of Columbus in Cuba, but no one doubts that it was somewhere on the northern shore of what is now Santiago province. At whatever point he landed, he found the natives living in houses, making use of hammocks of cotton and palm fibers, and possessing stone idols and carved wooden masks. Columbus learned from them of a ruler, whom he called king, of a country to the south, which was rich in gold. Nothing is said in his diary of the natives to the west of the landfall, but he sailed westward a few leagues along the northern shore without finding people worthy of special mention. Later, turning back, he rounded Cape Maysi and examined a section of the southern coast, but was not attracted farther toward the west. On this side of Cuba he again heard of the wealth of the Indians of the south. The implication is that the people of eastern Cuba knew the Haytians and recognized that their culture was superior to that of the western end of their own island. They held out no inducement to Columbus to extend his explorations westward, as we might suspect they would have done had there been a superior race in that end of the island.

The great Genoese returned to Cuba on his second voyage, and explored the entire southern shore. Bernaldez, to whom we owe

an account of this visit, scarcely mentions the Indians in this part of the island, although he describes the Jamaicans in some detail, regarding them a highly developed race. Many native fishermen were seen along the shore, but they were evidently lower in development than the Jamaicans, whose canoes (according to Bernaldez) were painted, better made, and more luxuriantly ornamented than those of the Cubans.

Numerous references might be quoted from the writings of those who followed Columbus, showing that the prehistoric customs and languages of the natives of the eastern and western ends of the island were not the same. In the judgment of many of the Spanish conquerors, among whom Diego Velazquez may especially be mentioned, the natives of Cuba were more susceptible to Christianity than the other West Indians, but they say that this docility was not true of all the Cubans, some being less tractable than others. The extreme western end of Cuba was said to have been inhabited by barbarous Indians similar to those living in Guacayarima,<sup>1</sup> the province at the western end of Hayti. The Spanish writers declare that these natives could not speak; by which is probably meant that their language was different from that of any other Indians of these islands. Bachiller y Morales says that the Guanahatebeyes (Guanacahibes), who lived in the interior of Cuba, were savages who did not treat with the other Indians. He adds that they lived in caves, which they left only to go fishing, and quotes from older writers<sup>2</sup> that there were other Indians called Zibuneyes, a tribe that included the inhabitants of the islands off the northern and southern coasts, called the Gardens of the King and Queen, who were enslaved by the other natives.

According to La Torre<sup>3</sup> the Indians of Cuba form one of the natural groups of the Tainos and are generally known by the name Siboneyes. They inhabit, he says, the whole island and have the same customs, although in certain parts of Cuba there are backward tribes, as the Guanacabibes of Cape San Antonio. The

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<sup>1</sup> A town on the island of Trinidad, where survivors of the Indians still live, is called Arima. There is another Trinidad village called Naparima.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuba Primitiva*, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Manual ó Guía para los exámenes de los Maestros y Maestras*, p. 45.

original authority for these statements is found in the Muñoz Collection, and reads as follows :<sup>1</sup>

“Lo mismo podrá hacerse con los indios de los Jardines del Rey é de la Reina, que son muchos islotes de indios que no suelen comer sino pescado solo. E éstos se les durá menos trabajo, pues no están acostumbrados sino á pescar, lo mismo se entiende para unos indios al Cabo de Cuba, los cuales son salvajes que en ninguna cosa tratan con los de la Isla, ni tienen casas, sino están en cuevas continuo, sino es cuando salen á pescar ; Guanahatabeyes otros hay que se llaman Cibuneyes, que los indios de la misma Isla tienen por servientes é casi son así todos los de los jardines.”

Diego Velazquez, the conqueror, wrote<sup>2</sup> to the King of Spain, in 1514, that there were two provinces in the western part of Cuba and that one of these was called Guaniquanico, the other Guanahatabibes. The latter was situated at the western extremity, where the natives lived as savages, having neither houses nor farms, subsisting on game captured in the mountains, or on turtles and fishes. Pedro Martir de Angleria says that the inhabitants of the Haytian province of Guacayarima, to which these Indians are said to have been allied, lived in caves and subsisted on forest fruits.

Gomara<sup>3</sup> mentions the fact that the inhabitants of different parts of Cuba have different languages, and says that both men and women wear little clothing. He thus writes of a peculiar custom which they practised in their nuptials :

“Si el Novio es Cacique todos los Cacicques combidados duermen con la Novia, primero que no el ; si mercador, los mercaderes ; i si labrador, el Señor o algun Sacerdote.”

#### HISTORICAL

The earliest contribution to the archeology of Cuba we owe to Sr Andrés Poey, who in 1855 read before the American Ethnological Society a paper entitled “Cuban Antiquities : A Brief Description of some Relics Found in the Island of Cuba.” Although Brinton<sup>3</sup> says this paper was not published in English, Sr J. Q.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. LXV. See also Ferrer, *Naturaleza y Civilizacion de Cuba*, vol. II, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *Documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, vol. XI, pp. 224, 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia*, chap. 51, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *The Archaeology of Cuba*, American Archæologist, vol. 2, No. 10, October, 1898.



IDOL OF CORAL ROCK FROM CUEVA DE BORUGA, BARACOA, CUBA. (Santiago Museum.)

Garcia, in 1855, edited what he calls a Spanish translation of it in the fourth volume of his *Revista de la Habana*.

The figures accompanying this article include two stone images, a few clay heads copied from Charlevoix,<sup>1</sup> and a stone pestle taken from Walton.<sup>2</sup> The stone images are from Cuba, but the pestle and the clay heads came from Santo Domingo. The images more especially concern us in this article. One of these, called an idol, is made of a hard stone of reddish color, highly polished, with a head cut on one end. Poey believes it was originally covered with a varnish which has been worn off in exposed places. He is probably right in this conclusion, for remains of a resinous substance which once covered some of the three-pointed stone idols from Porto Rico still adhere to several specimens. This so-called idol has the general form of a celt, although it differs in details from the ceremonial celts which have thus far been described as from the West Indies. It is now in the Archeological Museum at Madrid. There is no doubt that the other image, described and figured both by Poey and Ferrer,<sup>3</sup> is an idol. The former likens its attitude to that of a dog resting on his hind parts, the forelegs crossed over the abdominal region. This specimen is now in the University of Havana, to which institution it was presented by Ferrer.

The form of this idol is different from that of idols from Santo Domingo and Porto Rico, but its technique indicates an equally high development in stone working.

In a brief article of four pages, Brinton, "without aiming at completeness," gives a review of the labors and results of students of the archeology of Cuba. He calls attention to some of the contributions of Poey, Ferrer, Garcia, Pi y Margall, and others, and shows that the archeology of Cuba "has not been wholly neglected by intelligent Cubans, although it is true that there has been little

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<sup>1</sup> *L' Histoire de l' Isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue*, Paris, 1730.

<sup>2</sup> *Present State of the Spanish Colonies, Including a Particular Account of Hispanola*, London, 1810. Mr Walton finds in these pestles evidences among the Haytians of phallic worship like that of the Hindoos, and Poey devotes considerable space in his articles to a discussion of this theory, which he supports. The comparisons of this pestle to the *yoni* and *lingam* appear to me to be strained, especially when we examine a series of these objects, some of which represent birds and other animals.

<sup>3</sup> *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, Fourth session, Madrid, 1882, p. 245.

serious investigation of the remains." He considers that "the most promising localities for research would seem to be the extreme eastern and western provinces, Santiago and Pinar del Rio. In the caves of the latter we should, if anywhere, find traces of the Mayan culture."<sup>1</sup>

According to Brinton,<sup>2</sup> Señor Garcia gives in "one of the numbers of the *Revista de la Habana*" an illustration of what is called a *duchi*, which is the common term in Cuba for the figures of stone or clay attributed to the aborigines. This particular *duchi* was a stone ring, with eyes and ears of gold, and was supposed to have been the seat or throne of a chief, but probably was a stone collar. I have not been able to find this illustration in the *Revista de la Habana*, although I have examined and copied Garcia's two articles which he claims to be translations of Poey's paper read before the American Ethnological Society, which I have not seen.

Brinton's suggestion that this *duchi* was a stone collar does not appeal strongly to me, for the term *duchi*, *duho*, or *dujo* was given by the West Indians to native seats or stools in the form of animals with eyes and ears of gold.<sup>3</sup>

According to Bachiller y Morales,<sup>4</sup> D. Tomás Pio Betancourt, in his *Historia de Puerto Principe*, says that D. Pedro de Parrado y Pardo, in a book on the genealogy of families of Bayamo, written in 1775, gave the name *duho* to one of these seats, in possession of Doña Concepcion Guerra, that formerly belonged to the Cacique of Bayamo.

I am unaware that the following statement by Brinton<sup>5</sup> has ever been verified: "I have also learned," he writes, "of a locality, which I will not now further specify, in central Cuba, a river valley, along which, from time to time, one meets grim faces carved from the natural rock, and sometimes monolithic statues, the work of the aborigines and believed to represent the guardian spirits of

<sup>1</sup> Brinton says that according to Ferrer there are caves along the Rio Cuyaguategu, in Pinar del Rio, in which the aborigines interred their dead.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> So far as known, stone collars and three-pointed idols, which characterize Porto Rican aboriginal culture, have not been found in Cuba.

<sup>4</sup> *Cuba Primitiva*, p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæology of Cuba*.





1. Stone with Face from Nipe Bay. (Smithsonian Collection.)



2. Idol or Pestle from Loma del Cayuco. (Santiago Museum.)

the river. This locality I hope to have visited by a competent person this winter." A verification of these statements and a description of these supposed "monolithic statues," with figures of the same, would be an important contribution to Cuban archeology. It would also be interesting to know whether the river valley where they are reputed to have been found was in the eastern or the western provinces of the island.

At the Madrid session of the International Congress of Americanists, in 1881,<sup>1</sup> Señor Rodriguez-Férrer read a paper in support of the theory that there was evidence of the existence, in prehistoric times, of Cuban aborigines different from those discovered by Columbus. The thesis is defended mainly by facts drawn from crania found in caves, but the two archeological specimens which he elsewhere describes and figures are also brought to the support of this theory. There is nothing to show that this cave people differed in any respect from those to whom early writers allude as living in the central and western parts of the island. All the evidence appears to support the theory that some of the natives of Cuba lived in caves at the time of the discovery, and the conclusion is natural that they were the lineal descendants of the oldest race, which they resembled in bodily and cultural characters.

Señor Rodriguez-Férrer, in his valuable work,<sup>2</sup> referring to the letter of Las Casas and to other evidence published in the *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias* (vol. VIII, p. 34), points out certain differences in the culture of the natives in different parts of the island, which are practically the same as those indicated by archeology.

An important addition to our knowledge of Cuban archeology was made by Don Eusebio Jimenez,<sup>3</sup> who in October, 1850, excavated some mounds in the central part of the eastern end of the island. According to J. de J. Q. Garcia these important remains were found on the farm of D. Francisco Rodriguez, nearly five miles southwest of Moron. Various utensils and objects made of hard wood, stone, and burnt clay were recovered from these

<sup>1</sup> *Congreso Internacional de Americanistas: Actas de la Cuarta Reunion*, Madrid, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 224-267.

<sup>2</sup> *Naturaleza y Civilizacion de la grandiosa Isla de Cuba, Parte Segunda—Civilizacion*, Madrid, 1887, pp. 142-144.

<sup>3</sup> See *El Periodico de Puerto Principe*, and *Faro Industrial diario de la Marina*.

mounds. The description which Garcia gives of the excavations leaves no doubt that these mounds, called *caneys*, were aboriginal burial places, and they suggest the existence in the neighborhood of one of those dance places called *cercados de los Indios*, or *juegos de bola*, which occur in Santo Domingo and Porto Rico. One of the best known of these aboriginal inclosures in Cuba is the so-called Pueblo Viejo, situated in the eastern end of the island, near Cape Maysi. Although this inclosure has been described by several writers, no one has yet called attention to its resemblance to the dance inclosures of the neighboring islands.

It is evident, from the contents of the numerous caves that have been excavated by Dr Montané and others in Santiago and Puerto Principe provinces, that cave men lived in those provinces after the introduction of a higher culture from the neighboring islands.

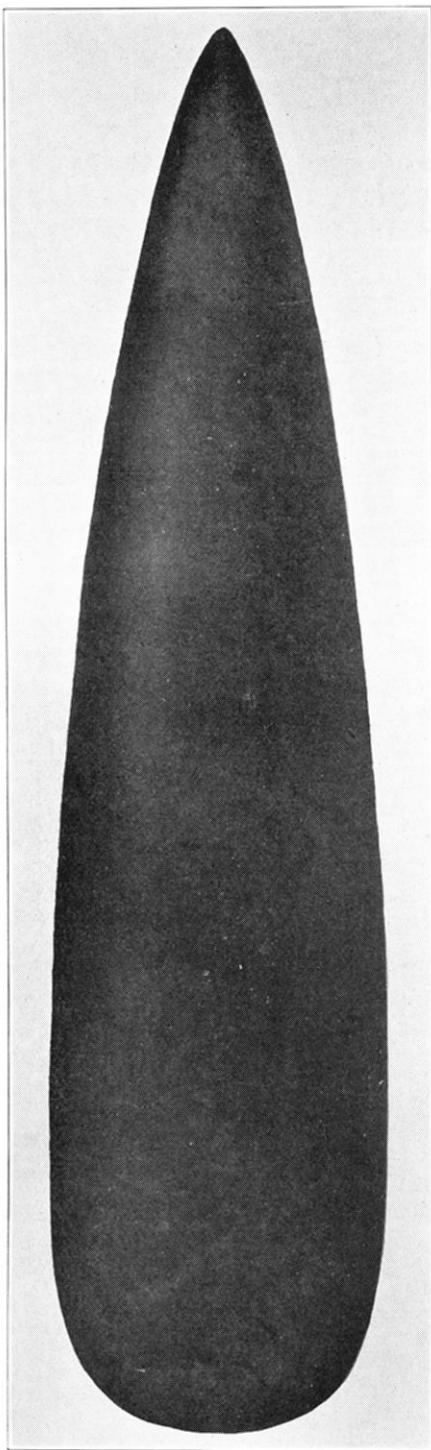
Although there is considerable literature on the somatology of the Cuban Indians, especially on crania found in caves, a consideration of this subject is foreign to the scope of the present article, which is devoted mainly to the consideration of evidences of the existence of a high and a low culture in Cuba at the time of its discovery. The crania found embedded in calcareous rock in caves near Cape Maysi and elsewhere on the eastern end of the island have been amply described by anatomists, and are highly instructive in a consideration of the antiquity of man in Cuba, but I am not yet ready to express myself fully on their significance. The natural inference would be that these skulls support the theory of ancient cave man in Cuba, of whom the Guanahatabeyes were the survivors in the fifteenth century; but West Indian caves were used as burial places after the discovery, and no one has yet satisfactorily shown any great difference in the crania embedded in rock from those found under usual conditions in the caves.<sup>1</sup>

Dr Enrique Gomez Planos, in his valuable work on prehistoric Cuba,<sup>2</sup> mentions several caves on the island from which human remains and pottery have been taken, and gives an interesting ré-

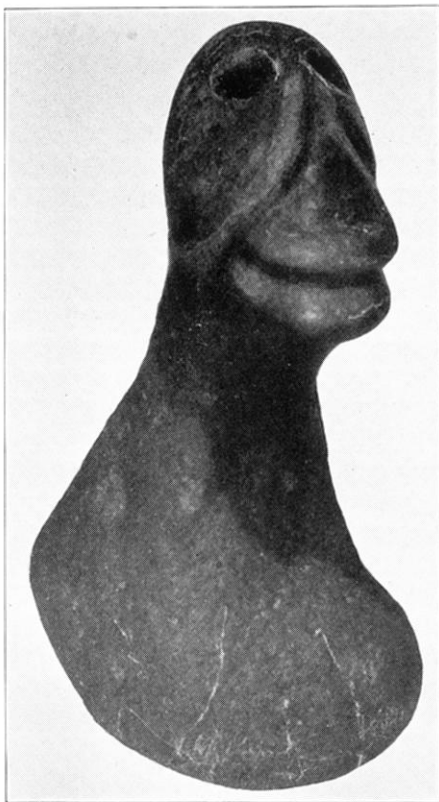
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<sup>1</sup>For an account of these remains see *Anales de la Real Academia de Ciencias*, vol. xxvii, Habana, 1890.

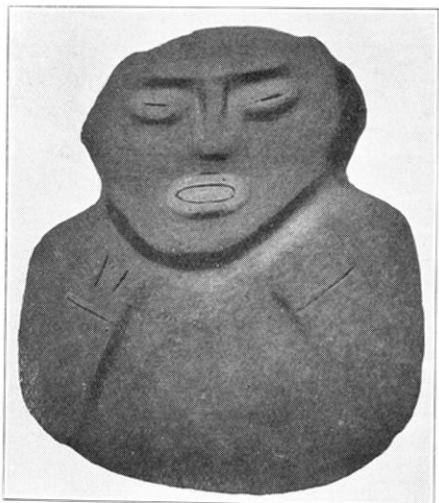
<sup>2</sup>*Prehistoria de la Isla de Cuba*, *Anales de la Real Academia de Ciencias*, vol. xxxvii, 37, Habana, August-December, 1900.



1. Petaloid Celt. (Santiago Museum.)



2. Stone Idol. (University Museum, Havana.)



3. Ceremonial Celt. (Santiago Museum.)

sumé of Cuban archeology without adding much that is new to the subject.

Another work containing considerable material on Cuban ethnology is that of Bachiller y Morales,<sup>1</sup> a most valuable compilation, but very carelessly edited. It contains much information in regard to the aborigines of the Greater Antilles, but the title *Cuba Primitiva* is somewhat misleading, for while it contains chapters on the subject of primitive Cuba, the larger part of the book deals with Hayti and Porto Rico.

#### ARCHEOLOGICAL OBJECTS

The distribution of polished stone objects in Cuba may be said to confirm the historical accounts of a difference in culture between the inhabitants of the eastern and those of the western provinces. Those of Santiago resemble objects from Hayti and Porto Rico, but no similar implements are found in Pinar del Rio at the western end of the island.

There are two collections of Indian objects in Havana which contain objects of interest to the archeologist. One of these, the smaller, is in the museum of the Academia de Ciencias, on Calle de Cuba; the other is in the university near Vedado, a suburb of the city. Both collections are under the directorship of Dr Luis Montané, who has conducted excavations in several caves of the island and has in preparation a memoir on the subject. The collection at the university is particularly rich in crania from caves, and contains several interesting objects, descriptions and figures of which have not been published. Dr Montané has kindly shown me many photographs and charts illustrating his explorations, and has courteously permitted me to photograph some of the more striking objects, including a stone collar from Porto Rico.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> *Cuba Primitiva: Origen, Lenguas, Tradiciones e Historia de los Indios de las Antillas Mayores y las Lucayas*, 2d edition, 1883. In his paper on the *Archæology of Cuba* (1898) Brinton thus refers to this valuable book, fifteen years after its publication: "The announcement of it, which is before me, dated 'Havana, 1881,' states that it will discuss the antiquities of the island, and the traditions and languages of its early inhabitants. Whether it was published or not I have not learned."

<sup>2</sup> The idol presented by Señor Ferrer, figured in plate XIX, 2, is historically the most interesting in this collection.

majority of the archeological specimens came from the eastern end of the island and closely resemble in technique those from Porto Rico. Among the objects seen in these two collections are ten petaloid celts in the Academy museum and about double that number at the University. One of those in the latter collection has a stone handle like those obtained by me in 1903 in Santo Domingo. There is also a celt with a face cut on one side—evidently a ceremonial celt like one in Archbishop Meriño's collection. This likewise is a product of Tainan culture, as is the stone pestle with a well-fashioned head on the end of the handle.

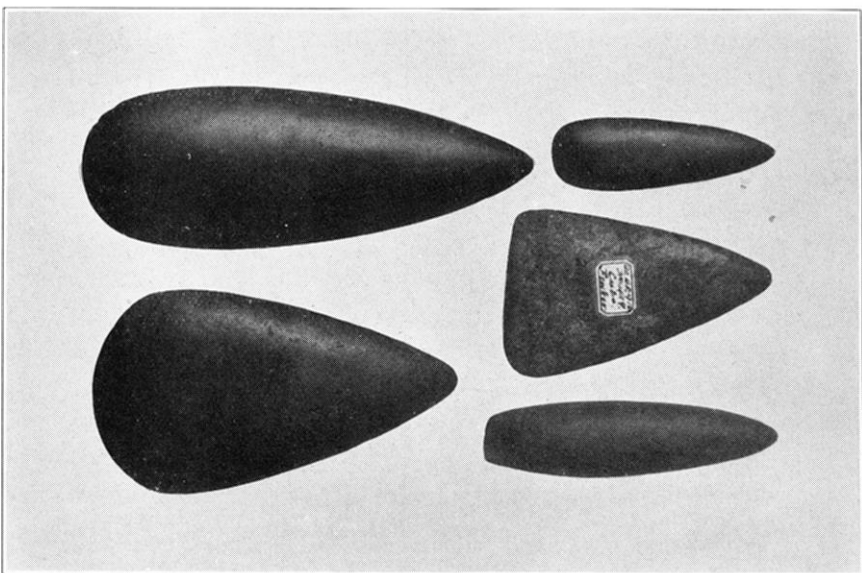
The three choicest specimens in Dr Montané's collection are a wooden idol, a stone turtle, and a shell with a face cut on one side. The wooden idol has a perforation, as if for attachment to a staff, and may have been used in ceremonial dances like those of the Salivas and other Orinoco tribes described by Gumilla.<sup>1</sup> The turtle of stone recalls one of wood collected by Ober in a cave in St Vincent in 1878 and now in the Smithsonian collection, but, unlike it, the latter is not perforated for attachment. An account of these objects in the University museum, with localities and figures, would increase our knowledge of the archeology of Cuba.

In the Santiago museum were two idols made of coral rock, one of which, according to the label, is from Cueva de Boruga, near Baracoa, the other (plate XVIII, 2), which is smaller, from the Loma del Catuco, Gibara. The former was lent to Prof. W J McGee, Ethnologist-in-charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, by Señor Quesada in 1900, at which time Mr DeLancey Gill made front and profile photographs of the specimen, which are reproduced in plate XVII. This idol represents a seated figure, with elbows on the knees and hands to the breast. Its whole appearance is different from that of any West Indian idol that I have ever seen.<sup>2</sup>

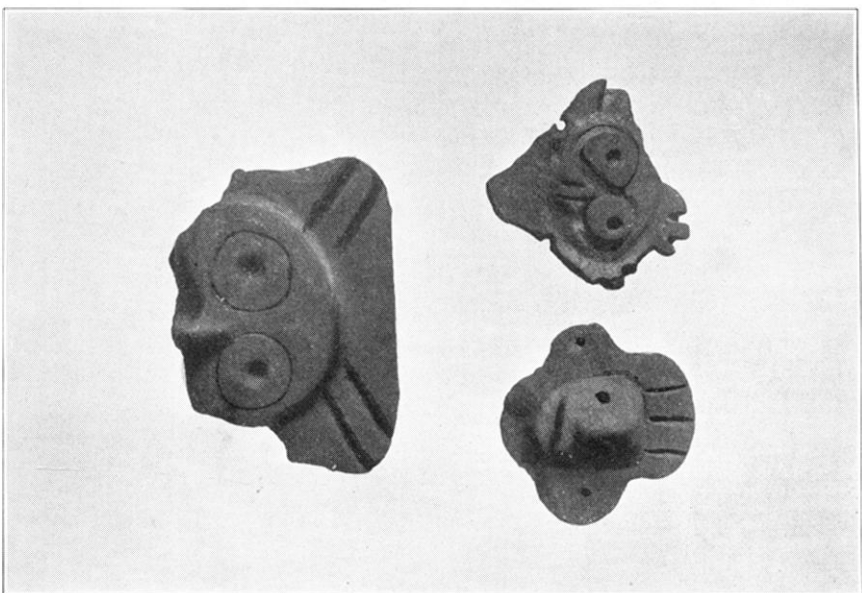
The smaller idol, also of coral rock, shows the septa of individual coral animals scattered over the surface, and has the form

<sup>1</sup> *El Orinoco, ilustrado y defendido*, Madrid, 1745.

<sup>2</sup> The exceptional form of this idol, when compared with those from Santo Domingo and Porto Rico, may lead some archeologists to doubt its authenticity. The form of the mouth, however, is almost identical with that of the head of a pestle from Santo Domingo, and the attitude recalls that of the wooden idol in the University museum at Havana.



1. Petaloid Celts



2. Fragments of Pottery from Nipe Bay.

CELTS AND POTTERY OBJECTS FROM CUBA. (Smithsonian Collection.)

of a pestle, the arms being obscurely indicated and the legs being replaced by a base upon which it stands.

The idol figured in plate XIX, 2, is the same as that elsewhere mentioned as presented to the University museum by Señor Ferrer and figured by him and by Sr Andrés Poey.

The ceremonial celt figured in plate XIX, 3, also in the Santiago museum, has a rude head cut on one end and arms carved in low relief on the sides. This specimen is said to have been found at the Indian town of El Caney; it belongs to the same type as the ceremonial celt described and figured by Poey, Ferrer, and others. Its general character allies it to stone products of the Tainan culture of Santo Domingo and Porto Rico.

The celts collected by me in Cuba have the same forms as those from the other West Indian islands, and are known to the country people by the same name, *pedras de rayo*, or thunder-bolts. They are petaloid in form, smoothly polished, and without grooves for hafting. As in Porto Rico, there is considerable folklore in Cuba connected with these implements. Twenty petaloid celts were collected in the neighborhood of Santiago at El Cristo, El Caney, and the outskirts of the city. A few of these are figured in plate XX, 1.

While in Santiago I purchased a small collection of Indian objects from Nipe bay, on the northern coast of Cuba, which includes petaloid celts, fragments of pottery, a shell implement, and other aboriginal objects. Among the last is a water-worn stone on which is cut in outline (more like a pictograph than in relief) a human face with mouth, eyes, and what might have been intended for a nose (plate XVIII, 1). The specimen is unique in form, and although not flattened on one side, in certain particulars it reminds one of the so-called stone masks of the ancient Porto Ricans. The chief characteristics of this outlined face are the oblique eyes and the three curved lines extending from their lower ends to the incised line which borders the face. Its use and significance are unknown to me, nor am I familiar with any similar specimen from the other West Indian islands. It will be observed that this and the following specimens came from the eastern end of Cuba and can be referred to the Tainan culture.

In character the pottery from Cuba is practically the same as that



from Porto Rico. The collection made by me consists wholly of fragments of clay heads from bowls or vases. The specimens figured in plate xx, 2, were obtained from Nipe bay on the northern coast, but I have seen almost identical fragments from Pueblo Viejo,<sup>1</sup> the dance inclosure near Cape Maisi.

The archeological evidences of a low culture stage in the western provinces of Cuba are thus far negative, for no objects which can be ascribed without question to the aborigines have yet been found in those parts. The known polished stone implements, idols, and like objects from Cuba resemble those characteristic of the Tainan culture, and are confined to the eastern end of Cuba.

Naturalists have long recognized a marked difference in the fauna and flora of the two ends of Cuba. The prehistoric culture of these two localities was also different.

#### CONCLUSIONS

It appears from both historical and archeological evidences, so far as now known, that the Tainan or Antillean culture which was found in eastern Cuba did not originate on that island, but was introduced from Porto Rico or Hayti, where it reached its highest development. The germ of this culture came to both these islands from South America, but had grown into a highly specialized form in its insular home. There were minor differences in the different islands—Cuba, Jamaica, Santo Domingo, and Porto Rico—but these differences were all modifications of the polished-stone age.

There was considerable likeness in culture between the inhabitants of the keys of Florida and those of the Cuban coast and the small adjacent islands, due either to early contact of these two peoples or to migration from one to the other locality in limited numbers. The Indian villages of Carahate (near the site of the modern Cuban town of Sagua la Grande) and Sabaneque (near Remedios) were pile-dwellings,<sup>2</sup> not unlike those of the Indians

<sup>1</sup> This inclosure has been described by Ferrer and others; but one of the best accounts, and the only one in English that is known to me, is by Mr Stewart Culin: *The Indians of Cuba*, Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, vol. III, no. 4, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> These houses built on piles were called *barbacoas*. The polygonal or circular house with conical roof was known as a *caney*, and the quadrangular dwelling, with two-sided roof, a *bohio* or *bujio*.

now inhabiting the delta of the Orinoco and the shores of Lake Maracaibo in South America ; but these adaptive conditions do not necessarily show kinship, and more probably were of independent origin. The resemblances between Floridian and Cuban coast peoples were due to contact and interchange of culture.

There were at least two distinct stages of culture in aboriginal Cuba. The natives in the first stage were savages with few arts, but those of the second stage were as highly developed as any of the West Indian aborigines. The one was an archaic survival, the other an introduced culture which originated outside the island.

The people of the first stage were survivors of the earliest inhabitants of the island, but they have left little to the archeologist to indicate the status of their culture ; nevertheless, it was evidently of a very low order. The natives of the Cuban coast and of the numerous small islands were fishermen. Their culture was higher than that of the others referred to, but the highest prehistoric culture was confined mainly to the eastern provinces, especially Santiago, and was apparently introduced from Hayti, where it reached a high development, although even in the mountains of that island there were survivors of the savage, or lower, culture stage which predominated in western Cuba.

The Caribs, who occupied the Lesser Antilles from Trinidad to Porto Rico, were the last of the several South American tribes which invaded the West Indies. This virile race at the time of the discovery had conquered and assimilated the original inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles and peopled them with a composite people. The evidence that the Caribs settled on the coast of Cuba is not decisive. They probably visited the island in their marauding expeditions, but they contributed little to the existing culture of Cuba or that of the neighboring peninsula of Florida.

The Indians of Cuba, like those of Hayti, Porto Rico, and the Bahamas, were harassed by the Caribs from the Lesser Antilles, but it is yet an open question whether these marauders had settled in any considerable numbers on the island at the time of the discovery. The inhabitants of the extreme eastern end of Cuba, like the Ciguayos, who occupied the region from Puerto Plata to Higüey, from exposure to the inroads of the Caribs had become more war-

like than the other people of Cuba, but this does not necessarily mean that they were Caribs, as some writers appear to believe. The discovery of flattened skulls in caves near Cape Maisi, and their identity in this respect with deformed Carib crania from Guadeloupe, does not prove identity of race. According to Dr Carlos de la Torre,<sup>1</sup> the explorations of Sr Miguel Rodriguez-Férrer, Valdés Dominguez, Montané, and himself tend to confirm the opinion of Rafinesque that the Caribs had settled south of Baracoa, but the evidence presented in support of this theory is not conclusive.

The original colonization and prehistoric culture of Cuba must comprehend three different conditions of aboriginal life, practically three different peoples, viz., the primitive cave dwellers of the central region and western extremity of the island; the fishermen living in pile dwellings in some places; and the Tainans having the true Antillean stone-age culture. The derivation of the last-mentioned culture from Hayti and Porto Rico is reasonably certain. The connection of the coast fishermen of Cuba with the shell-heap and the key population of Florida was intimate, but it is still undetermined which was derived from the other.

The origin of the cave dwellers and of the rude savage race of Cuba is the most difficult of all to determine. Their ancestors were the first colonists of the island, but we know little of their language, arts, names, and customs, and lack a basis for comparing them with peoples of North America or South America. It is probable that these people were lineal descendants of those whose semi-fossil skeletons found in caves have excited so much interest. No evidence has yet been presented to prove that this race had vanished when Cuba was discovered by Columbus.

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<sup>1</sup> *Manual ó Guía para los Exámenes de los Maestros y Maestras*, Habana, 1901, p. 45.