

READING THE ARCHIVES OF LANDSCAPE STUDY AT FOND BATELIERE, MARTINIQUE, FWI

Introduction: on method

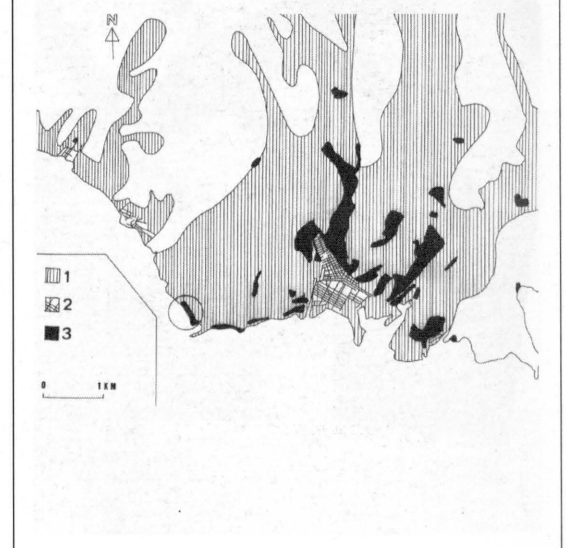
The stratification pattern is a postulate for any archaeological investigation: Studies start from the most recent layers of deposits, then exploration, stratum by stratum, progressively extends to deeper and more ancient vestiges. Conforming to the same proceeding, the reconstruction of successive stages in land-uses of a place may bring to light some deep strata of the past. The case-study of Fond Batelière¹ tends to prove that studying landscape evolution may be a relevant method to discover the archives of material culture. This Martiniquese self-helped settlement is located along a rocky seashore, close to a small thalweg named Little Paradise Valley², within the outskirts of the capital city of the island, Fort-de-France. The place looks like a compact block of huts and houses, clearly delimited and tightened on a small piece of land. Miscellaneous elements are surrounding the squatters dwellings: A First Class Hotel, a low-cost Housing Project of detached Houses, a few buildings comprising Public Facilities, a group of large and lavish houses with swimming-pools. However, such an heterogeneous neighborhood may keep, well hidden under confuse appearances, deserving footprints for the study of customary urbanization in Martinique. The study of Fond Batelière, which had started from the muddy field of a local slum survey, finally opened unto basic patterns of territorial history in Martinique. Clues of this interpretation were firstly suggested by the interviews of some pioneers of the squatters settlement. Then, using stereoscopic analysis, aerial photographs of the place taken from 1950 to 1988 were compared, and the process of transformation of the area during the Post-colonial period was thoroughly reconstructed. Finally, comparing the making of this recent self-helped settlement to dwelling practices of the Colonial period, some continuities emerged: At Batelière, squatters, conforming to their own way, seem to have continued some customary modes of settlement.

A survey at Fond Bateliere

Martinique was colonized in 1635 by the French and, except a few years of British domination from 1809 to 1814, remained a French colony until 1946, when, according to the Law untitled «Loi de Départementalisation», the island was reckoned a «French Overseas Region»³. The capital city of Martinique, Fort-de-France, located within the central part of the island, is containing approximately 100000 inhabitants. That includes the city-center, which corresponds to the old colonial city, a first suburban belt, deve-

loped since the middle of the Nineteenth century and more recent settlements located within a second suburban belt extending beyond the limits of the municipality. Within «Greater Fort-de-France»⁴, Fond Batelière is the last spot of a series of self-helped constructions edging the Western coast. Contemporary developments of the outskirts comprise regular allotments comprehending low-cost Housing projects, private estates for middle and upper classes and irregular self-helped settlements carried through by the poorest themselves. During the Early Sixties, upon a narrow strip of shore at Fond Batelière, squatters began to set up some makeshift huts; now, the whole settlement consists of approximately one hundred and fifty buildings⁵; most of them are large concrete houses, some of them being still unachieved; others are only poor shelters made of planks or even of corrugated iron sheets. Aerial photographs or lay-out of the place show huts and houses arranged in roughly parallel rows located according to contour lines. But beyond the apparent simplicity of built form, slight variations in urban fabric may be discerned. In the Northern Section, the ground is entirely covered with nearly contiguous structures, most of them having two stories and some of them attaining

GREATER FORT DE FRANCE IN 1998. URBAN SPRAWL
(1), CITY CENTER (2)M SELF-HELPED SETTLEMENTS (3)

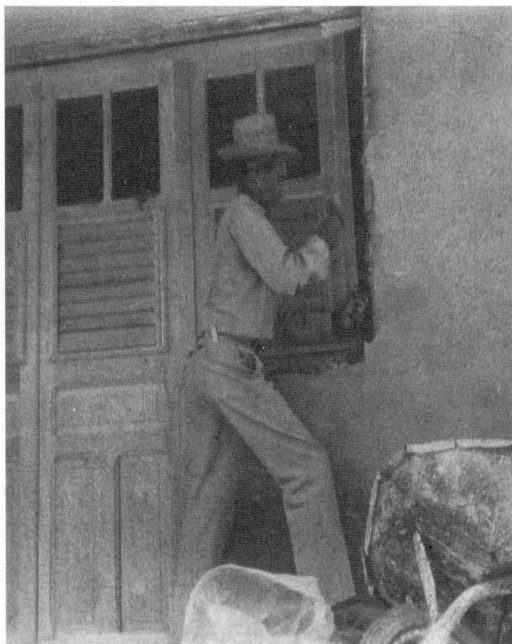


three stories; people are still elevating there upper floors upon unachieved buildings. Passages, lanes, tracks, stairs, or even a corridor left between connected constructions offer a chaotic access to the different plots. On the opposite, the Central Section plots are larger and people even have gardens; all the buildings, ranging from one to two levels, are achieved. A Main Street permits an ordinary access by car and from this road, perpendicular pedestrian paths lead to huts and houses. The only odd form is a strange Ring Path encompassing a group of rather large houses. The Main Street is continuing in the Southern Section, but is turning around a large circular empty plot; here, plots are even smaller than in the Northern Section and constructions, comprising one or two levels, are nearly connected. Some of them are still unachieved. Squatters began to build huts since 1965 and elderly inhabitants remember how they happened to settle there, following the lane leading to the Custom's House; then they cut

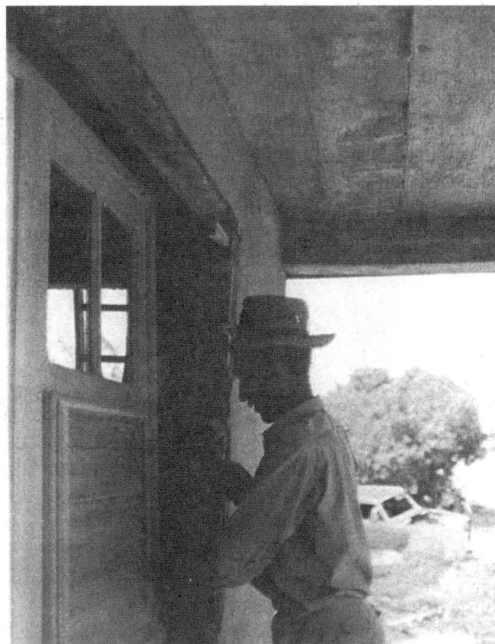
trees to clear some pieces of land, making huts and gardens to grow vegetables and even producing their own charcoal. M. R. is now living in a comfortable house located within a large piece of land with a thriving garden extending

until the edge of the rocky shore and the entry of his plot is placed along the odd Ring Path. M. R. remembers the hardy period of the conquest of the site: «Since I was the Gardener of a low-cost Housing Estate located not far from here, I used to keep a cow in a savanna, a little further, just above Fond Batelière. It was the year of the Edith Hurricane (1967). I saw a small movement over there, a few people who seemed to be just taking possession of some land along the coast. I seized upon the occasion. Selling my cow, with the money, I bought a few materials to start a house. A shelter, before the actual house. It was a free land. I enclosed a plot, I elevated a fence, I kept in dogs to guard it. Then, to build the house, with friends, we had to break the rocks with forks, with pickaxes, with metal bars. We drove in four concrete piles, we chained them together at the bottom, and we left an empty level under the floor-slab. We did all that within two week-ends. The first room was built. Later, with neighbors, we made a path, it was easier to bring in our materials with the wheel-barrows. We brought in stones and concrete to coat and strengthen the way, and we did the path for all of us.»⁶ But with years, M. R. made of the place a lavish garden with fruit trees, colored bushes and flowers. The elderly

SELF-HELPED CONSTRUCTION AT FOND BATELIERE.
FIXING A WOODEN DOOR WITH LOWERED SHUTTERS



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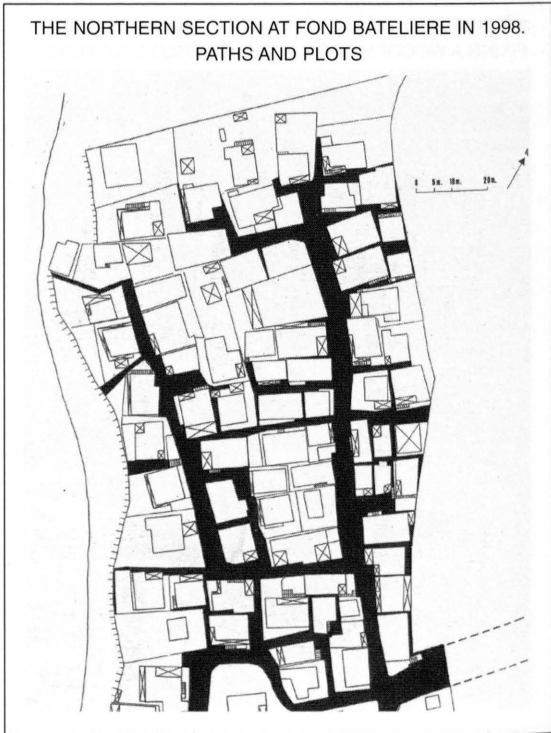
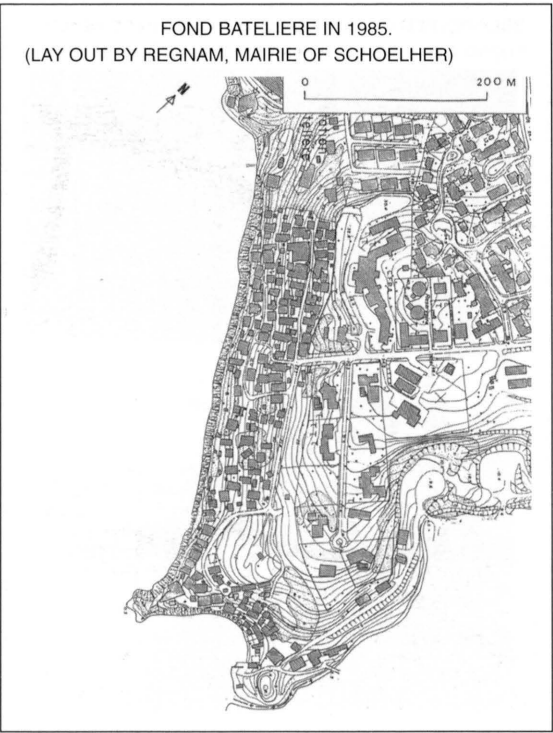
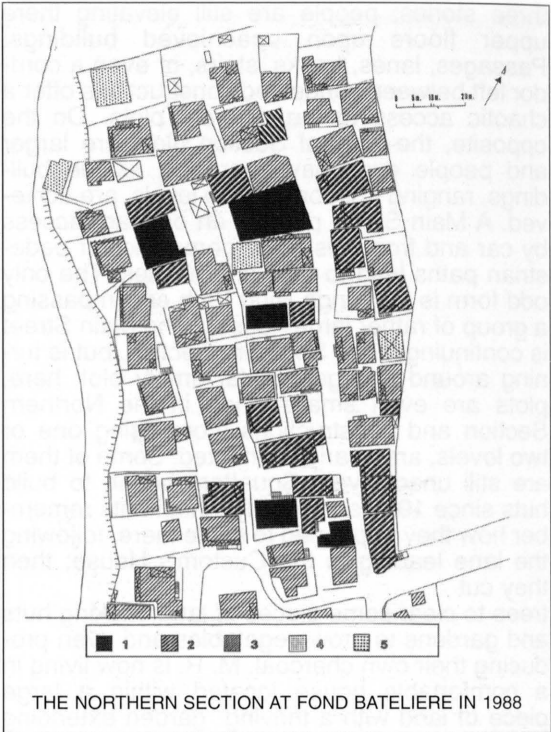
Gardener proudly shows to visitors his private treasure at the edge of the cliff: Wild varieties of plants including peas called «Angol Peas»⁷, a kind of vegetable which makes one of the ritual treats of the traditional Christmas dinner.

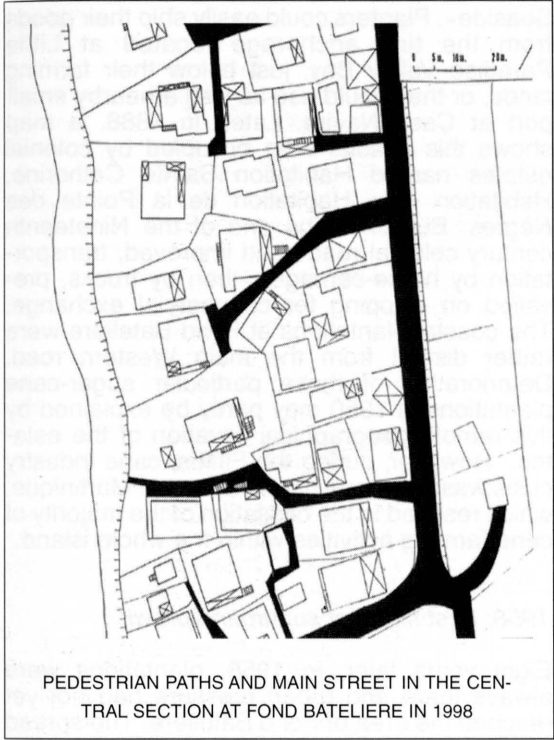
Change in landscape from 1950 to 1988

When the first squatters discovered Fond Batelière, it was nothing but a bushy savanna extending unto a rocky shore. But previously, flourishing estates had been developed there, since the first times of the Colony.

1950: The end of the sugar cane age

The Fifties in Martinique represent a decisive period of time, the end of a territorial order which had been based on the dominant model of the colonial plantation⁸. In 1950 at Fond Batelière, configuration of landscape illustrated the cessation of the Sugar-Cane Age in Martinique. Times were ready for the dislocation of the old colonial form and urban pressure was nearby, threatening the calm of a deserted land. Some colonial estates were still there, like





they had been during two centuries. But their cane fields were no more utilized and had returned to wild savanna. Two small roads led to the colonial estates. The Habitation La Batelière⁹, with a large Master's house and a well kept garden «à la française», was located at the Northern end of the area, just along the shore. The Habitation Sainte Catherine, a smaller place, was located at South, a little behind the coast; The master's house was also settled in a luxuriant ordered park. Close to Little Paradise Bay, a third plantation estate, surrounded by orchards and ordered gardens was also visible; From the Master's House, a path led to the end of the small cape surrounding the Bay. The name of the place may have been Habitation Roy. Nearby, the ruins of a former sugar cane distillery could be identified. But in 1950, these plantations had already lost their agricultural function. High trees and dense vegetation marked the humid depth of Little Paradise Valley where a few excavations for stone careers had started. From the shore unto the top of the plateau, a forgotten savanna consisting in a bushy wood with some high trees was covering the land. The coastal fringe was entirely free from constructions. Landscape at Fond Batelière, in 1950, still kept to a form which had



been produced by colonial land tenure and sugar cane industry, but it was then an already dead form, inherited from the past.

Since the early stages of colonization in Martinique¹⁰, plantations had been developed in the area of Fond Batelière. A cartographic record of plantations location since 1635 shows that, starting from Saint Pierre, the West Coast of Martinique had rapidly been inhabited by French colonizers, including the area of Case Navire. The presence of a Plantation named Fond Gueltier, not far from the anchorage of Case Navire¹¹, is confirmed by a 1733 map. At this time, there was a road going from Saint Pierre to Fort Royal¹² through Case Navire, but this road was located far behind the coastal area, on top of a high plateau. As traveling by road was then arduous, coasting trade was predominant and Plantations mainly depended on an easy connection to the seashore. Land concessions had been ordered from the coast unto the upper places: Tenures edging the coast were called the « First Places of the Seaside »; just above ranged the « First Stair Places », and upper, the « Second, Third and Fourth Stair Places »¹³. Thus, Fond Gueltier, extending right along the coast, was well located and belonged to the « First Places of the

Seaside». Planters could easily ship their goods from the tiny anchorage located at Little Paradise Valley Bay, just below their farming lands, or they could use as well a nearby small port at Case Navire. Later, in 1888, a map shows this coastal area occupied by colonial estates named Habitation Sainte Catherine, Habitation Roy, Habitation de la Pointe des Nègres. But since the end of the Nineteenth century colonial roads had improved, transportation by horse-carriages, then by trucks, prevailed on shipping for commercial exchange. The coastal plantations at Fond Batelière were rather distant from the main Western road. Deterioration of these particular sugar-cane plantations in 1950 may partly be explained by this remote geographical situation of the estates. However, during the Fifties, cane industry crisis was a general phenomenon in Martinique, which resulted in the cessation of the majority of cane farming activities within the whole island.

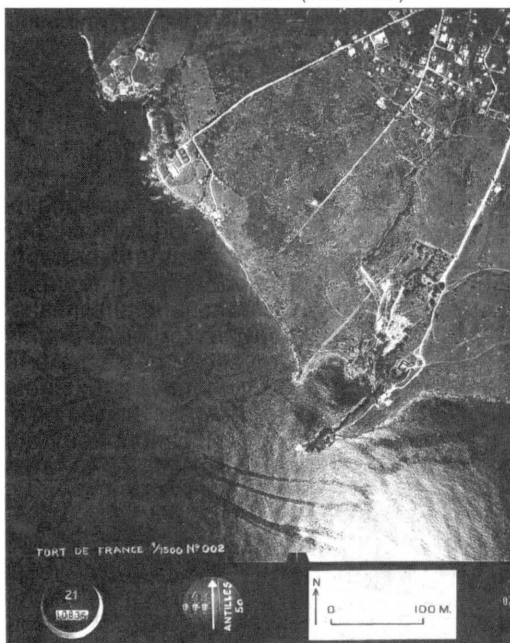
1958: First signs of suburban sprawl

Eight years later, in 1958, plantations were always there and urban pressure had not yet reached the area of Fond Batelière. The spread of suburban growth was limited to the plateau, sticking to the distant Main Road. The Habitation La Batelière was unchanged. But the tide of urbanization was approaching and significant changes in the area became visible. Nearby, the first part of the Cité Saint Georges was under construction. Close to the Habitation Sainte Catherine excavations in Little Paradise Valley were enlarging and two groups of new buildings had been constructed. If the coastal area itself was still uninhabited, in the middle of the savanna of Fond Batelière, a new track led to a tiny house: The new Custom's House. And not far from here along the coast, a group of unauthorized huts had settled in a place named Careers Blanchard.

1968: The big change

At Fond Batelière, the Big Change came in 1968, when a section of a new High Road going from Fort-de-France to Saint-Pierre, completed by a coastal road, was achieved. The aerial photograph of the area taken in 1968 corroborates the narrative of Fond Batelière pioneers and situates this information into the larger context of urban growth of Greater Fort-de-France. Land at Fond Batelière was becoming an open field for suburban construction and the whole area was affected by various transformations. Replacing the former colonial Habitation La Batelière a First Class Resort Hotel was under

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE AREA OF FOND
BATELIÈRE IN 1950 (FROM IGN)



construction. The park of the smaller Habitation Sainte Catherine was threatened by the expansion of new buildings: An Hotel, five levels high, and various smaller buildings. The enlargement of excavations in Little Paradise Valley, completed by various service shacks, were menacing the gardens of the Habitation Sainte Catherine. A second part of the Cité Saint Georges was under construction and a new Housing Project was planned just below: Construction here had not yet begun, but the central way of the allotment was finished. In Little Paradise Bay, there was a new pier and a group of huts along the beach: They probably were just fishermen's shelters¹⁴.

But primarily, the 1968 aerial photograph shows the first agricultural form of the squatters settlement at Fond Batelière (Fig.9). Right in the middle of the coastal bushy wood, stood eight exactly corresponding to the description of the installation of the pioneers at Fond Batelière, with their gardens and charcoal sites. Using stereoscopic analysis of the aerial photograph, every element can be spotted at its very place. The whole structure of the area, as it may be observed now, including the specificity of the Northern, Central and Southern Sections, can be explained by this early stage of conquest of the place: With years, agricultural clearings disappeared, but left their imprint in urban form. It seems, like people say, that squatters had followed the track leading to the Custom's House and searched, below this limit, places to settle in the bushy wood. This area, that we called the Central Section, might be better named «Pioneers Area». On the 1968 aerial photograph, the perpendicular paths, traced from the Custom's house track, are visible. These paths were later strengthened by people, exactly like M. R. explained it. Adjoining each of the eight huts, the gardens distinctly appear, with their various areas of activity: The regular lines of vegetables, deforested areas to make charcoal, planted fruit-trees. But large patches of vegetation, with high trees were left between the clearings. Through years, most of pioneers divided their piece of deforested land to accommodate new squatters. However, pioneers in this Section of Fond Batelière kept for themselves larger pieces of land. Upgrading the track leading to the Custom's house, the Main Street was made by the inhabitants themselves. But what about the strange Ring Path? The aerial photograph provides a suggestion to elucidate this form: In 1968, the access to the plot of M. R was a path, perpendicular to the Custom's track which became later the Main Street of Fond Batelière. At this time, M. R. had a neighbor, let us say, M. X. whose access, a little further, was also a path perpendicular to the Custom's track. Later, other people settled in between the hous-

es of M. R. and M. X.; probably, as it is frequent in such settlements, the first inhabitants had sold to new comers part of the zone that they had themselves cleared. Following the edge of a circular deforested area, the new inhabitants connected the two ends of the previous paths traced by M. R. and M. X., thus making the bizarre Ring Path. In 1968, a thick and continuous vegetation, without any construction at all, was covering the zones that became later the Northern and the Southern Sections. These parts of Fond Batelière were built in a further stage, when new comers joined the pioneers. Then, times were no more in favor of agricultural occupation... The available «free» land was limited to the North by the Hotel, to the East by new Houses, to the South by the Custom's property limits. Land was scarce for the numerous people who wanted to settle there. During the twenty years of the making of the place, space had to be shared and shared again in smaller plots to be able to accommodate new comers... People, filled up, until extreme congestion, remaining land. In the Northern Section, squatters could not rely on a previous track to trace a street, but they prolonged the given direction by a smaller and less regular way. Starting from this Northern Main Path, they just settled accor-

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE AREA OF FOND
BATELIÈRE IN 1968 (FROM IGN)



ding to the slope, houses becoming closer and closer with time. This process of agglutination led to the dense part of the Northern Section. In the Southern Section, settlers kept to the curved limit of the Customs' House plot, which explains the bending street. They covered the place with as many houses as they could, sharing land into very small plots.

1988: The triumph of suburban land uses

Twenty years later, in 1988, the Arcadian colonial landscape which still could be depicted in 1950 had been transformed into a plain suburban zone, partly planned, partly abandoned, partly self-helped. From 1958 to 1988, the Western area of the Greater Fort-de-France had been progressively occupied by all sorts of typically peripheral constructions: A Stadium, a large College and other Public facilities, Shopping Centers, new Hotels, low-cost Housing Estates and self-hepled settlements all along the coast. Standing as a symbol, the regular plots of the detached houses of the Cité Saint Georges, stretching along the new road, recalled the cause of the invasion of the coastal area by squatters: Squatters settlements, start-

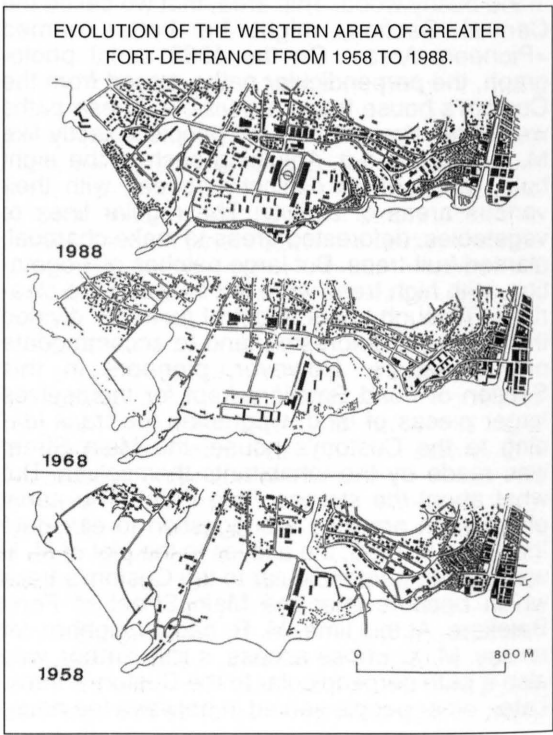
ing from the industrial area of Fort-de-France harbor, had got all along the coast. Self-helped settlers had followed the new routes traced by planners. As a consequence, this verifies here that self-helped areas are not self-determined, but appear as a side effect of planned urbanization. But squatters had their own way to develop their habitat, an old way, the roots of which had to be discovered long ago in the past.

Continuities in residential patterns

Change in environment might not conceal notable continuities between self-helped settlements and colonial forms of establishment. For instance, the « illegal » occupation of the coastal area corresponds to a customary permission, and in addition the dwelling unit of squatters reproduces an old residential pattern¹⁵.

The tolerant «fifty feet of the king»

In Martinique, due to the heritage of a colonial Land Ordinance, abandoned domains located along the seashore bring a notable opportunity for squatters settlements. When the French, in



1635, had colonized the Caribbean islands, they needed to be protected from attacks coming from the sea: Spanish galleons, British vessels, and even Karib Indian pirogues. According to a Royal Law, 80 meters in depth along the coast had to be kept clear from constructions. This preserved land, called the «Fifty Feet of the King» is now considered «Government Reserve»: legally, the ancient interdiction of building along the seashore might yet be obeyed. But presently like before, authorities tend to concede some temporary occupation of the coastal fringe. During the colonial period, fishermen used to settle there, thus actual villages were to be developed along the coastal edging; In colonial uses, such an implantation was thoroughly acknowledged To easily store goods to ship, some plantations warehouses were also located along the seaside; With time, without blame, merchants' hamlets were fixed in such informal harbors. When in Martinique, after the 1950 industrial Sugar Crisis¹⁶, former peasants and sugar industry workers, without employment or housing, searched for places to live in, they naturally appealed to the customary franchise of the seashore. Fond Batelière is representative of this process of coastal squat. The unauthorized settlement, extending only upon the piece of land located within the tolerant «Fifty Feet of the King», respected the limits of all the individual formal properties and used only the customary tolerance regarding the appropriation of the coastal fringe.

«Lakou» a colonial mode of settlement

Moreover, the making of a self-helped neighborhood at Batelière reproduced an archetype of land colonization which, since the early times of pioneers, had traversed diverse fortunes. The colonist who, in 1635, came to the French Caribbean Islands were mainly peasants. Allowed to use pieces of land within the thick rain forest of Martinique, they cleared their places from trees, and lived upon the gardens that they could grow there. « All the most notable families who are nowadays in Caribbean Islands begun like that: Since « Monsieur d'Esnambuc » and after him « Monsieur de l'Olive » had brought to Islands only Allocated Men¹⁷, when those poor people had completed their three years, they used to conclude an association of two or three members, then to clear a piece of forest land, to make an estate, to make a hut and to run a farm»¹⁸. Such a colonial settlement was called a «Ménagerie». Then, a little later, escaping religious persecution, Dutch Jews from Brazil imported in French West Indies the know-how of cane-sugar indu-

stry; The sugar-cane plantation system, needing vast fields and large manpower, resulted in latifundia and extended slavery.

From the end of the Seventeenth century to the Abolition of slavery in 1848, the Sugar Plantation became the basic component of territorial organization in Martinique. However, besides this dominant unit of settlement, in some isolated places, a tiny scattered habitat had taken place: There were some Maroon slaves escaped from the plantations¹⁹, Freed Men, Poor Whites... who lived apart, surviving upon rain forest resources, hunting, fishing, having a small field. Progressively, these people were comforted by the concubines of planters, with their mixed-blood children, who were given a little piece of land by the Master and by more many freed families. In 1848, Abolition of slavery changed the land-use pattern. Freed men and women left plantations, searching a little piece of land to be able to subsist by themselves. The basic element of this popular dwelling was the «jaden-kaz»²⁰, a small piece of land with a hut²¹. On the same lot, children, then grand children, or even related families could build their hut and grow their own subsistence garden nearby. During the Post-Abolition period, from 1848 to 1946, this association, a self subsistence garden, small fields and a group of huts belonging to an extended family formed the basic unit of rural popular dwelling²². These places were named: «Lakou»²³, followed by the surname of the owner. This term «Lakou» may come from rural medieval France, and especially from Normandy, where places were so called: «La Cour,...so and so». This appellation had probably been brought in by the first peasants coming to Antillean Islands. The name «Lakou» and the pattern of settlement had persisted through two hundred years of slavery. The «Lakou» was not only a rural pattern. Some slaves were authorized to live in towns, paying a rent to their Master: They were called «Esclaves à billet»²⁴. Usually, such slaves employed in cities rented a hut within the backyard of the their employers' houses²⁵. Freed men after 1848 did the same, and these urban dwellings were called like the rural ones: «La Cour» or «Lakou». At Fond Batelière, when the first squatters settled among the savanna, they opened there agricultural clearings, repeating the colonial «Ménagerie» or the «Lakou» of Freed Peasants: A hut open in the bush, with a self-subsistence garden. Like previously in colonial towns, in self-helped settlements, the «Lakou» was no more a dwelling for an extended family of farmers, but an odd grouping of neighbors sharing poverty. However, under a new form, a customary mode of settlement adopted since 1635 had still survived to shape a contemporary landscape.

Conclusion: a significant scenary shift

The evolution of Fond Batelière reflects a basic mutation in Martinique: The decay of colonial estates, replaced by a suburban landscape resembling French Metropolitan suburban areas. But paradoxically, self-helped settlements, which are part of this urban assimilation, still keep to some ancient forms of establishment which had shaped the colonial scenery. Creating their own settlements and dwellings, squatters proved to be more capable of historic continuity than official Housing projects which only reflect Metropolitan standards. Fernand Braudel introduced the idea that, in History, long duration movements may be distinguished from short period events. Obviously, the lower class in Creole society yet obeys the long pace when the middle and upper classes adhere to rapid change. That may suggest that authorized and unauthorized construction, which are located in different kinds of place (regular plots versus territorial margins) also abide in different segments of Times.

Anne Hublin

Reference notes

1. This Case-Study is part of a larger investigation conducted by the author on irregular settlements and customary urbanization in French West Indies and comprising following main Studies: Anne Hublin, «Quartiers spontanés aux Antilles françaises - Essai de typologie sociale et spatiale d'un espace créole », Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire, de l'Équipement et des Transports, Bureau de la Recherche Architecturale, Direction de l'Aménagement et de l'Urbanisme, 1990, 309 pages. Anne Hublin, «Case créole et ville coloniale aux Petites Antilles françaises 1635-1848, Vol.I. - Volume II., 1848 - 1946 - *Les modes d'urbanisation et l'architecture de la période post-esclavagiste*», Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire, de l'Équipement et des Transports, Bureau de la Recherche Architecturale, Direction de l'Aménagement et de l'Urbanisme, 1996, 241 pages, 305 pages.
2. Translation of the French designation: « Ravine Petit Paradis ».
3. The Law No 46-451 of the 19th of March 1946 abolished the colonial regime in French Guiana, in Guadeloupe, in Martinique and in the island La Réunion, since considered regular French Districts being part of the national territory, named « French Overseas Region » (Départements Français d'Outre-Mer).
4. By analogy with « Greater London » for instance, this term designates the whole area reached by the sprawl of urban growth of the capital city.
5. The lay-out presented in this article have been designed after 1988 inventory of houses which listed only 130 buildings. Within ten years, the place has still been able to house twenty more houses.
6. Transcription of the interview of M. R.
7. In French West Indies, these peas are still supposed to come from seeds brought by African slaves from their native country and planted around their huts in slaves' quarters of plantations. « Angol », during slavery, in Creole language, meant Africa. Since the end of the Sixteenth century, slaves sold to Antillean colonists by Portuguese traders mainly came from Angola. According to Gabriel Debien: « RP Brunetti, in his 1660 chronicle, says that slaves were bought in the Kingdom of Angola and along the Guinea Coast, and RP Pelleprat details the ethnic complexity of slaves: Negroes transported to Islands come from various peoples in Africa, from Angola, from Cap Vert, from Guinea, from Senegal, and from various other countries near the coast. In Islands, among slaves, thirteen peoples speaking different languages may be recorded ».
8. According to Lloyd Best, colonization process follows progressive stages which start from territorial conquest to settlement then mercantile production. That scheme adequately corresponds to the different phases of establishment of French colonizers in Martinique. Lloyd Best, « Un modèle d'économie pure de plantation », in *Les Cahiers du CERAG*, Fort de France, Centre d'Études Régionales Antilles-Guyane, 3e trimestre 1971.
8. Mireille Mousnier, Danielle Bégot, Brigitte Caille, *Atlas Historique du patrimoine sucrier de la Martinique XVIIe - XXe siècles*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1990.
9. The French term « Habitation » differs from the English designation «Plantation ». When the owner of a Plantation was often an absentee landlord, the Master of an « Habitation » used to permanently reside on his colonial property.
10. Mireille Mousnier, Danielle Bégot, Brigitte Caille, *Atlas Historique du patrimoine sucrier de la Martinique XVIIe - XXe siècles*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1990.
11. The village formerly named Case Navire received at the end of the Nineteenth century the new appellation of Schoelcher, to celebrate Victor Schoelcher who, in 1848, had initiated the Abolition of Slavery Act. Fond Batelière is a little closer from Schoelcher (1,5 km) than from Fort-de-France.
12. The name of Fort Royal was changed into Fort-de-France during the French 1789 Revolution.
13. The geometer Petit produced in 1706 a model for land concession with the partition scheme between the different lands ranging from the sea to the upper lands. The design mentions: « Premières Places du Bord de Mer », « Places du Premier Estage », « Places du Second, Troisième, Quatrième Estage ».
14. Fishermen do not live in such beach shacks but use them to keep in their boats, their motors and various fishing equipment.
15. Other analogies could be developed: when they began to settle their first huts, people worked together, according to a model of cooperation which can be traced since the plantation system. Domestic tasks also, within Modernist houses built by self-helped constructors, still conform to rather rural habits: Anne Hublin, «Shanty Towns: A Modern Vernacular? Urban Growth in Fort-de-France, FWI. », *IASTE*, U.C. Berkeley, 1991, Working Paper Series, Vol. 21, pp.35-60.

16. Christian Schnakenbourg, « La disparition des Habitations-Sucreries en Guadeloupe (1848-1906) - Recherche sur la désagrégation des structures préindustrielles de la production sucrière antillaise après l'abolition de l'esclavage », in *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outremer*, Tome LXXIV, No 276, 3e trimestre 1987.
17. « Allocated Men »: Translation of the French term « Engagés ». These men signed a contract obliging them to work during three years for the Master who had paid their travel by boat.
18. « Toutes les meilleures familles qui sont aujourd'hui dans les Isles ont commencé comme cela: car Monsieur d'Esnambuc, & après lui Monsieur de l'Olive n'ayant amené que des engagés, quand ces pauvres gens avoient achevé leurs trois ans, ils se mettoient deux ou trois ensemble, abattoient du bois, & faisoient une habitation, sur laquelle ils bastissoient une Case, & faisoient des marchandises » R.P. J.B. Du Tertre, « Histoire générale des Antilles », printed after the 1667-1671 publication, Fort-de-France, Société d'Histoire de la Martinique, 1958. Translation by Anne Hublin
19. For a general description of Maroon in French West Indies: Lucien René Abenon, « Le marronnage aux Antilles », in *Voyage aux Iles d'Amérique*, Paris, Archives Nationales, 1992. Gabriel Debien, *Les esclaves des Antilles françaises (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe et Société d'Histoire de la Martinique, 1974. The geographer R.P. J.B. Delawarde described precisely the origin and the aspect of the small scattered habitat in Northern Martinique: J.B. Delawarde XE "Delawarde", *Essai sur l'installation humaine dans les mornes de la Martinique - Sites et agglomérations du nord de l'île - La case et la maison - L'art domestique*, Fort-de-France, 1935.
20. « Jaden-kaz » : Creole term for a hut and a subsistence garden.
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