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We navel-string bury here: Landscape history, representation and identity in the Grenada islandscape

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“We Navel-String Bury Here”

**Landscape Biography, Representation and
Identity in the Grenada Islandscape**

John Angus Martin

“We Navel-String Bury Here”:

Landscape Biography, Representation and Identity in the Grenada Islandscape

Proefschrift

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in 1964

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*To Jean and Venis Martin
For their genuine examples that made possible a life of contentment ♡*

A Dedication

*To my mother and father
For a Grenadian heritage
Through which flows
The majesty and cloudiness of the Thames
The strength and mystery of the Niger
The natural and mystical beauty of the Highlands
The elegance of the Seine
And the Creolization of a New World.
And as Derek Walcott insists, “either I’m nobody, or I’m a nation.” ♡*

Preface

My Search for Identity in the Grenada Islandscape

*“My island home was the place of greatest joy and the engendering of dizzying dreams.
But an innocent inherits dreams and not the tolerance for bleak reality.
And as a child in his dreams will embrace the world,
a man grows up rooted, his identity accrued only with the loss of alternatives.”*

Liam Martin, “Exile,” *The Out Born: Collected Poems, 1980-2016* (2016:1)

I was probably about three and a half years old, or thereabouts. I am running down a steep alley alongside a deep gutter overflowing with rushing water. I am racing along following my “boat” as the water carries it towards the bottom of the alley before it disappears under the roadway and eventually enters the sea beyond the rooftops. The rushing water is a result of the heavy rainfall that just ended, with water gushing down the hillside towards the sea in the distance. You see, the town of St. George’s is built at the base and on the steep inner slopes of an extinct eroded volcanic crater, actually two extinct calderas inundated by the Caribbean Sea. Houses climb precariously like *Moko Jumbies* stilt walking up its precipitous sides towards ruins of 18th-century colonial fortifications dotting the encircling rims that once dubiously protected the picturesque town. Streets cut the steep incline at various angles depending on if they are going up or down, but the alleys and the steps run straight down except when interrupted by intersecting roadways. I bring up this memory because it is the first I can recall of me in the Grenadian landscape: of this little boy playing in this nondescript alley, in this small town nestled inside of an extinct, eroded volcanic crater, on a tiny often mispronounced and thus misidentified island in the Caribbean Sea, in an imagined archipelagic paradise trapped between the Americas, and a tiny speck on the face of the globe, who that day began the quest for his place in our vast universe.

There is, however, another reason this memory is important and why it resonates today. A few years ago, I learned something interesting about that drain and why so much water flows through it after heavy rains. It is because it has always been there! That drain, from an earlier ravine, is probably as ancient as the adjacent hills, and part of the volcanic crater that surrounds it and through which it flows. That ancient ravine, now encased in concrete, was a

natural stream originating on the hill three tiers above and has been a part of the landscape, playing its role in carrying out that function for who knows how long. It was important to James Casey (1778) who recorded its name *Ravine Jourdin*¹ on *A Plan of the Town of St. George in the Island of Grenada* (Figure A). Its name was given by the French as it was useful to them following their settlement in 1649 and expansion across the lagoon. Though it does not retain its name today and goes unnoticed by most (except maybe children playing



Figure A: James Casey's "A plan of the town of St. George in the Island of Grenada," 1778, with Ravine Jardín inset (courtesy The National Archives, UK)

or those who clean it), the drain maintains its historical function generations after the French who named it and the British who recorded it withdrew from the island, even as it continuously adopts to the changing landscape.² I can only speculate as to how the Kali'nago

¹ *Ravine Jourdin* should be *Ravine Jardín*. In 1778 it marked the eastern boundary of the small colonial town.

² In a conversation with a colleague recently I was surprised to learn that the drain retains an echo of its former French name as her younger cousin, resident in the area, referred to it as "The Jordan" when she played around it as a child. Thank you Marie Benjamin.

represented this ancient ravine, as well as the earlier Indigenous peoples who most assuredly used it as part of their cultural landscape.³

Since that day I have been roaming this island, beginning as that little boy playing in the bushes and fields around my home in the protective shade of the two large tamarind trees, and the ominous shadow of the giant silk cotton tree that overlooked the Caribbean Sea only a stone's throw away. These giant trees and several others like the lime and coconut trees behind my house, the mango and seaside almond trees in my neighbor's yard, and sugar cane on the other side defined my tropical arboreal space along with many bushes that illustrated my childhood viewscape. I ran up and down and over the precipitous streets of the small town that huddled on the inner slopes of the volcanic crater oblivious to the historic footsteps I constantly retraced. I climbed the heights of its hills and mountains and peered through the mist-covered canopy to see into its tangled past. I hiked into its valleys and trekked alongside its streams and rivers, listening to burdened histories disgorged by the turbulent, brown-colored rushing brooks emptying into the sea. I have walked along its beaches and explored the hidden trails into the forests to the rim of a mountain lake where I see reflected in the ripples of time silhouettes of all those who have fashioned this changing Grenada island.

I recall the cultural memories that my mother joyfully passed on to me through the stories of her rural childhood, but especially the ability and desire to remember the past and tell these stories so that they are not forgotten. I recall the stories of my father, of the land and what grew in it, and about the people who loved working on these lands and producing its bounty that enriched their lives. He taught me how to belong to the landscape and understand and appreciate the people who created it. But it was my brother Liam who made me see the poetry in our landscape and taught me to embrace its many voices. And Glaston "Daddy Fletch" Fletcher who shared with me his enthusiasm for and experiences of the Grenadian landscape that allowed me to see far beyond my own understanding and experience the landscape through his eyes. And in all these years I roamed across this island, from its sandy beaches and mangroves on the coasts to its rain forests in the mist-covered mountains, from its valleys to its hills, and the places in between, experiencing this island as I have no

³ I use the general term Indigenous (with upper case "I" as is now accepted in the academic literature) in place of Amerindian(s) throughout as I believe, like others, it is a more accurate designation for the various peoples who occupied the region before and since the invasion of Europeans than the misnomer Amerindian (derived from American Indian), despite the latter's widespread use and understanding across the region. When appropriate, I use specific designations such as Kali'na, Kali'nago and "Taino." This should not be confused with the use of "indigenous" with reference to Creole culture in the region (Newton 2013).

other, seeing, feeling, hearing, sensing, remembering... as it slowly and meticulously revealed itself to me throughout a lifetime of exploration, wonderment and identity.

This is the story of my love affair with the Grenadian landscape and the motivation for much of this study, a landscape autobiography I suppose that began decades ago in a small hillside village where I was born. But this life history of the Grenada islandscape, though seen through the perspectives of my own parallel search for identity and a sense of belonging in this creolized island space is the story of all who came before and those who continue to walk beside me on these hidden island trails into the past. This is the tale of a lifelong journey across Grenada (and the world) in search of identity strewn about this veiled islandscape, with its two millennia history of human occupation and impact obscured within an entangled cultural palimpsest. This is a journey to uncover the past in the present, the then in the now, the yesterday in today, the realities in the myths, the wisdom in the traditional knowledge, the lessons in the proverbs, the nuances in the obvious, the simplicity in the complex, and the future in the past. At its core, it is an endeavor to understand how all of our histories, all of our stories, all of our dreams, and all of our memories have impacted this changing landscape we identify with today. And how the *memory-traces*⁴ and representations of the past can help us locate ourselves in this creolizing (changing) landscape, furnishing our evolving identities, and creating that desired sense of place, that sense of belonging to the place where our parents, grandparents and godparents symbolically and literally grounded us, in the place they *bury we navel-string*!⁵



Some might question the style and very personal voice of this study as it veers slightly away from the usual academic turn. I did not set out to write it in this way, but once I began to tell this story of Grenada and my lifelong connections and identity with it, it just flowed naturally from my experiences and knowledge onto these pages, creating a more holistic and nuanced telling of this complex story of representation, identity and belonging. It became the only way I could tell this story: in the rhythm and accent as I remembered it being told to me in the

⁴ *Memory-traces (traces-mémoires)* is a term coined by Édouard Glissant to describe the remnants of the past that are still present in the landscape, but specifically created by oppressed or subjugated peoples that history often forgets. He was specifically referring to enslaved Africans and their descendants in the Caribbean. Though *memory-traces* can be material or symbolic, they can be explored, uncovered and recognized. These *memory-traces* are our Creole patrimony (Chamoiseau and Reek (trans.) 2019).

⁵ To “Bury we navel-string” is a Grenadian (and Caribbean) expression meant to establish one’s right of belonging or connection to a place (Allsopp 1996). In Grenada, the pronunciation/spelling “*nabel-string*” is more common, but I use *navel-string* as it is more recognizable across the region and the world. More will be said of this practice and its metaphorical application in Chapter 8.

melodic voice of my mother Jean, in the poetic verse of my brother Liam, in the rational reflections of my father Venis, in the revolutionary voice of my (youthful) elder brother Wayne, in the dramatic expressions of my story-telling granduncle Papa, in the soothing cadence of my grandmother Aunty Maude, in the honest words of my aunt Nieta, and in the innocence and forward-thinking of my daughter Yvette. It is told in the language that I dreamt in no matter where I found myself on distant shores that somehow always brought me back to this my tiny island beginning. And in the end, I wanted this story to be of the Grenada storyscape, of my mother and father, of my brothers Liam, Raphael, Wayne and Rex and sister Janice, my niece Natalie Williams, of my childhood neighbor Lionel “Abba” Gibbs, of my cousins Ms. Joslyn Nicholson, Trevor Hercules, Gail Lowe, and Rosamond Payne, of Vero Nicholson and Charles Paul, of my “landscape guide” Fletcher, of my lifelong friends Patrick James, Finbar “Biko” Renwick, Lester “Waxy” Nicholson, Joshua Elahie, Rockim St. Bernard, Teddy Frederick, Shane St. Bernard and Andrew Neckles, and of the many, many others who have shared their stories of Grenada with me over the years. This is my story to them, enhanced with the pieces of their own stories beautifully interwoven into our creolizing experiences across the Grenada islandscape.

So, accept this (self)study for what it is, the story of lived island experiences and their many diverse relations spatially laid out across the centuries, across cultures, across generations, across this tropical Caribbean islandscape (Whyte 2013). This is my story; this is your story; these are our stories. These are the stories of who we were, the stories of who we are, the stories of how we came to be here, and how we all belong to this continuously changing and contested island adrift in this archipelagic dreamscape. This is Grenada’s story!

1

Introduction

“In the Caribbean, people come from everywhere, from Africa and Europe and the Mediterranean and the Middle East and the Orient....

There is a restless identity in the New World. The New World needs an identity without guilt or blame.”

Derek Walcott in Bruckner (1990), “A Poem in Homage to an Unwanted Man” (NYT)

I remember as a little boy growing up in Grenada there was this rather intriguing conversation several of us kids had one time. It was a “What if?” question as kids are often distracted with when tired of playing their usual games. It began with the preposterous notion that the Kali’nago (and Kali’na) somehow returned to Grenada to (re)claim their island that was violently taken from them, thus evicting everyone and sending them back from whence they came. It was overwhelmingly voiced that “blacks” would go back to Africa, “whites” to Europe, and “Indo-Grenadians” to India, but hesitantly, “red people” or “fair-skinned” people like me, mulatto or mixed race,⁶ will have nowhere to go! We were *Nowhereans*,⁷ without a “motherland,” without a “fatherland,” without a place to call home (except Grenada), thus without a sense of place because we are of multiple worlds marooned in this islandscape, and adrift in this contested archipelago. For a boy who had grown up feeling himself othered, even foreign in the land of his birth, in the land of his parents’ birth, and in the land of his grandparents’ birth, it was a stark realization that my identity as a Grenadian (in the eyes of some Grenadians at least) was tenuous at best, and worse still, I had nowhere else to call

⁶ The word mulato/mulatto (<Spanish: *muladi*<Arabic *muwallad*: “person of mixed ancestry, one Arab one non-Arab”), or the more widely accepted <Spanish *mulato*: “young mule,” in the mistaken belief that the offspring of two different races, white and black, could not reproduce as is the case with mules) is regarded as derogatory or offensive, but widely used across the region until recently for mixed-race persons of black and white ancestry. See Forbes (1993), chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of these terms and their history.

⁷ Grenadian/Caribbean term for someone with “no fixed place of abode”/“wonderer,” but also of mixed race, not belonging to one, but two places/peoples (races). This view of otherness is also exemplified by the *dougla* (<Hindi *dogalaa*: “hybrid, mongrel”), the mix of Indian and black, often used derogatively; also “Coolie-Creole” (Winer 2009:311,619). This view of otherness is expressed in the song “Split Me in Two” by Cletus “Mighty Dougla” Ali. *The Best of Dougla*. MC0085. N.d. CD. The original song dates to 1961 when the “Mighty Dougla” won the Calypso Monarch competition in Trinidad. [Accessed 11 December 2022 at [link](#)].

home should this little rock suddenly become unavailable.⁸ In that moment and since, I have thought of identity in different ways, and it has consumed almost every aspect of my adult life. In the end, it would be years later, many years later as I traveled the world over—from the creolized shores of my Caribbean home to my new immigrant home in the “melting pot” of North America, then to the old worlds of Africa and Europe, and even to Asia—where I was introduced to the concept and experienced landscape identity that it all came together for me, it all began to make sense, a sense of place in this creolizing island space I still call home.

1.1 A Continuously Changing Islandscape

At the height of the hurricane season in August 1498 Christopher Columbus, on his third voyage to the region, reportedly sighted the small, centuries-occupied Kali’nago-christened island of Camáhogne in the distance as he emerged from the *Bocas de Dragón*, Trinidad and rechristened it La Concepción (Devas 1974; Martin 2013). On Camáhogne lived hundreds of Kali’nago (and possibly Kali’na) scattered across a dozen or so coastal villages, continuing an unbroken yet diverse Indigenous occupation of the island that had been ongoing for at least a millennium (Hanna 2018, 2019; Martin 2013). In February 2023, the State of Grenada, celebrating its 49th anniversary as an independent nation (from the United Kingdom), recorded a population of just over 112,000 people, the overwhelming majority descendants of Africans who are today celebrating this creolized landscape as their own. In the intervening 525 years, this tiny islandscape underwent tremendous transformations through the violence of invasion and conquest, ethnic cleansing, brutal plantation slavery and colonialism, indentureship, civil unrest, (political) independence, natural hazard events, socialist revolution, and US military invasion (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013, 2022; Steele 2003). Initial European invasion altered the indigenous landscape of the few coastal villages as numerous plantations of tobacco, indigo, cotton, cocoa, coffee, sugar cane and nutmeg consumed the plains and forests, from the seashore to the mountaintops (Martin 2013, 2022). Most of these

⁸ That otherness stemmed from my mixed ancestry, but specifically my connections to the village of Mt. Moritz, St. George where my father originated among the white/mixed racial population that descended from predominantly (poor) white settlers/“Redlegs” from Barbados beginning in the 1870s. I was called “Mong-Mong,” the derogatory name given to people from the village despite never having lived there except as a baby. I remember arriving at the Grenada airport one time and after enquiring about a taxi a driver asked if I was going to Mt. Moritz, assuming that someone who looked like me would be going home to that village, which I was not at that time. Growing up I never liked the name because of its intent to exclude and other, but over the years I have come to embrace it as it is an important part of my Grenadian identity, with Mt. Moritz essential to my sense of place as my navel-string is buried there, according to my sister. “Mong-Mong, Proud of it!”

plantations in turn morphed into settlements, villages, and residential communities that define the Grenadian dwelling landscape today as beaches and mangroves along the coasts are overwhelmed with resorts and hotels forced to cater to an ever-growing tourism industry that threatens the sustainability of this island landscape, even as it (barely) sustains its people.

Within the over five centuries of landscape change in Grenada lie buried the stories of belonging and identity for its numerous residents as landscapes are fundamental to who we were, who we are, and who we become (Kolen et al. 2015). Within our changing landscapes lie the histories, cultures, heritage, stories, monuments, and memories that form the core of our identity, that fashion our sense of place, and that create our places of belonging (Butler and Sarlov-Herlin 2019). In inhabiting landscapes we create representations and leave *memory-traces*, inadvertently and intentionally, reflecting characteristics of who we are, sometimes unknown or even hidden to their authors and/or inheritors. Landscapes change constantly as our histories change, as our societies and cultures evolve, and as our environments are transformed. Our identities are molded by these evolving, diverse and often hidden histories, these altered environments, and constantly changing landscapes. Thus, to define or embody our identities, we must know the landscape created by our predecessors and ancestors, we need to understand the landscape and how it has been altered and in turn affected us, and we need to recognize the characteristics of our constantly changing landscape over the *longue durée*. Hence the need for an exhaustive exploration of islandscapes like this one, the one I know most intimately and confidently, the one I grew up calling home, and the one we all call Grenada.

The study of landscapes is the study of change as landscapes are the result of, at any given time, the continuous and diverse interactions between so-called “natural” environments and the people who inhabit them (Antrop 1998, 2005; Bender 2002; Kolen et al. 2015; Roymans et al. 2009; Watts 1987). To understand landscape change requires knowledge of these varied and numerous interactions between people and the environment over time, but often measured over long periods and punctuated by major events (Kolen et al. 2015). Landscape changes are driven by multiple forces, both natural and cultural, which together interact and react to produce landscapes as we observe them at any given time. Changes to the landscape usually happen over long periods and are gradual, but some can be abrupt, as in the case of natural hazard, fire, pandemic, technological change, or major historical events, which can alter a landscape in a short space of time and have far-reaching consequences (Cooper 2012; Entrikin 2011; Richardson 1997). Recognizable landscape changes provide unique

opportunities for observation and study, exposing the past in a way that can explain aspects of the present, or even the future, with these breaks with the past and the present. They can make some question their sense of belonging or connection to a place as a result of loss and/or change, while others can feel a greater sense of place by exposing hidden memories or a desire to rebuild and recreate a heritage (Butler and Sarlove-Herlin 2019; Tilley 2006). In the massive defoliation caused by the intense winds of Hurricane Ivan in 2005 Collins (2007:14) muses:

“I looking up at Mount Gozo and I watching all the belly turn inside out. I turn round and I seeing down into Westerhall like it right next door. I watching car turn corner a mile away. I watching St. Paul’s and over by Mills on the hill. I looking around and realizing I have plenty neighbours, and people not far away from each other at all, down here in what used to be Morne Delice Cocoa.”

Landscape history and landscape change, embodied in the continuous processes of creolization, is at the foundation, at the beginning of understanding who we are and how we identify with a place. This is the story of how persons like me identify with this island landscape today called Grenada, rendered by the British after the original Spanish “La Granada” since the 1520s and the later French “La Grenade,” and the still earlier “Camáhogue” rendered by the Kali’nago (see Martin 2013, 2022).⁹

1.2 Aims and Objectives of This Study

This study of landscape history, representation and identity on the Caribbean island of Grenada is part of the larger ERC-Synergy project *NEXUS1492: New World Encounters in a Globalizing World* that reimagines, through trans-disciplinary research, the impacts of European invasions of the Americas after 1492 in the Caribbean archipelago and on its Indigenous populations (Hofman et al. forthcoming).¹⁰ It seeks to understand the subsequent intercultural interactions, forced and otherwise, between Indigenous peoples, Europeans, (primarily) enslaved and indentured Africans and their descendants, indentured East Indians and others in a region that today celebrates its diverse multicultural and Creole societies despite centuries of brutality, enslavement, colonialism, imperialism, cultural stripping, and environmental exploitation and degradation (Brizan 1998; Morgan et al. 2022; Watts 1987). It envisions that these new perspectives will reinvigorate discussions and debates on the place

⁹ La Granada replaced earlier Spanish names La Concepción and Mayo (Devas 1975; Martin 2013, 2022).

¹⁰ See <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/nexus1492> for more information on the project.

of Caribbean societies, Indigenous and Creole, in the history of the region, and in the globalizing world since 1492, as the region and the world celebrate this diverse, new and resilient heritage. Grenada is but one example from the New World where it all began.

The goal of this dissertation is to study landscape transformations in Grenada between 1498, the date Columbus reportedly sighted the island and regarded as its genesis into modern history, and the present by examining land use and settlement patterns of its human occupants from the Indigenous Kali'nago¹¹ to its current inhabitants, most of whom self-identify as Grenadians. This study will examine the last five centuries of Grenada's layered history by detailing and analyzing the drivers or major human-environment interactions that have transformed its landscape, particularly following the invasion of Europeans in the 17th century and the establishment of plantation agriculture and slavery, village settlements and subsistence agriculture, and much later tourism. Centuries of interactions between these various groups of people and the Grenadian environment have created a changing landscape that can best be described as a palimpsest where layer upon layer of interactions intertwine, overwrite and blend with each other through time. Yet leaving glimpses or blurred pictures of impacts in various and discernable ways, thus creating a long-term biography or life history of this islandscape (Jean et al. 2021; Kolen et al. 2015). The goal of this study is to understand the relationship between people and the landscape by examining the Grenadian palimpsest and analyzing landscape identity through historical representations and *memory-traces* embedded in its Creole cultural landscape (Convery et al. 2012; Satchell 2009, 2012).

Thus, the primary goal of this study is to answer the question: ***What can the life history (i.e., landscape biography) of a Small Island Developing State (SIDS) like Grenada tell us about how people convey value to the landscape through their various representations and memory-traces, and how sense of place and identities are created in this creolizing islandscape?*** To answer this question, five sub-questions have been identified that will

¹¹ The use of only the male register Kali'nago throughout and not the female register Kali'puna for reason of brevity, will refer to the people often designated Carib/Island Carib, specifically the primary inhabitants of the Windward and southern Leeward Islands during the historic period, but can also refer to the Kali'na (Galibis) who were part of the larger group of Indigenous inhabitants in Grenada at contact and/or colonization. The single designation may not express the cultural/ethnic diversity that existed at either contact and/or colonization, but it broadly defines the Indigenous population in the southern Lesser Antilles. "Kali'nago," rather than Carib which is the more popular designation in Grenada, is used throughout because it is a self-ascribed name for that group and has been gaining widespread acceptance as such, especially among the descendants of the Indigenous people in Dominica. The spelling adopted for both Kali'nago and Kali'na are after Boomert (2016). Hulme and Whitehead (1992), among others, however, do not support the replacement of "Carib" with "Kalinago" as they believe that the latter may not be an accurate representation of the people referred to as "Carib/Caraïbe" in the early chronicles. See also Holdren (1998) and Murphy (2018a).

inform the data analyses and generate the necessary results to discuss representations and landscape identity in Grenada (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011). These sub-questions are:

- 1) How has land use (of the Kali'nago/Kali'na, French, British, enslaved Africans, emancipated peasantry, Grenadians) changed over time based on the types of agriculture, tourism and other economic practices engaged in, and how have these altered (and been altered by) the landscape? (Chapter 5) (see Farag et al. 2005; Satchell 2012).
- 2) What are the primary driving forces that have altered Grenada's cultural landscape, and how have they impacted the present landscape? (Chapters 5 and 6) (see Burgi et al. 2004; Delle 2014; Etter and van Wyngaarden 2008).
- 3) What can land use and settlement changes over time tell us about how people represent themselves in the landscape, and/or are represented in the landscape by their diverse dwelling activities? (Chapter 6).
- 4) How can landscape history help us resolve issues of contested identity, belonging and sense of place? (Chapter 7 and 8).
- 5) How can landscape history critically evaluate issues of environmental degradation, and heritage preservation? (Chapters 6, 7 and 8) (see Marcucci 2000).

Based on the research question and sub-questions, this dissertation will take a multidisciplinary approach because of its far-reaching objectives of exploring land use, landscape biography, and landscape identity in the Grenada islandscape. It brings together extensive local knowledge and experience, and will utilize a diversity of disciplines, including landscape studies, archaeological ethnography, heritage studies, ethno-historical research, economic history, and humanistic geography to examine multiple data sets via Historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS) mapping and spatial analysis to generate outcomes on land use/land cover over multiple historical periods (see Armstrong et al. 2007; Etter and van Wyngaarden 2008; Helmer et al. 2008). This study of land use and landscape change will produce a comprehensive biography of Grenada's historical landscape that will also inform agriculture, heritage, and the environment. These are needed as Grenada enters a new phase in its development while confronted by difficult and increasing environmental or rather societal concerns like climate change and coastal degradation, and how to achieve sustainable economic development for its ever-growing population within this seemingly bounded islandscape.

1.3 An Island Rooted in an Aquapelago¹²

Grenada is part of the Caribbean archipelago but is itself the primary island (or “mainland”) of the archipelagic State of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique, scattered across some 47.3 km (30 mi) between Grenada and St. Vincent and The Grenadines, and including several islets. Grenada is also one of the many small oceanic islands in the Lesser Antilles or Eastern Caribbean, stretching from the Virgin Islands down to Grenada, with the Greater Antilles comprising the larger islands from Puerto Rico in the east to Cuba in the west (Figure 1.1).

Historically, Grenada has been politically part of the French *Iles du Vent* with Guadeloupe, Martinique and initially St. Christopher (presently St. Kitts), the British Ceded Islands with Dominica, St. Vincent and Tobago, and the British Windward Islands with Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago (with some members changing over time); the Leeward Islands comprise the English-speaking islands east of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Murphy (2021) includes it as part of “The Creole Archipelago,” a grouping of islands between Guadeloupe and Grenada that shared diverse social and economic interactions in the 17th and 18th centuries despite belonging to opposing colonial entities at different times.



Figure 1.1 Map of the Caribbean and northern South America, with Grenada inset, 2022 (courtesy Jonathan Hanna)

¹² The term *aquapelago* was coined by Hayward (2012) to replace the more common term archipelago as “a concept that emphasizes the integration of (some) island and coastal societies with marine environments, resources, histories and imaginations” (Hayward 2022 Online).

Though these multiple associations may be of little importance today and rather confusing geographically, they hold significance within the historical French and British colonial Caribbean, particularly in analyses of Grenada's deep history. And these colonial experiences have resulted in shared identities at times, and sometimes groupings of islands readily exhibit a strong sense of connection to each other. Nonetheless, each island, due to its specific historical chronology, maintains its uniqueness and expresses a deep sense of individualism, nationalism and *islandism* that forms the basis of island identities today.¹³

Grenada's diverse chronologies have resulted in very porous borders because it was Indigenous, French, British, and a SIDS in the Caribbean, connecting it across the sub-region, archipelago, two continents, and Europe. Thus, despite this study's exhaustive examination of the Grenada islandscape, it is fully cognizant of its place and connections—political, economic, social and geographical—to multiple islands, groups of islands, the northern part of South America, Europe and North America, all of which have influenced its changing landscape at various times throughout its deep history of social, cultural and political change. This micro-analysis study, however, is meant to add to the larger discussion of *islandness* by detailing nuances and insights gained at the island/colony/country level that illustrate its uniqueness despite similarities with its island neighbors, particularly those of the English-speaking Caribbean that share a similar history of slavery and French and British colonialism. This study can then be applied on a regional scale with more realistic representations of the differences and similarities across the Caribbean region.¹⁴

The tri-island state of Grenada, located in the southern Caribbean, comprises the primary islands of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique, and several islets scattered along its eastern and northern coasts, and in the Grenadines. Historically, Grenada comprised Grenada and all of the islands of the Grenadines (until 1784), many of which are today part of St. Vincent and The Grenadines (Martin 2013, Martin and Hanna 2020). The State of Grenada is divided into seven administrative districts or parishes—St. George, St. John, St. Mark, St. Patrick, St. Andrew, St. David, and Carriacou and Petite Martinique (dependent islands in the Grenadines)—that date to their establishment under the French by the 1720s, and have been important in terms of geography and settlement, and thus agricultural and land-use data

¹³ A case in point is Grenada and its dependencies in the Grenadines. The islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique, despite their historical and political ties to Grenada, exhibit a Grenadine culture and identity, often with closer familial ties to the other Grenadine islands and St. Vincent rather than to mainland Grenada.

¹⁴ See Hauser (2021) and Murphy and Hauser (2020) for similar island studies, and Murphy (2021) for a regional approach to the study of islands in the Eastern Caribbean.

collection.¹⁵ The primary town of St. George's, in the district of St. George with its sheltered deep-water harbor and port, has been at the center of the island's modern economic, political and social development since 1649 and continues today.¹⁶ The rural districts, especially St. Andrew and St. Patrick, dominated Grenada's historical agricultural economy, and continue to play primary roles in local food (ground provisions) and export crop (cocoa and nutmeg) production; they also play a vibrant role in the creation and practice of the island's cultural heritage, particularly in the maintenance of its folk traditions.

The island of Grenada is situated at 11°58"/12°13" North Latitude, and 61°20"/61°35" West Longitude. It is located 214 km (113 mi) north of Venezuela, 166 km (103 mi) north of Trinidad, 145 km (90 mi) north-west of Tobago, and 136 km (85 mi) southwest of St. Vincent and The Grenadines in the Caribbean Sea.¹⁷ It measures 346 km² (133 mi²), with the largest island of Grenada 312 km² (120 mi²) and measuring 35 by 20 km (21 by 12 mi) at its extremes, and Carriacou 34 km² (13 mi²). Grenada has a coastline of 121 km (75 mi), comprising numerous indented bays accented by white and black sandy beaches. Its proximity to northern South America has been important in its biogeography and settlement, both Indigenous (precolonial) and colonial, and its economic and cultural exchanges since; it played a significant role in the migration of peoples from South America into the Caribbean archipelago in precolonial and colonial times (Beard 1949; Giovas et al. 2012; Hanna 2018; Petitjean Roget 1981).

Politically, Grenada is an independent sovereign state that achieved independence from the United Kingdom in 1974, with a parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy. It has an elected prime minister and House of Representatives (lower house), and an appointed Senate (upper house). Like many independent states in the region, it retains the British monarch, currently King Charles III, as its head of state, represented in Grenada by a governor general appointed on the advice of the prime minister. This colonial anachronism is contested, and its relevance constantly debated by Grenadians, especially in light of Barbados

¹⁵ The original French names for the parishes were Basse-Terre, Goyave, Grand Pauvre, Sauteurs, Grand Marquis, and Megrin/Maigrin, respectively. Carriacou and Petite Martinique are dependencies as part of the Grenada Grenadines. The town of St. George's was called La Ville du Fort Royal (see Martin 2013).

¹⁶ St. George's (in use from c1772) is derived from "St. George's Town" (c1768), itself derived from the earlier "town of St. George (parish)" (c1764). By the early 1900s the main town was exclusively referred to as St. George's. The parishes are always non-possessive unless followed by the word parish.

¹⁷ Though Grenada has a long history with the island of Tobago, particularly when it was included under its government in the 18th and 19th centuries, Tobago is rarely mentioned as Grenada's relationship with its larger twin-republic Trinidad is overwhelming. However, more research needs to be done to understand the connections between these two quite similar islands, especially because of the migration of Grenadians (from both Grenada and Carriacou) to that island since at least the 18th century.

becoming a republic in November 2021 and the recent discussions surrounding colonial reckoning for the slave trade, slavery and colonialism and the role of the British monarchy (see Alexis 1997; Yang 2022). As with most former British colonies, it is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations (Alexis 1991). It is an integral part of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), an integration of countries seeking to establish a single regional market and economy. It is also a member of the sub-regional Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) that brings together former British Colonies in the Lesser Antilles for economic, social and cultural integration, with all sharing the same currency and monetary authority (via the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank), judiciary (via the Eastern Caribbean Supreme Court), and educational systems (via the Caribbean Examinations Council), as well as common approaches to trade, health, environment, and other issues that jointly affect them all (see www.oecs.org).

Grenada has a population of roughly 112,579 people (2021 estimate), the majority on the main island of Grenada, with approximately 8,600 on Carriacou, and 900 on Petite Martinique.¹⁸ Grenada has a population density of 319 per km², and an urban population of 34.5 percent. An overwhelming majority of the population claim full or partial African ancestry, a direct result of European colonization and the forced (and brutal) transportation of captive Africans to labor on plantations between the 17th to 19th centuries. There are a small number of Indo-Grenadians (whose ancestors were brought to Grenada as indentured laborers in the 19th century from British India), and Europeans and North Americans, including some who have been on the island for many generations as part of the settlement landscape (Steele 2003).

The French colony of Grenada began as an agricultural slave colony, and agriculture, specifically export-oriented cash crops, has been the economic mainstay of the islands until recently when it was superseded by the foreign-dependent tourism industry and related services. Both agriculture and tourism, creating monocultural dependent economic landscapes, have had the most profound and enduring impacts on the Grenadian landscape and its people over the last five centuries (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013, 2022; Steele 2003).

¹⁸ Grenada's last official census in 2012 recorded a total population of 109,080. The next planned census was to have taken place in 2021, but was delayed due to the Covid-19 pandemic and other issues. It is expected to be completed in 2023.

1.4 Once Upon a Time on an Island: The “Natural” Environment¹⁹

Grenada was formed, like the rest of the Antillean Arc, as a result of volcanic lava flows from the melting caused by the violent interactions of the various tectonic plates in the region over geologic time scale (CCA 1991). Like most of the Caribbean islands, Grenada is an oceanic island of volcanic origin and may be as old as 50 million years (or less), the remnants of a larger island, the Grenada Bank (CCA 1991; Groome 1970). The oldest known volcanic rocks on the island can be found as andesite domes in the northwest at Mt. Alexander and Mt. Rodney, St. Patrick (dating to 21 million years), and Levera Beach and Sugar Loaf Island in the northeast (dating to the end of the Miocene Period) (OAS 1988). More recent volcanic activities, 5-2.5 million years ago, formed the andesitic dome summits of Fédon’s Camp and Mt. Qua Qua, and still later (2.5 million to 11,000 years ago) formed Mt. St. Catherine, the island’s youngest volcanic formation, and explosion craters across the island like at Lake Antoine and Grand Étang Lake (CCA 1991). Much of this regional tectonic activity has abated, except for earthquakes like in Haiti (2010), the recent eruptions of the Soufrière Volcano in St. Vincent (1979, 2020-21), the Soufrière Hills Volcano in Montserrat (1995-2010), and the closer-to-home Kick-’em-Jenny submarine volcano that broke the surface in 1939 and has shown lesser activities since (CCA 1991; Robertson et al. 2015).

Grenada’s volcanic history is readily evidenced in its rocks, soils, black sandy beaches, mountainous topography, and as many as eight explosion craters, the most prominent of which are Grand Étang Lake, Lake Antoine, and the Lagoon and Carenage, the latter a rare double caldera (Allen et al. 2017). Grenada rises to its highest point at 840 m (2,760 ft) at Mt. St. Catherine in St. Mark, one of several peaks (between 680-840 m) that are dispersed along a central north-south massif that dominates the island (Figure 1.2) (Ternan et al. 1989). These hills are dissected by numerous small rivers and large streams that carry rainwater from the mountains across the island. The topography of Grenada is very rugged, with 77 percent of the island having a slope greater than twenty degrees, and only six percent a slope under five degrees (CCA 1991). The western coast rises precipitously from the sea,

¹⁹ “Natural” is used in quotes to qualify the term “natural environment” as these places described as natural, “pristine” or “first nature” have been impacted by humans for millennia. Though these landscapes were less transformed during Indigenous habitation they were/are in no way “pristine” and “original” as are often erroneously implied. They can best be described as “second nature,” illustrating their deeply altered and changing states (see Hauser 2021; Kimber 1988). Robin (2014) goes even further, suggesting that “The island-minded idea of nature, separated from culture, has also changed. Some say we are at the ‘end of nature’: there is now a human signature on all the global flows: the biophysical system is also cultural, as the new epoch of the Anthropocene is imagined.” See also Fernand 2022.

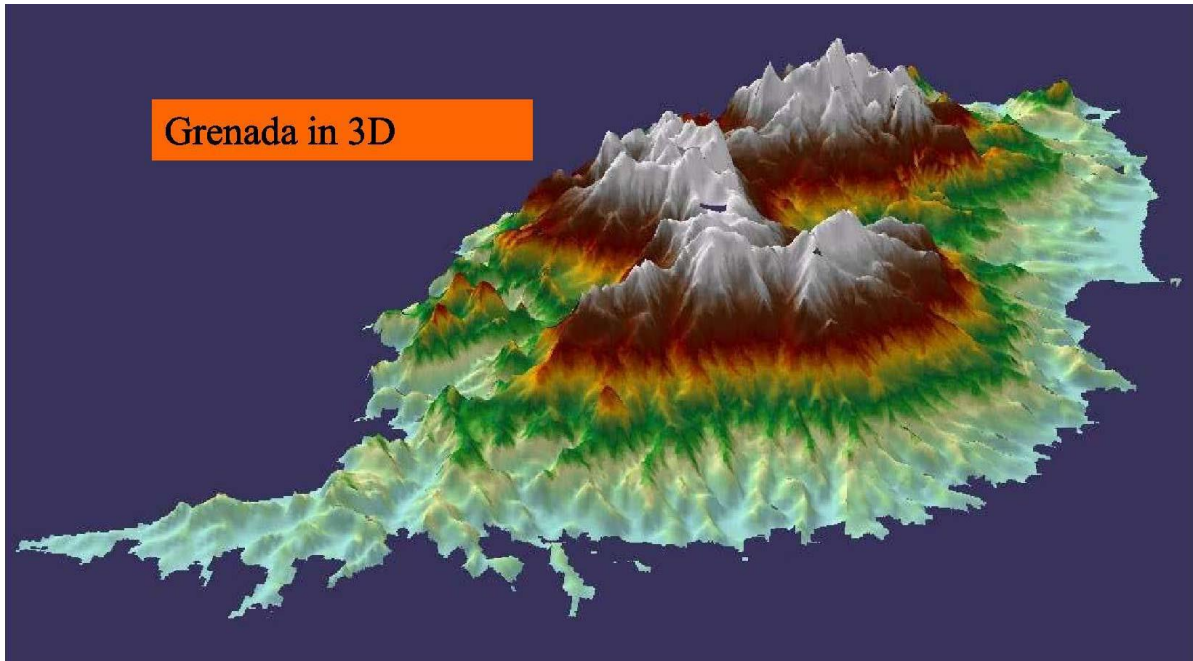


Figure 1.2 3-D Map of Grenada, showing its mountainous relief, c2019 (courtesy Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Grenada)

dominated by steep slopes. The eastern region of the island rises much less steeply, with coastal plains extending to the sea. A set of low hills dominates the northeastern and southwestern areas of the island.

Grenada's climate is defined as "humid tropical marine type," with minimal seasonal or daily variations, and constant easterly trade winds (CCA 1991). The cyclical patterns of the movements of the subtropical cyclone belt and the Intertropical Convergence Zone create a wet or rainy season from June to December, and dry season from January to May (CCA 1991). The extent of these varies across the island, with the northeast and southwest having a dry season of approximately six months and the mountainous interior of only a month. The island's topography affects the amount of annual rainfall received, with between 3,500 mm (138 in) and 1,500 mm (59 in), the highest in the interior and along its windward slopes, and the lowest in the southern lowlands. Despite the risk of tropical storms and hurricanes during the rainy season, Grenada is situated just south of the customary paths (as most tropical storms travel west and north), but has nonetheless been visited on several occasions by severe storms and hurricanes, which caused destruction and extensive damage to forests, agriculture, infrastructure, and people (McIntosh 1956; OECS 2004).²⁰ The temperature shows little variation and ranges between 29 and 30°C (85-95°F), but in the mountainous interior the

²⁰ Grenada experienced severe storms in 1731, 1768, 1817, 1831, 1832, 1877, 1921, 1963 and 1979; and hurricanes: "Great Hurricane" (1780), Hurricanes Janet (1955), Lenny (1999), Ivan (2004), and Emily (2005).

nightly temperatures can get as low as 18°C (65°F); on average one degree Celsius drop per 100 meter ascent (CCA 1991). The humid tropical climate is somewhat abated by the constant trade winds that originate in the east.

Though a small tropical island, Grenada has a diversity of plant communities, beginning at the seashore with the beach community of salt-tolerant grasses, shrubs and cacti, then moving inland through mangroves exemplified by Levera Pond, St. Patrick, then through the dry scrub of Mount Hartman, or seasonal deciduous forest of Morne Gazo in the southwest, climbing to the lower montane moist forest south of Mt. Qua Qua, and finally cloud forest at Grand Étang and Mt. St. Catherine (Beard 1949; CCA 1991; Henderson and Powell 2018; Hawthorne et al. 2004; OAS 1988) (Figure 1.3). Both its original flora and fauna are heavily influenced by its proximity to South America. Beard (1949), based on his surveys, concludes that montane rain forest or evergreen seasonal forest covered substantial areas of the island, which Weaver (1989) estimated to have been just under 50 percent. The dominant tree species, as the remaining forest exemplifies, are gommier (*Dacryodes excelsa*) and *bwa-gris* (*Licania ternatensis*). Within this ecological zone were found the island's largest animals, the mouse opossum (*Marmosa robinsoni*), large opossum (*Didelphis marsupialis insularis*), nine-banded armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus hoplites*), and the agouti (*Dasyprocta liporina*) that were introduced by Indigenous peoples from South America or Trinidad and Tobago (Groome 1970; Henderson and Powell 2018).²¹ At the mountains' summit, stunted montane woodland or Elfin forest is dominated by *Micropolis chrysophylloides*, *goyavier* (*Myrtaceae* sp.), *Licania ternatensis* and *Euterpe globosa*, accounting for just over one percent of the land area. Palm break or hurricane forest comprises just over three percent of the land area and covers the steep slopes that experience continuous landslides due to storms. It is dominated by moss-epiphyte-climber-covered tree ferns (*Cyathea* sp.), balisier (*Heliconia bihai*) and *Euterpe globosa*.

A deciduous seasonal forest borders the coast, especially on the west, north and east. This littoral woodland was dominated by *Conocarpus erectus*, *Jacquinia barbasco*, white cedar (*Tabebuia pallida*), sea grape (*Coccolobis uvifera*), mapou (*Pisonia fragrans*), and manchineel (*Hippomane mancinella*) (Beard 1949; CCA 1991). Fauna like the iguana (*Iguana iguana*) and several smaller lizards (*Anolis* and *Ameiva* spp.), tortoise (*Geochelone*

²¹ The agouti, not seen in decades, is believed to have been hunted to extinction, despite its reintroduction in the 1970s. The armadillo (or *tatou*), hunted and eaten, is currently listed as "threatened" as a result. The opossum (or *manicou*) is also consumed. See CCA (1991).

carbonaria), several birds, and most of Grenada's snake species inhabit(ed) this ecosystem which comprised just over 22 percent of the total land area (Henderson and Powell 2018).²² The southeastern and the northeastern tip are covered by cactus scrub. Mangrove swamps, dominated by red (*Rhizophora mangle*), black (*Avicennia germinans*), white (*Laguncularia racemosa*) and button (*Conocarpus erectus*) mangrove trees, covered the indented bays in the

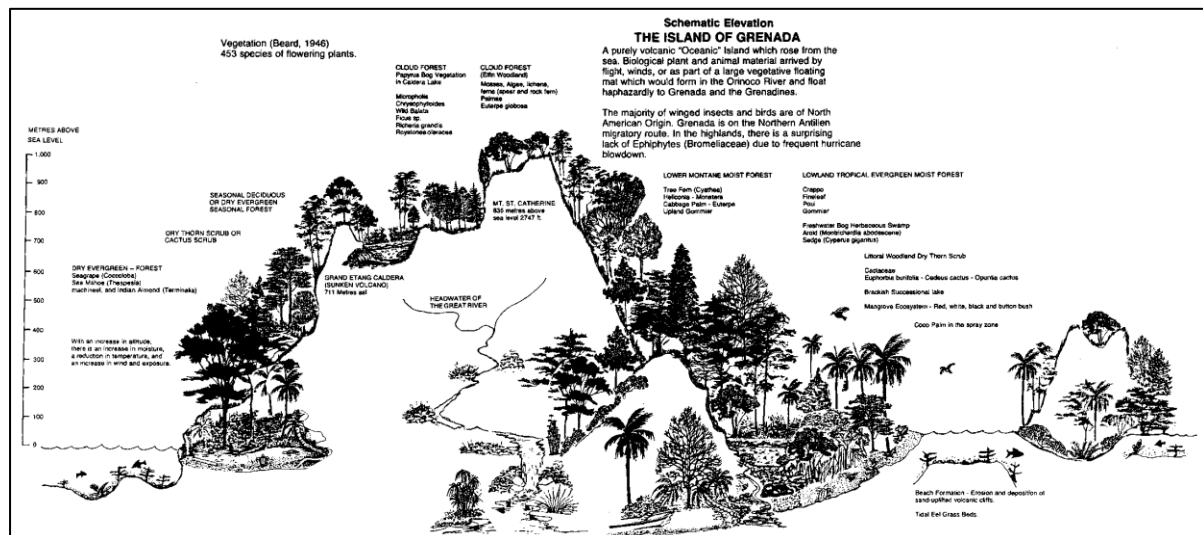


Figure 1.3 Schematic elevation of Grenada, showing its biological plant and animal distribution (based on Beard 1946)(courtesy OAS 1988)

southeast, east and the northern tip. The land crab (*Cardisoma guanhumii*) and mangrove crab (*Aratus pisonii*) are the major fauna along with numerous birds, especially migrating waterfowls. The beaches of the northeast and southeast are breeding grounds for at least three species of sea turtles—green (*Chelonia mydas*), leatherback (*Dermochelys coriacea*) and hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*). Rivers and streams team with several freshwater species like the mountain mullet (*Agonostomus monticola*), manicou crab (*Guinotia dentata*), the goby (*Sicydium plumieri*) or titiri (<Cariban “small fish”), and several crayfish or freshwater shrimp like the caca-dos (*Atya* spp), several *Macrobrachium* spp; the “big ling” or gwarge, “white crayfish” or genne, and the lamay-longue.

Much of this vegetation and fauna have been altered by clear cutting for agricultural uses since the beginning of human occupation, but more intensely since European colonization as agriculture has been the mainstay of Grenada's modern economy and subsistence. Beard (1949:30,63) adds that “the Grenada rain forest has been extensively disturbed” by human interference, and “Practically all but the mountain summits was cleared in St. Kitts..., and

²² The tortoise or *morocoy* is extinct as a wild species in Grenada, but wild populations continue to thrive in the Grenada Grenadines, especially on Frigate Island (CCA 1991).

much the same took place in Grenada, where only negligible areas of Crown Lands remained.” Changing settlement patterns have also affected the landscape as the island’s growing population urbanize and demands more from the limited available resources (CCA 1991; OAS 1988). “Natural” hazards like storms and hurricanes have also played a part in altering the vegetation as have development, especially for the expanding tourism industry along the coasts where resorts and recreational infrastructure are constructed, particularly in the last four decades (Buckmire et al. 2022; OAS 1988; Vincent 1995). Sometimes, this construction, often presented as sustainable development and ecofriendly, indiscriminately destroys unique habitats like the mangrove estuary, salt pond and dry thorn scrub cactus woodland at La Sagesse, St. David by the Six Senses Hotels Resorts Spas project (Buckmire et al. 2022; Campbell 2020; CCA 1991).

Grenada’s soils have been formed by several factors, primarily climate and topography, with rainfall being the most important among the climatic factors. First surveyed and mapped by Vernon et al. (1959), they have been classified primarily based on observed soil characteristics like color, appearance and texture (CCA 1991). Grenada’s soils are dominated by clay loams (85%)—Woburn, Capital and Belmont types making up 77.8 percent—with a small percentage of clays (11.6%) and sandy loams (2.9%) (Ternan et al. 1989). Belmont clay loams dominate in the northern center of the island, and Capital clay loam in the southern center, with Woburn clay loam scattered closer to the coasts, and especially in the south and southwest. The Belmont clay loam is considered well drained and naturally fertile, while the Capital clay loam, often found on steep slopes, is acidic and known as “red mud” in Grenada because of its high iron oxide content. In general, coastal soils in Grenada, like Perseverance clay (the commonest of the clays), “tend to be stony, shallow and infertile,” except for alluvials which are fertile soils deposited by rivers and streams (CCA 1991). Land capability classification assesses the suitability of land to sustainably support various crops, with Grenada’s topography and soils heavily influencing tree crops, especially in the mountainous and hilly regions across the island.

The island’s geology and geography, despite its small size, contribute to a diversity of climate, soils and vegetation, and its geographical features have not only shaped weather patterns and environments (including its waterscapes), but also determined the human response to them in the form of settlement patterns, its diverse agricultural systems, and the tourism industry that dominates Grenada’s economy today.

1.5 Scope and Structure of the Thesis

By investigating the recent history of Grenada (since European invasion of the region), this study will take a *longue durée* approach as it analyzes its last five hundred plus years (Braudel 1949; Guildi and Armitage 2014). Its goal is to understand the processes and causes of change (not just the changes themselves or the consequences), which are sometimes incremental or so gradual that they may not be detectable if studied as events or over shorter periods. These imperceptible alterations may include nuances of demographic change, settlement patterns, agricultural practices and land ownership that can have important consequences on the landscape when examined over a long period (as by this study), as opposed to shorter periods. The analyses of quantitative data of land use and demographics (at various points) over the last five centuries will allow the unearthing of trends, possible causes, and provide more nuanced interpretations of the historical and other data.

Though there are at least two general histories of Grenada and many studies on various aspects of its changing landscape (see Chapter 2), there remains a void in several important areas that this study fills. Of note is a comprehensive analysis of the settlement pattern and status of the Indigenous population in Grenada at the time of European invasion of the region and island, particularly from original sources (see Martin 2013). This interdisciplinary study will be the first to examine landscape change via land use, especially over the course of Grenada's modern history, with the spatial results (via HGIS) contributing to the discourse on landscape representation, landscape identity, and the envisioning of a sense of place in an island landscape. But overall, this thesis endeavors to alter the narrative of how we study the life (hi)story of Caribbean peoples, especially dispossessed peoples, by using the landscape that still retains and exhibits their unique histories, memories and identities.

This dissertation has nine chapters. Chapter 2 provides more background information, including a historiography, but also a detailed historical/political account of the island between 1498 and the present. It is divided into seven historic periods or turning points that establish the basis for the analysis of land-use and land-cover data throughout the thesis (Etter and van Wyngaarden 2008). It provides the context within which this study will address land use and landscape change, and ultimately representation and landscape identity.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical basis for this dissertation and the various challenges to understanding islandscapes, representation, creolization, identity, and contestation in the Caribbean context, with its history of invasion, genocide, violence, clash of cultures, slavery,

colonialism, and dependency in a globalizing world (since 1492). It will explore the development of landscape studies and how best to approach the history of representation and identity, and thus create a biography of a small, contained, yet complex and changing island landscape.

Chapter 4 will present the methods used in this multidisciplinary analysis to reconstruct Grenada's landscape using Historical GIS (HGIS) and spatial land-use maps within defined historic periods. It will define historical periods and driving forces and how these contribute to the analyses of the historical data.

Chapter 5 presents the outcome of the HGIS and land-cover maps per historical periods defined, and examine some of the specific driving forces affecting land-use change in each case, accounting for impacts on the landscape, and answering why and how these changes have taken place.

Chapter 6 discusses the first part of the main research question and some of the sub-questions identified above. It will discuss how different authors of the landscape were represented and/or represented themselves in the landscape through various means—toponyms, material objects, historical images, traditional knowledge, historic places and events, and contemporary imagery of representation.

Chapter 7 explores the process of creolization and its continuous (re)creation of the Grenada island landscape, attempting to define the creolized landscape and how it is constantly (re)created and (re)imagined. It will also examine the contestation of the Creole landscape and how it might affect identity formation.

Chapter 8 explores the concept of identity via a landscape approach and how Grenadians have created, are creating, recreating, contesting and/or seeking to create identities and sense of place or belonging in their changing island landscape. By using the metaphors of the “buried navel-string” and entangled rhizomic roots, it discusses landscape identity and the connectedness of disparate peoples across the Grenada storyscape.

Chapter 9 concludes with a short Epilogue that captures my journey of identity across place and time in the Grenada island landscape.

2

Current State of Research and Historical Context

*“Grenada is a nation that is losing its history....
Many of the relevant documents about Grenada lie outside the island.”*

Frederic Pryor, *Revolutionary Grenada: A Study in Political Economy* (1986:12)

Grenada, like most of the islands of the Caribbean, has received a fair amount of research on an array of topics, especially since the latter half of the 20th century. Its changing landscape, which has witnessed as many as 1,600 years (possibly more) of habitation by various peoples, is being slowly revealed through systemic studies of its geology, geography, archaeology, history, culture, and society. This illustrates its primary place as a microcosm of island societies in the region and representative of SIDS in the Lesser Antilles, but its location at the southern entrance to the Caribbean archipelago and its dual colonial experiences have produced unique biogeographical, social and political dynamics (Martin 2022; Murphy 2021; Schoenhals 1990; Sookram 2007). Much of that research, however, has been designed and executed by foreign-based scholars, with the island and its people often viewed as objects of study (Ratter 2018). Grenada lacks the political will and/or resources to pursue research of immediate and/or long-term interests in its own social and economic development, or demand equal status with foreign-based scholars primarily pursuing their academic interests (Murphy 2014). Nonetheless, a growing number of Grenadian and Caribbean scholars have been undertaking research and publishing on various aspects of Grenada, adding unique experiences and insights to the varied perspectives already published on Grenada’s diverse cultural landscape.

Much, however, remains to be done, and urgently, as the present landscape is being transformed at an alarming rate, from what Glissant (1989) calls “the Different” being replaced by “the Same” (see also Ferdinand 2016). Within the last few decades, Grenada has witnessed the increasing construction of touristic facilities along its fragile coastline (that affects fisheries, already degraded coral reefs, mangroves and other habitats, endangered

fauna, archaeological sites, beaches, and scenic viewsapes), looting of Indigenous artifacts and destruction of archaeological sites (for agriculture and construction), discarding of historic buildings that are eventually demolished (especially after damage from Hurricane Ivan, fires, and disrepair), neglect of sites where human remains from Indigenous burial sites and modern cemeteries have been washing into the sea, and the shuttering of its National Museum, Public Library and National Archives (thus the absence of research and preservation facilities for the islands' heritage)¹ (Buckmire et al. 2022; Campbell 2020; Fitzpatrick et al. 2014; Hanna 2017, 2021, 2023; Hofman and Hoogland 2016; Mueller and Meindl 2017; Wong 2020).

This cultural palimpsest, littered with conspicuous monuments, *memory-traces*, and vestiges from the past, can reveal the often hidden and neglected stories of the diverse peoples who have lived here, their material cultures, their everyday struggles and joys, their connected stories, what was important to them, the dreams for their children and the future, and how they viewed the world from their tiny island perch. The exploration of that landscape through systematic research and study is the key to the growing understanding of who we were, who we are, how we value the Grenada islandscape as our home, and how we continue to identify with this ever-changing space because “Knowing who we are is how we become who we want to be” (Woodsome 2023). That is the primary goal of this research.

2.1 Current State of Historical (and Archaeological) Research

The State of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique has a growing historiography covering various aspects of its history, environment, politics and culture, but huge gaps remain for specific periods and topics. By far, the coverage of the Grenada Revolution (between 1979-83) and US invasion (in 1983) vastly outweigh all others because of their political significance, implications during the Cold War era, and the Soviet Union, US and Cuban involvement.² Though limited relative to other Caribbean countries, some of the more important contributions to Grenada's growing historiography include works by Raymund

¹ The Grenada National Museum has been shuttered since 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic and remains closed. The Public Library and National Archives remain closed since 2011.

² For detailed accounts of the Grenada Revolution and US invasion see Jacobs and Jacobs (1979), Adkin (1989), Payne et al. (1984), Thorndike (1985), Pryor (1986), Lewis (1987), Williams (2007), Layne (2014), and Puri (2014).

Devas, M.G. Smith, A.W. Singham, George Brizan, Edward L. Cox, Patrick Emmanuel, Beverley Steele, Nicole Phillip-Dowe and John Angus Martin. Of particular significance are the two general histories of Grenada that cover the island from precolonial times to the present—George Brizan’s *Grenada, Island of Conflict* (1998), and Beverley Steele’s *Grenada, A History of Its People* (2003). As general histories “both books give an insightful account of Grenada’s history...,” and “more importantly these books are fundamental in shaping the direction of historical research and writing on Grenada” (Sookram 2007:162). However, both lack depth (and precision) in certain areas and periods, particularly the precolonial period, European invasion and subjugation of the Indigenous population, establishment of the slave-plantation complex under the French, slavery exploiting captive Africans and its continuing impact on Grenadian society, and the history of the settlement of the Grenadines (particularly Carriacou and Petite Martinique that remain part of the State of Grenada). Both books could benefit from an update as they cover the period up to the US invasion in 1983.³ Several of these topics have been covered by the author’s *Island Caribs and French Settlers in Grenada, 1498-1763*, and now, this dissertation.

As Sookram (2007:156) notes, despite the contributions of these two volumes and others, there remains a “significant void in Grenada’s historiography,” similar to that of most SIDS in the Eastern Caribbean. There are a number of reasons for this scholarly absence, the most significant being the relative contemporary (economic) unimportance of these small islands as compared to centuries ago,⁴ the dearth of in-depth research, the unavailability of local historical archives that are either absent altogether, or only accessible in European and US repositories (at great costs to Caribbean researchers), and sometimes the barrier of language as is the case of Grenada having being colonized by both France and Britain.⁵ The current state of archival records (remaining) in Grenada can best be described as one of decay and disarray, and on the verge of total loss if immediate actions are not taken to collect and preserve the small collections that just barely survive.⁶ Frederic Pryor (1986:12), while

³ With both George Brizan (1942-2012) and Beverley Steele (1942-2022) having died, updates are not expected. We await a new and comprehensive history of Grenada.

⁴ The plethora of travel books on Grenada and the other Caribbean islands is symbolic of the current value placed on them as touristic/pleasure destinations and the economic importance of the industry to these islands.

⁵ The access to Grenadian (and Caribbean) historical resources in US and European repositories is an excellent case for reparations as these are essential to the understanding of the regions’ history, culture, and thus identity.

⁶ A small batch of records once held at the former governor general’s residence have been digitized by the British Library’s Endangered Archives Programme between 2009-2011, and are available online at <https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP295> [Accessed 15 February 2022]. Some historical records held by research institutions like the Archives Nationales d’Outre Mer (ANOM), France have been digitized, as well as Register of Records (1764-1931) and the Civil List (1866-1939) that can be accessed at Latter Day Saints facilities and

researching the Grenada Revolution and finding it difficult to uncover local archives, stated rather prophetically, “Grenada is a nation that is losing its history.... Many of the relevant documents about Grenada lie outside the island....” And as a colleague reluctantly acknowledges, “It is a sad state of affairs when a country as developed as Grenada has to outsource the management of its cultural heritage to another state” (Hanna 2013).⁷

Over the years, nonetheless, that historiography void has been slowly shrinking due to a number of noteworthy studies covering specific periods and topics, including Devas (1932, 1974), Smith (1962, 1963, 1964, 1965), Bullen (1964), Singham (1968), Groome (1970), Brierley (1974), Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]), Hill (1977), Emmanuel (1978), Cox (1984), Clyde (1985), CCA (1991), McDaniel (1998), Hawthorne et al. (2004), Sookram (2009), Phillip (2010), Martin (2013), and Wilder (ed.) (2016). These are complimented by numerous scholarly theses and dissertations, and publications, primarily academic articles that have covered many and varied aspects of the islands’ history and culture, including the island of Carriacou and its resilient African cultural memories, and the political economy of Grenada. Detailed studies on Grenada’s history, particularly the so-called contact period, especially the relationship between the Indigenous population and captive/enslaved Africans, the archaeology of colonial agriculture and slavery, the post-Emancipation era and the development of Grenada’s peasantry, and its changing landscape remain areas in need of more detailed research and publication. The bibliography at the end of this volume provides an extensive listing of many of the studies contributing to Grenada’s growing historiography and referenced throughout this dissertation.

The advent of archaeological studies across the region, though still restricted to the precolonial period, have added a new and fascinating dimension to the study of Caribbean deep history (Hofman et al. 2011; Keegan et al. 2013, Keegan and Hofman 2017; Reid and Gilmore 2014; Wilson 2007). It has the potential to compliment historical sources and enhance our understanding of the diverse chronologies of Caribbean peoples. It has already

associated libraries at <https://familysearch.org/search/catalog> [Accessed 15 February 2022]. There is a current World Bank-funded project (2019-24) to digitize government documents to “enhance the efficiency, usage and resilience of selected government digital services” that potentially can preserve many historical documents, but the extent or subsequent access are to be determined (see The World Bank, Digital Government for Resilience (P167588), 2019).

⁷ The “Grenada Revolution Archives” that the US Military seized in Grenada following its invasion in 1983 was housed at the US National Archives for many years where it was microfiched and preserved before the originals were returned to Grenada in the early 2000s (definitely by 2010) after much protest to see them repatriated. Unfortunately, the entire collection was inappropriately stored in Grenada where it became soaked with rainwater and attacked by termites. The documents deteriorated after over a decade of neglect. A large part of the collection was recovered/salvaged and digitized by the World Bank-funded project c2022-23.

transformed the study of precolonial societies, their lifeways and deathways, enabling more discussions on the origins of various Indigenous groups, migration and interaction patterns, archaeological chronologies, settlement patterns, and technological advancements (Boomert 1986, 2000; Bright 2011; Bullen 1964, 1965; Fitzpatrick 2014; Hofman and Antczak 2019; Hofman et al. 2007, 2011, 2015, 2020a/b; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Rouse 1964, 1992). Additionally, the excavation of the landscape has pushed back the occupation of the island over a thousand years, thus negating or at least minimizing the dominant, prevailing view that Grenada's history began with the arrival of Europeans—slavery and colonialism—after 1492, and proved important in creating islands' and regional nationalism (Honychurch 2000; Lowenthal 1972).

In the case of Grenada, archaeological studies have provided a wealth of knowledge on Indigenous peoples that have inhabited the island, but much work remains to be done, particularly on the so-called contact period like that by Hofman et al. (2016, 2017, 2022), Holdren (1998) and Hanna (2017). Historical or colonial archaeology, which has the potential to provide unique insights into the lives of the enslaved, slavery and plantation society, has until now almost been non-existent on Grenada. Recent excavations at La Poterie, St. Andrew have revealed (postholes) evidence of possible “slave huts” and remains of “Afro-Caribbean pottery” that only begin to tell this otherwise untold story (Hofman and Hoogland 2018; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2022).

The early 20th century witnessed the advent of detailed archaeological investigations in Grenada, and more intensely since the 1960s. To date, tens of Indigenous sites have been identified across Grenada and Carriacou, dating from the Early Ceramic Age (Saladoid series) to the early colonial period (Cayo complex) (Bullen 1964; Cody 1991; Hanna 2017, 2018; Hofman et al. 2020; Holdren 1998) (Figure 2.1). In the early 1900s collections-based studies were carried out by William H. Holmes (1907) and Jesse W. Fewkes (1922), and surveyed by Thomas Huckerby (1921). Four decades later, Ripley P. Bullen (1964, 1965) of the Florida State Museum (now Florida Museum of Natural History) did the most comprehensive archaeological study to date in Grenada by surveying and testing sites across the island, especially in the Point Salines, St. George and Pearls, St. Andrew areas. After examining thousands of recovered pottery sherds he developed a typology, and defined new ceramic types (called after places in Grenada): Pearls and Simon, St. Andrew, Caliviny (Calivigny), St. George, and Suazey (after Savanne Suazey), St. Patrick (Bullen 1964).

Professional archaeological studies remained practically inactive until Henry Petitjean Roget (1981) conducted salvage archaeology and surveys at the construction site of the international airport being built at Point Salines in 1980, and at several other sites across Grenada. Ann Cody Holdren and Thomas J. Banks (1988, 1993) of the Foundation for Field Research, a for-

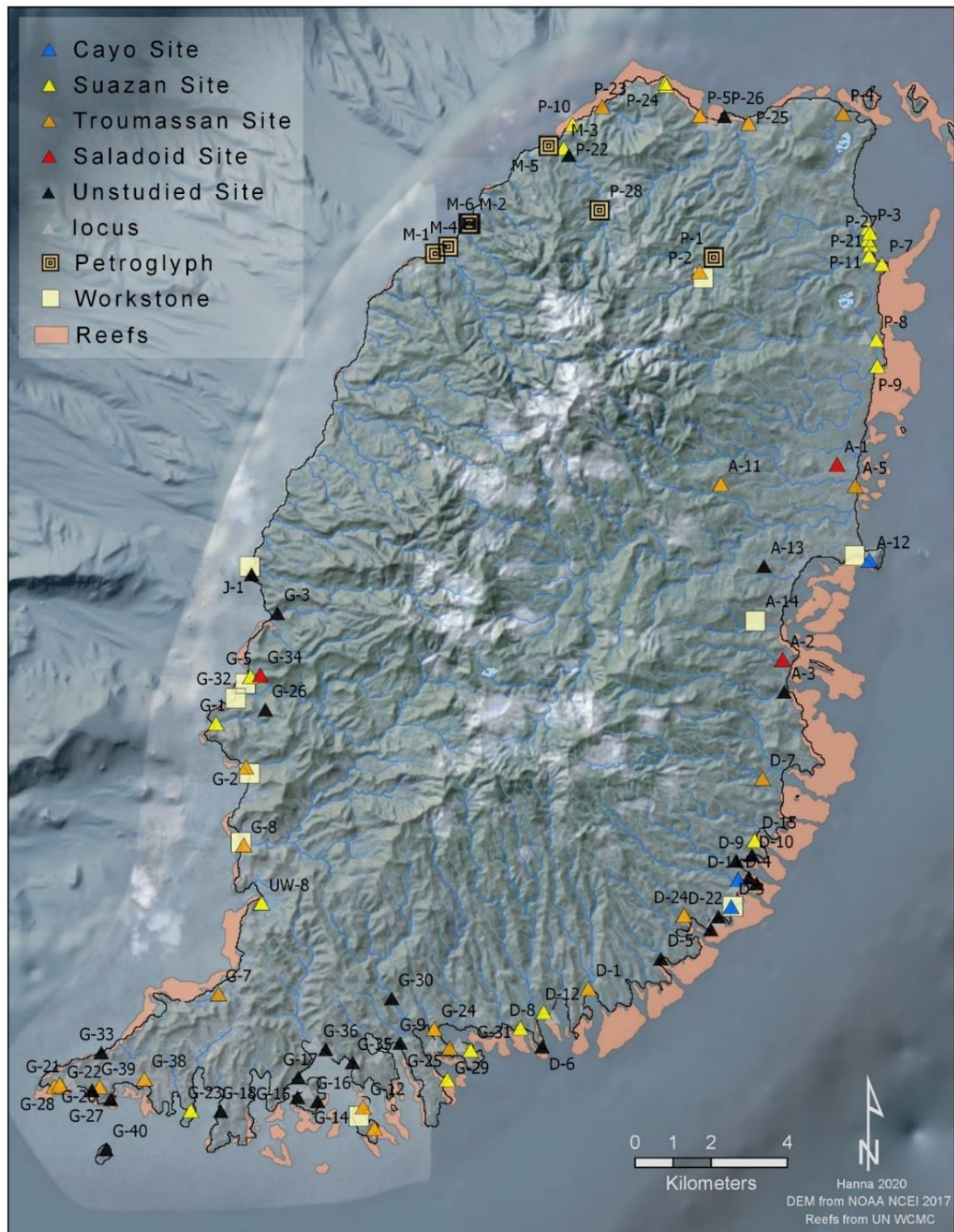


Figure 2.1 Map of Grenada showing Indigenous heritage sites, 2020 (courtesy Hanna 2020) (see also Hanna 2017)

profit science-travel outfit, carried out several surveys between 1986 and 1988. William F. Keegan (1991) of the University of Florida and Ann Cody Holdren excavated at Pearls, St. Andrew between 1988 and 1991, being the most extensive examination of this important yet damaged and (heavily looted) endangered archaeological site to date (Hanna 2021). In the early 1990s, Ann Cody Holdren (1998) surveyed and excavated possible contact-era sites for her PhD dissertation. Between 2016 and 2018, Jonathan Hanna, as part of his PhD studies, surveyed and inventoried precolonial sites, producing the most extensive study of Indigenous sites in Grenada (Hanna 2017, 2018, 2019). Also, in the same period, a team from Leiden University, under Corinne L. Hofman and Menno Hoogland (2016, 2017) excavated at La Poterie, St. Andrew, which turned out to be one of the few Kali'nago contact sites excavated in the Lesser Antilles to date; the other being Argyle, St. Vincent (Hofman and Hoogland 2012, 2016, 2018, 2019; Hofman et al. 2020; Keegan and Hofman 2017). Several archaeologists have also worked on particular materials (assumed) from the Pearls site (Boomert 2007; Breukel 2019; Byrne and Keegan 2001; Guzzo Falci et al. 2020; Harris 2001). A number of studies of Grenada's petroglyphs have been undertaken by Thomas Huckerby (1921), C.N. Dubelaar (1995), and Casey Allen and Kaelin Groom (2013; 2013b). Additionally, John H. McAndrews (1996), McAndrews and Ramcharan (2003), Melanie Y. Sharman (1994), Emily J. Benz (2010), Peter Siegel et al. (2015), and Jones et al. (2018) have used paleoenvironmental analyses to examine the possible earliest evidence of human occupation on Grenada.

The island of Carriacou in the Grenadines did not receive serious archaeological attention until Ripley P. Bullen (1972) and Lesley Suttly (1978, 1983, 1991) carried out archaeological research there. Between 2003 and 2014 the Carriacou Archaeological Project under Scott M. Fitzpatrick, Michiel Kappers and Quetta Kaye carried out extensive excavations at Grand Bay and Sabazan, two continuously occupied Indigenous sites during the Saladoid and post-Saladoid periods (Casto 2015; Fitzpatrick et al. 2009, 2014; Giovas and Fitzpatrick 2014; Kaye et al. 2005).

All of the above studies have concentrated on the pre-European invasion or precontact period, though in the context of the NEXUS1492 project, Hauser (in Hofman et al. 2016) surveyed several plantation sites in the northeast of Grenada. There remains to be done in-depth historical archaeological studies in Grenada as have been the case across the Caribbean to reveal its specific material cultural history throughout the contact and colonial periods

(Finneran 2017 for Bequia; Handler 1996 and Reilly 2019 for Barbados; Hauser 2015 and 2020, Honychurch 2000, and Lenik 2014 for Dominica; Kelly 2009 and Lenik 2012 for the French Caribbean; Meniketti 2015 for Nevis; and Armstrong 1990, Delle et al. 2011, and Hauser 2008 for Jamaica). This paucity of historical archaeological studies for Grenada means there is an absence of detailed analyses of its material culture and historical landscape, thus leaving its crucial place in Lesser Antillean historical archaeology almost non-existent, especially its contact and colonial periods (Hofman et al. 2016). But most importantly, this lack of material evidence of slavery and the peasantry means that Grenadians are unable to access information that could prove important in the formation of their identities (and thus cultural confidence) and gaining a better understanding of the lives of their enslaved and other ancestors.

2.2 Introduction to Grenada's Settlement History Since 1498

On the eve of European invasion of the Americas, the many islands of the Caribbean archipelago were colonized and inhabited by diverse Indigenous peoples, some of whom had occupied the islands for centuries (Fernandes et al. 2021; Hofman et al. 2022; Keegan and Hofman 2017; Nägele et al. 2020; Wilson 2007). They were part of an ancient and dynamic migration and trading continuum that had peopled these islands for over two millennia and witnessed the movement of resources among three continents (Hofman 2019; Hofman et al. 2010, 2011) (Figure 2.2). As part of this intricate web of migration, trade and exchange was the tiny island of Grenada, situated at the southern end of the Caribbean archipelago. Grenada sits at the entrance to what was once poetically described as steppingstones or figuratively meticulously placed breadcrumbs that seem to create the perfect trajectory linking South America with the continents of Central and North America, encircling the expanse of the Caribbean Sea that provided the means to traverse this aquapelago. Though Grenada is reportedly visible from South America and Trinidad only “on a very clear day,” the ease of visibility of each further island from the last (from Grenada going north) may have provided impetus to traverse the islands over a short period of time (see Slayton 2018). As the beginning of that trail to larger and more diverse islands and thus resources, Grenada must

have played an important role in the migration and link to and from South America, and the other islands themselves (Martin 2013; Murphy 2018; Petitjean Roget 1981).⁸



Figure 2.2 Map of the modern circum-Caribbean region with presumed major precolonial migrations into the archipelago (courtesy Jonathan Hanna)

2.2.1 The Kali'nago and Kali'na of Camáhogne

The European invasion of the Americas was a significant event in the history of the world and created new and diverse chronologies across the globe as it brought together the two pieces to make the whole (see Carney and Rosomoff 2009; Crosby 1972; Hofman et al. 2022; Mann 2011; Schlesinger 2006). It altered the course of European, African and Asian histories in unimagined ways, but it was especially impactful on the Indigenous peoples of the

⁸ This island-hopping migration, referred to as the “Stepping-stone” model, leaves unanswered many questions, particularly the archaeological chronology that shows Archaic Age and Early Ceramic-Age materials in Puerto Rico and the northern Lesser Antilles as opposed to the Windward Islands. Thus, it has been challenged by the “Southward route” hypothesis that posits the settlement of the northern Caribbean then doubling back towards the southern Caribbean by these initial settlers and their descendants. See Fernandes et al. (2020), Fitzpatrick (2013a,b), and Hanna (2018, 2019).

Americas, and immediately on the peoples who inhabited the Caribbean archipelago, among them so-called labelled ‘Taíno’ or Island Arawak, Island Carib or Kali’nago, and Kali’na (Galibis) or Mainland Caribs (Boucher 1992; Las Casas 1992).⁹ The history of the tiny Caribbean island of Camáogne/Camáhogne¹⁰ and its inhabitants between the 16th and 17th centuries is representative of the impact that European invasion had across the region, but especially in the Lesser Antilles (Breton 1999[1665]; L’Etang 2004). And for the Indigenous peoples settled there, the period would be challenging to their polity and ultimately their very survival on the island of Camáhogne that they had called home for centuries.

Camáhogne, situated at the southern entrance to the Caribbean archipelago, was a strategic location, a crossroads of sorts, in the encounter between various Indigenous peoples and subsequently European invaders, adventurers and traders (see Boomert 2016; Hofman et al. 2022; Shafie et al. 2017). The region, as reported in European chronicles of the period, was described as an ongoing contested space between the diverse groups of northern South America, Margarita, Cubagua, Trinidad, Tobago, and the islands of the Lesser Antilles, particularly Camáhogne, Iouloúmain (St. Vincent), and Oüáitoucoubouli (Dominica) (Anonyme 1975[1659]; Espinosa 1942[1622]; Laet 1988[1630]; Oviedo y Valdés 1959; Pamplona 1928; Pelleprat 1965[1655]; Rochefort 1658). The arrival of the Spanish, and later the French, Dutch and English, added new dynamics of contestation as they made allies with or fought against the diverse Indigenous groups for control of the region and its resources, and they in turn defended their way of life (Holdren 1998; Murphy 2021; Shafie et al. 2017).

Six years after the European invasion of the Americas in 1492, Christopher Columbus, on his Third Voyage in 1498, is reported to have sighted the island of Camáhogne (Las Casas 1951;

⁹ The term ‘Taíno’ will be used throughout to refer to the people often designated as Arawak/Island Arawak, specifically the primary group of inhabitants in the Greater Antilles during the early European colonial period, and earlier still in Grenada and the Lesser Antilles. The single designation may not express the cultural/ethnic diversity that existed at either contact and/or European colonization, but it broadly defines the Indigenous population in the Greater Antilles. Unlike the term Kali’nago, “Taino” is not self-ascribed or used at the time of contact, but has gained widespread acceptance since the late 1800s; as such it will be used in quotes after Boomert (Forthcoming). A second group of Indigenous settlers of Grenada, referred to as Galibis, but correctly Kalina, will be designated Kali’na after Boomert (2016).

¹⁰ Raymond Breton (1900 [1665]:195) provides the Kali’nago name for Grenada, but not its meaning. Boomert (2016) suggests that “Camajuya” is a corruption of “Kalipuna” (the female autodenomination of the Island Carib, according to Breton). Sainton and Boutin (2004:75) define *Kamahuye* as “*île aux la foudre*”: “Thunderbolt Island/island of thunderbolt.” Espinosa (1942[1622]:68), adds a few references to this meaning: “There will be on those islands, and on that of Grenada, over 18,000 indians, who go naked, belong to the Carib tribe, and call themselves *Camajuyas*, which means thunderbolt, since they are brave and warlike.” (2) “The island of Granada... is thickly peopled with Carib indians called *Camajuyas*, which means lightning from heaven, since they are brave.”

Devas 1974).¹¹ On the island that he supposedly named La Concepción (and would later be known as La Granada (Spanish)/La Grenade (French)/Grenada (English)),¹² lived populations of Indigenous peoples who had made it their home for some time. Columbus neither approached nor landed on Grenada, sailing scores of kilometers away to the southwest and seeing only its highest peaks in the distance (Devas 1974; Martin 2013). Following this voyage, however, the southern region witnessed European interlopers as they journeyed there in ever increasing numbers in search of lands, treasures, and Indigenous peoples to enslave. Though it is often cited that Camáhogne's Indigenous population was left undisturbed in the immediate aftermath of European "discovery," there were in fact numerous encounters and frequent bloody confrontations between the two thereafter (Boomert 2016; Moreau 1992; Shafie et al. 2017). Thus began the dawn of the 16th century in the southern Caribbean, with changing landscapes and seascapes because of the European invasion of the archipelago and adjacent mainlands, with Grenada a primary participant because of its strategic location at the southern entrance to the Caribbean aquapelago.

Camáhogne was a primary rendezvous for Indigenous peoples making the journey to and from the continent. As a stopover, Camáhogne was home to a "large," if transitory, community of Indigenous peoples, but at least "two groups" were settled there in the early to mid-17th century, identified as *Caraïbes* (Kali'nago) and *Galibis* (Kali'na) (Anonyme [Bresson] 1975[1659]; Laet 1988[1630]). The presence of these two groups on Grenada, who spoke different languages but were ethnically related, is quite intriguing and has drawn the attention of scholars, but many questions remain (Hanna 2019; Holdren 1998; Martin 2013). When the French colonized Grenada in 1649 they immediately labeled "...the Savages of this island, *Galibis* as well as *Caraïbes*," even identifying leaders like "Captain Kairoüan, the father, Savage *Galibis*," or settlements like "the dwelling of a Savage *Galibis*, called Marquis," or the plan "to surprise the *Caraïbes* and the *Galibis*....[who] were drinking their wine and feasting" at what became known as Sauteurs or Caribs' Leap (Anonyme [Bresson] 1975[1659]:9-10,17,20, emphasis added). The French clearly recognized differences between

¹¹ It is rather ironic that this event has been capitalized upon by the tourism souvenir industry with caps and t-shirts emblazoned with "Grenada – Est. 1498," disregarding the island's over 1,600-years old history of Indigenous occupation, illustrating yet another form of Indigenous eraser, particularly by foreign businesses who are unaware or indifferent to the island's deep history.

¹² The French name "La Grenade" was derived from the Spanish name for the island "La Granada," which was possibly given it by Spanish sailors or map makers in the early 1520s, supposedly after Granada, Spain. Its present spelling Grenada, rendered by the British after 1762, is the Anglicized version of Granada. The Grenadines were originally known as Los Granadillos ("Little Grenadas"), which the Dutch altered to Grenadines and refers to all of the islands and islets between Grenada and St. Vincent (see Martin and Hanna 2020).

these two groups, even using the language of the Kali'na to identify Captain Kairoüan as “Galibis” (Kali'na) when he greeted them upon their arrival (Anonyme [Bresson] 1975[1659]:10). The Kali'na were Cariban speakers from South America who may have been present on Camáhogne by at least the early 1500s, but possibly later. The Kali'nago, who were longer resident on Camáhogne and spoke an Arawakan-derived language, nonetheless identified with the Kali'na, hence their self-ascribed name (Boomert 2016; Hanna 2019; Holdren 1998). The Kali'nago appeared to be the larger of the two groups, but Kali'na “captains,” Kairoüan and Marquis, seemed to have been very prominent and held leading roles in the fight against the French, with both groups working together against the European invaders (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]).

Interestingly, two earlier accounts by Europeans travelers seem to imply that there was discord among the Indigenous groups/villages on Camáhogne. In 1629 a Dutch ship stopped to trade and in interactions with a group of residents was told that there was “another group of Amerindians who lived on the other side of the island in the hills, who were evil and showed animosity to strangers and even them” (Laet 1988[1630]:58). French Governor de Poincy of St. Christopher reportedly abandoned his planned settlement of Grenada in 1639/40 because of its far distance and the rumoured hostility of the Indigenous population (Du Tertre 1667-71). In 1646 when Philibert de Nouailly was about to go to Grenada to settle the island his expedition was abandoned in Martinique because he was cautioned that the island was “infested with Caribs” and plagued with conflict among them (Petitjean Roget 1980,1:152). Three years later when the French settled Grenada, however, there was no mention of discord between the Kali'nago and Kali'na or any other group, with the two Indigenous groups joining together to oppose French colonization (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]). According to Hanna (personal communication, 2019), the reported discord could have been related to the arrival of the Kali'na on Grenada, the recent relocation of a group (from the Greater Antilles or mainland) that perhaps did not remain on the island, or a breakdown of alliances between the Kali'nago and Kali'na that were repaired by the time the French arrived in 1649.

From the first decade of the 16th century, Indigenous peoples on Camáhogne encountered various Spanish interlopers, particularly slave raiders from the Greater Antilles and the “pearl islands” of Margarita and Cubagua (see Anderson-Córdova 2017). The extent and impact of these raids on Kali'nago populations are unknown, but by 1520 several of the islands in the (northern) Lesser Antilles were reportedly depopulated as a result (Honychurch 2000;

Murphy 2018, 2021; Valcarcel et al. 2020; Watts 1987). How the raids affected the Indigenous groups on Camáhogne is unknown, but one consequence must have been the decline in the population resisting capture and capture itself. Another was the possible retreat into the island and along the less accessible Atlantic coast by the Kali'nago and Kali'na to better protect and defend themselves (Blondel 1667a; Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019). Contact with Europeans and captive Africans also resulted in the spread of hitherto unknown diseases, especially smallpox, which inevitably took countless lives, though the extent of this remains controversial (Nunn and Qian 2010).

Confrontations between the Spanish and the Kali'nago escalated by the second half of the 1500s as more Spanish entered the region along with increased maritime traffic (Holdren 1998; Shafie et al. 2017) (Figure 2.3). André Thévet, in the 1550s, described Camáhogne as unapproachable because of the large numbers of Kali'nago settled there (Moreau 1992:118).



Figure 2.3 Spanish ships (A) approaching Kali'nago canoes (B) along Grenada's northern coast, c1614 (de Cardona 1632) (courtesy Library of Congress)

The Kali'nago staged coordinated attacks on Spanish settlements, as was the case in 1569 at Carabelleda, Venezuela where some 300 Kali'nago landed during the night to prepare for an early morning assault on both the town and port (Oviedo y Baños 1987). The attack on the town proved unsuccessful but illustrated the extent to which they went to raid and destroy Spanish settlements (Oviedo y Baños 1987). In 1565, the infamous John Hawkins related the tale of the French privateer and slaver Jean Bontemps of the ship *Dragon Vert* of Le Havre who in March 1565 “came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driven to water,

could not do the same for the canyballs, who fought with him very desperately two dayes” (Hulme and Whitehead 1992:49). These confrontations were also aggravated by Spanish attempts to occupy Trinidad and their befriending of the resident Indigenous peoples whom the Kali’nago often raided (Boomert 2016). The Kali’nago are portrayed as attackers, creating tremendous problems for the Spanish in the region. They especially disrupted Spanish trade, often accused of attacking ships at sea or anchored, sometimes causing them to wreck, and plundering the ships and killing or enslaving the crews and passengers (Boomert 2016; Moreau 1992).

Kali’nago attacks on Spanish shipping and settlements, and Spanish and Portuguese wrecks in the region resulted in European and African captives. The Kali’nago, contrary to Espinosa’s (1942[c1620]) belief that they were eaten (hence the cannibal accusation), put many of them to work in their tobacco fields and gardens. In 1561 alone, it was reported that the Kali’nago on Camáhogne held over 30 Spaniards, primarily women and children from the wreck of a Spanish ship along its coast (Moreau 1992). Spanish colonists from Margarita, aided by a group of friendly Indigenous people, tried but failed to free the Spanish prisoners on Camáhogne (Moreau 1992). The number and extent of the treatment of these captives are unknown, but they may have been considerable, with reports that some, through various means, escaped as did “three Christians (a Portuguese prisoner of five years, and two Spaniards who had been prisoners for two years)” in 1567 (Moreau 1992:75-7). Similarly, in 1578 a Spaniard tricked his captors into releasing him; and in 1593 an enslaved African escaped (Moreau 1992:78). These tales of capture and escape of Europeans and Africans were quite common throughout the region until the mid-1600s as the escape of the free black Luisa Navarrete from Dominica in 1580 illustrates (Barome 1966; Hulme et al. 1992).

The invasion of Europeans into the southern Caribbean revealed glimpses into the dynamics of Indigenous societies in the region (Figure 2.4). Many aspects were not written about, but the interactions between them, especially as it impacted Europeans, were commented upon. As Boomert (2016:71) notes, “Chronic small-scale warfare between ‘traditional enemies,’ involving surprise raids on target villages and limited open-air battles, characterized the region throughout the contact period.” Boomert adds that these raids were primarily for revenge, enslaving captives and capturing concubines, and gaining prestige and human

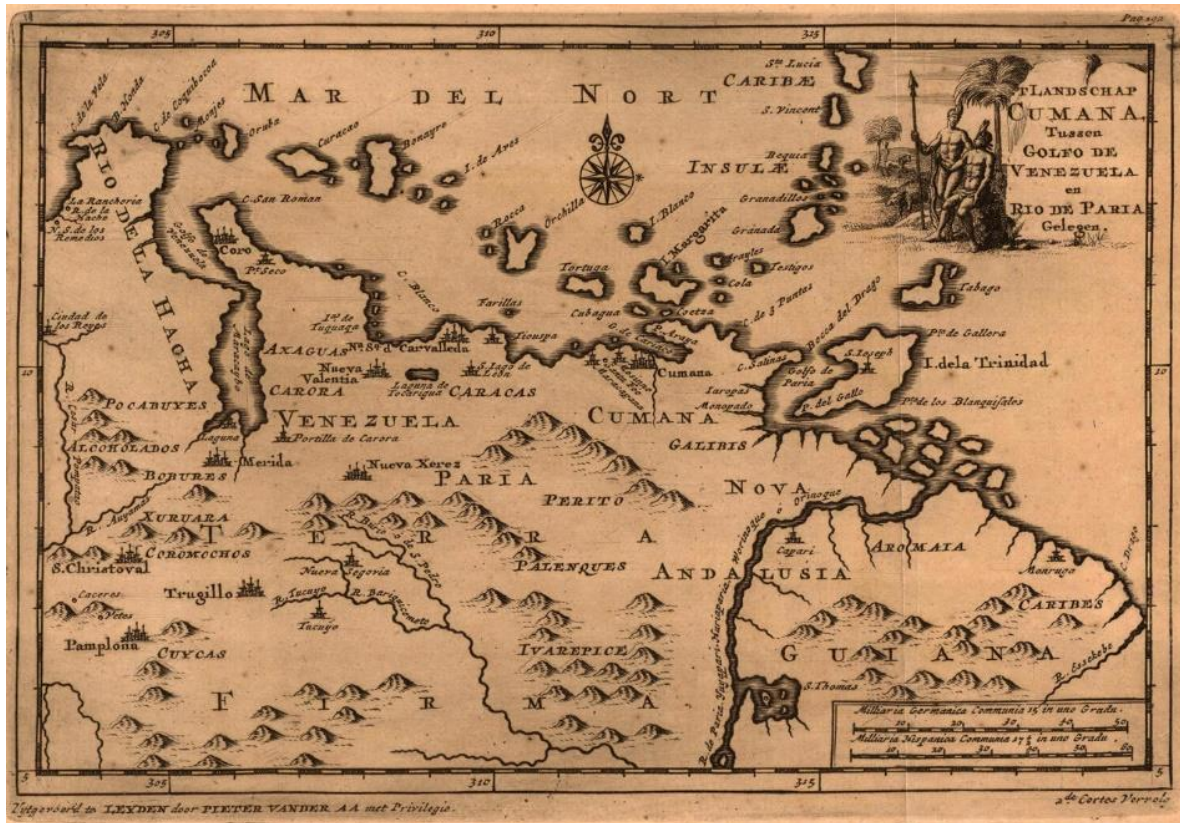


Figure 2.4 Historical map of the southern Caribbean and northern South America, c1707

trophies. In the case of Camáhogne, there are several references that included it in the ongoing warfare in the southern Caribbean and mainland. There are often reports of groups of Kali'nago from Camáhogne, Iouloúmain and Oüáitoucoubouli, making raids against the Indigenous populations of Trinidad who aided the Spanish (Moreau 1992:65-66,72). Camáhogne was a strategically important island for the Indigenous peoples in the Lesser Antilles, and it “was formerly a great account with the Carib Indians for at their return from the wars on Trinidad and with the Arawacacs, Nepoyes, Warooes, and other nations of Indians, if they had successe, they stay'd there until the old men and women brought their daughters from St. Vincents and other islands to congratulate their return with songs and dances” (Sloane MS 3665, ff. 62-50). As late as 1628 Dutch sailors reported encountering Kali'nago from Camáhogne, making a raid on the Nepoio in east Trinidad (Boomert 2016).

By the 1520s the French entered the Caribbean as usurpers of the Spanish trade monopoly in the region; the English followed by the 1560s, and the Dutch by the 1590s (Andrews 1978). During their privateering, the northern Europeans encountered the Kali'nago and traded with them, subsequently replacing the Spanish (Andrews 1978). Some of these northern Europeans established temporary shelters in the Lesser Antilles that would pave the way for

permanent settlements in the mid-1600s. The Spanish explorer Don Antonio de Berrio y Oruña, as a base for his expeditions to locate the fabled golden city of El Dorado on the South American continent, initiated the settlement of San José de Oruña, Trinidad in May 1592 (Boomert 2016). Though the Spanish colony at Trinidad remained neglected for over a century, its tobacco trade attracted northern Europeans, especially the English, and the Spanish colonists engaged them in contraband trade (*rescate*) between the 1590s to around 1612 (Lorimer 1978). It was the profitable but illicit trade in tobacco that created the impetus for the first attempted northern European colonization of the Lesser Antilles in Grenada, and the subsequent displacement of the island's Indigenous population.

2.2.2 European Invasion and the Establishment of Plantation Slavery Under the French

By the first decades of the 1600s northern Europeans had descended on the Lesser Antilles as colonizers,¹³ confronting its Kali'nago, Kali'na and other inhabitants who had successfully defended these islands against Spanish invaders and slave raiders but seemed unable to do so against a persistent English, French and Dutch onslaught (Andrews 1978; Boucher 1992; Murphy 2018). This new phase proved to be the most challenging for the Kali'nago and Kali'na of Camáhogne as the English attempted (1609) and the French (1649) succeeded in establishing a slave plantation colony on their island (Martin 2013; Wenzel 2020). This invasion would lead to deadly confrontations with the Indigenous population on Camáhogne, and relegation (of the small community that survived) to the periphery of the colony, eventually absorbing those who remained. With the Indigenous resistance suppressed, the French forged ahead and fashioned a plantation economy based on export agriculture exploiting enslaved Africans to cultivate tobacco, cotton, indigo, sugar cane, cocoa, coffee and finally nutmeg (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013).

The first planned settlement by northern Europeans into the Caribbean archipelago, and probably the first agricultural or plantation colony attempted in the Caribbean by the English was in 1609 by a "London-Dutch syndicate" that sent English colonists to establish a settlement on the island of Camáhogne; an impromptu attempt by an English crew to settle

¹³ So eloquently put by Newton (1933:235): "After 1625 swarms of English and French colonists poured like flies upon the rotting carcass of Spain's empire in the Caribbean, and within ten years the West Indian scene was changed for ever."

St. Lucia in 1604 failed (Sloane MS 3665, ff. 62-50; Andrews 1978). The attempt to settle Grenada was daring to say the least as it directly challenged the Kali'nago and Kali'na for possession of one of their primary islands when three ships sailed into “the great Bay of this Grenada,”¹⁴ and 208 colonists landed on 1 April 1609 (Sloane MS 3665, ff. 62-50; Andrews 1978) (see Figure 2.5). The information on the attempted settlement is sparse and the reaction of the Kali'nago to the appearance of the English is unknown, but reportedly the colonists “were often Disturbed by the Indians” (Sloane MS 3665, ff. 62-50). The colonists are described as persons not “fitt for the settling of Plantacions,” and together with the attacks by the Kali'nago, the English attempt to settle Grenada failed within six months (Martin 2013; Sloane MS 3665, ff.62-50). It would be four decades before Europeans would again challenge the Kali'nago and Kali'na on Camáhogne for possession of their island.

As the mid-1600s approached, the Indigenous peoples in the Lesser Antilles found themselves besieged by advancing European invaders. These serious and incessant attempts by northern Europeans to colonize the islands of the Lesser Antilles—the English and French

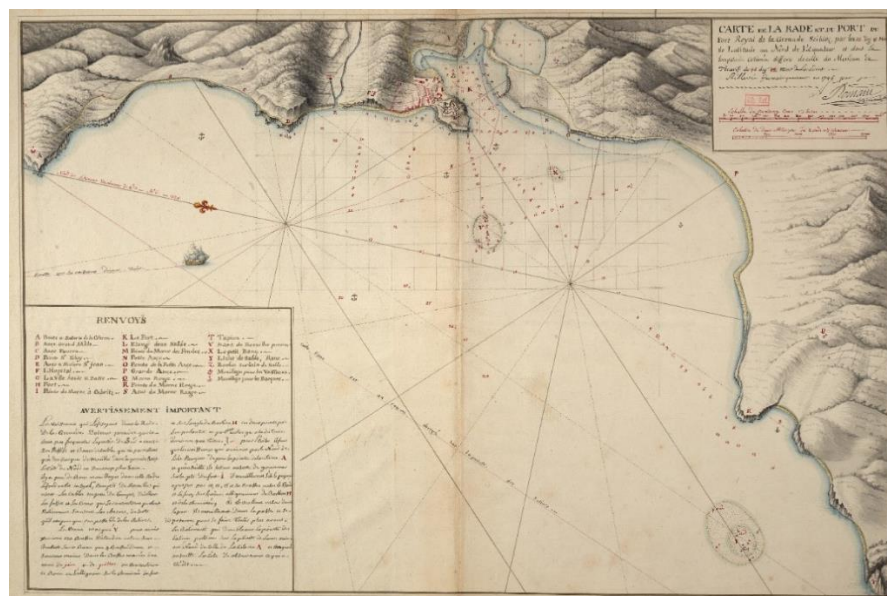


Figure 2.5 “Carte de la rade et du port du Fort Royal...,” 1746 by Romain, showing the “grand bay” where European settlers first landed in 1609 and 1649 (courtesy Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer/CAOM)

¹⁴ Though not identified in the manuscript, this is certainly a reference to the area along the western coast between what is today Molinere and Quarantine Points that the French subsequently named *La Grande Baye* (“Great Bay”) (see Figure 2.5). The protected harbor of the Carenage/Lagoon is the most ideal site for a settlement as the French proved four decades later, and was probably the site of the English settlement in 1609. The sometime mentioned Megrin, St. David as the 1609 settlement site of the English is without foundation (see Jessamy 1998; Steele 2003). There is no evidence other than what has been stated, and absolutely no indication that the location of Megrin was that site. Historically, Megrin would have been inappropriate as a settlement site for numerous reasons, the least of which were its location on the eastern side of the island, and the absence of an appropriate landing site and safe anchorage.

colonized St. Christopher (presently St. Kitts) in 1624 and 1625, respectively, the English settled Barbados in 1625, Nevis in 1627, and Montserrat in 1633, the Dutch settled Tobago in 1628, and the French settled Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1635—led to the increasing loss of territory by the Kali’nago. Only a few significant islands—Oüáítoucoubouli, Ioüànalao, Iouloumain, and Camáhogne (Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, respectively)—remained under complete Kali’nago and Kali’na control by the mid-1600s, their enduring strongholds and important to them because they represented a direct link to South America where they traded and raided (Breton 1665; Holdren 1998; Shafie et al. 2017). Grenada, however, appeared to be the weakest link in that chain because of its advantageous location to Europeans, but it was a conduit to the continent that the Kali’nago were unwilling to give up without a significant fight (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Boucher 1992; Martin 2013). Thus, Camáhogne represented the beginning of the final struggle by the Kali’nago to retain control of the Lesser Antilles, and ultimately the very existence of their way of life in the region (see also Hofman et al. 2019; Murphy 2021; Shafie et al. 2017).

Though at least two French officials in the region made plans to colonize Grenada in the 1640s, neither sent an expedition (Du Tertre 1665; Martin 2013). Despite its potential for settlement and trade Grenada was removed from the general colonizing area of the French and English throughout the first four decades of their activities in the region, and the threat of Kali’nago opposition dissuaded those interested as was the case with Governor de Poincy in 1639/40 and Jean Aubert in 1643 (Du Tertre 1665; Martin 2013).¹⁵ The most serious attempt to colonize Grenada did not originate in the colonies, but from France by Philibert de Nouailly who had traveled to the Caribbean in 1643 and either heard of and/or possibly saw Grenada and developed an interest in it. Upon his return to France, he negotiated with the Compagnie des Isles de l’Amérique that had claimed Grenada, signing a contract on 10 July 1645 to “occupy and populate” Grenada and the Grenadines (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013). He was given a five-year commission as governor, which required him to build a fort, settle 200 men and women, and three clerics whose job it was to convert the Indigenous population and minister to the settlers in the first year (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]). De Nouailly’s expedition to settle Grenada arrived at Martinique in 1646, but here they understood that the island was “infested with Caribs,” and supposedly plagued with conflict among the Indigenous groups (Martin 2013). He decided to abandon the settlement

¹⁵ The 1638 date given by Du Tertre (1665,1:424) is most likely an error or incorrect as De Poincy did not arrive in the West Indies until February 1639 and he was occupied with activities in the northern Lesser Antilles for some time.

of Grenada and returned to France, and though making subsequent attempts to reach the island, he never established a colony there.

In late 1648, or early 1649, Governor Du Parquet of Martinique sent Captain La Rivière to reconnoitre Grenada to locate a suitable site for settlement (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]). Governor Du Parquet, his chaplain, a few prominent men in Martinique and 45 (male) colonists set out for the three-day voyage to Grenada on 14 March 1649. On 18 March they sailed into a sheltered harbor (later the Carenage and Lagoon) and claimed the Kali'na and Kali'nago-occupied island in the name of the King of France, thus establishing their colony.¹⁶ They immediately built a palisade fort and other necessary structures, and keeping the Kali'nago and Kali'na at bay with gifts, talk of being there only to fish, and to provide them protection from a rumoured English invasion (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013). The French were able to settle for nine months before the Kali'nago realized that the French colony was more than a fishing expedition when they established a second settlement about five to six kilometers to the north at Beausejour (present-day Molinière) in October 1649 (see Figure 5.5).

To curb the rapid French expansion the Kali'nago attacked these settlements, beginning a war for Grenada that lasted intensively for the next decade but on and off for half a century, taking the lives of hundreds of Indigenous residents of Grenada and the region and French colonists (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013). Unlike the Kali'nago, the French were able to continually replenish their numbers, and thus outlived the deadly attacks and counterattacks, which had lessened by the end of the first decade of occupation but succeeded in eliminating the Kali'nago resistance altogether by the beginning of the 1700s (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013). With the removal of the Kali'nago threat, the French went about the establishment of a slave plantation colony in Grenada, living beyond the Indigenous settlements but eventually taking over their settlements on the northern and eastern parts of Grenada, thus subsequently eliminating or absorbing the Indigenous population altogether.

¹⁶ (June) 1650 is widely accepted as the date of French arrival in Grenada after Du Tertre (1665) and Labat (2005[1722]), but the precise day-month-year given by Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]) is regarded as more accurate by scholars like Petitjean Roget (see "Introduction" in Anonyme 1975) and Martin (2013). It would appear that Du Tertre either altered the arrival date by a year to conceal the fact that his friend Du Parquet did not purchase Grenada and the Grenadines until June 1650 (and was, therefore, illegally occupying the island since March 1649), or it was a simple error (see Petitjean Roget in Anonyme 1975). The majority of the references on Grenada use the 1650 date, including Devas (1974), Brizan (1998), and Steele (2003), which we now know to be incorrect!

administered the colonies for the next decade. Grenada fared little better during this period as it was at the bottom of the hierarchy of the French colonies and received little or no attention regarding its economy, and especially its population (Martin 2013; Mims 1977; Pritchard 2004; Wenzel 2020). However, the establishment of the FWIC in Grenada led to the creation of French institutions and social order that brought some political, if not, economic stability. The island carried out its first census in 1669, with a population of just over five hundred people after two decades of French occupation (Martin 2013; Pritchard 2004). The colonists occupied about a third of the island, while the Kali'nago and Kali'na continued to occupy (if not control) the north and entire east of the island (Blondel 1667a; Martin 2013) (Figure 2.6).

The failure of the FWIC to improve the economic, political and social conditions across the French Antilles by 1674 led to its dissolution and the designation of the French possessions as Crown colonies under official French administration (Mims 1977; Pritchard 2004). Grenada was established as an administrative unit in the French Caribbean, with direct management from an Intendant and governor general in St. Christopher (St. Kitts) and later Martinique (after 1713), and a governor in Grenada, with other arms of government gradually established there (Martin 2013; Wenzel 2020).

French occupation of Grenada after 1674 can be divided into two periods (1674 to 1713, and 1713 to 1762) for reasons of analysis, particularly for its demographic and economic changes. Between 1674 and 1713, Grenada witnessed some overall improvements, but was confronted with several challenges, including colonial conflicts in the region, slow population growth, and the total lack of investments. Between 1666 and 1713, the French were involved in four major conflicts with its European neighbors that spilled over into the Caribbean (Boucher 2007; Pritchard 2004). Though Grenada was never a party to these conflicts, it was affected by them indirectly, with restrictions on incoming and outgoing trade, coastal attacks by rival privateers, disruption of communication, and investment in defence (as opposed to the economy). Grenada received its first capital investment in the late 1660s with the construction of Fort Royal for the defence of its primary town the Ville du Fort Royal and its port, Port Louis. Despite this, in 1675 the island was attacked by Dutch privateers, resulting in the brief capture of the fort, demonstrating the inadequacy of these defences (Malo 1911; Martin 2013). A year earlier, Grenada suffered an attack by the Kali'nago from St. Vincent that left 14 colonists killed and created fear among them of a possible war with the Kali'nago while they were also occupied with a regional colonial conflict. It was, however, the last of

the attacks by the Kali'nago against the French settlement in Grenada after French officials in the region were able to pressure the Kali'nago on St. Vincent to pursue peace in the region on their behalf (Boucher 2007; Martin 2013).¹⁷

One of the major stumbling blocks towards expansion of the colonial enterprise was Grenada's inability to attract any kind of free, indentured, or enslaved labor. As a frontier colony it did not have a good reputation and failed to attract many French colonists, with the governor general in Martinique insisting to Minister Colbert in Paris that "*L'Isle de la Grenade, est Monseigneur, tres difficile a peupler...*" (ANOM 1670; Martin 2013).¹⁸ However, Grenada was not unique among the French colonies because the French, unlike the British, were unable to attract many of their citizens to the colonies. There was serious competition between the colonies for French immigrants, with the most significant colonies of Martinique, St. Christopher, Guadeloupe and later St. Domingue (presently Haiti) receiving the majority, while the others had to settle for the little that remained (Debien 1952). As a matter of fact, the same was true of enslaved labor, which was in short supply and thus expensive due to the high demand. Grenada was last when it came to the distribution of enslaved in the French Caribbean. Thus, the peopling of Grenada was a problem throughout the remainder of the 17th century. It was not until the beginning of the 18th century that the first slave ships, coming directly from West Africa, landed in Grenada. Slavers would gradually increase as Grenada acquired the capacity to pay for this expensive "commodity," but the majority of enslaved arrived via the slave markets of Martinique, many Creole-born enslaved (Martin 2013).

The effects of war and the inability to attract necessary labor and investment resulted in low economic growth between 1674 and 1713 (Pritchard 2004). However, the period did see the establishment of a diverse agricultural base as Grenada experimented with a variety of export crops, beginning with tobacco, ginger, cotton, annatto, indigo, cocoa, and sugar cane (Martin 2013). When the French first landed in 1649, they immediately began the cultivation of tobacco, which seemed to be a good beginning to its export agriculture. However, tobacco was not a lucrative crop at that time and there was widespread competition across the region (Batie 1991). With limited investments, especially labor, some farmers were able to begin the production of indigo, a more lucrative crop, while others grew cotton (Martin 2013). Indigo

¹⁷ The 1705 incident that resulted in the deaths of a French settler and an enslaved African was due to a personal issue, but was part of the larger struggle for the island (Hulme and Whitehead 1992). See also Chapter 8.

¹⁸ "The island of Grenada, Monseigneur, is very difficult to populate...." Author's translation.

would soon surpass tobacco and cotton, and between 1687 and 1713 it steadily increased, and dominated the economy into the 1720s (ANOM 1669-1755; Martin 2013). Its requirements of a semi-skilled labor force and land, and investments in processing vats laid the basis for plantation agriculture in Grenada, which would lead to its subsequent dethronement by sugar cane. Sugar cane cultivation probably dates to the 1670s but remained exclusive only to a few planters who had the extensive resources of land, labor and capital to enter the lucrative industry. In 1687 there were four estates producing sugar, and by the first decade of the 18th century they had only increased to nine. But the next four decades of the 18th century would see many changes in Grenada's slave plantation economy.

A prolonged absence of war in the region, beginning after 1713, created a tremendous boost to Grenada's economy by increasing investments in labor and capital. Between 1669 and 1718 the population had grown insignificantly, but between 1718 and 1761 it grew steadily, the majority enslaved (ANOM 1669-1755; Martin 2013). This huge investment in enslaved labor meant that the island, for the first time, had a continuous supply of labor necessary to expand its plantation agriculture. By the 1720s indigo had reached its climax, steadily decreasing thereafter to insignificance by the late 1700s. Sugar cane cultivation, influenced by the growing investment in labor and capital, grew steadily until the 1750s, with many of the plantations utilizing water mills powered by extensive canal systems and the damming of rivers and streams. The introduction of coffee production in the 1720s led to its establishment as a lucrative secondary crop, especially among smaller farmers or second plantations by larger planters. It soon replaced cocoa which had suffered due to disease by the end of the 1730s but would become a viable secondary crop again following the introduction of a new sturdier variety later on (Martin 2013).

Between 1714 and 1762 Grenada underwent extensive demographic and economic changes that had profound implications for the overall change from a frontier colony to one experiencing steady growth (Martin 2013; Murphy 2021; Pritchard 2004; Wenzel 2020). It saw improved infrastructure, like the establishment of hamlets (in every parish) and a town as its administrative center; the spread of the Roman Catholic religion to the overall population with the establishment of six parishes and the erection of chapels; the establishment of the Slave Code (*Code Noir*) to manage the growing enslaved population; roads and bridges, and political and defensive enhancements (Romain 1749[1743]; Jefferys 1775). All of these made the colony more independent and secure, laying the foundations for a successful plantation

economy within the French Caribbean colonial realm, with the distinctive social stratification that maintained the minority European population at the top, free non-whites somewhere in between, and the majority enslaved at the bottom. On the eve of the Seven Years War (1759-63) Grenada had achieved the status of an emerging plantation colony.

The peace brought by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 did not last long as conflict erupted in 1754 between the British and French in North America over the expansion of the British colonies there. Two years later the conflict took on a global presence as wars broke out across the world between France and the UK and their allies. The declaration of war in 1756 placed the colonies on immediate alert. Like the other French colonies in the Caribbean, Grenada prepared as best it could, but unlike the previous wars when the possibility of attack seemed negligible due the island's low economic state, its status had changed significantly.

In February 1762 Commodore Robert Swanton arrived off Grenada and demanded its surrender, but Governor de Bonvoust refused, hoping to defend the island with his meagre forces (Dessales 1848). The surrender of Martinique led to more British forces being dispatched to Grenada, and with the larger force assembled, a second attempt was made, with "The inhabitants, however, perceiving their destruction inevitable if they held out, and assured that they would not obtain such favorable terms at any future time as at the present, they signed a capitulation on [the night of] the 4th [March]." Governor de Bonvoust was forced to sign off on the island's capitulation the next morning, thus, Grenada was taken from the French without a shot being fired, and a year later officially ceded by the Treaty of Paris (Beaston 1804,2:527).

2.2.3 Expansion of Sugar and Slavery Under the British

Between 1763 and 1838 the slave plantation colony of Grenada experienced dramatic changes under the British (Brizan 1998; Cox 1984; Devas 1974; Murphy 2021; Phillip 2010; Ragatz 1928; Steele 2003). Its harrowing journey from a slave to "free" colony took it from a burgeoning French to a prosperous British sugar colony that would suffer the rebellion of its French inhabitants and their enslaved in 1795-96, crippling its plantation economy and saw thousands killed. It would also witness the end of the infamous British Atlantic Slave Trade in 1808 that had brought tens of thousands of captive Africans to Grenada, and grudgingly,

finally accepted the end to the enslavement of the majority of the Grenadian population by compensating its plantation owners for the loss of their enslaved labor, with no compensation to the enslaved.

After 113 years of struggling and finally succeeding in making Grenada a thriving French plantation colony, Grenada was now under British rule (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Romain 1749; Martin 2013; Murphy 2021). It would be another year before the Treaty of Paris (on 10 February 1763) officially transferred Grenada to the British, but there was little indication that it would remain French. Thus, some French Grenadians, particularly the large sugar planters and others who had no intentions of remaining under British rule, departed the island for Martinique, St. Lucia and France. Grenada, now grouped as the Government of Grenada of the Southern Caribbees or the Ceded Islands with Tobago, St. Vincent and Dominica, attracted a torrent of economic activity as British residents from the region flooded in and investors from the UK, particularly Scotland or of Scottish origins, came in search of new and lucrative investments (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994; Martin 2013; Mullen 2015). It was a new era for Grenada as it experienced large investments in its plantations and huge increases in its enslaved population (Gonzalez 1994; Ragatz 1928).

The British moved quickly to consolidate their power by carrying out several assessments of Grenada's economy and population within the first year. Reportedly, a survey was carried out by 1763, resulting in a detailed map of Grenada, divided into districts, and showing numbered plots, rivers and streams, primary roads, towns, ports, water mills, coastal place names, and other topography (Scott 1763; Jefferys 1775) (Figure 2.7).¹⁹ It was the most detailed map of Grenada to date and showed the extent of French occupation and development of the island. Though most of the land had already been granted by the French (but much remained uncultivated), the British wanted to know which lands were legally granted, and ones not conceded and could be sold to British subjects. Accompanying the map is a description of the island's districts, and a list of names of proprietors by districts, corresponding to the numbered plots at the time of cession, the types of plantations—sugar

¹⁹ Saveno (2013) reports that *Carte de l'Isle de la Grenade* (Scott 1763; Jefferys 1775) and *Explication du plan de l'Isle de la Grenade* (Jefferys 1760[1765]) that were reportedly carried out by order of Governor George Scott in 1762 and published in 1763 were actually completed by the French prior to the capture of the island by the British. The extensive survey and mapping process were begun in 1760 by "Royal Surveyor" Jean-Baptiste Pinel, which probably explains why the plan has the date of 1760 when published by Jefferys c1765 and is also in French. It is also interesting to note that the Grenada map based on Pinel's survey (1763) became the prototype for the plantation maps of the other Ceded islands (Dominica, St. Vincent, Tobago and Bequia) surveyed by John Byres, and the Carriacou map by Walter Fenner (1784) (Edelson 2017; Niddrie 1966).

cane, coffee, cocoa, cotton and pasture—and their acreage (Jefferys 1760[1763]). These two documents provide the most complete picture of French colonization and dwelling to date, and the cumulative impact on the Grenadian landscape since they settled the island just over a century ago.

The British also assessed the population, and though it was not a nominal census, they compiled detailed demographic data, particularly for tax purposes (Great Britain 1763). The British counted a free population of 1,680, comprising 1,225 whites and 455 free non-whites, the latter a growing demographic that would have a lasting impact on the Grenadian social landscape. It is interesting to note that there was no specific mention of an Indigenous population, though if any of them remained they may have been included as part of the free non-whites and probably numbered less than one hundred. As much as 30 percent of the free white French left the island, but the majority, primarily the small coffee, cocoa and cotton planters whose departure would have proved disadvantageous, decided to remain in the British colony as “New (British) Subjects.” The report also recorded an enslaved population just under 14,000, but it was an undercount because of an error in the collection of data in the largest district (Grand Marquis) where the enslaved children (under 14-year-olds) were not recorded at all (as they were not taxed, but probably an oversight) (Great Britain 1763). Therefore, a more accurate number for the total enslaved population would be just over 15,000 (Martin 2013). Despite the growth in the slave population under the French, the incoming British bemoaned its small size and believed that to make the colony prosperous at least 10,000 more enslaved were immediately needed (Great Britain 1763; Martin 2013).

Thus, the stage was set for British rule as they set out to expand Grenada’s plantation economy (Brizan 1998; Ragatz 1928). According to the Treaty of Paris, the French retained their rights if they chose to remain in Grenada as New Subjects, but for those who wished to leave they had 18 months to sell their properties. British investors swooped in and within the designated period had bought up many of the large sugar and some coffee plantations. Some believed that the high demand for these properties raised prices above their value (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994; Ragatz 1928). Even though Grenada was the most developed and valuable colony among the Ceded Islands, the British believed it was underutilized and had great potential (Campbell 1763; Young 1764). One of the goals of British investors was the expansion of sugar cane cultivation in Grenada, which they achieved by the consolidation of existing sugar estates and converting coffee and cocoa plantations primarily near the coast into sugar cane. The 1760s witnessed the expansion of the sugar industry with British

investments not only to British-owned properties, but also in French coffee and sugar plantations; this expansion is reflected in the corresponding increase in exports (Brizan 1998; Ragatz 1928). The expansion in the sugar industry was facilitated by the parallel increase in the supply of enslaved labor as the importation of captive Africans ballooned between 1763 and 1779, doubling the enslaved population in Grenada (Brizan 1998; The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database 2021). The economic expansion was across the board as coffee estates, predominantly French owned, experienced increased production. Cocoa exports doubled between 1763 and 1779, with Grenada supplying just over 50 percent of cocoa exports from the British West Indies (BWI); the coffee sector would subsequently experience financial problems that led to drastic decreases and eventual collapse in the 1770s (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994).

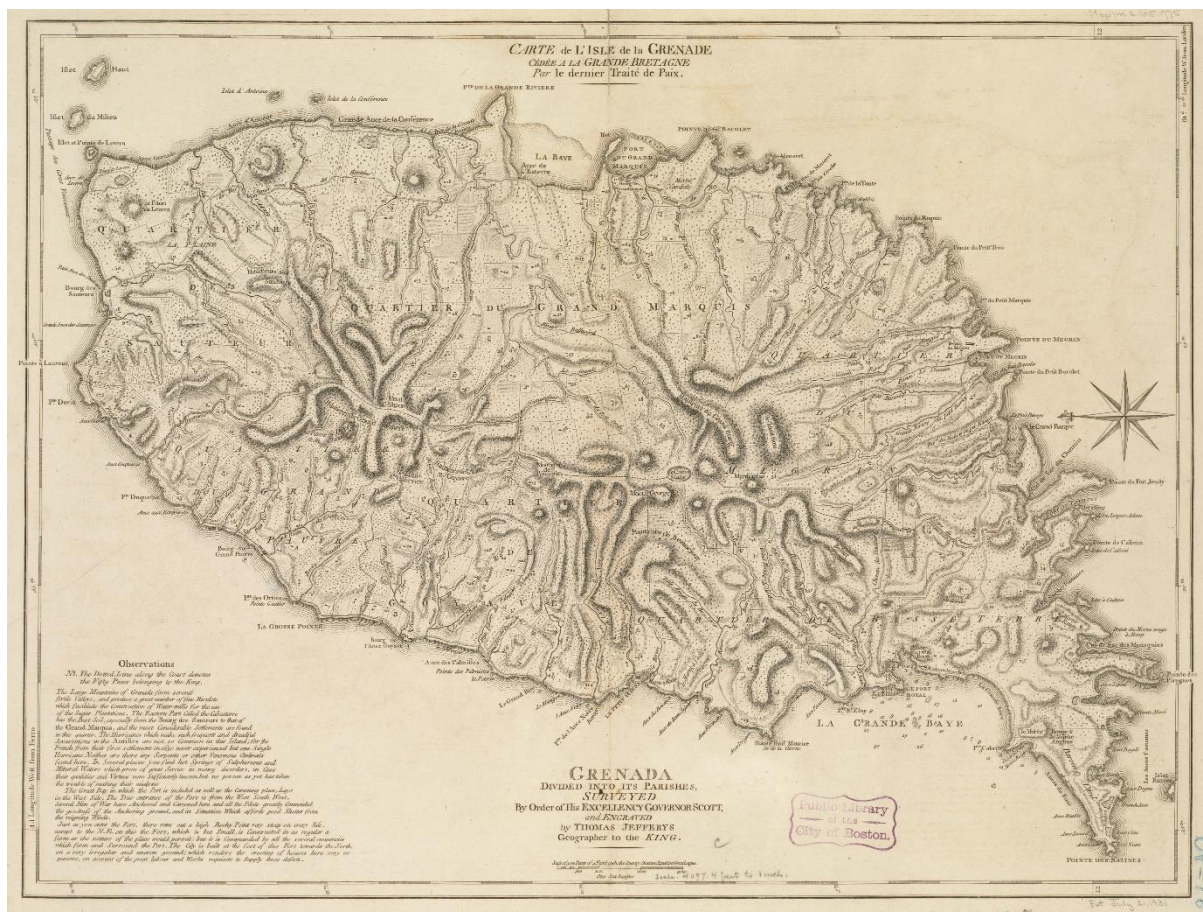


Figure 2.7 “Carte de l’isle de la Grenade,” 1763 (courtesy the Public Library of Boston)

Though the economy initially moved along smoothly for the most part, the political and social situation were proving intransigent. As part of the Treaty of Paris, the French were encouraged to remain, despite the inherent disadvantages in accepting a relatively large foreign and historically unfriendly population (Gonzalez 1994). The British recognized the

immediate advantages to such a policy, but naively thought that its supposedly superior and inherently benevolent form of government would endear itself to the French and gradually convert them, both religiously and socially, into true British subjects (Gonzalez 1994). However, as soon as the British captured the island in 1762 problems between them and the French residents surfaced and got worse under permanent British rule. The primary issue was over political representation as the French possessed a majority, and giving them the right to vote and elect representatives to the local government would mean their continued dominance. Though the French were eventually given the right to vote, they were not allowed to stand for office, which led to protests, and created an unwelcoming environment for the French in their “own country” (Gonzalez 1994; Muller 2017; Murphy 2021). Not only was the issue between the French and British dominating the political environment, but it created dissension among the competing British residents (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Murphy 2021). This debate spilled over into the legislature, forcing the Governor to dissolve the legislature on more than one occasion because of these conflicts (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994; Murphy 2021).

A consequence of the British capture of the island and the departure of some of the French planters was the growth of the maroon population that created a security problem for the new government. By 1767 over 200 enslaved who had escaped from plantations were reportedly creating problems for the new administration by attacking remote plantations in the interior (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994). The conflict between the British and the French impacted the maroon problem because the Legislature was unable to function properly to make provisions to tackle this vexing issue (Brizan 1998).

War again broke out between the French and the British in 1778 due to French support for the North American colonies fighting for independence from the British. The French fleet in the Caribbean decided to attack British possessions. Grenada soon became a target, with the small British force, comprising some 300 militia and 160 regulars, making necessary preparations to defend the island (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974). With a large fleet, the Comte d’Estaing anchored off Grenada just north of the capital and took control of the surrounding area on 2 July 1779. With the British refusing to surrender, French forces began an assault on the Hospital Hill Redoubts, the primary British defenses. Superior French forces eventually forced the British to retreat to Fort George from Hospital Hill, but continued bombardment by French ships in St. George’s Bay and French forces at the captured Hospital Hill, forced the British, under Governor Macartney, to accept an unconditional surrender on 5 July, thus

returning the island to French rule (Steele 2003; Devas 1974). On 6 July, a British fleet under Admiral John Byron engaged d'Estaing and his superior forces in an attempt to retake Grenada. After hours of exchanges between the two naval forces the British retreated, their fleet severely damaged, but leaving the French to claim a contested victory. According to Jamieson (1985), Grenada was the most valuable colony after Jamaica and its loss to the French had been “the most serious blow to Britain since the American rebellion had been transformed into a global war.”

In July, the Comte d'Estaing appointed the Comte de Durat as governor and in September an ordinance reinstated French laws in Grenada and the Grenadines. The Governor cancelled debts owed to British creditors by residents of the island, and appointed French “conservatorship” of British absentee-owned estates, with the revenues deposited into the state treasury (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974). Appeals to the French Crown led to its abolition and the restoration of the estates to their original owners and managers, but the damage had already been done. The rule by the French during the four years of their occupation was described by the British as being “in the most despotic manner... and that the British colonists were sorely oppressed” (Devas 1974:117; Wenzel 2020).

The Treaty of Versailles, signed in September 1783, returned Grenada to the British, who upon their arrival in January 1784, immediately began a systemic persecution of the French (Anderson 2010; Polson 2011). The British branded the French residents as disloyal New Subjects and decided to dispossess them of their religious and political rights. Before long French churches were confiscated for use as Anglican churches after rejecting a push to share religious facilities, and the French lost the right to elect representatives to the Legislature (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974). Many of the French, especially the “free coloureds,”²⁰ felt dispossessed by their British compatriots, with some deciding to leave the island for good, many immigrating to French St. Lucia and Spanish Trinidad (Besson 2010; Besson and Brereton 2010; Bonnefoy 2019; Brizan 1998).

The Caribbean in the 1790s was reverberating from the French and Saint-Domingue (Haitian) Revolutions (Dubois 2004; Gaspar and Geggus 2003; Friedland 2018; Murphy 2021). The French population in Grenada, whites and particularly free coloureds/blacks, had many grievances against the British, having suffered religious, social and political persecution for

²⁰ “Free Coloureds” is the historical reference for people of mixed race/ancestry of black and white. I will use the English spelling throughout for historical purposes.

the past two and a half decades (Anderson 2010; Cox 1982, 1982b; Devas 1974; Jacobs 2000; Martin 2017; Murphy 2018, 2021; Polson 2011). Though the activities of the French free coloureds had become suspicious, the attacks that began the revolt on the night of 2-3 March 1795 by Julien Fédon and his associates surprised many (Hay 1823). Fédon and his forces, with the cry of “*Liberté, égalité ou la mort!*,” surrounded the eastern town of Grenville (La Baye), St. Andrew, putting to death eleven of the British inhabitants, but spread the rumor that it was as a result of an attack by invading French Republican forces. Simultaneously in Gouyave (on the west), St. John, another group of insurgents attacked the town and captured over forty British residents and took them to the rebel camp at Fédon’s Belvidere estate; Lieutenant Governor Home was captured later that day at Gouyave and taken to the camp, thus giving the rebels huge victories on the first day of the uprising.

Within hours the ranks of the rebels grew as white French planters, free coloureds and blacks, and self-emancipated blacks flocked to the camp at Belvidere estate, probably due to a desire to be free of the “despised” British and fear of the rebels who had issued a call to all the French (on pain of death) to join them. The colonial government in the capital called on the insurrectionists to surrender, promising a pardon and amnesty to all except those who participated in the massacre at Grenville (A Grenada Planter 1796; Wise 1795). The Grenada government’s request for help in putting down the revolt was slow in coming as revolts, supported by French Republicans in Guadeloupe, erupted in several British colonies in the region. On 8 April 1795, the expected government assault on the rebel camps began, but proved disastrous when British forces failed to capture the rebel stronghold and Fédon ordered the execution of 47 of his hostages, carrying out his threat to kill his prisoners if attacked (Brizan 1998; Hay 1823; McMahon 1823). The government changed strategy by establishing coastal posts to intercept incoming supplies for the insurgents and arming enslaved under the Loyal Black Rangers. For the remainder of the year there were several sporadic attacks by both sides as the insurrection dragged on.

Though the rebels had nominal control of most of the island by early 1796, they were unable to carry out an attack against the British in St. George’s due to a lack of resources and/or military will caused by internal conflicts and with their foreign supporter Victor Hugues (Martin 2017). In March 1796, the British, with reinforcements and supplies, captured the strategic sites of Post Royal and Pilot Hill, St. Andrew, cutting off the rebels’ primary external supplies of weapons, food and forces. In mid-June, General Abercrombie arrived with more reinforcements, attacked rebel positions, and successfully captured all rebel posts

by 19 June (Devas 1974; Brizan 1998; Murphy 2021). It took the British government thousands of troops, 15 months, and the loss of hundreds of soldiers from yellow fever and hostilities before the rebellion of its New Subjects and enslaved was squashed. Just over 200 rebels were captured, tried and found guilty of high treason, with at least 39 “noted brigands” publicly executed “on a large gibbet in the Market place in St George’s”; several others were executed when caught in the “woods,” as well as (unknown numbers of) enslaved who had participated in the rebellion (Brizan 1998; Grenada Government 1796-97; Candlin 2012; Jacobs 2000; Murphy 2021; Polson 2011). In a final act of vengeance, the heads of noted rebels were reportedly severed from their bodies and publicly displayed (Lumsden 1829; *St. George’s Chronicle* 30 July 1796). Rebels not jailed or executed, together with their families, were reportedly deported to Roatán, Honduras, Central America, but many found their way back to the region.²¹

Fédon’s Rebellion resulted in the devastation of the island’s economy, its agriculture ruined by fires and plunder (Garraway 1877; Grenada Government 1799). An estimated 7,222 enslaved were unaccounted for, with many killed during the revolt, and hundreds of British soldiers, Grenada militia and hundreds of rebels killed in battle or died from rampant diseases (Clyde 1985).²² Financial losses amounted to a low estimate of £2.5m and a high of £4.5m from the deaths of enslaved (labor), destruction of crops (particularly sugar cane), and estate buildings and machinery on the many burnt/ruined plantations (Garraway 1877; Grenada Government 1799). Fédon’s Rebellion, quite violently, brought about an end to French power and influence in Grenada, paving the way for the emergence of “a new Grenada with a distinct British colonial stamp” (Brierley 1974:7; see also Murphy 2021).

The primary goal of the leaders of Fédon’s Rebellion was the replacement of the British colonial government with a French Republican government that would allow “a reassertion” of civil rights for French whites and especially free coloureds and blacks (Friedland 2018; Murphy 2018, 2021; see Candlin 2018 and Cornelius 2020 for opposing views). The eventual status of the enslaved was never clearly articulated as they had little, if any, representation within the rebellion hierarchy. However, Fédon was recorded as saying to captured enslaved

²¹ There is no evidence to date to substantiate this widely reported claim, but there is at least one reference that accounted for some rebels and their families being dropped off in Cuba in 1797, with captured self-emancipated rebels sent off the US to be sold (“St. George’s January 15” 1798:1-2).

²² According to an official report on losses sustained due to Fédon’s Rebellion, some 7,222 enslaved were unaccounted for at the end of the rebellion. However, considering average losses of 3% annually due to mortality and based on the total number of enslaved for 1795 and 1797, the actual loss directly due to death from the rebellion would be closer to 4,500 enslaved (Grenada Government 1799).

that they were “as free as he was,” encouraging them to claim their freedom by joining the rebellion (Hay 1823:29). Fédon’s Rebellion was not a “slave revolt” as characterized by many historians since,²³ though it temporarily achieved their freedom and involved thousands of them. Thus, its “anti-slavery” credentials are more nuanced, especially as the majority of its leadership, none of whom were self-emancipated, were longtime or habitual slave owners, including its leader Julien Fédon (see Jacobs 2003 for the opposing view).

The further characterization of Fédon’s Rebellion as an “anti-colonial” struggle is a misrepresentation as it was definitely not, but anti-British for sure (see Jacobs 2015). The contention that the rebels’ association with the Republican Victor Hugues in Guadeloupe identified them with French Republican ideals and objectives on freedom of the enslaved and thus can be seen as their goal despite the Grenada rebels’ disagreement and break with the French Republicans towards the end is also nuanced (Candlin 2018; Gaspar and Geggus 1997; Craton 1992; Jacobs 2000; Martin 2017). The rebels, including leader Julien Fédon, Clozier D’Arcueil and Le Riche, did appear to express some understanding of these universal ideals, but there is not enough evidence to conclude anything concrete about what they would do had they been successful in actually ridding the island of the British colonial government (Hay 1823). The corresponding view that the free coloureds/blacks and whites who planned, executed, and managed the rebellion (rather chaotically) only “nominally ‘led’ the uprising” is totally without foundation or evidence. It is an attempt by Candlin (2018) to portray Fédon’s Rebellion as “an enormous servile revolt” in the form of the Haitian Revolution, which it was not, with Friedland (2018:47) insisting that “every island in the Caribbean is not Haiti. And every uprising is not a slave rebellion or race war.”

That the enslaved played a major role in the rebellion is illustrated by the vast number of them who fought with the rebels and died or were killed during the revolt, and executed and deported at the end (Polson 2011). Though no enslaved persons appeared as planners of the rebellion or held primary leadership positions, there is evidence to suggest that renegade elements among the self-emancipated did not take directions from Fédon or the French rebel leadership, and deliberately destroyed plantations by plundering and setting fires to many; a few former enslaved were executed by the rebels for stealing cattle and other activities the rebels deemed unacceptable. Fédon himself, in communication with President (of the Council) Makenzie, wrote that “It is with indignation that we see the destruction of this

²³ See, for example, Brizan (1998), Candlin (2012, 2018), Craton (1982), Duffy (1987) and Gaspar and Geggus (1997) for the view that Fédon’s Rebellion was a “slave rebellion.” See Hall (2022:340) for the opposing view.

flourishing colony by fires which we are surrounded, and which are set *by our enemies*” (author’s emphasis), implying that those burning the estates were not his forces or under his command (Brizan 1998:74; Candlin 2018). No matter how you access the available data, Fédon’s Rebellion was led and controlled by Julien Fédon and his band of French free coloureds/blacks, and whites from the beginning to the end, with tremendous support from a large number of self-emancipated (between 4-5,000) who rallied behind his command for their freedom and/or out of fear for their lives. The larger enslaved population (greater than 75%) chose not to participate in the rebellion at all, on either side, most fearing for their lives as was demonstrated with the executions of some of them by both sides; just over 600 enslaved were recruited by the British to establish the Loyal Black Rangers to support the limited British troops and performed exceptionally well (Brizan 1998; Polson 2011).²⁴

With the violent quelling of the rebellion by British forces in July 1796, the re-establishment of slavery across Grenada, after 15-months of de facto freedom, was accomplished with no resistance from the over 20,000 self-emancipated. As the majority of them had remained neutral during the rebellion they quietly returned to their plantations without much encouragement. Those who took an active role in the rebellion tried to stealthily reintegrate, but according to McMahon (1823:105), “Many of the [rebel] Negroes returned to the estate to which they belonged, hoping to escape being recognized, but in many instances they were discovered, and examples made of the most atrocious characters.” Thornhill (1798:49) adds that “Slaves were tried and several executed, others condemned some to banishment and some to chains under the late Act of the island, according to the degree or magnitude of their crimes” (An Act for the Punishment of Slaves..., 1797; EAP 295; Hay 1823). No record or lists of the “several executed” have surfaced, but a few like Louison from Ninian Home’s Waltham estate was hanged for his participation though his actual crime was not identified (Polson 2011). At least two hundred self-emancipated rebels were banished after capture (EAP 295; Hay 1823).

It took several years for the recovery of Grenada’s agricultural economy, which by the first decade of the 1800s was already showing signs of improvement. The rebellion appears to have also spurred some new capital investments as many sugar estates were either damaged or destroyed and needed rebuilding and resupplying. By the 1820s the island’s plantation

²⁴ It is interesting to note that there were no widespread murders of whites, particularly British whites, who would have been seen as the enemy by even the renegade bands of enslaved who participated in the destruction of estates, etc. The killing of all of the whites was orchestrated under the command of Julien Fédon and his forces.

economy had stabilized, with the extensive production of sugar, and to a much lesser extent cocoa, coffee and cotton (Smith 1801, 1824). The recovery, however, was short-lived as major changes in the centuries-old slave labor regime were on the horizon despite its stabilization in the immediate post-rebellion.

After decades of protests and advocacy, the British Parliament in 1807 passed the Abolition Bill that ended its Atlantic Slave Trade, vindicating over twenty years of efforts by several anti-slavery organizations and individuals to have the trade abolished (see Cugoana 1787; Drescher 2009; Hochschild 2006; Thomas 1997; Williams 1994).²⁵ The last slave ship arrived in Grenada from West Africa in 1808, but it would not be the last time that captive Africans and African laborers landed in Grenada (George 2016; Steele 2003). With approximately 30,000 enslaved laboring on Grenadian plantations and in its towns, the island was well provided with an adequate labor force even though Grenadian proprietors had defended the trade and predicted the demise of the sugar industry if the Slave Trade was abolished (Baillie 1792; Brizan 1998; Great Britain 1789; Lambert 1975; Marryat 1816a,b, 1818). The debate over the causes that brought about the end of the Slave Trade has been contentious and ongoing ever since (Drescher 2010; Ryden 2001; Williams 1994).

It was hoped that the end of the Slave Trade would gradually lead to the termination of slavery without further political pressure, but that did not occur until the British Parliament voted to end slavery in 1833 after continued protests and the repercussions of the rebellious actions of enslaved in several colonies (Walvin 1994). Members of the plantocracy protested the proposed loss of their enslaved labor force, but with compensation provided by the British Parliament,²⁶ and the establishment of the neo-slavery Apprenticeship system, they grudgingly accepted that the regime they had profited from was no longer acceptable. On 31 July 1834, over 23,600 enslaved were “freed,” with plantation owners compensated for their loss of property to the sum of £616,255 (about £74,566,855 in today’s money) (Hall et al. 2014). The idea of compensation for the enslaved for their many years of coerced labor and undue hardships was never discussed, the popular thinking being that their freedom was compensation enough. This has led, however, to the present debate over reparations and reparative justice by many of the descendants of the enslaved across the region (Beckles 2013, 2021; Straker 2021, 2022).

²⁵ See also the evidence on the Slave Trade and slavery given before the British Parliament by several persons involved in these activities in relation to Grenada (Great Britain 1789; Lambert 1975).

²⁶ See the *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* for a detailed analysis of the Slave Compensation Claims from Grenada and the other British colonies at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/> [Accessed 5 August 2022].

To allay the fears of the plantocracy, a compulsory “Apprenticeship” of former enslaved to their former owners—field slaves for the next six years, and four years for all other enslaved—was implemented in August 1834 (Brizan 1998; Marshall 1985). Ex-enslaved over the age of six years were required to work for their former owners without wages but given adequate rations. For the remainder of the week they tended personal gardens from which they sold the produce or hired out for wages (Marshall 1985). Apprenticeship was meant to allow estate owners adequate time to adjust to the drastic changes brought on by the end of slavery, and supposedly help promote industry through wage employment for the apprenticeship to prepare them for full freedom. It was not as smooth a transition as envisioned as estate owners and managers used legal and coercive measures to extract as much labor as possible from apprentices, with as little remuneration as possible (Brizan 1998; Marshall 1985). Though legal structures were created to safeguard the apprentices’ rights like the appointment of stipendiary magistrates to resolve issues between apprenticed and the estate, estate owners/managers abused these rights, oftentimes with impunity. By 1838 opposition to apprenticeship was widespread, especially due to the impending freedom of non-agricultural apprentices in August 1838. On 22 May 1838, the British Parliament voted to end the apprenticeship system two years prematurely for field workers, signifying its perceived failure (Marshall 1971). The mid-1830s brought about the most profound change to Grenada (and the region), taking it to a place it had never been before as the entire population was now legally free.

2.2.4 The Post-Emancipation Settlement Landscape and the Rise of a Peasantry

If plantation slavery was the building block of colonial Grenada, the post-Emancipation period established much of what is today recognized as Grenadian society—its people, culture, agriculture, celebrations, education, judiciary.... It began with the freedom of the vast majority of Grenadians and climaxed with the advancement of the laboring class as a successful peasantry, surviving both on its own subsistence, but also playing a role in Grenada’s export economy (Brizan 1998; Euwema 1993; Steele 2003). It was not revolutionary by any stretch of the imagination, and some have argued that it was pretty dire for most of the population (Brizan 1998), but the period laid the foundations for how the society would tackle the huge economic and social gaps that existed between the minority ruling plantation and business elites, and the majority laboring class that had just begun to

experience hard-won freedoms. Its changing agriculture would also define its economy for the next century and a half. The period between 1838 and 1900 is an important era for Grenada and its changing society, but unfortunately it remains little studied when it comes to its influence on the future Grenadian society and state (Bell 1889; Brizan 1998; Euwema 1993; Froude 1888; Richardson 1997).

After four years of quasi-freedom, the so-called apprenticed laborers, at midnight on 31 July 1838, finally threw off the yoke of forced servitude in Grenada (and within most of the BWI) that had literally bounded them for generations (Marshall 1971). The over 18,000 men, women and children who were apprenticed were finally free, though that freedom was restricted by several legal and social constructs, and particularly the continued dependence of the majority on wage labor on the estates in their former roles (Brizan 1998; Steele 2003). The 1838 date is often regarded as the end of slavery (which had in fact ended with Emancipation on 31 July 1834), but metaphorically, in consequence of the neo-servitude of Apprenticeship, it has been celebrated as the beginning of freedom in earnest for the formerly enslaved in Grenada.²⁷

The immediate transition from Apprenticeship to freedom was reported as peaceful and without any disturbances. Captain Deane of *The Forager* that left Grenada on 1 August 1838 reported, “The great change which took place in the condition of the apprentices on that day caused but little excitement among them. It being a day of thanksgiving, no work was done.... comparatively but few people from the country came into town, and all was quiet” (Deane 1838). At the end of the day, the *Grenada Free Press* (of 8 August 1838:4) reported, a bit sarcastically, that several of the late apprentices gave a dinner party attended by Chief Justice Sanderson and John Ross, special justice and assistant justice, respectively. The paper lamented that the former apprenticed, almost the entire population, had not turned out for work in the week following August 1st, and plantation owners were worried about the new labor arrangements, but unable to do anything about it. Thus began one of the most fundamental changes to take place in Grenada since it was seized from the Kali’nago and Kali’na and colonized by the French in 1649, and would subsequently change its dwelling landscape in numerous and varied ways in the century ahead.

²⁷ In 2017 a small plaque was erected to commemorate the end of slavery at the annual Emancipation Day memorial in the Market Square, the believed site of the customary sale of enslaved Africans, which it was not; captive Africans were sold off ships and “Slave Yards” on the Carenage and other places of business around the port. The Market Square did host a “Public Cage” that was used to incarcerate runaways or maroons (since 1776 legislation). The plaque reads: “In memory of our African Ancestors who were sold here and enslaved. We will always remember. (Emancipation Day August 1, 1838).”

Though it is often recorded that there was an immediate exodus of ex-enslaved from the plantations (Brizan 1998; Steele 2003), with a desire to seize their freedom and rid themselves of the dehumanizing experiences of enslavement, it appears that this departure was more gradual and influenced by economic rather than emotional factors (Euwema 1993; Hall 1978). The majority of former enslaved remained on the estates where they were enslaved and apprenticed, continuing in the employ of their former owners/managers, and lived and worked where they had during slavery. The plantation and the “slave yard” or “slave village” were home to the enslaved where they had lived with their family and friends and tended their provision gardens. The aged and the infirm were legally allowed to remain on the estates for one year, continuing to receive some allowances, but little or no provisions would be made for them beyond that time (Brizan 1998). There was no immediate alternative to uprooting what could be loosely considered “stable lives” and finding new employment and a place to establish new communities. For many, their particular plantation was all they knew. In the absence of immediate alternatives, the majority of the former enslaved remained on the estates, in the homes they had occupied, in the places they had survived enslavement, among the family and friends who had aided that survival.

In the wake of thousands of newly emancipated citizens, the colonial government introduced several measures meant to ensure continued control of the population, particularly with the establishment of an official police force in 1836 to enforce the many new laws created to regulate their conduct. Among these laws were vagrancy and anti-squatting legislation to ensure that laborers remained bound to the estates, and to manage industrial relations between the estates and laborers (Brizan 1998). One law considered by the Legislature but opposed by the governor would have prohibited sales of lands below twenty acres “except for the purposes of building” in an attempt to restrict former enslaved from purchasing lands that would have enabled them to easily leave the plantations and farm on their own (*Grenada Free Press* 29 August 1838:279). To provide what it believed would make a smooth transition, the legislation continued the use of stipendiary magistrates that had been in place during Apprenticeship as the arbiters between the estates and laborers.

A few years into freedom, the existing system started to unravel as laborers began to protest against the wages they were paid for their labor on the estates, and large plantations began to fail. The existing plantation system of wage labor was in opposition to the laborer, who as Brizan (1998) argues, desired to become independent of the estates and to subsist on his/her own. The year 1838 had ushered in the era of free labor, but many of the estates lacked the

proper means to pay workers (Ross 1842). To lessen the wage burden, some of the estates decided to either charge rents for houses and provision grounds on the estates, which had been “free” during slavery, or get laborers to commit to provide the estate their undivided labor. For those laborers who continued to work for the estates, their houses and provision grounds would remain freely accessible. Those who were reluctant to give a large portion of their time to the estates would be charged rent. The freedmen, of course, resisted this and many began to seek alternatives, the most immediate being finding other living arrangements, or outright withholding their labor. Thus, some laborers began leaving their estates, either for other estates on more advantageous terms, or squat on available lands in the hills and mountains, and within the coastal “King’s 50 paces,” despite laws against these. When estate managers attempted to alter the wages of the workers, the laborers protested. In the parish of St. Patrick in December 1847 a group of laborers struck when their wages were reduced (Brizan 1998). They were told to accept the lower wages or lose access to their chattel houses and provision grounds that they had used rent free to date. With the governor supporting the estates, the laborers staged a protest in the main town of Sauteurs in January 1848, causing some disruptions. Attempts to calm the protesters succeeded as many returned to work despite their dissatisfaction with the outcome. It was situations like this that caused laborers to seek more advantageous opportunities beyond their birth plantations.²⁸

Though the idea of the formerly enslaved continuing to work as paid laborers on the estates may have been the primary outcome envisioned at the end of Apprenticeship, it was inevitable that many of the laborers might want to express their freedom and embrace their new-found independence. As such, some laborers struck out on their own and found several ways to establish themselves beyond the plantations. One such action was the establishment of free villages. The “slave yard” had been the traditional form of community for the majority of Grenadians during slavery and in its immediate aftermath. But by the 1840s the freedmen began to establish new villages, sometimes including farmlands or gardens, carrying with them their small houses, thus chattel houses that moved with them wherever they went. Some workers may have saved up their resources from wage labor and purchased small plots of land, particularly on the periphery of existing estates, that became the basis of villages, hence most villages taking on the names of surrounding estates, eventually enveloping them altogether (Figure 2.8). In 1852, only a decade and a half after the end of Apprenticeship,

²⁸ This was most likely the first labor protest staged in Grenada, but it would be almost another century before Grenada’s poorly paid agricultural laborers would be able to use their numbers to transform the island’s discriminatory agricultural wage system (Brizan 1998).

for the continued depression in the sugar industry. Despite the international issues confronting the sugar industry and its economic downturn, Grenadian planters advocated for the introduction of indentured workers, especially after the success of similar schemes in Trinidad and British Guiana (presently Guyana). There was debate on the scheme's moral position, with some characterizing it as "slavery under a new guise" or neo-slavery (Hitchins 1931:243). Yet, between 1839 and 1893, some 5,500 indentured laborers entered Grenada from Malta, Madeira, western Africa, and British India. In 1839 Grenada received the first of many groups of indentured immigrants from Malta who were distributed to sugar estates. It was also hoped that they "would have a civilizing effect on the ex-slaves" and increase the small white population, but they proved unsuccessful on all fronts (Steele 2003). The colonial government then took on the task, and between 1846-47, migrants from Madeira arrived, and they too proved unsuccessful at agricultural work and soon abandoned their assigned estates. Following these failures and the previous success of Liberated Africans, a scheme for the importation of Africans was initiated, and between 1849 and 1865, Africans arrived as indentured laborers from the resettlement stations of Sierra Leone and St. Helena (George 2016; Steele 2003). They initially proved successful, but the majority did not re-indenture, becoming "squatters or independent settlers" (Steele 2003). The last of the indentured immigrants arrived between 1857 and 1893, mainly from Calcutta and Madras, British India. The East Indians worked on sugar and cocoa estates, predominantly in St. Andrew, St. John and St. Patrick. Though some re-indentured following their first period, others abandoned the estates at the earliest possible moment, many to farm on their own or work for wages. The small number of indentured immigrants brought to Grenada were unable to halt the decline in the sugar industry even though some individual estates may have benefited, but they did impact the social and cultural landscape.

In 1824 there were 124 estates producing sugar, but several problems, primarily external, soon led to the collapse and abandonment of the industry by the 1860s. Primary among the problems were the high cost of production, increasing quantities of more cheaply produced sugar from Brazil and Cuba (where slavery still existed), the end to the slave labor regime in the 1830s, growing world-wide beet sugar production, and the opening of the protected British sugar market in 1846 (Williams 1948). Attempts like the Encumbered Estates Act (1854-84) and indentured immigration to resuscitate sugar production did little to reverse the ailing industry, but some estates did continue to produce sugar, and several of them converted to steam power to modernize their production (Brizan 1998; Steele 2003). Unlike other

colonies, Grenada was able to diversify its agricultural economy with cocoa and several other crops, particularly spices (Euwema 1993; Richardson 1997). The changing labor regime and the adoption of cocoa by many planters proved to be the catalyst that changed the economic outlook of the island. The drive by laborers to own or rent small plots of land and the Metayer share-cropping system were instrumental in that process. It provided laborers the means to own lands and thereby developed a vibrant peasantry heavily involved in agricultural production, especially cocoa and the growing spice industry, particularly nutmeg (Morris 1898). Though the island witnessed a growing peasantry with access to lands, their social conditions left much to be desired, especially health care, education, and political representation.

The cholera epidemic of 1854 that resulted in the deaths of at least 4,000 people in Grenada (and more across the region) brought to the forefront the horrendous state of health care on the island, especially for the majority of Grenadians (Brizan 1998; Clyde 1985). During slavery a modicum of healthcare had been provided by the plantations, but after 1838 even that ended, and the freedmen were left to their own devices. The small Colony Hospital on Hospital Hill in St. George's was inadequate to the task of caring for the sick before Emancipation, much less after it. Though some attempt was made to improve health services after the cholera epidemic that had taken the lives of the poorest Grenadians, it had very little impact on the lives of laborers in the villages across Grenada for almost another century (Clyde 1985).

The emergence of a large group of free citizens also led to political changes to the Old Representative System (ORS) which was granted by Royal Proclamation in 1763. The ORS comprised an appointed governor who was responsible to the Colonial Office in London, a General Council appointed by the governor, and an elected House of Assembly. The governor exercised executive authority, while the appointed Council acted as his advisors. The Council was expected to work with the elected Assembly to pass necessary legislation, but the two often failed to work together, and with the high absenteeism and low educational qualifications of members of both councils, the ORS disintegrated into a farce (Brizan 1998; Emmanuel 1978; Ragatz 1928). By the mid-1800s political, economic and social changes in Grenada exposed its ineffectiveness and revealed its inherent anachronism. Paramount among these changes were the granting of equal political status to free coloureds and blacks in 1832, and the emancipation of the enslaved population in 1834/38, which brought to the fore the inherent problems with a so-called representative system that failed to represent most of the

free population. The ORS dragged on into the 1870s when the weight of its own inefficiency brought protests from the Colonial Office and prominent local residents. It has been suggested that the dissolution of the ORS was due to either the desire of the British government to create a Federation of the Windward and Leeward Islands, or to avoid the dominance of either the elite (white and coloured) minority or the poor black majority (Brizan 1998). In 1877 the century-old ORS was dissolved, opening the way for the introduction of Crown Colony rule, which some argued was for the protection of the majority former enslaved from the plantocracy, while others believed that it was due to the fear of the majority being given the right to vote, a position that was not advocated at the time and would take another seventy years to achieve (Brizan 1998; Emmanuel 1978).

In the 1890s Grenada was in a far better financial situation than many of the islands in the BWI, mainly due to its adaption of cocoa and nutmeg cultivation that replaced sugar cane, and the involvement of an increasing group of dynamic peasant proprietors also involved in cocoa and spice production, and of course local food production. Froud (1889:54-56), however, in acknowledging Grenada as “an island of pure peasant proprietors,” saw this as unfortunate, using terms like “dreary and desolate,” “deserted and dismantled,” “squalid and dilapidated,” and “desolation and desertion” to describe the island’s infrastructure and agriculture brought about by the freedom of the enslaved (see criticisms by Bell 1889; Thomas 1889). The last half century had created a new dwelling landscape, laying the foundation for a new society as Grenada navigated changes to almost every aspect of its society following the end of slavery. Its population doubled between 1850 and 1900, creating greater demand for services like education and health care, and forcing the expansion and modernization of the island’s agricultural economy in the 20th century (Brizan 1998; Steele 2003).

2.2.5 The Changing Socio-Economic Landscape and the Remaking of Society

The first half of the 20th century can be characterized as an important period for Grenada because of the modernization and expansion of its economy, and the reworking of its social and political structures to create a more inclusive and equal society (see Emmanuel 1978). Probably the most profound change was the beginning of the demise of the plantation economy that had been an integral part of society since its inception 250 years ago (Brierley

1992; Euwema 1993). This was facilitated by the growth of the peasantry in the last half of the 19th century and their participation in the production of export crops like cocoa and nutmeg, which brought about changes in production and thus the island's traditional plantation economy. There were widespread attempts across the spectrum to change many aspects of the society, including government administration with more decentralization and inclusion, the reintroduction of representative government, unionization of workers, and expansion in the economy to provide for the growing population and their demand for a modern economy, improved infrastructure, political participation, and access to more and varied resources like education and health.

The West India Royal Commission (1897), recognizing the need for immediate changes within the colonial society to accommodate the profound changes that had taken place since the end of slavery, made a number of recommendations, one being the expansion of access to land for laborers. Peasant ownership of agricultural lands, especially in Grenada, steadily increased after the 1850s, yet land tenure remained acutely skewed. Carriacou exemplified the woeful state of land tenure, with many of its estates abandoned by absentee planters, and peasants with little access to arable land (Richardson 1975). Carriacou, unlike Grenada, had suffered from the demise in both the sugar and cotton industries, its two export crops, and was unable to create another lucrative alternative. The desperate situation was captured by a visitor in 1897 who lamented that he “landed at a little decaying island called Carriacou, where all the people were wretchedly poor. It is all owned by a few absentee proprietors in England and the people cannot get land of their own or rent any except by the year at exorbitant terms” (Devas 1974:176-77). His suggestion of “land nationalization without compensation” was too extreme for the colonial government which instead purchased estates and sold small plots to peasants. Beginning in 1904, the Grenada government began a Land Settlement Scheme in Carriacou (Brizan 1998).

By 1911 some 8,349 peasants across Grenada owned on average 4 ha (10 acres) or less, which they planted with cash crops, provisions, and spices. But access to land was still skewed, and so in 1911 three estates were divided into plots and made available to laborers (Brizan 1998). These schemes allowed more people access to needed land and helped expand the growing peasantry, which was not only contributing to the export economy, but were responsible for all of the food being grown on their subsistence farms. By 1930 about 15,000 peasants owned less than 4 hectares (10 acres) of land, the majority owning less than two hectares. Political upheavals in the Caribbean in the 1930s led to a concerted effort by the

colonial government to redistribute land, with the goal of alleviating the islands' social and economic inequalities. Between 1933 and 1950, the scheme distributed hundreds of hectares to as many as one thousand peasants. Though some people gained access to land relatively cheaply, the schemes failed in not providing greater access to more people, and additional resources to improve these lands (Brizan 1998). The Land Settlement Scheme was a recognition that access to land by the peasantry and laboring classes was having a positive effect on the state of agriculture and economy in Grenada. Their role in subsistence agriculture and the local market for foodstuffs were recognized as well as their importance in the export market. The peasantry played a huge role in changing the face of agriculture in Grenada, especially in the demise of the plantation economy. They were instrumental in diversifying the agricultural economy so that when the plantations' role diminished the economy was minimally affected.

One important feature of the period was the large out migration in search of lucrative employment (Hill 1977; Pool 1989; Tobias 1975, 1980). It began with Grenadians going off to Panama to work on the Panama Canal (Cox 1999b). Hundreds of Grenadians heeded the call despite the unhealthy and dangerous conditions that existed there; many of them died there or returned to Grenada in ruined health (Brizan 1998; Clyde 1984; Cox 1999b). Over the next few decades Grenadians would heed the call and venture to wherever there were jobs – Brazil in the 1910-20s to work on coffee plantations, Cuba in the 1910-20s to cut sugar cane, Venezuela in the 1930s to dig for gold, and Curaçao and Aruba in the 1940s and 1950s to work in the oil refineries there. As a result, Grenadians returned with money to invest, mainly in land. After World War II Grenadians joined immigrants from the Caribbean going to the US and the UK (as part of Windrush) in large numbers. Migration to both Trinidad and Tobago had been in effect since the mid-1800s and continued unabated into the 1900s. These immigrants created a Grenadian diaspora that was responsible for sending home remittances that aided the local economy and allowed segments of the society to purchase lands and build houses, thus positively affecting the economics of the peasantry and working class.

Another area identified by the West India Royal Commission (1897) highlighted for action was the deplorable social conditions of the tens of thousands of agricultural laborers and their families and the peasantry, many on a level not much improved from slavery. Almost every metric—housing, health, sanitation, nutrition, education—were degrading to say the least. Though some families lived in small one and two-room wooden houses, many laborers still lived in wattle and daub and thatch-covered shacks into the 1920s. The small houses were

cramped, poorly ventilated, and provided little or no privacy, lacking any amenities like sanitation, running water or kitchen facilities. These structures provided the minimum of protection from the elements. Though the situation would improve, many still lacked adequate housing by 1950 (Brizan 1998).

The health of the majority of the population remained in their own hands as health facilities were few and many people still relied on folk medicines and cures to treat everyday illnesses. There were some medical facilities, but these were restricted to the towns and some larger villages, with many of the laborers having no access to medical professionals except in extreme cases (Clyde 1985). Though regional District Boards had been delegated to handle sanitation, they were responsible for the towns and much of their work did not impact laborers' lives or peasant communities. Some communities may have had piped water in a central location at a "standpipe," but many people still got their drinking water from rivers, streams or rainwater harvesting. As many peasants and laborers produced most of their food in their provision grounds and gardens, few had access or the means to purchase from stores beyond the bare minimum of necessities like flour, sugar, rice, meat, etc.

Emancipation created the demand for public education which had not existed before, with private schools providing for those who could afford and access it. Following Emancipation, the various churches, particularly the Anglican and Catholic Churches, took up the cause of educating the population (Brizan 1998; Lewis et al. 2021; Steele 2003). Religious education was viewed as essential to the moral and social advancement of the freedmen, so churches were at the forefront of educational development. The availability of education developed quite slowly for a number of reasons, including low investment, the French Creole or *Patwa* spoken by many of the children, child labor, too few clergy, and the discord among the four major religious denominations (Brizan 1998; Devas 1933, 1975). The latter problem dominated the education debate throughout the 1800s. The latter half of the 1800s witnessed the development of primary and secondary education, but the main problem was school attendance, which remained low due to widespread child labor. In 1875 the government established the grant-in-aid system for all schools, and by 1900 there were 40 primary schools, almost half administered by the Catholic Church, and two secondary schools in St. George's. Schools were still plagued by low attendance, and in 1920 the Compulsory Education Ordinance made it mandatory for children between the ages of 6 and 14 years to attend primary school. By the 1930s education had made some progress, but the 1940s brought major changes, including the extension of primary education, the provision of trained

teachers, and vocational training. Secondary education was established in the rural districts in the 1940s, but the real progress in the widespread availability of universal education would be made in the second half of the 1900s.

Despite the dire situation of the laboring classes, this period witnessed some improvements in their social conditions. As the population grew, so too the expansion of villages and the creation of new villages across the island. This in turn led to the creation of markets and other economic facilities. As the numbers of people demanded more access to schools, health facilities and the like as wages and markets for their produce increased. The growth in the laboring classes led to the expansion in the economy, forcing it to modernize.

By 1950, Grenada had undergone a number of changes that totally transformed this former slave colony in just over a century. Its agriculture had been changing for decades as the peasantry had grown and participated in the expanding and diversifying agricultural economy, with tree crops like cocoa and nutmeg replacing annuals like sugar cane. With the arrival of the first motor vehicles at the start of the century, even bus transportation was widely available, providing for the movement of Grenadians across the island and allowing them to travel away from villages for work and business in large numbers for the first time (Martin 2022). But social and economic benefits had not drastically improved for the majority of the population and whatever gains there were accrued mostly to a small group. As the 1950s dawned, the island was in for some more profound changes that would transform its social, political and economic landscape into a modern democratic state and see the benefits spread more evenly across the social spectrum (Emmanuel 1978).

2.2.6 Attempts to Remake the Political and Social Landscape from Below

Between 1951 and 1983, with the worldwide movement to decolonize and assert political independence, Grenada attempted to do just that, despite its small size. Grenada had experienced tremendous changes since the end of slavery, but the conditions of the majority of its population remained lacking in almost every regard. Local political activism, however, would lead the way in asserting that newfound desire to transform the society from the bottom in attempts to improve the lives of the large numbers of Grenadians who had not experienced the benefits of the changing society. That activism would find its voice in

protests, violence, and even revolution, echoing the growing awareness of their power and rights in the region and the world. Grenada, in the next three decades, would build on those fundamental changes of the 1950s brought about by “Skyred”²⁹ and universal adult suffrage by gradually gaining political autonomy, culminating in its achievement of independence from the United Kingdom in 1974 (Brizan 1998; Singham 1968). That change, however, was not achieved without struggle and protests, one that would lead to the violent overthrow of an elected government five years later, culminating in the Grenada Revolution. These three major events represented deliberate attempts by a plurality of Grenadians to reclaim and reshape the political landscape from the bottom up.

Neglected and without a political voice for decades, that abruptly changed for agricultural workers in 1950 with Eric Gairy and the formation of the Grenada Manual, Mental and Intellectual Workers Union (GMMIWU) to lobby for increased wages and better working conditions for them. An earlier labor stoppage in 1950, though gaining increased wages for workers, had failed to recognize the GMMIWU as the bargaining body for the vast majority of agricultural workers. The year 1951 began with a bang that led to probably the most profound changes to the political and social landscape since Emancipation 117 years ago. The strike by agricultural workers under the leadership of Eric Gairy and the GMMIWU, and subsequent protests resulted in nothing less than a revolution, though some historians and critics were reluctant to grant Eric Gairy that accolade (Brizan 1998; Steele 2003).³⁰ It forced the colonial government and the plantocracy to recognize that the laboring classes, especially agricultural workers who had been taken advantage of for so long, had to be adequately compensated for their labor and contributions to the Grenadian economy. Added to the gains by Grenadian workers was the constitutional change that ushered in universal adult suffrage, giving the right to vote to everyone over 21 years, without qualifications (Emmanuel 1978). What began as a plea for union recognition and a labor dispute between Eric Gairy’s GMMIWU and the Agricultural Employers Association mushroomed into an island-wide strike and protests that left the country in a state of emergency in early 1951 (Coard 2020; Rottenberg 1952).

²⁹ “Skyred” was coined to define the period of violent protest in 1951 when Grenadians, primarily agricultural workers in the rural districts, under the leadership of Eric Gairy, took to the streets and farms and burned some structures like schools and plantation buildings, with its flames thus turning the sky red.

³⁰ Merle Collins (2019) argues that Eric Gairy was not a revolutionary in the true sense of the word since he was more concerned with inserting himself into the colonial hierarchy and its trappings, despite his advancing the cause of the working class in Grenada.

The first strike took place in late January and by mid-February Gairy had called for a general strike among the GMMIWU's supporters. Gairy's charismatic leadership had rallied agricultural workers from across the island in a massive show of strength at a rally aimed at forcing the colonial government and estate owners to recognize Gairy and negotiate with the GMMIWU. The ensuing conflict was not merely a wage dispute, as most were aware, but a class struggle pitting Eric Gairy and his peasant supporters against an entrenched urban and propertied/professional class that regarded him as a social and political upstart, and unwilling to share the spoils of the nation (Benoit 2007). To silence Gairy, the government had him arrested and shipped off to Carriacou under house arrest. The striking peasants, in defiance of all authority and with a new-found freedom of political expression that their unity had created, burned schools and estates, destroyed private property and looted crops and animals across the island, with the period popularly known as "Skyred" as a result (Brizan 1998; Singham 1968; Rottenberg 1952). Governor Arundell, who was out of the island when the protest began, immediately rescinded the state of emergency imposed by his deputy and released Gairy upon his return. The embittered planters, terrified by the violence, criticized the governor for not taking more forceful action against what they believed was a "communist plot" to overthrow the existing society (Baptiste 2002). It did succeed in breaking the power of the plantocracy that had ruled the rural landscape for centuries, with the last of the white plantocracy either selling off their estates or departing from the island altogether.

Gairy's successful appeals to the peasantry to end their "reign of terror" elevated him to folk hero status locally when he was honored as "Uncle Gairy," and made him a political leader regionally. Three people were killed by the police, and many others were injured in the uprising that had brought about nothing short of a revolution, in effect the destruction of the historical unequal planter-laborer relationship that had its beginning in slavery. It signaled the birth of mass unions in Grenada, replacing the almost conciliatory relationships that operated between the existing unions and the plantocracy. Gairy received Caribbean-wide support from union organizers including Uriah Butler in Trinidad, Alexander Bustamante of Jamaica, and Robert Bradshaw of St Kitts. In the end, the protests brought about needed social and political changes, and gave a voice to the peasantry, but its profoundest consequence was the emergence of Eric Gairy as a political leader who would himself change the face of politics in Grenada (Benoit 2007).

Recovering from the political protests of the early 1950s, Grenada was visited by one of the worst hurricanes in historical memory, leaving the island devastated following its attack on 22-23 September 1955 (Steele 2003; McIntosh 1956). Since Grenada is not frequently affected by hurricanes, Grenadians did not heed the warning of an impending category three hurricane very seriously. The eye passed over northern Grenada and Carriacou, leaving in its wake about 147 people dead and thousands homeless, hundreds of hectares of denuded forests, and the almost total destruction of the islands' agricultural economy, communication network, and water supply and electrical systems. Hurricane Janet was a serious blow to the agricultural industry, downing cocoa and nutmeg trees, which would have an impact on the industry in both production and short-term viability. It brought about changes in the sector that foreshadowed the gradual demise of the dominance of agriculture.

Though agriculture, recovering from the destruction caused by Hurricane Janet and diversifying into banana production remained the mainstay of the economy, the late 1950s witnessed the emergency of tourism as an economic industry. However, Hurricane Janet, in its devastating impact on the agricultural economy, created the opening for tourism, as several other factors aligned to aid the new industry. There were attempts to promote tourism beginning in the later 1800s as witnessed by the 1890 publication by Septimus Wells' *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Island of Grenada*. Yet it was not until the 1930s that interested groups began to promote Grenada as a visitor destination. The 1940s witnessed increased local organization by the Grenada Tourist Board, which began to bear fruit in the 1950s. By 1959 revenues from tourism had tripled from four years earlier. In that same year Fidel Castro's socialist government came to power in Cuba, resulting in the abandonment of that island as a tourist haven especially for the US, leading to the spread of large numbers of visitors to the Eastern Caribbean, including Grenada. The dramatic growth in the sector made it rather attractive, and every succeeding government has seen it as a major instrument in the economic development of the islands. As in most of the Caribbean islands, tourism has become an economic necessity, contributing significantly to the economies of the smaller islands that have no commercial mineral resources and have seen a decrease in the once prominent agricultural sector.

The 1960s witnessed a huge increase in the sector, and though it continued to grow in the 1970s, due mainly to cruise ship arrivals, several problems remained, including the absence of an international airport (and thus direct connections for overnight visitors), and inadequate visitor infrastructure, especially hotel accommodations. Yet the most immediate deterrent to

growth was the political turmoil in the early to mid-1970s that caused arrival figures to fluctuate. In 1979 the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) embarked on the building of an international airport at Point Salines, but the adversarial relationship between the PRG and the US government led to negative reports in the international press. Grenada was labeled a "Police State" and "Soviet Satellite," discouraging many visitors who were afraid of "another Cuba" (EPICA Task Force 1981).

The gradual seeding of political autonomy to Grenadians under constitutional changes and the growing push for independence across the world inevitably led to the demand for independence in Grenada. On 7 February 1974 Grenada became a sovereign nation, ending over 200 years of British colonialism, though it retained the British monarch as its head of state. It was, for some years thereafter, the smallest independent state in the Western Hemisphere and the first of the six members of the Associated States to gain independence (Thorndike 1974, 1979). In the end, the British government, desiring to rid itself of an economic and political burden, decided to confer independence despite the civil unrest and protests in Grenada against independence under the then Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) government (UWI 1974). Under a state of emergency, Grenada bade a muted farewell to over two centuries of British colonial dominance and colonialism. That seemingly abrupt departure without any resources to develop the island has led some to demand "reparations" on the grounds that following independence the former colonies were not given adequate financial assistance to succeed (Beckles 2022).

The protest that was unleashed in the early and mid-1970s would culminate in the Grenada Revolution on 13 March 1979 when members of the political opposition staged a coup d'état and established a revolutionary style of government for the next four-and-a-half years (Lewis 1987; Pryor 1986; Puri 2014; Thorndike 1985). The PRG replaced the elected government of PM Eric Gairy, which through corruption and mismanagement had brought the country to the brink of political and financial bankruptcy. The PRG implemented several social programs that were to be its legacy, many benefiting the poor. Among these were low-cost housing, extended primary medical and dental care through the technical assistance of Cuban doctors and dentists, free school-lunch programs, literacy and adult education, hundreds of educational scholarships abroad, expanded employment through military service and infrastructural work, especially the construction of the international airport, the advancement of female workers with the passage of the Maternity Leave Law, social security benefits through the National Insurance Scheme, and the extension of pre-school and day care centers. With political

support from across most social strata, the PRG was able to establish, albeit initially, an unprecedented and popular participation in mass organizations, the labor movement, and participatory local government. Community participation through volunteer work groups contributed to the development of community infrastructure. Though confronted with economic and political pressures aimed at derailing the revolution, the PRG made significant strides, rivalling the combined achievements of previous governments (Brizan 1989; EPICA Task Force 1982; Lewis 1984; Pryor 1986).

Yet, this achievement was not accomplished without sacrifices. Though many Grenadians were willing to forget the promise of parliamentary elections, the abuses of human rights (including restrictions on freedom of expression), an unprecedented military build-up, and secret agreements with communist and socialist regimes would eventually cost the PRG both domestic and international support (Lewis 1984; Thorndike 1985). The violation of human rights following the application of “heavy manners” and the detention of alleged counterrevolutionaries without formal charges and fair trials brought contention between the PRG and local groups, especially the established churches. Internationally, the US government, beginning in 1979, began to mount economic and military pressure to derail what it considered a communist threat in its backyard (Williams 2007). In the end, the revolution collapsed upon itself, unable to bear the pressures of its own successes and setbacks (Layne 2017). What had begun as an experiment in Grenada’s economic development proved a course fraught with political and ideological infighting, the abuse of power by a small group of well-armed individuals, the inability to manage growing internal and external pressures, and a short-sightedness that was to be the bane of the revolution (Layne 2017; Payne et al. 1984; Puri 2014).

October 1983 has been described as one of the darkest periods in Grenada’s recent history, not only for the bloody events that ended the Grenada Revolution, but the dissolution of the hopes and dreams of many who had viewed it as a way to reclaim the political and economic landscape that had been owned and controlled by either foreign powers or local elites throughout the island’s short history (Puri 2014). Destroyed at Fort Rupert on 19 October 1983 was the dream of Grenada’s independence as the succeeding decades would present challenges to its national polity.

2.2.7 Small Island Developing State (SIDS) in a Global Landscape (post-1983)

Grenada, at the dawn of the 21st century, witnessed an unprecedented reversal of its attempts at “independence,” with the US invasion insisting that the tiny Caribbean state was firmly confined to the “US backyard,” disparaging a Revolution slogan “In Nobody’s Backyard!” The post-1983 period would result in many changes, particularly in its economic and political stability, as this tiny island became fully embedded, but a miniscule player in the massive global economy. These changes stemmed directly from the political realignment after 1983, a devastating hurricane in 2004 that impacted its agriculture and tourism industries, severe economic downturns as part of the global financial crisis after 2008 and the Covid 19 pandemic of 2020-22, and growth in the tourism industry that left it dependent on yet another unstable market and more open to the vagaries of the world economy for this SIDS in the Caribbean.

On the morning of the 25 October 1983 the world learned about the tiny island of Grenada when news headlines splashed across television screens and other media that the US military had invaded to “rescue US nationals” there (Adkin 1989; Williams 1996, 2007). The small Caribbean state had been trending internationally for some time now, and gained widespread press when its popular Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, was placed under house arrest because he had refused to comply with the Central Committee (of the New Jewel Movement) decision to share power with his deputy, Bernard Coard; he was subsequently executed on 19 October in a spontaneous internal coup (Smith 2020; Puri 2014). But it was on the morning of 25 October when thousands of US troops began military operations in Grenada that the tiny island went truly global. The US claimed that the objectives of the invasion were securing foreign nationals (primarily US students studying at the US offshore medical school, St. George’s University), returning the island to “democracy,” and eliminating Cuban involvement on the island. The violent and bloody events of “October 19th” led the members of the OECS to intervene, though there was no legal basis to do so, by requesting the US, which was very willing and able to execute such an impromptu military operation (Williams 1996).

Operation “Urgent Fury,” though hastily planned, was billed as a “surgical precision” operation aimed at retaking the island from the grasp of “communist thugs” (Adkin 1989; Cannon et al. 1984). Caribbean supporters formed the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force (CPF), numbering between 400-450 paramilitary and policemen as part of the Caribbean

Multinational Force, with the US by far the largest and commanding partner (Adkin 1989; Simmons 1984). The prime ministers of Barbados, Jamaica and Dominica (PMs Tom Adams, Edward Seager and Eugenia Charles, respectively) played primary roles (Lewis 1999, 2013; Seaga 2009). By 31 October the US military had secured Grenada, with most US forces quickly replaced by the CPF, which was given the task of restoring and securing order. The ten-day operations sparked a great deal of protest and debate around the world, resulting in a tremendous amount of commentary on the revolution, invasion, and the apparent attempt by the US military to control the media coverage during the invasion, but its most immediate outcome was placing tiny Grenada on the international stage and onto the global political landscape (Ford 1985; Puri 2014).

A consequence of the US invasion, according to Gordon Lewis (1987), was Grenada's apparent "break" with the UK, as illustrated by the different receptions given to US President Reagan and Queen Elizabeth II (the then head of state) when they visited the island in the immediate aftermath of the invasion. The British government had condemned the US invasion as illegal and Prime Minister Thatcher publicly expressed her disappointment with US President Reagan over his actions and the fact that her government was not consulted, especially because Governor General Paul Scoon was the representative of the Queen in Grenada (Williams 2001, 2007). Though Grenada remains firmly a part of the Commonwealth of Nations and other arms of the former British neo-colonial project (like the Privy Council as its final court of appeal), its focus and emphasis have shifted towards the US, with its large diasporic population in the US a major influence on its economy and society (Williams 2007).

An immediate outcome of the US invasion was the completion of the Point Salines International Airport (since renamed Maurice Bishop International Airport), with US funding, though the PRG had planned to celebrate 1984 as the "Year of the International Airport." Though the US had chastised the Grenada government about the possible use of the airport for (Soviet and Cuban) military purposes, it soon acknowledged that the facility was necessary for the island's development, particularly tourism, following the insistence of local leaders. The opening of the international airport in October 1984 can be regarded as a starting point for the expansion of Grenada's construction and tourism industry, and a major shift in its economic priorities (Ferguson 1991). With the gradual increase in arrivals of overnight visitors, the need for more hotel rooms, boutiques, shops, etc. began to expand, altering the face of the Grenada economy in the 1990s and thereafter. The international airport, a project

first dreamed up by PM Gairy and realized by the PRG under PM Maurice Bishop, was instrumental in taking the Grenada economy into the 21st century, and shifting its focus from agriculture to tourism and related services (Bhola-Paul 2015; Mills 2004; Nelson 2012).

On 7 September 2004 Grenada was directly hit by Hurricane Ivan, a category three hurricane that left the island ravaged. Severe winds of over 193 kph (120 mph) led to devastating effects as trees were destroyed and numerous buildings levelled; between 80-90 percent of the standing buildings lost their roofs or received heavy damage (OECS 2004). Tens of thousands were left homeless and without food as shell-shocked Grenadians tried to cope with the catastrophic disaster that had befallen them. Most of the islands' infrastructure was damaged or altogether destroyed, including telecommunications, electricity system, schools, churches, roads, and the water supply system. The islands' economy was devastated, with agriculture and tourism both affected as tree crops like nutmeg and cocoa were destroyed, and hotels damaged. It was the worst hurricane Grenada experienced in recent history and the worst the English-speaking Caribbean witnessed in over a decade. The total estimated damage in Grenada was just under US\$1 billion, and it would be many years before the islands' infrastructure was completely rebuilt. As numerous governments and international organizations responded with short- and long-term relief, the UN reported in mid-2005 that the devastation wrecked by Ivan and how Grenadians were coping with the destruction was one of the ten underreported stories of the year (UNDP 2007). Ivan was followed nine months later by Hurricane Emily which did additional damage to the northern part of the island and Carriacou (OECS 2005).

The new Cruise Ship Port was almost completed when Hurricane Ivan struck, but received only minor damage, and did not take long to repair and opened in 2005. It signaled the beginning of Grenada's new economy, with its emphasis on infrastructure and tourism, especially under the New National Party (NNP) governments of Dr. Keith Mitchell. Though agriculture was still regarded as important to the island's economy, the emphasis shifted to tourism, which was seen as the most lucrative industry to quickly repair the island's devastated economy. Unlike 1955 when banana was seen as the crop to help Grenada rebuild its economy, this was not the case in 2004 after Hurricane Ivan. Agriculture had been the mainstay of the Grenadian economy, but for the first time it was challenged, despite the fact that it still held dominance until the end of the 20th century. It was the destruction caused by Hurricane Ivan in 2004 that finally dethroned agriculture as the primary economic sector, and soon to be replaced by tourism.

By the end of 1983 the number of visitors to Grenada had declined under the PRG, but following the US-led military invasion and the completion of the international airport, there was a marked increase in visitors, many of them overnight stays. This concurrently led to the expansion in visitor infrastructure, with growth in the construction of hotels along the main beaches, and singling out the southern coasts as the home of the tourism industry. Though cruise ship passengers still account for the majority of visitors, Grenadians living abroad and returning for holidays regularly account for about 20 percent. Next to the civil service and agriculture, the tourism sector employs the largest number of workers in service-related jobs, predominantly in hotels, guest houses, restaurants and local boutiques.

In 2020, following the unexpected arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic, Grenada found itself in dire economic circumstances. Like its former historical dependence on agriculture, its increasing dependence on tourism, which was practically shut down by the sudden curtailing of international travel, left its economy devastated. In 2019 Grenada celebrated a milestone of over half a million visitors in 2018, with the Grenada Tourism Authority predicting continued growth in the years ahead (GTA Press Release 26 July 2019). The unfortunate arrival of the pandemic brought to the forefront the fickleness of the industry and the problem for the island that had heavily invested in it. At the time of the pandemic, Grenada had three mega-hotel projects in the pipeline (funded by its controversial Citizenship by Investment program) which it decided to go ahead with, despite the current situation and unknown future of the industry (Buckmire et al. 2022). These projects, however, garnered undue attention in the wake of the pandemic as many questioned their scale, but more importantly, their impact on the Grenadian landscape once it was revealed that the Seven Senses Hotel project at La Sagesse, St. David had indiscriminately destroyed unique habitat to make way for its construction, and another mega-hotel project at the Ramsar site at Levera, St. Patrick (Buckmire et al. 2022). The images of the destruction soon swept across the Internet and social media, galvanizing advocates who questioned the long-term impacts on local communities and the fragile island landscape. The NNP government defended the projects, but it was evident that there was immense public pressure to alter them to lessen the impacts on the landscape in a time when the island is threatened with coastal erosion and the effects of climate change (Buckmire et al. 2022). Grenada, trying to locate itself within the global landscape, is struggling to balance these various factors that will determine how it provides for the people of Grenada, not just economically, but socially, culturally, and sustainably, into the future.

3

Conceptualizing Landscape in Creolizing Caribbean Islandscapes

*“I saw what I saw very clearly. But I didn’t know what I was looking at.
I had nothing to fit it into. I was still in a kind of limbo.”*

V.S. Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987:3)

The Caribbean (i.e. Indies/West Indies/Antilles) began as a misnomer, an archipelagic dreamscape strung together by European myths, desires, pleasures, and fancy. Imagining himself in the mythical land of the Great Khan, the island of Cipango (Japan), or the riches of the spiced (East) Indies, Columbus stumbled upon his dream of the Garden of Eden peopled with fantastical beings of grotesque human “savages,” in this New World that was ripe for the picking. For the Indigenous peoples of this romanticized archipelago, however, it was the beginning of a cannibalistic nightmare that would consume them, leaving only denigrating caricatures and stereotypes (Sheller 2003). Those who followed in Columbus’ wake imagined a landscape shaped by their belief in an earthly paradise—a bountiful, verdant promised land foretold and bestowed on them by Providence (Dillman 2015). These ambiguous images of the Caribbean landscape, of diverse islands and peoples, were rendered in the ways European writers, colonists, sojourners, and visitors wrote about, drew or painted the landscape, creating novel imaginings of peoples and places that often reflected more of their own origins, fears and biases than actual representations of this “New World.” They set about fashioning this ideal of an earthly paradise, despite the incongruous presence of genocide, indenture, slavery, colonialism and the inherent brutality and exploitation of the colonial enterprise of both peoples and the environment. The (mis)representations of this fantastical New World inhabited by noble savages was brought to you by the “imperial gaze” or the “tropical gaze” that came to dominate the way places and peoples were/are perceived, imagined, and even self-identify across the region today¹ (Arnold 2006; Crowley 2003;

¹ For example, in 1970, Grenadian Premier Eric Gairy, during the height of “Black Power” protests against his government, vowed not to allow “any racial disharmony in this ‘Isle of Spice’-the Caribbean Garden of Eden,”

Mcaleer 2010; McClintock 1995; Pratt 1992; Sheller 2003). It begs questions like: What is it about islands and their peoples, in this case the Caribbean, that have fascinated people from across the globe to imagine, dream, desire and distort them, for centuries? Is it their separateness and perceived boundedness that make them appealing to mythmaking and fantasizing (Baldacchino 2005)? What is it about these islands that makes us believe they are special, and thus their identities unique? How can we better understand societies scattered across these small archipelagic islands like Grenada—these “maritime landscapes”—and the role they played in creating new societies and forging new identities over time? How do we understand them from without? How do we reimagine them from within?

This chapter discusses various theoretical concepts with the objective of conceptualizing landscape in an island landscape, specifically of the smaller islands of the Caribbean archipelago. It highlights various theoretical approaches that have been used to study and understand Caribbean society, and their idiosyncratic historical landscapes. It examines the concepts of landscape, landscape biography, and landscape change in the *longue durée*, within the context of specific historical and social circumstances experienced in these small islands (Antrop 1998, 2005; Bender 2002; Braudel 1949; Guldi and Armitage 2014; Ingold 1993; Kolen et al. 2015). It utilizes aspects of the phenomenological approach of landscape to examine “landscape representations,” “*memory-traces*” and “landscape identity” as a way to understand how diverse groups of people interact and create landscapes under specific conditions, and fashion a sense of place and identities in these islandscapes (Hay 2006, 2013; Ingold 2013; Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011; Tilley 1994). It ultimately aims to conceptualize the characteristics of landscape changes brought about by the process of creolization due to European invasion and colonization of the Indigenous space, the institutionalization of plantation slavery using captive Africans, centuries of colonialism, and in, out and return migration of diverse peoples in order to understand the parallel issue of intense contestation that continues to impact and define the creolized cultural landscape in these small island spaces. It is in this vein, therefore, that the Caribbean island landscape, particularly of smaller islands like Grenada, is reimaged and retold from the inside out, allowing for the (re)emergence of new perspectives on history, landscape, memory, and identity.

echoing the colonial view of the Caribbean paradise despite the social and political chaos that characterized the period, and its deep history of genocide and slavery (Martin 2022:25).

3.1 “An Island is a World”²

I am not sure at what age I realized I was living on an island, specifically a tiny island denoted as a mere dot on the globe. However, I was always aware that the space I inhabited was close to and surrounded by water, vast amounts of water, as far as the eyes could see. Since my first memory of heavy rains gushing down the hillside and emptying into the sea, I cannot tell you that I understood the larger picture of islands, archipelago, continents, (bio)geography, waves, currents, and oceans. But from an early age, I surmised that my space comprised a verdant landscape, interspersed with rivers, streams, and mountain lakes, steep hills and lofty mountains, deep valleys submerged in a wash of tress, bushes and houses, and beaches—beautiful, white and black sandy beaches where we swam and from where we saw the expansive sea dotted with fishing boats, schooners, yachts, and even cruise ships carried on the waves toward the shore or the distant horizon. It was idyllic in many ways, for most, especially a child, yet it was also in stark contrast to the challenges that many faced on the island on a daily basis. And then there were the times when the threat of storms or hurricanes in the hot, sweltering months of the rainy season, or of the nearby sub-marine volcano threatening to finally erupt from the seabed made all feel vulnerable to the unpredictability of the power of natural forces circling all around this tiny island, seemingly adrift on a tumultuous sea reflecting off the dark sky.

And although I learned that I lived on an island of 344 km² (123 mi²), 19 km (12 mi) across and 34 km (21 mi) long at its extremes, it appeared rather large to me because I knew so little of it, and I had nothing to compare it to. The furthest I had traveled was to my grandmothers’ houses in the countryside, or the small airport in the mountain, and getting there seemed to take forever (through a child’s eyes). As you passed scattered, sleepy villages, across rumbling, narrow bridges and up hills along steep, winding roads hung with creeping ferns that disappeared into the mist-covered treetops. It was not until a teenager, when I traveled by (Coastguard) motorboat to the sister island of Carriacou in the Grenadines as a Sea Scout that I began to realize the extent of the place where I was born and grew up, and how it connected to these even smaller islands and islets that seem to create a familiar path across the sea (Martin and Hanna 2020). For the first time in my life I had left the island and could see it from afar, as it came into panoramic view in the distance, this mountainous expanse of green with intermittent, small, clustered patches of tiny, multicolored buildings all splashed against

² Title of Trinidadian writer Samuel Selvon’s 1955 novel about “identity, self-awareness, and wholeness in a colonial, pluralistic society crippled by self-contempt and the psychic scars of slavery, and the equally dehumanizing Indian indenture system” (Barratt 1996:26).

a blue and white sky, and surrounded by a vast sea of churning waves that originate on neighboring, connected shores. And a few years later, when I left the island on my first airplane journey to a neighboring island, I got this fleeting birds-eye view of my tiny island as it disappeared beneath a puff of cumulus clouds. This island, this tiny island buffeted by the Caribbean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, had been my home (till then), my entire world of family, community, place, learning, exploration, adventure, celebration, history, memory, poetry..., and identity. Grenada had been my islandscape, a unique island world that Poet Laureate Derek Walcott (1993:52) muses “...can only exist / If we have loved in them.”

Islands, particularly small (tropical) islands like Grenada, have been recorded in history, literature, poetry, and folklore in their many forms, from the majestic to the sublime, the beautiful to the bizarre, and the fantastical to the fearful (Baldacchino 2018; Ratter 2018). Islands have been described as possessing idyllic and poetic landscapes, sometimes paradise, and even the Biblical Garden of Eden. From the Ancient Greeks of Homer’s *Odyssey* (2011) to the early European explorers like Charles Darwin (1859) in the Galapagos and Captain James Cook in Tahiti, islands have captivated and enthralled, educated and inspired, and even provided novel vegetables like the breadfruit and several Asian fruits via the (*HMS*) *Providence* to our provision gardens despite the mutiny on *The Bounty*.³ These views of islands as magical and wondrous, beautiful but mysterious, liberating yet isolating, idyllic and abounding with unexpected treasures are as old as the stories told of them—from the tales of Thomas More’s (1516) *Utopia*, William Shakespeare’s (1623) *The Tempest*, Daniel Defoe’s (1719) *Robinson Crusoe*, Robert Louis Stevenson’s (1883) *Treasure Island*, William Golding’s (1954) *Lord of the Flies*, Jamaica Kincaid’s (1988) *A Small Place*, and Derek Walcott’s (1990) *Omeros*. What is it about islands—small tropical islands like those of the Caribbean archipelago and their surrounding seas—that so intrigue us, that so captivate us?

Many years ago, I read somewhere that the best or only way to truly see and experience islands is from the sea. The idea of sailing through the Caribbean aquapelago and experiencing each of the islands in turn has remained with me all these years, especially now that I write about islands. And until quite recently, seeing these islands from the sea was the only way to experience them, these archipelagic mounds strung together like verdant (three-

³ In 1793 the British via Captain Bligh aboard the *HMS Providence* brought the breadfruit plant and many other Asian fruits and vegetables from the Pacific to the Caribbean, finally succeeding after the infamous mutiny aboard the *HMS Bounty* in 1787. The breadfruit was first recommended by Sir Joseph Banks, a member of the Cook expedition, as a food for the enslaved in the region, though it was not readily accepted by them. The breadfruit is today the main ingredient in Grenada’s national dish, the one-pot *Oildown*.

pointed) *zemis*⁴ on a string winding their way in a crescent across the Caribbean Sea, almost as if bridging the outer bounds of two continents, and literally binding them together. These oceanic islands, with their mountaintops barely discernable from each other in the misty distance, were first seen from the bows of Indigenous pirogues arriving from the mainland in search of new shores and refuge from long journeys. These islands, though bounded by the sea, remained connected to each other in the chain, and to the (Spanish) Main, centuries after they were first invaded and colonized by Indigenous peoples (Hanna 2018, 2019). So too the Europeans who happened upon these inhabited islands, sighted from the crow's nest or the bridge of mast ships, and in turn invaded and colonized them, reimagining them as part paradise and part exploitable space, including their Indigenous inhabitants (Martin 2013; Murphy 2021). Now, these islands are best viewed from bird's eye drones or planes, as the crow flies, creating new and evolving perspectives of these small archipelagic islands like Grenada.

An island is defined simply as “a piece of land surrounded by water” (Simpson and Wiener 1989). That is where the commonality among islands ends as the diversity of their size, location, geography, geology, and ecology, and therefore their exploitation by humans prohibits any other binding comparisons (Hache 1998; Hay 2006). This diversity, of course, has led to extensive debates on islands, their particular characteristics, and the role those play in the perceived uniqueness of their ecology and cultures. The most obvious observation of islands is their apparent isolation due to their physical separation from other land masses by surrounding seas or oceans. This perception of isolation—physical, ecological and cultural—and its implications regarding its insularity have been central to the debate on islands for decades, especially within the disciplines of ecology (biogeography) and anthropology (Boomert and Bright 2007). In an attempt to shift the debate surrounding islands, the idea of redefining what it means has been proposed in the form of islandscape. Islandscape, or islescape, is more encompassing than the limited perception of island with its basic definition. Islandscape, first coined by Broodbank (2000), “encompasses all of the constituent components of an island, in a holistic manner,” that is its “sea, coast and land, all attributes to an island's character” (Vogiatzakis et al. 2017).

⁴ A *zemi/cemi* is a sculptured object believed by the ‘Taino’ to possess an ancestral spirit or deity. One of the most popular of the various forms is the three-pointed stone, shell or coral *zemi*, a sculpted or plain triangular shaped object (see Swogger 2021).

That Grenada is part of an archipelago of small islands, itself one of its smallest inhabited islands, and only 161 km (100 mi) from the South American mainland are all important in the analysis of its changing landscape over the *longue durée*. Murphy (2021) also designates Grenada as the southern boundary of the “Creole Archipelago” that occupied a distinctive area of colonization in the 17th to 19th centuries. As with most other oceanic islands, Grenada’s “topography and biogeography, and that of the surrounding marine ecosystem, provides both limitations and opportunities for the distinctive human activities that can be practiced on the island” (Bevan and Conolly 2013:44). These topographical characteristics of size, and distance to other islands in the archipelago and the mainland, have social implications of isolation, insularity, and connectedness that have defined small islands across the globe, but specifically across the Caribbean’s “Sea of Islands” or “Continent of Islands.”⁵ Though these characteristics have influenced their settlement, cultural aspects like maritime technology and navigational ability may have played greater roles, and have called into question the emphasis on island biogeography as a paradigm for understanding island societies and environments (Boomert and Bright 2007; Broodbank 2000; MacArthur and Wilson 1967). In recognizing the uniqueness of island societies, however, some like Patton (1996:25) and Hay (2013:209) respectively suggest that new approaches to the study of islands should focus instead on the “cultural dimensions of island life,” or “an engagement with psychologies of island experiences” to better understand them, to better know and explain them.

Grenada, and other small Caribbean islands, are of course similar in many respects to mainland landscapes despite their boundedness, but it is specifically their *islandness* that makes them what they are and what they have meant and mean to the many peoples who have, and continue to inhabit them (see Telesford 2021). But as Ratter (2018:3) insists, their smallness and isolation are not enough to explain islands and their populations, it is the results of “how they deal with the spatial facts they have been dealt” that creates their uniqueness. For islands like Grenada, it is its location within this archipelago of islands, connected to its island neighbors and associated with two continents, Europe and Africa, that created its diverse chronologies and thus definitive yet changing Caribbean identity through time. It is its interactions with its smallness and boundedness that have created its complex heritage and culture, and thus island identities that are celebrated by its inhabitants, even by

⁵ “Sea of Islands” was coined by E. Hau’ofa (1994) in an article titled “Our Sea of Islands.” A “Continent of Islands” was made popular by Mark Kurlansky (1992) in his book *A Continent of Islands: Searching for the Caribbean Destiny*.

those in the Caribbean Diaspora. It is its distinct island history that has left it susceptible to its particular social issues, while its boundedness has left it exposed to environmental hazards like coastal erosion. It is its smallness that has left it vulnerable to global environmental threats like climate change, an unequal international economic system, particularly of trade, and the very economic endeavors—agriculture and tourism—that have sustained it over the centuries, but have nonetheless diminished its environment and its sustainability. It begs the question: What are the best approaches and methods we can use to analyze and better understand the landscape or rather islandscape of these small islands, with their complex histories, cultures, and identities?

3.2 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Caribbean Societies

The islands of the Caribbean archipelago have intrigued many with interests in various academic fields for centuries, though serious research into its economy, ecology and society only developed in the late 19th century, and especially in the beginning of the 20th century (Hurbon 2003). Much of this research, however, have been carried out from the periphery, with varying perspectives that oftentimes depict the islands as places of fascination, and portrayed its peoples as objects of study (Higman 2003; Smith 1955). The islands themselves lacked the resources to pursue research of interest until the mid-1900s when the changing politics and social dynamics led to the emergence of multiple Caribbean voices, many emerging from nascent academic institutions (Higman 2003). These voices have been most vocal in the region's literature that has a longer history, allowing for the portrayal of lived perspectives that have shared the Caribbean island experiences, and like in other post-colonial societies plays a primary role in the creation of “national and nationalist discourse” and “reflects and contributes to changing understandings of national identity” (Hogan 2015:1). Caribbean fiction writers and poets were the first to make the world take notice of these islands, changing the view that they were only the periphery or even backwaters of European colonial empires. Additionally, studies by C.L.R. James (1933, 1938), Dr. Eric Williams (1942, 1964, 1994), Dr. Elsa Goveia (1956, 1965) and Kamau Brathwaite (1971) in the English-speaking Caribbean; Aimé Césaire (1955), Frantz Fanon (1963, 1967) and Édouard Glissant (1989, 1997) in the French Caribbean; Cola Debrot (1935) in the Dutch Caribbean, and José Martí (1891), Fernando Ortiz (1950, 1951, 1995) and Alejo Carpentier (1946, 1949) in the Spanish Caribbean are some of the early writers whose works changed

the way the Caribbean islands were portrayed and portrayed themselves and the Caribbean landscape to the world (see Kamugisha 2019). The latter half of the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st century witnessed the blossoming of Caribbean voices in literature, art, politics, society, and economics exemplified by Nobel Laureates Derek Walcott (of St. Lucia), Sir Vidiadhar S. Naipaul (of Trinidad/UK), Sir Arthur Lewis (of St. Lucia), and Saint-John Perse (of Guadeloupe), to name a few.

Caribbean scholarship came of age in the latter half of the 20th century, and its writers, living in independent states with their respective universities and institutions of higher learning, or the Caribbean Diaspora, placed them on an equal intellectual footing with European and North American academics, despite unequal access to resources. In the 1960s, with the socialist revolution in Cuba, the Black Power movements in the US and the Caribbean, and the growing anti-colonial struggles across the world, there was an emerging shift in emphasis from politics and institutions to social history or “history from below” (Higman 2003). This new approach to postcolonial theory resulted in the expansion of the study of Caribbean history and culture, with emphasis on the often forgotten enslaved and slavery, the emergence of a peasantry, and the development of contemporary Caribbean Creole societies; it would be decades before the contributions of the Indigenous populations would be acknowledged and thereafter incorporated into the study of Creole societies (Murphy 2021). To explain Caribbean societies through analyses of structural relationship and processes of change, several models—plantation (Beckford 1972), plural (Smith 1965), and Creole (Brathwaite 1971) society models—were developed, debated and utilized by academics in the region and beyond.

These three models have dominated the academic discourse on Caribbean society since. The plantation model, derived from the long history of the plantation complex that still structurally impacts the region, recognized Caribbean society as characterized by a rigid social hierarchy, dependence on a single or few crops for export, structural dependency, monopolistic tendency, marginality of the peasantry, emphasis on race and class, and negligent of social change (Beckford 1972). Many Caribbean academics utilized Marxist theory as part of their application of the plantation society model, and it would have probably the greatest influence on the early scholarship and since. This economic-centered model was a primary prism through which slavery, colonialism, and post-colonialism were analyzed and debated, and as a result, was criticized as being overly economically deterministic on the

other aspects of society, as well as negating the complex relationship between social variables (Harris 1995). Brathwaite (1975:4) adds that as the plantation model derives from the plantation, it runs the risk of “becoming as much tool as tomb of the system that it seeks to understand and transform.” The plural society model, developed by Furnivall (1944, 1945), was promoted by M.G. Smith (1960, 1965) as a way to explain the social and cultural divisiveness, conflict and thus disunity evident in Caribbean societies in the mid-20th century (Léon and Léon 1977; Smith 1965a,b). Smith (1960) saw these groups, separated on racial and ethnic lines, as leading distinct and separate lives with their own institutions, but held together only by the colonial state (Léon and Léon 1977). Its overemphasis on race and class, and conflict has led to much criticism, and it is seen as unable to explain the continuing changes via creolization that have taken place across the region. The Creole society model (Brathwaite 1975; Hall 1977), on the other hand, views Caribbean society as a “process of change and adaptation that occurs over time” (Mustapha 2009). More will be said about creolization below as it is utilized as a theoretical approach in this study.

As part of the postcolonial critique, several scholars have proposed that instead of the widespread use of strictly Western theoretical approaches in analyzing and understanding the complex historical and changing Caribbean societies, scholars should explore indigenous approaches because of the uniqueness of the region’s history of invasion, colonialism, and dependency; others have called for the rejection of these theoretical approaches altogether (Lalla et al. 2013; Lionnet & Shih 2011; Nakhid & Nakhid-Chatoor 2018). Unfortunately, a viable theoretical approach from a specific Caribbean perspective has not emerged, although the theory of creolization is probably the closest to being recognized as an indigenous approach, with some arguing that the works of Édouard Glissant (1989, 1990) and “Francophone thought” on *Métissage* and creolization are its beginnings (Burton 1993; Clarke 2000; Dash 1995; Kamugisha 2019; Searly 2020).

Though these larger theoretical approaches dominated the debates on Caribbean society, smaller, yet important discussions on the changing Caribbean landscape began to surface as well. In 1987 historical geographer David Watts (1987) published *The West Indies*, an extensive historical analysis of the region within a geographical emphasis. It was the first study to provide that perspective in examining the role of landscape in the last 500 years of the region’s history of European colonialism (Hauser and Hicks 2007). In the 1990s geography also emerged as an approach to examine the environment and development of the

region with the British-Caribbean Geography Seminar held in Jamaica in 1992. Though its emphasis was on the environment and economic development, it recognized that there was a reciprocal relationship between the two as “each shapes the other, whether it be in nurturing the history of a people, fashioning the evolution of a cultural landscape or in the channeling of patterns of economic activity” (McGregor and Barker 1995:4). But the approach was slow to gain popularity among scholars. Almost two decades later Higman (2003:17), in his review of the “Development of historical disciplines in the Caribbean,” concluded that “the evidence of material culture, the landscape, and historical archaeology, have received little attention from the mainstream of Caribbean history-writing” (except, for example Clement 1997; Cray 2015; Higman 1988, 2000; Satchell 2009, 2012). However, practitioners of Caribbean archaeology, especially in the last two decades, have utilized the landscape approach to enhance the story of Caribbean society in a spatial perspective. But Hauser and Hicks (2007:251) still view it as “remarkable that the study of colonial landscapes remains a relatively undeveloped area of archaeological research. And historians have slowly begun to use the approach to provide a more detailed and encompassing understanding of the region’s history...” (see Armstrong et al. 2007). This thesis approaches the study of Grenada from an interdisciplinary perspective, utilizing creolization theory and landscape studies to delve into how identities are created in these changing islandscapes. But before we get into that discussion we will explore the concept of landscape from a historical perspective.

3.3 Defining Landscape: From *Landschap* to Humanistic Geography

The exploration of the theoretical framework for a study on landscape, like this one, usually begins with the fundamental question of what is a landscape, or what is landscape? For many of us, that has something to do with a painting, a painting of a scenery, a large painting, a wide view, all encompassing, all engaging. Sometimes it captures people, other times not at all, or maybe they are portrayed in diminutive form, but it is an urban or rural, even rustic scene, a seascape or taskscape perhaps, that can take us back to a time long ago, or a pleasant time remembered (Cosgrove and Daniels, eds. 1988; Olwig 1996). It can often be nostalgic, or reminiscent of a place. This aesthetic meaning, representing a genre of art known as landscape painting, dates to the 16th century, and made popular particularly by Dutch and English painters (Cosgrove and Daniels, eds. 1988; Tuan 1979). Landscape as a field of study saw its emergence in Europe coinciding with the Renaissance and the ‘Age of Discovery’ that

brought Europeans to the Caribbean to occupy new landscapes (Antrop 2013). These narrative scenes were often panoramic in their expanse, but could also be narrow, focusing on a European country estate or a village, but later of Caribbean landscapes, oftentimes imaginary, but nonetheless representing new views of islandscapes. That view, that glimpse of a landscape remains an integral part of the overall meaning of landscape, but is only a part of it, a beginning of sorts, a place to initiate the exploration of what is a landscape and its multiple meanings.

The origin of the word landscape or rather *landship* in English is directly derived from the Dutch *landschap*, which is closely related to the German *Landschaft* meaning “shaped lands” as in “shaped by natural forces,” as these scenes were the subject of landscape paintings (Gibson 1989). The earliest Dutch reference to *lantscap*, however, dates to the early 13th century with reference to “land region or environment,” with its subsequent meaning of “scenery” deriving from the 17th-century Dutch painting genre, replacing that of “territory” (Antrop 2013) (Figure 3.1). Thus, it was the paintings of landscapes that were the basis for the concepts of natural and cultural landscape (Pannell 2006). Though it would take centuries before the idea of cultural landscape was institutionalized within academic disciplines like geography, its scientific basis began in the late 1700s and early 1800s with the likes of European explorers, including Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Charles Darwin (1809-1882), both of whom explored landscapes across the Americas, with Darwin finding evidence for his theory of evolution by natural selection, and Humboldt making contributions to natural sciences and ecology (Antrop 2013).

At the end of the 1800s, the German geographer Alwin Oppel introduced the term “landscape science,” and in 1908 geographer Otto Schluter suggested that cultural landscapes, as opposed to original (natural) landscapes, were created by human culture (Antrop 2013; Antrop and Van Eetvelde 2017). The presumed dichotomy between the natural and cultural landscapes has been part of the debate ever since. Much of the early development of the study of landscape took place in Europe until the early 1900s when the German concept was introduced to the United States by the well-known geographer Carl O. Sauer (Antrop and Van Eetvelde 2017). He expounded on the idea of cultural landscape, defining it as “fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result” (Sauer 1925). By the mid-20th century, the study of landscape had “became a core topic in geography and was seen as a unique synthesis

between the natural and cultural characteristics of a region” (Antrop 2013). Landscape studies continued to develop and were positively impacted by the changes in technology that brought about revolutionary perspectives.

These enhancements included aerial photography in the 1930s-40s, satellite remote sensing in the 1950s, statistical modeling, LiDAR, GIS and other spatial technologies (Antrop and Van Eetvelde 2017), allowing landscape studies to totally transform the way landscapes are studied and interpreted. But it was not always smooth sailing, as the field went through ups and downs, and at times went out of favor (in the 1950s-60s) (Antrop and Van Eetvelde 2017). By the 1980s, according to Dillman (2015), with the “cultural turn” in human geography, the term landscape took on the complexity and depth of meaning that it has today.

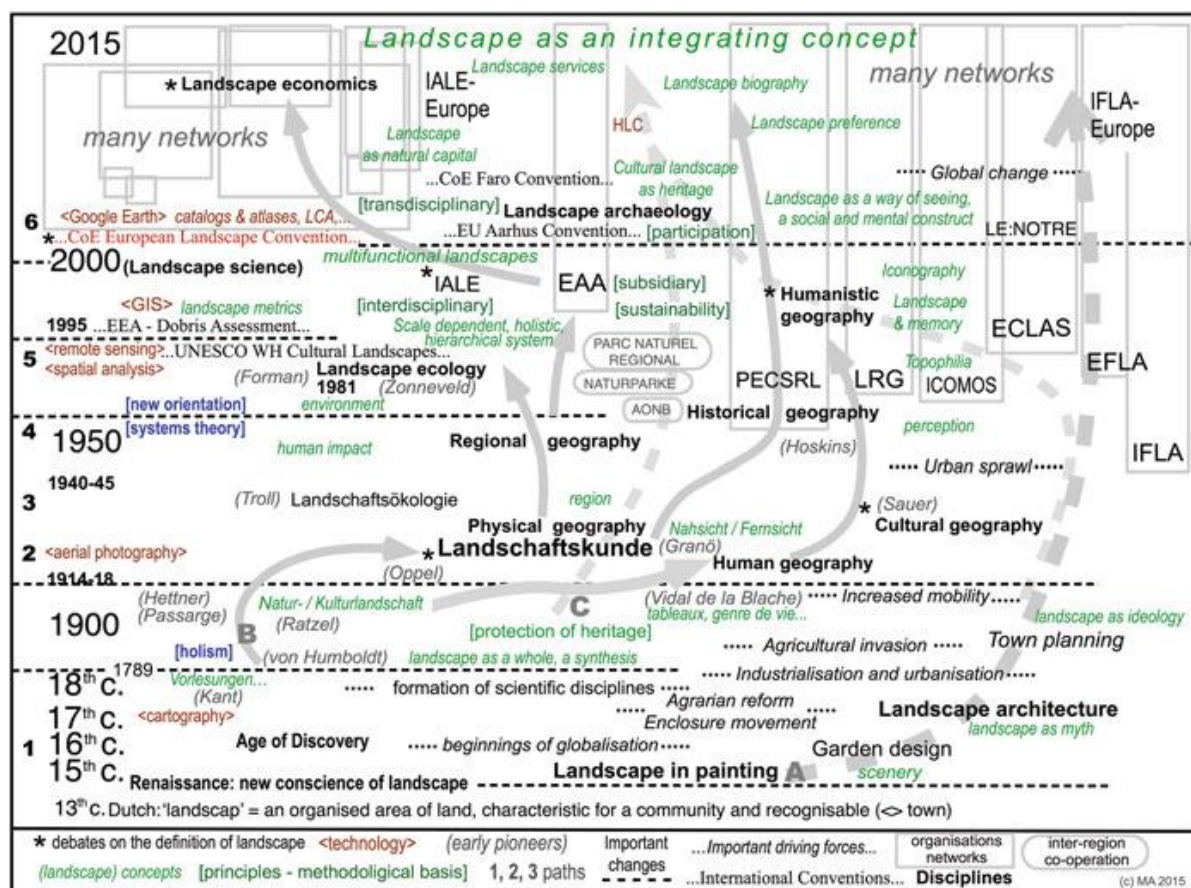


Figure 3.1 Development of landscape research (Antrop 2013)

So, what then is landscape? Well, most scholars who study landscapes will tell you that it is not easily defined because of its diverse use across multiple intellectual disciplines (Meinig 1979). In the introduction to the classic *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, co-editor D.W. Meinig (1979) begins by saying that “Landscape is an attractive, important, and ambiguous term.” After characterizing why it is attractive (“because it may bring

immediately to mind some pleasant prospect: a piece of the countryside, the particular setting of some memorable place....”), and important (“because it does carry all these connotations and more, and is thereby involved in many matters of professional interest and of public concern”), he adds that “because landscape is used by so many different people for such a variety of purposes, it is inevitably an ambiguous term,” even arguing that its meaning can be uncertain between and within academic fields. He concludes that the term landscape does not “aspire to a clean and clear definition.” The geographer J.B. Jackson (1979) writes that despite his over two decades in the field writing, lecturing and observing the landscape, he has to “admit that the concept continues to elude me.” Antrop (2013) adds that the meaning of landscape varies by the context and background of the specific user, with landscape not only referring “to a complex phenomenon that can be described and analyzed using objective scientific methods, it also refers to subjective observation and experience and thus has a perceptive, aesthetic, artistic and existential meaning” (Antrop 2013). Despite the ambiguity over the meaning or definition of landscape, we can follow Meinig’s (1979) example by juxtaposing landscape with closely related concepts to signify what it is not. Landscape is related, sometimes closely related to the concepts of nature, scenery, environment, place, region, area and geography, but is in no way identical to any or all of them, with which there is often confusion. Others have used various ways to describe what landscape is by way of analogy as done by Crawford (1953:51) who compared landscape to a “palimpsest” – a piece of vellum used many times for different texts, adding that:

“...a document that has been written on and erased over and over again; and it is the business of the field archaeologist to decipher it. The features concerned are of course the field boundaries, the woods, the farms and other habitations, and all the other products of human labor; these are the letters and words inscribed on the land. But it is not always easy to read them because, whereas the vellum document was seldom wiped clean more than once or twice, the land has been subject to continual change throughout the ages.”

As the theoretical basis for this study on landscape, a working definition that fits with the overall premise is desired to provide a holistic approach. As such we may look to important figures like Dennis Cosgrove who “advanced the concept of landscape” as more than a simple representation of physical geographical space, but “a way of seeing.” According to Cosgrove (1985), landscape “appears to point towards the experiential, creative and human aspects of our environmental relations, rather than to the objectified, manipulated and mechanical aspects of those relations.” Thus, this study will work within an overarching view

of landscape that incorporates the diversity and multidisciplinary methodology that produces a more holistic landscape approach.

3.4 The Life Story of Islands

The idea of creating in-depth portrayals of the landscape via a detailed biography or life history dates to the 1960s, but it was not until the late 1970s, with Marvyn Samuels' (1979) "The Biography of the Landscape," did the concept take root. Samuels had proposed the idea as a response to the quantitative nature of landscape research and "the insufficient attention to the role of people as the authors of the landscape" (Fairclough 2016). In advancing the idea, Samuels (1979) located two central ideas as a way to understand the concept –"landscapes of impression" and "landscapes of expression." Placing what he viewed as the central role of humans, or the authors of the landscape, in creating landscapes, Samuels looked at the "impact of individuals on the world" and "the impact of the world on their mentalities," connecting the two as the vital components of the landscape biography (Fairclough 2016).

It was not until the mid-1990s, however, that the concept of landscape biography was truly developed and promoted by Jan Kolen (1993) and others in The Netherlands "as an answer to reductionism and the growing gap between objectivist and constructionist approaches in landscape research" (Fairclough 2016). Landscape biography "tells the layered story of a landscape," how it has developed and changed as a result of the continuous interactions between humans and nature (Fairclough 2016; Kolen et al. 2015). Its emphasis is that of the *longue durée*, examining the "genesis of the landscape" from prehistoric times to the present, and involving "both the physical and the immaterial dimensions" (Fairclough 2016). Its core value or strength is its interdisciplinary approach, "characterized as an umbrella concept able to bridge analytical stories across disciplines, in particular geography, anthropology, archaeology, and history" (Garcia 2016). The goal of creating the landscape biography is to establish a body of knowledge of the long-term uses of landscape that will allow analyses of challenging issues of cultural heritage and identity (Jean et al. 2021; Kolen et al. 2015). Landscape biography also provides the tools necessary to better approach dealing with challenging issues like climate change and long-term planning for the management and protection of heritage as a societal need (Jean et al. 2021).

Like Finneran and Welch (2019), this study takes as a basic premise that islands like Grenada have a distinctive biography that provides the basis to explore the specific characteristics of islandness or a sense of place, thus the emphasis will be on authorship as it presents the greatest advantage. As Kolen and Renes (2015:32) suggest, “The authorship of landscapes has been one of the most prominent issues in all biographical approaches.” The biography of islands can be told through the authors of the islandscape, not only the authors of authority as shown by Samuels (1979), but the wide spate of players who have authored this landscape as suggested by de Certeau (1984). The authorship of landscapes should be told by both its “influential figures” and the “ordinary practitioners,” or “people who are actively engaged in the continuous production of living space” (Kolen and Resen 2015). Thus the emphasis on authorship as it is viewed as being able to explore a more thorough telling of the landscape biography, inclusive of the often forgotten or neglected local, sometimes subjected communities and their inhabitants.

This emphasis is pursued in this study because it allows for a more complete telling of the island’s life story as there are many ways to tell this story of a place, of a community, of many communities scattered about the hills and valleys of this volcanic island, afloat on a sea of waves in this turbulent aquapelago. This story will be told by assembling lost ethnographies recorded long ago by anthropologists who believed these voices should speak because they have been silenced for too long (see Brierley 1974; Smith 1953). By retelling the bloody events orchestrated by notable men across time that have been chronicled as “History” (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013; Steele 2003). By archaeologists unearthing buried artifacts from discarded lifeways and deathways (see Hanna 2017, 2018; Hofman et al. 2018, 2019, 2020; Holdren 1998). By the ancestors called to the dance circle of the African Nation Dance to sing and dance the rhythms of their labored ancestry (see MacDaniel 1998). This story will be fashioned in the grand style of a tropical landscape painting, rendered by the multiple hands that have painted these island lives. This story will be told the way it is told to me, deliberately, and in the voices echoing within the traditional knowledge of the Kali’nago, Anansi stories, French Creole, and the collections of folk memories that haunt the landscape today (see David 2004; Hill 1977, 1998, 2002). This story of landscape, like a ballad, has to be told by my two grandfathers, their “shadows that only I can see” (Guillén 2003). This story has to be told by my father who taught me how to see and inhabit landscapes. By my mother who made sure I remembered the ancestral stories of the rural landscape of her childhood. By Uncle Nadley who narrated stories of a landscape populated with myths and

legends, of malevolent spirits roaming the forests that scared the living daylights out of me in the dark rural nights. By the cartographers who recorded topography in two dimensions and toponyms in many languages, and by the “old heads” who repeated and embellished the stories generation after generation like good storytellers do. And, by the fishermen who possess that complete view of the seascape as they meandered daily along the coastlines.

This story, this tale of an island, this narrative of authorship of this islandscape, has to be told by the diverse voices that fashioned this landscape (Kolen and Resen 2015). This story is about landscape, how to read the many tongues silenced by time, how to excavate the memories buried deep under centuries of crusted bones and pottery, how to touch the emotional depths of countless beings, how to hear the echoes of hushed voices in the landscape, how to read the landscape as primary documents, and above all, how to see and understand this bounded islandscape across the centuries (Meinig 1979). This is the story of a changing islandscape as it was told to me by my father, and to him by his mother, and now I tell it to you. This is the biography of an islandscape through its many layers of the entangled palimpsest that is waiting to be read despite its contestation, or maybe because of it.

3.5 Creolization and Contestation of Caribbean Islands

The Caribbean islands, especially in the last century, have been in search of identities after centuries of colonial (mis)rule, slavery, indenture, and colonialism. In asserting their new-found independence, particularly in the last half century, many have embarked on the search for national identities that would bind their diverse populations together in a common national endeavor, illustrated by Jamaica’s “Out of Many, One People” and Guyana’s “One People, One Nation, One Destiny” mottos. Though they have explored several approaches, the Creole identity or creolization has probably been the most applied across the region as a way to unite their diverse populations in a singular cultural identity (Brathwaite 1971, 1974). But despite its widespread acceptance as a way to define the identity of the individual nations and their peoples and the region as a whole, creolization has its critics, and its complex history in the Americas provides lessons in adopting a concept that comes with historical baggage (Kamugisha 2019).

The term *criollo* was first used by the Spanish to identify descendants of the Spanish born and bred in the “New World” as distinct from those born in Spain. The Spanish *criollo* is after the Portuguese *crioulo*, (derived from *criar*: “to create/raise”), and may have implied a lesser status by distinction as the colonies were often regarded as lesser societies to Old World or European societies (Allsopp 1996:176; Bauer and Mazzotti 2009).⁶ Though continuously attached to white colonial identity with implications of class and color, *criollo* would be by extension identified with animals and plants, utilizing part of the original definition of local domestication or adaptation as opposed to imported from Europe or the Old World. Hence, the subsequent attachment to the colonial-born enslaved as opposed to “salt-water Negroes” or captive Africans brought directly to the colonies via the Atlantic Slave Trade, with the latter regarding the designation for their enslaved children as less honorable (Allsopp 1996). By the time northern Europeans established colonies in the Lesser Antilles they would also adopt the term and expand its meaning.

The process of creolization, however, began long before it was identified and named as such, with the invasion of Europeans into what became known as the Bahamas and the northern Caribbean or the Greater Antilles. It began with the naming, or rather renaming of the peoples settled there and the Indigenous landscapes they had created over millennia. Curet (2011), Khan (2011), Hofman et al. (2022) and Jacobson (2023) argue that the idea of creolization is universal and can be applied to the extensive cultural interactions and mobility and exchange of goods and ideas between the precolonial peoples of the Caribbean. Particularly in the southern Lesser Antilles, with its toing and froing of peoples, ideas and objects from the Greater Antilles and the northern South American mainland (Hofman et al. 2022). Camáhogne, as part of the later named Windward Islands, was at the crossroads of an active sphere of intense interactions between diverse Indigenous groups, with waves of invasions of multiple peoples that created new cultures that can best be described as Creole or having undergone the processes of hybridization, transculturation and interculturalization, and identifiable in their material cultures. So the process of creolization is not viewed as being restricted to the (European) colonial period, but also instrumental in the precolonial era (see Jacobson 2023). The invasion of Europeans, together with the forced migration of captive

⁶ This lesser status is explicit in the statement of the new British Governor Macartney in 1778 when he characterizes the French “New British Subjects” as “long residence in this climate [having] contracted an indolent Creolian-cast, which tho’ easily irritated to do mischief, is seldom to be roused to do good” (Macartney 1778).

Africans, new technologies, etc. would intensify the process after 1492, and create the multiple Creole societies that define the region today in their stunning diversity.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the term Creole (English)/Créole (French) had come to encompass multiple aspects of Caribbean society and culture with diverse meanings, including people (*Créole(s)* or Creole white; mixed race; African-descent blacks; white French Creoles in Trinidad), languages (French Creole, English Creole, Papiamentu, Keywòl), animals (like horses, mules, etc.), plants (Creole arrowroot/cane), foods (Creole coffee/cocoa/bread), lifestyle, habits, and even ideas like identity, with it almost being a substitute for West Indian or the later applied Caribbean (Allsopp 1996; Bauer and Mazzotti 2009; Lowenthal 1972). It had also spread across the globe, particularly in application to Creole languages and people like Krio/Krios of Sierra Leone, or Kriol peoples of Alaska, Creoles of Louisiana, the Indian Ocean, and beyond. According to Lowenthal (1972), the term, in the English-speaking Caribbean, had gone out of style in the 1960s and the early 1970s “where independence and black power now favour national and ethnic appellations, the term ‘Creole’ is today considered old-fashioned, self-conscious, or ‘arty.’” Creole and Creole identity, however, did not disappear, but is instead experiencing a rebirth of sorts across the region and world in its application to cultural contact and change.

The 1970s, because of the desire to create national identities in the newly independent countries of the Caribbean, witnessed a rehabilitation of the concept of creolization as it was seen as a process to understand the hybridization or blending of multiple cultural influences on the Caribbean landscape, and support a unique form of national identity within countries and among them. The publication of Edward Brathwaite’s *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (1971) would signal a new approach to the study of Caribbean change, challenging the existing paradigms of the “plural society” and the “plantation society” models. For Brathwaite (1971:307), creolization allowed us to see the Caribbean “not in terms of white and black, master and slave, in separate nuclear units, but as contributory parts of a whole” (see also Sheperd and Richards 2002). As Balutansky and Sourieua (2017:3) write, “Creolization is thus defined as a syncretic process of transverse dynamics that endlessly reworks and transforms the cultural patterns of varied social and historical experiences and identities.” Many see the process of creolization in the Caribbean as creating new and whole societies out of the “violent, fragmented, and disjunct past” (Mintz 1996:302) as a result of invasion, slavery and colonialism. It is echoed in the words of writers

like Naipaul who described them as “half made societies,” and Walcott as “this shipwreck of fragments” (Balutansky and Sourieua 2017). Colonialism resulted in the broken pieces or fragments of diverse Caribbean histories, cultures, genealogies and memories that, ever since the first rending of the Indigenous landscape, have been pieced together by many contributors via the process of creolization, nonetheless, without an end product in sight, but a constantly changing continuity.

The process of creolization can be used to more fully understand landscape change in the Caribbean that occurred under the conditions of European invasion of Indigenous spaces, plantation slavery, colonialism, and later tourism development (Murphy 2021). This change is characterized by the process of continuous hybridization and transculturation with particular and diverse variables influencing and dominating at specific periods and in different magnitudes. It grants agency to not just the dominant power, but also to the subjugated as there is a shifting dominance over time and place. In the beginning, particularly during the frontier period of settlement, it would have involved greater interplay between the Indigenous peoples and Europeans. Here, European settlers took much from the Indigenous landscape in order to survive, and in turn dominate it. In many cases, the Indigenous populations were slowly replaced by captive Africans who would come to dominate the population, but not before creating a triangulation of interactions among them that preserved essential Indigenous practices and traditional knowledge that nonetheless changed with the landscape (Honychurch 2000; Murphy 2021). Thus enslaved Africans would carry on Indigenous traditional knowledge in combination with their own within a European dominated social and political sphere, thus creating new cultures across the region (Abrahams 1967). As Witt (2013:3) posits, despite the fact that the process of creolization happens in “a nonegalitarian social context of asymmetrical power relationships,” it nonetheless is one of “resistant adaption,” resulting in mixed cultures that can be seen in the “multiple and various uses of material culture, and not a singular, normative colonial culture.”

In the case of the Caribbean, landscape change is overlaid with the particular process of creolization—a primarily social exchange that impacts all aspects of the changing society. Creolization is an important approach to explore and explain landscape changes, particularly the cultural landscape that resulted from the interactions of various peoples during colonialism and after. The interplay of these diverse populations under the conditions of European colonialism created specific economic and cultural outcomes that impact these

landscapes in specific ways, with each resulting island culture unique because of its particular mix of people: Indigenous (“Taino” and/or Kali’nago and Kali’na), enslaved Africans (multiple West and West-Central African ethnic groups), and European colonizer (French, Spanish, Dutch, English, Danish), and in some cases like Grenada two in succession, the French and British. Today, globalization creates a diverse mix that totally impacts these SIDS in multiple ways. The resulting landscape at any given time will therefore be influenced by these island specific characteristics, thus creating unique outcomes that are often identifiable in the various cultures and identities across islands and the region.

Despite the widespread acceptance by scholars, poets and intellectuals of Caribbean creolization or *creoleness* as fundamental to forging island and regional identities, it remains highly contested in both intellectual and lay segments of the Caribbean community (Kamugisha 2019). Ever since the emergence of political independence across the region, ideas like ‘Black Power,’ Pan-Africanism and *Négritude* have promoted a more Afro-centric or black nationalist identity that seeks (re)connections to a severed ancestral Africa, thus rejecting or minimizing the hybridized identity of creolization and the diverse journeys of the people of the region (see Césaire 1955; Garvey 2004).

3.6 Defining the Landscape of Identity Creation in Caribbean Islandscapes

“I can give you that historical bird’s eye view. But I cannot really explain the mystery of . . . inheritance. Most of us know the parents or grandparents we come from. But we go back and back, forever; we go back all of us to the very beginning; in our blood and bone and brain we carry the memories of thousands of beings.... We cannot understand all the traits we have inherited. Sometimes we can be strangers to ourselves.”

V.S. Naipaul, *A Way in the World* (1994:9)

Despite its mundane and purely accidental nature (as to the parents, family and place) for the one being born, birth remains an important event and celebrated in every culture. It connects you to the place of your parents that endows you with the characteristics that will allow for the creation of identities—history, culture, heritage, set of beliefs, and a way of the seeing the world, all encompassed within one’s cultural landscape; it can also allow for the creation of identities in opposition to one’s place and culture. This will influence who you are at any given time, and furnish you with a sense of belonging (or not), for the rest of your life as

“people derive a significant amount of their identity from the landscape in which they were raised or lived” (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011:323; Paasi 2002). That relationship between individuals and the landscape is described as landscape identity, which Stobbelaar and Pedroli (2011:324) characterize as “the unique psycho-sociological perception of a place defined in a spatial-cultural space.” They go on to suggest that “people can have a sense of belonging to a specific landscape, often in the region where they spent their youth or where they experienced a crucial period in their biography,” thus “place identity” or “existential identity” (*place-existential identity*) that incorporates “objects and the physical environment... but also the associations, memories and symbolic meaning attached to the physical landscape” (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011:323). This personal-existential landscape identity, identified in Stobbelaar and Pedroli’s “Landscape Identity Circle,” sees specific places as unique because they are attached to people’s lives, with each person possessing their life-world that is “composed of sites with a personal meaning” and “associations and memories attached with sites within it” (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011:326). Though cultural-existential landscape identity is concerned with the larger group identity as well, it nonetheless is part of the cultural landscape and thus forms part of personal identity. So how is personal-existential landscape identity created?

“Who am I?” is probably the most asked question as almost everyone has asked it at least once in his/her life. For most people, it derives from a strong desire to understand one’s place in their family, community, country and/or the world as they fashion the view of themselves in relation to that created of them by others around them. For others, it can be an existential question about their place in the universe, and often attached to the question “Why am I here?”⁷ At least, beginning in adolescence, many will ask the question “Who am I?” in the hope of figuring out how one defines who s/he is in relation to the people and places around them, in essence what is one’s identity? What makes one similar and/or different to others in his/her immediate community, or in the larger world (Rovira 2008)? The exploration and construction of identities, especially beginning in adolescence, is essential to one’s growth and personal development, laying the foundation for life as an adult, and ensuring confidence through a sense of belonging and connection to specific places, people and relations.

⁷ See, for example, some of the books that have influenced my thinking about identity in my teenage years: Achebe (1958), Buscaglia (1973, 1978), Drayton (1959), Gibran (1923), Lamming (1953), McDonald (1969), Mittelholzer (1950, 1952, 1963), and Naipaul (1961).

The question of how one even begins to explore the process of constructing personal identity is varied and different for everyone and depends on multiple factors. But at its core one is influenced by a relationship web of people and places around them—family, society, community, friends, experiences, history and culture, with each exerting a different sway and intensity on individual identities. These multiple variables and their many interconnections with each other through feedback loops create a complex and dynamic process that few are even aware of even as they engage with the continuous and ever-changing processes of identity creation, contestation and alteration throughout their lives. Sirek (2013:29), referencing Hall (1996), eloquently insists that identity “is a process of becoming, not of being.” Hall (1990:222) further adds that “Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which... cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a ‘production,’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.” Sirek (2003:29) continues “that people may travel back and forth and across identities, choosing and not choosing (or being made to choose or not to choose) the many identities that exist and that are constantly being claimed by us, ascribed to us, and negotiated within us.” The process of identity formation can be viewed primarily through “relationship experiences” with “imagined or real others” (Sirek 2003:30) via landscape, which is viewed here as instrumental.

Figure 3.2 presents a detailed identity map or chart of the primary variables and sub-variables or attributes that can affect one’s identity in varying degrees over time. It illustrates the multiplicity of influences that can affect identity at any given point in time, but not explicitly in the hierarchical or straightforward form illustrated in the figure. Its operational mode can be conceived, as Sirek (2013) suggests, via the metaphor of the rhizome as envisioned by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as a more chaotic yet cohesive process of interactions with the other in a relational web of connections (Glissant 1989).

Surrounding and enveloping all of the elements of identity formation is the landscape that is constantly being (re)created by the interactions of humans (via their history) with the environment/landscape (Kolen et al. 2015). The landscape is emphasized here in its overarching role as the vessel that retains and transmits the core of human activities over and across time. As an anchor, the landscape is in a continuous dialog or loop with these variables as it furnishes the ecosystem where all of these processes take place. In so doing, it remains the place where all of these processes are continually observed and (re)read across and

through time. In a fundamental way, it remains the only “constant” in its interactions with these changing variables, and maintains the record of exchanges with all of these as they change over time, and thus it too constantly changes as it retains traces of earlier experiences like a palimpsest. Berberich et al. (2012:21) notes, “landscape is the visible and invisible meeting ground of culture, place and space—where identities are exchanged, performed and constructed.” Landscape, therefore, encompasses the means to create and explore our identities because it preserves “the sum total of history” (Chamoiseau and Reeck 2020:6), and as Thomas (2004) suggests, it allows us to think beyond the limitations of history and culture. Thus, as we create landscapes that are “deeply imbued with meaning,” they, in turn, create us, providing “the existential means for understanding and managing the self and our place in the world” (Farrel 2012:117). And Smith (1991:22) adds, “the sense of [from] ‘whence we came’ is central to the definition of ‘who we are.’”

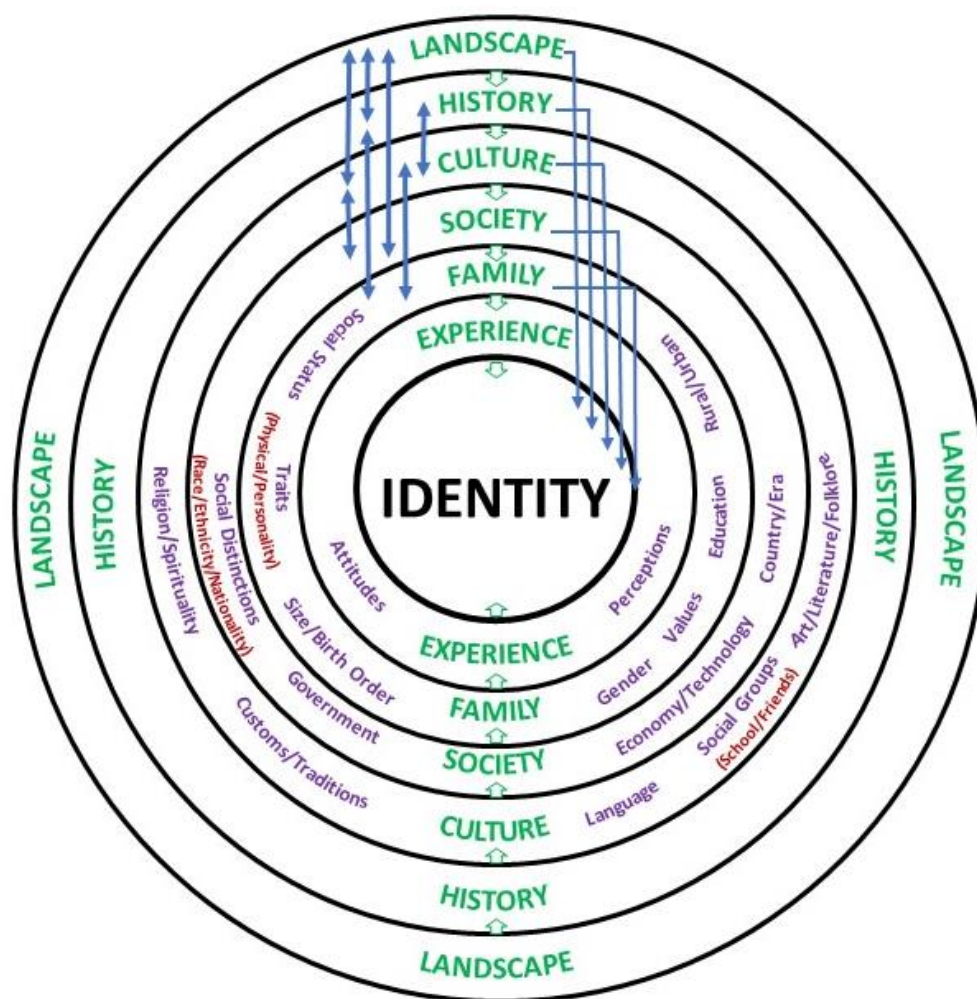


Figure 3.2: Identity chart showing the major influences on personal identity (adopted from John K., 2014)

History, often determined from multiple perspectives and/or the erasure or suppression of others, plays a primary role in creating cultural landscapes. For much of its modern history the experiences of the Caribbean and its people have been written, mapped, painted, and framed from the outside, with most of the authors mere visitors who arrived on these shores for short stays and fleeting glances. These impressions of the island, its people and its landscape, were recorded in narratives, paintings, maps and photographs by explorers, naturalists, cartographers, colonial officials, artists and adventurers who left their fleeting gazes that have endured, and today provide views of the changing landscape and how it was represented, remembered, and historicized. Many of these biased or at least suspect narratives, however, should be used with the necessary caution in regard to painting a balanced picture of the evolution of these islandscapes, then and/or now. These representations have impacted the views others, as well as “West Indians,” have of the Caribbean landscape, history, and thus, their identities. As Sheller (2003:37) notes, “contemporary views of tropical island landscapes are highly over-determined by the long history of literary and visual representations of the tropical island as Paradise.” A landscape perspective allows for a more thorough representation of the region and its people’s experiences in it over time, not just what others recorded of them. Though the implication of the landscape as more objective looms large, it should be noted that it is the combination of these various approaches that presents a more holistic and encompassing view of history.

History records the actions by which various and diverse peoples, in the course of inhabiting environments, create landscapes through their settlement and dwelling processes. This geographic-specific historical process has produced unique landscapes that have come to define the peoples who inhabit them. That over 500-year history—illustrated by invasions, genocide, slavery, colonialism, oppression, rebellion, civil unrest, natural hazards, subsistence, plantation agriculture, tourism and multiple other activities—is complex, contested, and continuously (re)read and (re)written. Its interpretation is nuanced because, as Marx (1852:5) notes, “Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living.” This is starkly illustrated by the history of the Caribbean and how it affects the people who today call these islandscapes home. As the often repeated cliché admonishes, “if you don’t know your history, you don’t know who you are,”

thus the knowledge of history, no matter how biasedly recorded and thus contested or influenced by others, is essential to the forging of personal and social identities, or in opposition to it. It allows us to see or not see ourselves reflected in the chronology of a place, particularly through its heritage—its monuments and *memory-traces*. Thus, histories, despite their constant contestation, play a primary role in constructing the umbrella under which cultures emerge.

Culture and history are thus deeply intertwined, but culture is the product of multiple and diverse historical processes. As Amilcar Cabral (1973:43) beautifully puts it, “Culture is an essential element of the history of a people. Culture is, perhaps, the product of this history just as the flower is the product of the plant.” Historical processes take place in particular landscapes over the *longue durée*, generating a story or series of stories of a group or groups of people, and often these can create shared experiences and thus a shared culture and heritage. That story or stories become the basis for culture creation depending on the interpretation of that history and the celebration of heritage, illustrated most notably in particular languages, social groupings, customs and traditions, religions or spirituality, and folklore and/or art and literature. As such, culture is a defining feature of an individual’s identity since it determines “how a person behaves, thinks, and views the world” (Rovira 2008:66), with Berberich et al. (2012:35) adding that “identity is inherently interlinked with culture.” This process is rather complex, often resulting in multiple cultural expressions due to historical processes like European invasions of Indigenous spaces and the enslavement of captive Africans, with individuals or even groups within these having very different personal and group identities (Patterson 1975; Smith 1965,1965b).

In examining culture, it is evident that the effect these can have on any individual identity is tremendous. Of these attributes, however, language is probably the most important as it allows one to create reality by the way s/he thinks, or as Henke (1996:57) notes, “one needs to conceive of language as the foundation of social interaction and the basis for the establishment of order through comparison, priorities, taxonomy, denomination, etc.” (see also Premdas 1996). Rovira (2008:66) emphasizes that “Language is intrinsic to the expression of culture... and a fundamental aspect of cultural identity.” And thus, as Chaudenson (2001:195) adds, “the greater the role of language in a cultural system, the more the system is influenced by the dominant social group whose language is imposed on all.” Jordan (2015:37) continues that “In a creolization context, then, it would be expected that the

group whose language was most prevalent would also have the dominant material culture,” which was French (and its Creole) and later English (and its Creole), in the case of islands like Dominica, Grenada and St. Lucia.

Thus, language becomes the medium through which one accesses his/her particular history and culture, and specifically its customs and traditions, beliefs, folklore and literature (Khokhar et al. 2016; Rovira 2008). These in turn reflect specific identities and status in society. How one speaks a particular language like Grenada Standard English (GSE) and/or English Creole, in the English-speaking Caribbean, says a great deal about him/her as it can identify them with a particular social or economic group, and/or geographical space, and thus customs and traditions, religion(s), folklore, and art and literature. Hence language, through culture, as a defining attribute, plays a primary role in the creation of identity as it is fundamental to every individual, creating the ability to think and thus construct a sense of self from an early age. One’s identity can be formed in opposition to one’s culture as well, a definite result in the Caribbean because of its contested histories.

Culture, via history, in turn fashions society, a collective that bounds groups of people in a specific space under forms of government and economy, but through social distinctions exhibits a tremendous impact on individual identities. Like culture and history, one is born into a society not of his/her choosing, but it will play an important role in determining how s/he sees her/himself and how others see her/him. Society presents the counterpoint to identity creation as it represents a mirror through which one views himself/herself. Society, through its specific location and era, but particularly through its social distinctions, will impact individual identities by providing the lens through which one sees himself/herself in juxtaposition to how others may see her/him. Race and ethnicity take on particular importance in the Caribbean context as these two factors, particularly race, have a strong historical precedence in determining identity, status and belonging in the region since the advent of European invasions, African slavery and colonialism (Kamugisha 2019; Premdas 1996). Race, and/or skin color (i.e., colorism), continue to play an outsized role in determining individual identity across the Caribbean because it is embedded in the cultural landscape, despite the fact that it is of little or no scientific consequence (Fanon 1952; Kamugisha 2019).

Family is the first and most influential component of personal identity formation. From birth, through subsequent development, and especially in adolescence, interactions within the

family create the necessary conditions that can aide or hinder successful identity development (Grotevant 1983; Scabini and Manzi 2011). Though the formation of identity is a singular journey it is often guided and supported by parents, siblings, cousins and other family members around you. The family contributes factors that are specific to them at any given time like social status, education (of its members, particularly parents), location (rural/urban), family size and values that interact with one's gender, birth order, and physical and psychological traits to create experiences that establish the basis for one's emerging personal identity (Figure 3.2). It is also through the family, often acting as a filter, that influences one's initial exposure to society, culture and history, and hence the impact on social identity. The family thus creates the conditions for individual members to learn about their defined roles in the larger society by establishing a positive self-identity, and transition from adolescence to adulthood. Identities can also be constructed in opposition to one's family.

Across the Caribbean, the specifics of the history of the family can shed light on its influence on personal identity formation. The region's history of slavery, colonialism and creolization has created unique and sometimes different conditions under which families were established and evolved. These factors include cultural disruption or deculturation (affecting child rearing and family stability), poverty, low levels of education, social status (influenced by so-called illegitimacy, female-headed and single-parent heads of households), family size (due also to intergenerational and extended family members), and emigration. As much of the enslaved Africans' culture was denigrated, disrupted or suppressed, and the imposition of European-derived family structures, the Caribbean family went through a process of transformation that continues to impact its changing identities and that of its members. As a result of generational slavery, very few Caribbean families have knowledge of their ancestry beyond parents and grandparents, thus lacking the stability and a sense of history and ancestry that can positively contribute to identity development (see Haydon 2010).⁸ The only thing passed down was a faint, disconcerting memory of enslavement or rather the trauma of it that many have chosen to minimize or even forget altogether, but yet have internalized.

Identity formation is essential to the growth of all human beings in order to live stable and fulfilling lives, especially within their own and other societies. However, the process is very complex and influenced by diverse variables and attributes that may be unknown to many as

⁸ See Ashie-Nikoi (2007:132) and McDaniel (1998) for discussions of the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou and its role in providing "knowledge of personal and family legacies" of the descendants of enslaved Africans who lacked the agency and resources to pass on traditional family genealogies.

illustrated in Figure 3.2. Yet, it is a process that all members of society will engage in as it is fundamental to social continuity. Each society, therefore, due to its specific and complex histories and cultures, creates various approaches that determine how its members might engage with identity formation and contestation, particularly through its family structures. Thus, countries in the Caribbean like Grenada have to contend with their unique histories that create the basis of identity formation across time and space in contested landscapes.

4

Analyzing Landscape Transformations in Grenada Via the Lens of HGIS: A Methodological Approach

“A stranger could drive through Miguel Street and just say ‘Slum!’ because he could see no more. But we, who lived there, saw our street as a world, where everybody was quite different from everybody else.”

V.S. Naipaul, *Miguel Street* (2002:79)

There are many ways to see our world. There are many ways to see this island world... like a chicken-hawk (*Buteo latissimus*), soaring above its bird’s-eye view and creating aerials of its predator landscape beneath. Or, like an agouti (*Dasyprocta antillensis*), scampering through the forest, breathlessly sniffing its way through the trees, bushes and undergrowth as a hunter follows on its heels; “fast like agouti,” but it cannot outrun its extinction!¹ Or take the miniscule Grenada frog (*Pristimantis euphronides*), enveloped within a water-filled bromeliad, seeing only a world reflected in its tiny, bounded surroundings. Or the endemic Grenada dove (*Leptotila wellsi*) surveying its shrinking habitat, hoping it has the perseverance to outfly the toxic Perseverance Landfill smoldering around it (Elgie et al. 2021; Rosenberg and Korsmo 2001). Or the Grand Étang (mona) monkey (*Cercopithecus mona*), dragged screeching across the Atlantic from equatorial Africa to masquerade for visitors for the treat of a ripe *fig* (banana). Or the fish-eating bat (*Nactilio leporinus mastivus*) that alights over the sea and swoops up a surprised catch in its claws, creating a ripple in the seascape that crashes against the coast, releasing centuries of entombed human skeletons that wash into the sea, without even an official sigh! And on the beach, within the gentle waves crashing at her feet, sits a child on the edge of an island landscape gazing out beyond the horizon. A ship sails by and disappears.

There are so many ways to see this island world, but this story of land use/landscape change is a multilayered, multi-perspective, transdisciplinary study that is best told through the

¹ The agouti, believed introduced from South America by Indigenous peoples centuries ago, is currently extinct from Grenada as a result of predation by man, and despite an attempt to reintroduce it in the 1970s. It was known for its speed and endurance, hence the saying “fas’ like agouti.”

encompassing methodological approach of Historical Geographical Information Systems (HGIS), which will allow for the multiple voices and stories of spatial representations across time and space in the Grenada islandscape (Jordi Martí-Henneberg 2011).

4.1 HGIS: A Spatial Approach to Analyzing Land Use/Landscape Change

One of the primary outcomes of this study is to produce a landscape biography of Grenada as a means to illustrate land use/landscape evolution in order to define landscape representation, and thus discuss the concept of landscape identity in an islandscape (Stobbelaar and Pedroli 2011). Though there are several possible ways to achieve this, the most appropriate and practical, for reasons that will be discussed later, is using historical Geographical Information Systems (HGIS) to analyze land use/landscape evolution. The fact that our present-day landscapes have been shaped by “historical settlement patterns and their varying cultural, socioeconomic and political causes,” the key to “understanding these ecological footprints and the processes that shaped them, therefore, requires a spatially and temporally explicit approach within a multidisciplinary framework,” thus HGIS (Etter and van Wyngaarden 2008).

HGIS is defined as a process that utilizes various tools and methods of GIS “to visualize historical information in its geographic context, examine it at different scales, interrogate its spatial patterns, and integrate material from many sources on the basis of shared location” (Knowles and Hiller 2008:xiii). It emphasizes “the role of spatial context and relationships in understanding the emergence, development and consequence of historical events” (Zang and Logan 2017; Lünen and Travis 2013). HGIS fuses history and geography where the result “is not about space on its own, but about interrelations between people set in space and time, which create places in the landscape” (Veldi and Bell 2019:1). Veldi (2020:64) stresses, “it enables the study of these human patterns in the context of place and time... [and] correlates with the concept of landscape biography” that compliments its use as a theoretical approach in this study.

GIS application dates to its emergence in the 1960s in the military and the fields of environmental science and cartography, but it was not until the 1990s that historical geographers and historians began to see it as a means to complement and enhance their study of the past (Gregory and Ell 2007; Veldi 2020). HGIS quickly became a sub-field within the

discipline of historical research, and its use was widespread among several others, including archaeology and geography. Gregory and Ell (2007), in looking at its impact in the field of historical research, write that “GIS allows geographical data to be used in ways that are far more powerful than any other approach permits. It provides a toolkit that enables the historian to structure, integrate, manipulate, analyze and display data in ways that are either completely new, or are made significantly easier.” Knowles (2008) adds that the application of GIS to historical research is changing the way history is practiced. There are a few detractors, however, who, according to Knowles (2008), question the supposed newness of the results and whether it warrants the laborious methodology. And though Gregory and Ell (2007) recognize that GIS affords a radical new approach at analyzing historical data, its reliance on overly scientific methodologies in a field that is not data-rich is problematic, which Knowles (2008:2) acknowledges, especially when “sources cannot easily be reduced to entries in a tabular database.”

Like geography, archaeology adopted HGIS as a methodological approach, particularly landscape archaeology where its practice is widespread today. As early as the 1980s, archaeologists were among the first in the humanities to adopt HGIS because of their field methods and fundamental “interest in the relationship between terrain and human settlement” as a way to provide more accurate site measurements and precise artifact location (Knowles 2008:7). HGIS, because of its accessibility and practicality presenting spatial history from multiple vantage points, has become quite popular across many disciplines in the humanities (Knowles and Hiller 2008). GIS was readily adopted because of its unique tools that organize and analyze spatial data, making it ideal and versatile for landscape studies (Hu 2012). It also allows for the integration of diverse quantitative and qualitative historical data sets across time and place to analyze landscape change and display the results spatially. Veldi (2020:62) concludes that “practicing landscape archaeology without GIS is unimaginable.” As popular as it has been, HGIS has been extensively used across the Caribbean by archaeologists, and as Reid (2008) notes, the region is fertile ground for geoinformatics in general due to the multiple ongoing archaeology projects there and the demand for state-of-the art technologies (see Armstrong et al. 2008; Farag et al. 2005, 2006; Finneran 2017; Hopkins et al. 2011; Norton 2020). It remains to be more widely adopted among historical researchers.

As identified above, this study will use the practical research tools of HGIS as a methodological approach to detect, map and analyze large-scale land use/landscape changes and create a map-based biography of the Grenadian landscape in the *longue durée* (Veldi and

Bell 2019; Veldi 2020). HGIS is a relatively accessible and user friendly approach, with results that are easy to understand by a general readership due to its visual results. This integrative tool allows the combining of historical spatial data like historical maps and location-specific data (like census of population and lands) that can then be compared across different time periods as well as to the contemporary landscape (Veldi 2020). HGIS scholarship adheres to specific characteristics as outlined by Knowles (2008:7):

- 1) Geographical questions drive a significant part of the historical inquiry;
- 2) Geographical information provides a good share of the historical evidence;
- 3) The bulk of evidence, or the evidence that provides the study's key analytical framework, is structured and analyzed within one or more databases that record both location and time;
- 4) Historical arguments are presented in maps as well as in text, graphs, tables and pictorial images; maps serve in particular to show patterns of change over time.

Most of the above characteristics of HGIS studies are pertinent to this particular study and as such reinforce the reasons why it is the most appropriate approach to analyze land use/landscape changes in Grenada in the last five centuries.

4.2 Data Sources

This study will analyze an array of qualitative and quantitative data collected primarily from French and English ethnohistorical documents from the 16th through the 21st centuries (Table 4.1). It will also utilize pertinent information from archaeological studies on Grenada and the Lesser Antilles (Bradford 2001; Bright 2011; Hanna 2017, 2018; Hofman et al 2012, 2016; Holdren 1998; Petitjean Roget 1981). The use of ethnohistorical documents have been shown by Bright (2007), Glazier (1983), and others to be an effective way to explore the settlement history of an area or region in the absence of other evidence, or as a way to lay the foundation for future archaeological analyses (see Holdren 1998). As such, this research will examine historical manuscripts, printed historical sources, illustrative documents such as historical maps, paintings and photographs, and administrative statistics such as censuses in national libraries and archives, and private collections to glean data on Indigenous, French, British, African and Grenadian settlement locations and landscape impacts (Table 4.1) (Armstrong, et al 2012; Boucher 1992; Glazier 1983; Holdren 1998; Honychurch 2002). These settlement patterns are used to analyze demographic (Kali'nago, French, British, enslaved Africans,

Creoles), political (conflict among Amerindian groups, attacks from Europeans, invasion by Europeans, immigration), economic (subsistence, export agriculture, types of crops, tourism), and social (representation) variables’ impact on the Grenadian landscape over the last five hundred years (Bradford 2001; Callaghan 2007; De Waal 2006; Meniketti 2004; Wilson 1989).

Types of Data	Sources
Archaeological	Bullen (1964); Hanna (2017); Hofman et al. (2016, 2017); Holdren (1998); Petitjean Roget (1981)
Cartographic	Archives Nationales (1984); Blondel (1667); Brierley (1992); DOS (1985); Jeffreys (1775); Romain (1749, 1749[1743]); Smith (1801, 1899)
Chronicles	Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]); Bouton (1640); Breton (1999); de la Mousse (2006); Du Tertre (1667-71); Labat (2005[1722]); Rochefort (1665)
Historical Documents	Archives Nationales (1984); Dampierre (1904)
Statistics	Archives Nationales (1984); The National Archives, UK
Historical Images	Archives Nationales (1984)
Traditional Knowledge	Oral histories from multiple narratives; Hawthorne et al. (2004)

Table 4.1 List of types of data and sources used to generate HGIS models and discussions.

As the Kali’nago and Kali’na of Camáhogne have left no written records, no chronicles, no journals, no liturgies, no epic poems..., their habitation of Grenada in the era of European invasion has been defined by information gleaned from a few, if often biased European chronicles (Table 4.1). These narratives or ethnographies, primarily by French missionaries like Breton (1665, 1929), Du Tertre (1667), Labat (2005[1722]), and de la Mousse (2006) who accompanied French colonization of the region, provide the earliest details of Grenada’s Indigenous population following European settlement of the island. Earlier chroniclers and travelers like Laet (1988[1630]), La Borde (1674), Pelleprat (1965[1655]) and Rochefort (1658) provide information on the regional interactions of Indigenous peoples in the southern Caribbean and northern South America. All of these chronicles provide varying quantity and quality of information on the Indigenous populations of the Lesser Antilles. Rochefort (1658) and Du Tertre (1667) provide the most detailed ethnographies on the cultural landscape in the Lesser Antilles, with the latter having lived in the islands among the Indigenous peoples. According to Allaire (1997:180), on the writings of the 17th-century French missionaries, “essentially, what anthropologists and historians know today of Island Carib culture, language, and society is based almost entirely on these documents” (see also Honychurch 2000). Garraway’s (2005:51) critique of ethnohistorical research acceptance of these early chronicles is that it often “makes no attempt to situate these sources in their historical context,

much less to evaluate their reliability,” and thus unintentionally perpetuate “certain prejudicial assumptions.” So despite the heavy reliance on these early narratives for necessary data on Indigenous peoples of the Lesser Antilles, caution should be the guide, especially in regard to the objectives of the various writers.

Until the availability of archaeological practices across the region in the latter half of the 20th century there was no recourse to question the validity or accuracy of aspects of these historical narratives. Archaeological evidence, alongside these narratives and other historical documents, offers an approach to “construct a revised model of aboriginal societies and languages both before and during colonial contact” (Garraway 2005:62). Archaeological data can therefore provide a more balanced picture from the artifactual remains and other discarded objects embedded in the landscape, and this has enabled researchers to make new interpretations that render a more diverse view of the Indigenous landscape (Leech and Leech 2021). This study will use data from the relatively few archaeological studies that have been done to date in Grenada, especially to recreate the settlement patterns of the Kali’nago and Kali’na on the eve of European invasion of the island and immediately thereafter (Table 4.1). The most revealing of the archaeological studies to date were carried out at La Poterie, St. Andrew and provide interesting data on contact sites as well as confirming the presence of Cayoid pottery, thus establishing its presence on the island (Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2018; Holdren 1998). Much, however, remains to be done with regard to contact-era archaeology that can help rewrite the often biased narratives of the Kali’nago and Kali’na in Grenada rendered by the early chroniclers.

The historical cartography of the Caribbean islands, particularly because of the absence of extensive archival data on the landscape from the early years of European colonization, are a rich source of data in historical research (Hutchinson 2021; Pulsipher 1987). As Pulsipher (1987) acknowledges, “Historical maps are potentially rich sources of information about the past, providing visual representations of physical features, spatial relationships, and the effects of human activity that can rarely be acquired from other types of sources.” As such, historical maps are vital in the application of HGIS, and it would be impossible to fully utilize the methodology without them as they “record the geographical information that is fundamental to reconstructing past places, whether town, region, or nation” (Rumsey and Williams 2002). Historical maps have retained information like toponyms, physical features and boundaries that other written sources rarely capture, and thus become a permanent record of a specific time though that place would have been modified over time (Rumsey and

Williams 2002). Before the application of HGIS, historical maps were not fully utilized as many scholars generally “rated the usefulness of written documents above that of cartographic records” (Pulsipher 1987:408).

Historical maps were generally created to illustrate graphic representations of colonial possessions (thus announcing ownership and rights), as a measure of resources (i.e. land, timber, water sources), and the level of development attained under colonial management. And as Hutchinson (2021:10) qualifies, “Maps were not simply passive representations of landscapes but were instrumental in creating it,” and thus “conferred rights and possession” to its creators. Despite the popularity of cartographic data, however, it is clear that they should be treated as any other historical source and scrutiny required to ensure that they are authentic and accurate as possible, with emphasis on the technology used to create them, the political landscape when created, and thus the inherent biases they might contain (Hutchinson 2021).

Though the cartographic history of the Caribbean began at the dawn of the 16th century, representations vary across the region depending on the assumed importance of the islands by European colonial powers who rendered it. The early maps of the region and of specific islands were mere representations that sometimes bore little resemblance to the actual places they were supposed to capture. By the beginning of the 18th century, after decades of European settlement in the region, more accurate cartographic representations of the islands began to appear, capturing useful historical and geographic data. The cartographic history of any particular island is dependent on its importance and value to the colonial powers at the time as is reflected in many of the collections of maps of the islands, with more of the Greater Antilles, particularly Hispaniola (presently Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

This is also the case for the small island of Grenada that was not settled by Europeans until the middle of the 17th century and remained a frontier colony of the French until the middle of the 18th century. Though its cartographic history is rather limited there are a few historical maps, particularly two cadastral maps (Jefferys 1775; Smith 1801, 1900), and a modern, basic topographical map of Grenada (DOS 1986) that provide the data necessary to create the databases for the HGIS (Table 4.1). This study takes the entire island of Grenada as the study area, thus analyzing landscape change on an island-wide scale that is captured in these various cartographic representations at various times in its 500 years history since European sighting of the island in 1498. Data are also examined in smaller geographic units of parishes

or districts as the original data was thus created within these regional confines. The absence of consistent comparable cartographic representations of the later periods (between 1900 and 1983) necessitated the utilization of maps adopted from Brierley (1992) that capture “Estates by Size, 1940” and “Estates by Size, 1988.” To complete the analysis to the present, land cover and forest formation maps (Helmer et al. 2008; Sijmons 2016) were used to provide a complete picture of landscape change in the *longue durée*. All of these cartographic sources for the island thus provide comprehensive coverage of the entire time period under study.

The bulk of the data for this study will derive from the large array of historical documents (i.e. manuscripts, government communications, property ownership, population data, plantation records, newspaper articles, and historical images like paintings and photographs) that are readily available from French and British archives (Table 4.1). Much of this data was collected for tax purposes, particularly during the period of both French and British colonialism, especially slavery. In later periods, the land-use data derives from the production and export of agricultural produce. As most historical documents “are often related to geographic places (i.e. to locations that can be detected in maps), a GIS approach can be exploited as a useful tool for analyzing and mapping data for historical research” (Carrion et al. 2016). The data used in creating the GIS databases are statistical, including primarily census data of population, tax records, land acreage, types of crops, and property ownership (genealogy) (Table 4.1). The biggest issue with this historical data is its inconsistent nature that required additional modifications to make usable and will be addressed later.

Though other qualitative data like traditional knowledge are used in the discussion of this study, these, for obvious reasons, do not form part of the GIS databases as they lack scientific quality despite the fact that some of that data do possess geographical reference points. As this type of data are not consistent across the time frame of the study they can only be used as supporting data for the discussions on the HGIS models, landscape representation, and landscape identity.

4.3 Digital Mapping and Data Processing

As stated above, the availability of appropriate data is of the utmost importance for a scientific application of HGIS in historical research. As Knowles (2008:2) warns, “The precision that makes GIS so useful in many kinds of scientific research and statistical

analysis, however, can make it an awkward instrument for historical research when sources cannot easily be reduced to entries in a tabular database.” One of the most immediate problems is the inconsistency or unstructured nature of spatial and other data across these long time frames as examined in this study, resulting in the need for adjustments to historical data to render them uniform and comparable, or adjusting how the data are analyzed over time frames of centuries (Etter et al. 2008). Over the last 500 years of Grenada’s landscape evolution, the island witnessed multiple natural, political and social changes that altered the spatial units of measurements, particularly plantations, making land use comparisons difficult over the French and British colonial periods, and with the contemporary period where spatial dynamics have been totally altered, with the ubiquitous plantation replaced by settlements and diverse agricultural units. Other measurements like demographics are not consistent throughout, especially as the status of the majority of the population changed from enslaved to free, with race becoming less and less of a statistic of measurement. So too have the multiple other variables that are used to analyze landscape change in this study.

To manage or compensate for some of the disparity in the historical data over time this thesis will divide the study into historical periods “that adequately reflect the changes in the drivers and patterns of landscape change” (Table 4.2) (Etter et al. 2008:4). This division is based on identifiable socioeconomic and political characteristics, with “population dynamics and trends, land and resource use, patterns of economic activity, and the change in political and social institutions” the primary criteria defining the periods (Etter et al. 2008:4). The identification of the primary drivers or keystone processes that cause or influence landscape change is important as they will affect the creation of the datasets and outcome of the analyses, but also provide an understanding of why landscapes change, the rate (slow or fast) of that evolution, and the causal mechanisms of that shift (Plieninger et al. 2015). These forces driving landscape change—socioeconomic, political, natural, technological and cultural—are extensive and their components not always discernable because of their complex interactions (Burgi et al. 2004; Kizos et al. 2018; Marcucci 2000). Certain characteristics of forces like technology, nature, politics and the economy are readily identifiable due to their apparent disruptive nature in immediately affecting landscapes, but other forces, particularly cultural are more subtle, thus more difficult to identify and measure (Burgi et al. 2004). Many of these forces are often operating in tandem with each other in a feedback loop and oftentimes are difficult to isolate, conceptually represented as driving forces and actors operating in close and reciprocal interactions that lead to landscape changes (Figure 4.1)

(Kizos et al. 2018). Driving forces can also be intrinsic or extrinsic, and intentional or unintentional, thus adding further to their complexity.

Table 4.2 identifies the seven historical periods used in this study based on the detailed analysis of Grenada's historical and cultural landscape as gleaned from secondary sources, including Brizan (1998), Devas (1974), Martin (2013) and Steel (2003), statistical information from official documents, and expert knowledge. These provide the necessary data to not just identify the seven historical periods, but also recognize the primary drivers that influenced landscape evolution in Grenada between 1498 and the present. The creation of distinct historical periods enables a clustering of similar data sources that facilitate more consistent analyses and comparisons within and across historical periods (Etter et al. 2008). This methodological approach allows for the use of dissimilar data sets across the entirety of the study, and thus making it possible to produce a consistent spatial representation of the evolution of the Grenadian landscape.

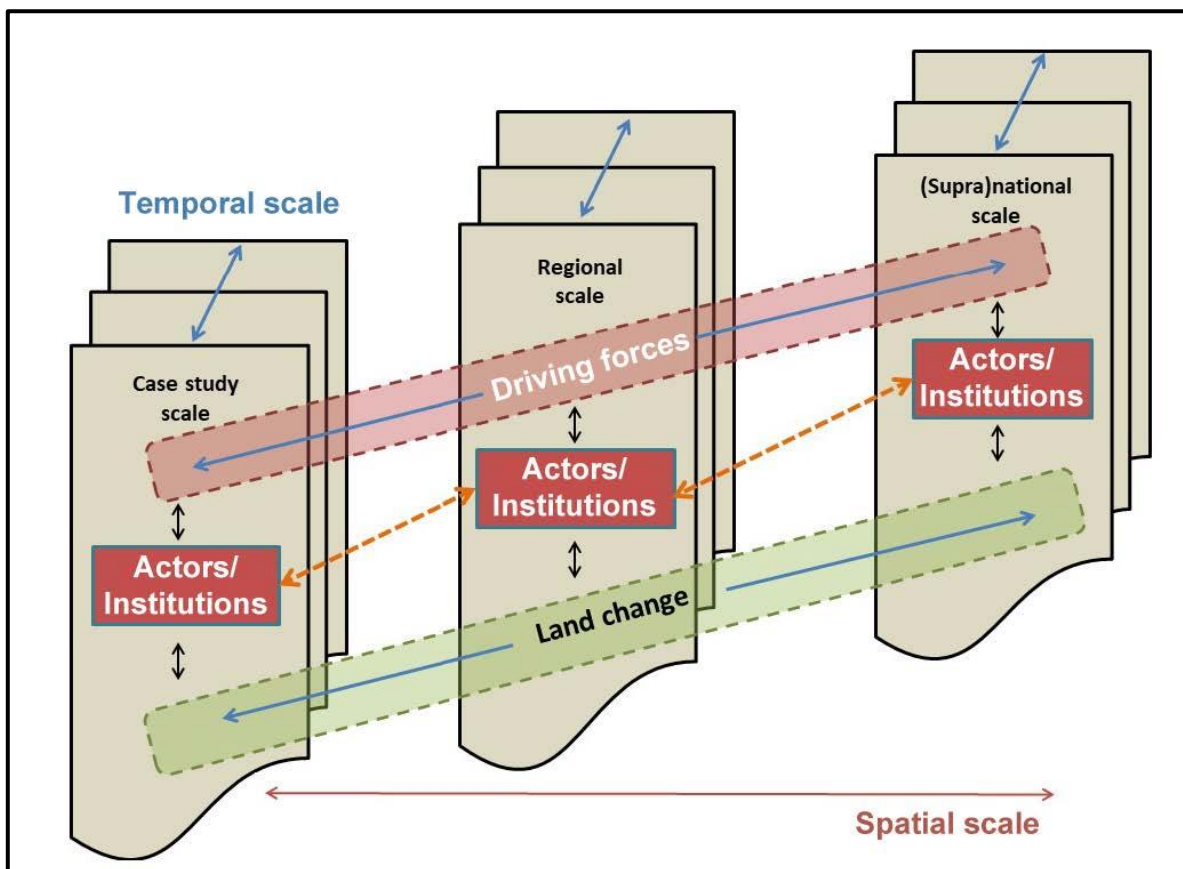


Figure 4.1 Different scales and actors involved in landscape change (Kizos et al. 2018)

Figure 4.2 presents a Schematic diagram of the methodology sequence of the overall process of taking historical cartographic and location-specific data (as part of databases) and applying

GIS methodology of digitization, georeferencing and analyses to generate land use/landscape change as spatial representations. As Veldi (2020) insists, HGIS can only be applied when the necessary spatial and historical data are available as the methodology is totally dependent upon them. The process of HGIS for historical cartography is quite specific, as outlined by Rumsey and Williams (2002):

- 1) High resolution scans of maps that afford easier access to them as historical documents;
- 2) Easily incorporated into a GIS as a graphic image that can be layered “to compare present and post configuration of a given place or landscape”;

Historical Periods	Definitions	Driving Forces (Keystone Processes)
1498-1649	Precolonial (Pre-European Invasion of Grenada)	Shifting agriculture, fishing, hunting, and possibly intensive cultivation of tobacco for trade; new technologies (European tools); introduced flora and fauna (pigs, chickens, banana, etc).
1649-1763	French Settlement/ Plantation Slavery	Fishing, hunting, subsistence (gardens) and intensive agriculture (cotton, indigo, coffee, cocoa, sugar cane); extensive forest clearing; grazing; introduced flora and fauna; slavery; international trade.
1763-1838	British Settlement/ Plantation Slavery	Subsistence and intensive agriculture (coffee, cocoa, sugar cane, nutmeg); increased forest clearing; grazing; slavery; international trade.
1838-1900	Post-Emancipation/ Freedom/Peasantry	Free labor (internal movement); shifting settlement patterns (village creation); extensive subsistence gardening; international trade; demographics (increasing population).
1900-1950	Remaking Grenadian Society	Modernization; economic expansion; demographics (increasing population); increasing settlements (villages).
1951-1983	Attempts at “Independence” from Below	Sociopolitical instability; natural disturbances; International trade/economics (low commodity prices); rural exodus; socioeconomic (low agricultural profitability).
1983 - Present	Small Island Developing State in the global economic and social landscape	Decrease in forest clearings; natural disturbances; International trade/economics (low commodity prices); rural exodus/urban growth; socioeconomic (low agricultural profitability; hard labor; youth opting out); expansion of tourism sector; degradation of coastal landscape’ emigration.

Table 4.2 List of historical periods and driving forces identified for Grenada

- 3) To analyze spatial information requires that maps be georeferenced where selected control points on a digital scan must be aligned with their geographical location, either by assigning geographical coordinates to each point, or by linking each point to its equivalent on a modern accurate digital map;
- 4) “Rubber sheeting” allows further adjustments to try to find the best fit for all part of the original map, stretching it, as it is almost impossible to perfectly align an old map

to modern coordinate systems because mapping methods before aerial photography often only very imprecisely represented scales, angles, distance and direction;

- 5) Create vector GIS layers by point features allowing the joining of attribute data like population and acreage. This process allows us to compare two sets of data over time, thus observing change.

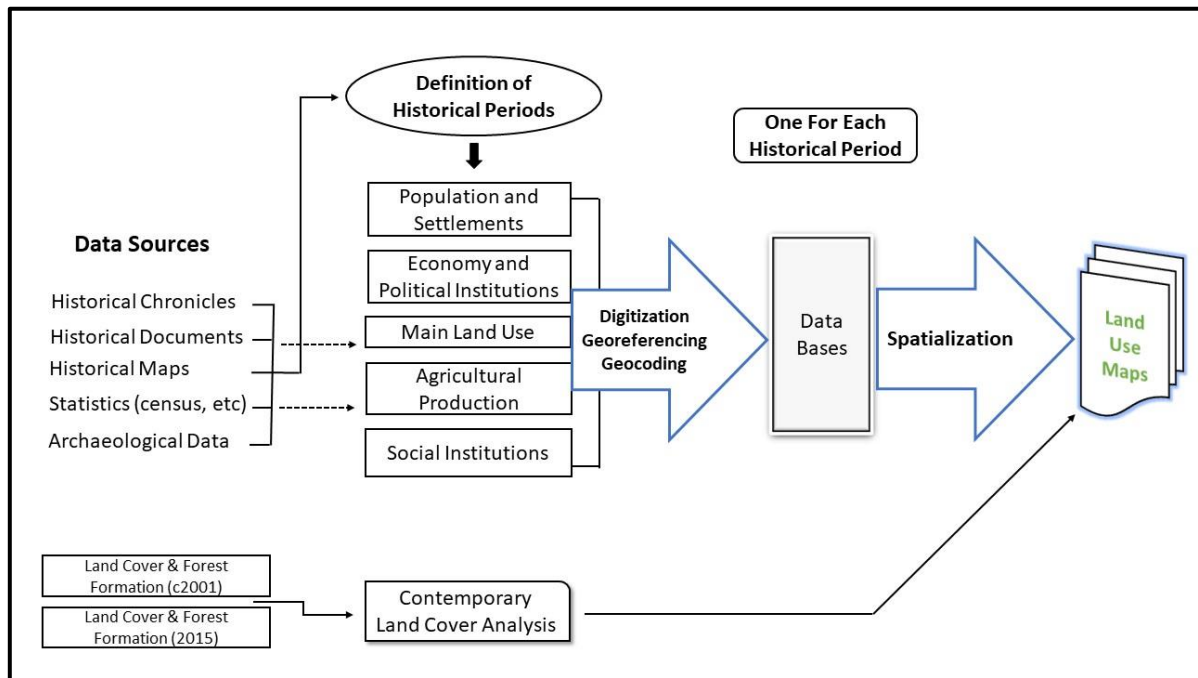


Figure 4.2 Schematic of the methodology sequence of input data and construction of HGIS maps (adopted after Etter et al. 2008)

Figure 4.2 also illustrates the method used to process multiple data sources into database entries, primarily from historical documents containing statistical data like population figures, size of plantations, ownership and production (Table 4.1). These datasets are then processed through the HGIS model to integrate with the cartographic sources to produce GIS models of land use in Grenada over time. The specific data and the resulting GIS models will be discussed in the next chapter.

5

Landscape Transformations in a Small Caribbean Islandscape, 1498-2022

“With learning now I can tell you more or less how we all came to be where we were. I can tell you the Amerindian name for that land.... I can look at the vegetation and tell you what was there when Columbus came and what was imported later. I can reconstruct the plantations that were laid out.... While the documents last we can hunt up the story of every strip of occupied land.”

V.S. Naipaul, *A Way in The World* (1994:8)

In the over five centuries since the European invasion of the region and the over three and a half centuries since Grenada was settled and colonized by the French and British with enslaved Africans, the island has gone from a sparsely populated islandscape to one where almost every meter of ground is impacted by some form of human activity today. This impact, of course, began with the Indigenous peoples almost two millennia ago and who continuously occupied the island until the 18th century, altering the landscape in multiple and varied ways (see Figure 2.1) (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2017, 2018, 2019; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2019). But it was the settlement of Europeans and their enslaved laborers from the mid-17th century onwards that significantly transformed the Grenadian landscape. This was the result of dramatic demographic changes, the introduction of numerous flora and fauna, slave-plantation agricultural crops supplying international markets, provision gardens to feed an ever growing population, and the establishment of urban centers and extensive infrastructure that networked the entire island’s social and economic activities (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Martin 2013; Morgan et al. 2022; Steele 2003). This transformation of the Grenadian landscape has continued to the present, with plantation agriculture gradually relinquishing its dominance to tourism. It, in turn, has had a major impact, especially in the southern coastal region that have been transformed into prolific recreation and commercial centers for hundreds of thousands of visitors who arrive from far-off places on city-size cruise ships and jumbo jets for their place in the sea, sand and sun (*Caribbean National Weekly* 2019; Nelson 2012; Vincent 1995).

To understand and evaluate the landscape transformations that have taken place in Grenada since European invasion of the region after 1498 and the impact on its cultural landscape, this

chapter presents the results of multiple geospatial datasets on land use to create Historical GIS (HGIS) models that illustrate these long-term changes and their consequences, allowing for new and nuanced interpretations of the relationships between people, their material cultures, and the geographic space (Farag et al. 2005). The HGIS models and land-cover maps show how the landscape was transformed by these various activities (and sometimes absence of these activities) and their authors, identifying some of the primary driving forces that have affected these socio-ecological changes over centuries (Delle 2014; Etter et al. 2008; Farag et al. 2005; Kolen et al. 2015). These spatial maps capture the changing dynamics of the dwelling/settlement landscape, primarily through plantation and subsistence agriculture with its array of crops, labor regimes, and ecological impacts, food production, demographic growth, and urbanization over centuries, illustrating how this small island landscape was transformed from an Indigenous space in the 17th century to a SIDS in the 21st century. The objective is to construct a life history of the Grenada island landscape between 1498 and the present.

5.1 Mapping the Kali’nago and Kali’na of Camáhogne (1498-1649)¹

“What is to happen to the poor Carib? Is he to go and live in the sea with the fish?”²

Kali’nago man to Father Philippe de Beaumont (1660) in Moody (1988:400)

The invasion of the region by Europeans after 1498 brought about both abrupt and gradual, but profound changes to the Indigenous population and impact on the Grenadian landscape even before Europeans successfully occupied Grenada after the mid-1600s. The Indigenous population on Camáhogne had numerous contacts and interactions with people from multiple European nations who ventured into the region between the early 1500s and the 1640s, primarily through trade and/or plunder that introduced new technologies like metal tools and utensils, manufactured cloth, alcoholic beverages, and exotic plants and animals that would alter the island’s biogeography, ecology and social landscape (Hicks 2007; Honychurch

¹ Though this section clearly examines the Indigenous population on Grenada after 1498, there are references to the pre-1492 period in general and the overall Indigenous settlement landscape based on archaeological data.

² The full quote is “You have chased me of St. Christopher; off Nevis; off Montserrat; off St. Martin; off Guadeloupe; off Barbuda; off Antigua; off St. Eustatius; which did not belong to you and to which you had no legitimate claim; and still, every day, you threaten to take away from me this bit of my country that is left. What is to happen to the poor Carib? Is he to go and live in the sea with the fish?”

2000; Kimber 1998; Watts 1987). Some of these changes would ultimately create what Morgan et al. (2022) term a “Creole ecology,” with the “natural” environment mirroring the changing social landscape and reflecting the varied impacts of diverse peoples. Additionally, violent confrontations from raids and reprisals led to massacres and Indigenous enslavement that negatively affected their populations, as well as the inevitable transfer of new diseases that had devastating effects, despite their possible lesser impact in the Lesser Antilles than in the Greater Antilles (Boucher 1992; Martin 2013; Moreau 1992).

Access to iron tools like axes and cutlasses enabled the Kali’nago to take greater advantage of the landscape, though its overall impact is difficult to measure today relative to the later greater transformations by the plantation slavery complex. From the late 1500s to the early 1600s the Kali’nago on Camáhogue are reported as supplying tobacco to Europeans as part of a burgeoning exchange (Boomert 2016; Honychurch 2000; Lorimer 1979; Martin 2013; Nicholl 1966[1607]; Stoneman 1906[1607]). This semi-commercial production of tobacco for European markets was assisted by the use of more efficient European tools and possibly captive African and European laborers (de Cardona 1632). More abundant tobacco production would have had an additional deleterious effect on the landscape as fields would have had to be changed often due to nutrient depletion, which may have been more extensive to accommodate the growing demand for tobacco (Honychurch 1977). This would have been a more intensive form of agriculture practiced by the Indigenous inhabitants, bearing the closest resemblance to what Europeans would initiate in Grenada after the mid-1600s.

The Kali’nago were also reported (by Europeans) to possess captive Africans and Europeans that they seized as part of their raiding, which involved captive taking and trade with the Portuguese and Spanish in South America and the Greater Antilles (Barome 1966; Boucher 1992; Moreau 1992; Prichard 2004). These African and European captives were taken to their islands where they were reportedly kept as “slaves” and engaged as household workers, concubines, and laborers in their tobacco fields and gardens, contrary to the belief that they were fattened and eaten (Espinosa 1942[1622]; Moreau 1992). According to de Cardona (1632:36), reporting on an encounter with the Kali’nago on Grenada circa 1614, “from this island I took out two black women that were their prisoners and had had their ears amputated and their nostrils perforated to mark them as slaves....” As late as the 1650s captive Africans held by the Kali’nago on Grenada which had been captured from the Portuguese, were taken by French colonists, with two “running away” in 1658, supposedly begging to be “rescued” because they could no longer live among the “savages” as they were “Christians”

(Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]:183). With captive Africans and Europeans as laborers in their fields, the Kali'nago may have engaged in a more intensive form of agriculture for the supply of crops like tobacco and other provisions to the Europeans in the early 17th century.

New flora and fauna introduced by Europeans had reached Grenada from the Greater Antilles and possibly South America even before British and French attempts to colonize the island in the early to mid-1600s. Plants like banana (and plantain), sugar cane and coconut were possibly grown in Grenada by the Kali'nago in their gardens, and animals, particularly the pig and chicken were recorded (Du Tertre 1973[1667-71]; Honychurch 2000; Morgan et al. 2022; Watts 1987). The name of the small island known today as Hog Island (from *Islet de Chacon* by the French) may be an indication of the Spanish practice of releasing pigs on islands to proliferate for subsequent harvesting (Kimber 1988).³ And, according to Kimber (1988:108), pigs, due to their feeding behavior rooting around in the vegetation, “must have modified the ground vegetation in all but the upper vegetation types.” These early introductions of plants and animals would have had an added impact on the Grenadian landscape, but the extent of these, known only through several anecdotes, are difficult to measure (Morgan et al. 2022).⁴

European arrival in the region also meant occasional interactions with the Grenadian landscape when they stopped to trade with the Indigenous population and/or resupply on their journeys, particularly to South America. According to Laet (1932:58,91-92), “The crew [of a Dutch ship] had set foot on shore, and had dug a number of holes on a beach to acquire fresh water. They had also gone a little inland to visit two villages where many Amerindians lived, who had received them in friendly fashion”; “The [Dutch] fleet departed again, laden with fresh water, ballast and lumber, but no victuals” because the Indigenous people ran off when they approached their village. In the process of resupplying, ships would collect water and cut trees for fuel and other uses, thus affecting the coast, lowlands and even forests based on their selective utilization of these resources. They would inevitably transfer weeds and other exotic plants and animals, thus contributing to the subsequent alteration of the landscape (Kimber 1988).

³ An incident between the French and Kali'nago in 1650 may also indicate the latter's familiarity with pigs as during a confrontation the Kali'nago played a trick to get the French out of their safe shelter by releasing a pig so they would go after it, and thus attacked them (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]).

⁴ It should be noted that the Kali'nago and earlier Indigenous peoples were responsible for the introductions of many plants and animals from South America into the Grenada landscape. Post-1492 introductions were just a continuation, though relatively more intensive and possibly in a shorter time period.

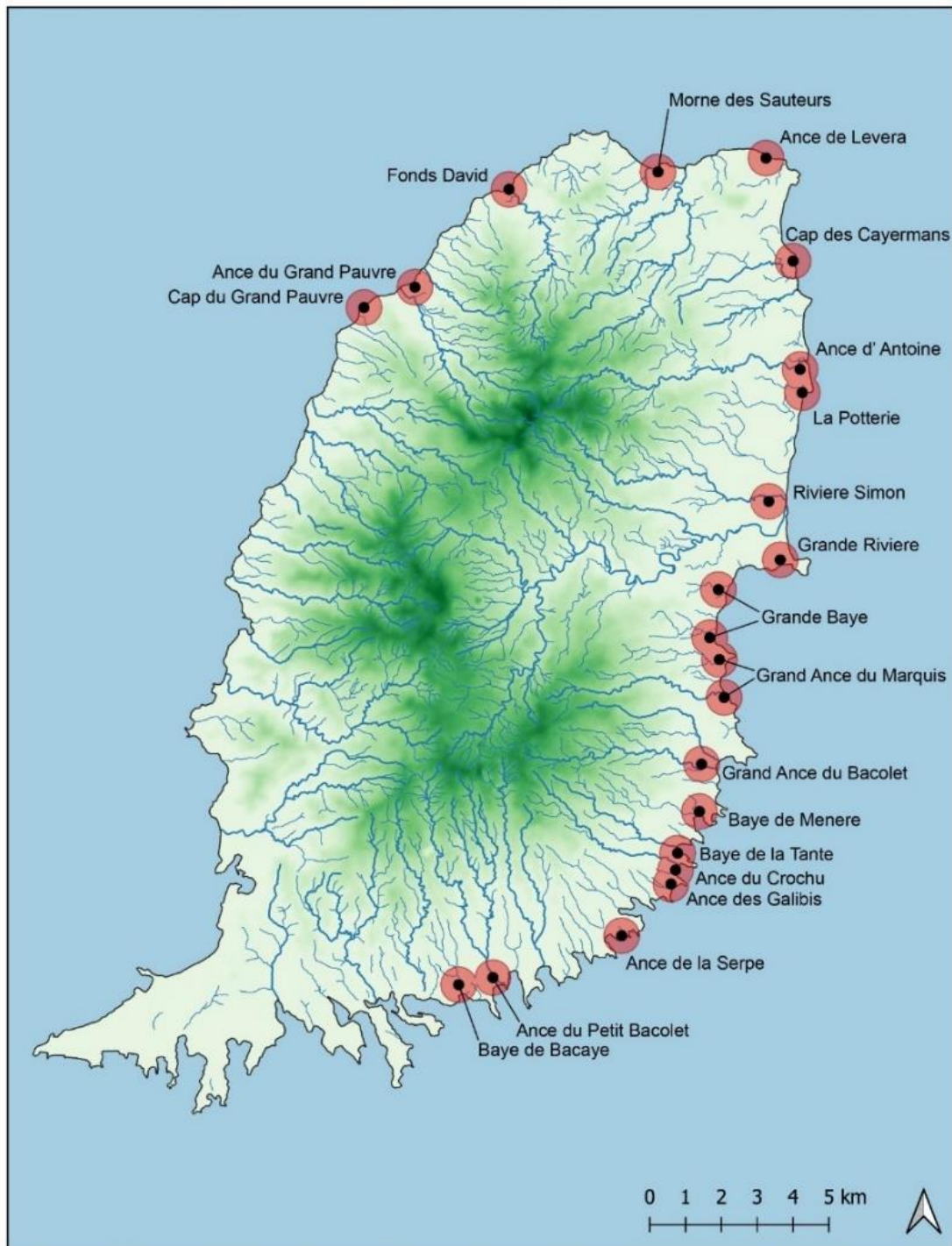


Figure 5.1: HGIS model locating Kali'nago and Kali'na settlements/sites in Grenada, 1649-67 (Martin and Sandiford, 2020)

Figure 5.1 is a HGIS model of settlements of the Indigenous population at the time of the French occupation of Grenada in the mid-1600s. The data used to create the HGIS database were derived from historical and archaeological sources, including 17th century cartography (Table 5.1). The HGIS model brings together the sparsely available and often partial information from historical sources and the increasingly available archaeological data.

Kali'nago/Kali'na Sites	Features	Comments	Sources
Cap du Grand Pauvre (Nettle Point, St. Mark)	Petroglyphs/River/Beach/ Currently Inhabited	On Blondel (1667) maps #1&2	Blondel (1667); Bullen (1964); Hanna (2017)
Ance du Grand Pauvre (Victoria, St. Mark)	Petroglyphs/River/Beach/ Currently Inhabited	On maps #1&2 to the north of the <i>Grand Riviere du Grand Pauvre</i> / On map #3&4	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:6-7,39)
Fond David (Duquesne, St. Mark/Patrick)	Petroglyphs/River/Beach/ Currently Inhabited	On maps #1&2 on both sides of Duquesne River going inland; located between <i>Cap du Quesne</i> & <i>Cap David</i> / Large site/ On maps #3&4	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1659:14,17,21,72)
Morne des Sauteurs (Sauteurs, St. Patrick)	River/Beach/ Currently Inhabited	On map #1&2 seem to indicate overlooking Sauteurs Bay/ "Carbets" identified	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:21,23,41,136)
Ance du Levera (Levera Beach, St. Patrick)	Stream/Beach/ Not inhabited today	On maps #1&2 west of the river/stream close to <i>I de Levera</i> ; between <i>C de Levera</i> & <i>C de la Grenade</i> ; "La Verrard"/ On map #3&4 east of the stream	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:55)
Cap de Caiernam (Savanne Suazey, St. Patrick)	Stream/Beach/ Currently Inhabited	Not indicated on any of the maps/ Archaeological site/ Toponym	Bullen (1964); Hanna (2017:169-70)
Ance d'Antoine (River Antoine, St. Patrick)	River/Beach/ Agriculture area today	On maps #1&2 south of the river/ Field/ On map #3&4	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:110,122)
La Potterie (La Poterie, St. Andrew)	Stream/Beach/ Inhabited today	Not indicated on any of the maps/ Archaeological site	Hofman, 2016; 2017
Rivière Simon (Pearls, St. Andrew)	River/Beach/Marsh/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 S & N of the river/ "Carbets" identified/ could be 2 <i>carbets</i> / On maps #3&4 south of the river	Blondel (1667)
Grande Riviere (Telescope, St. Andrew)	Petroglyph (destroyed)/ River/Beach/Marsh/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 north of the river	Blondel (1667)
Grande Baye (Grenville, St. Andrew)	Stream/Beach/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 in the north close to Telescope Pt	Blondel (1667)
Grande Baye (Soubise, St. Andrew)	Stream/Beach/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 south of the river/ On maps #3&4 on both sides of river	Blondel (1667)
Grande Ance du Marquis (Marquis, St. Andrew)	River/Streams/Beach/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 on <i>C du Marquis</i> / On maps #3	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:17,43-44,81,151)
Grande Ance du Marquis (Mt. Fann, St. Andrew)	River/Streams/Beach/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 south of the Marquis River, or between two rivers/ On map #3	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:17,43-44,81,151)
Ance de Bacolet (Grand Bacolet, St. Andrew)	River/Streams/Beach/ Not inhabited today	On maps #3&4 between the rivers/ Toponym	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975:26)
Baye de Menere (Menere, St. Andrew)	River/Beaches/ Not inhabited today	On maps #1&2 north of the Menere River/ On maps #3&4/ Toponym	Blondel (1667);
Ance du Crochu (Lower La Tante, St. David)	River/Beaches/ Not inhabited today	On maps #1&2 south of the Crochu River/ On map #3, separate village?	Blondel (1667)
Baye de la Tante (La Tante, St. David)	River/Beach/Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 north of a stream/ On map #3	Blondel (1667)
Ance des Galibis (Galby Bay, St. David)	River/Beaches/ Not inhabited today	Not on the maps #1&2/ On map #3 but in incorrect location (i.e. <i>Requin</i>)/ Toponym	Blondel (1667)
Ance de la Serpe (Petit Trou, St. David)	River/Streams/Beach/ Not inhabited today	On maps #1&2/ On maps #3	Blondel (1667)
Ance du Petit Bacolet (Petit Bacolet, St. David)	Rivers/Beaches/ Not inhabited today	On maps #1&2 south of a stream/ Toponym	Blondel (1667); Anonyme (1975)
Baye de Bacaye (Bacaye, St. David)	Streams/Beach/Marsh/ Inhabited today	On maps #1&2 (same as above)/ Toponym	Blondel (1667)

Table 5.1: Kali'nago and Kali'na sites/settlements and their prominent features, 1649-67

This study paints an evolving portrait of Grenada’s Indigenous settlements during the period of European invasion, retelling their stories in a changing landscape that bear witness to their lifeways, but allowing for a nuanced retelling of their story that is cognizant of their humanity, despite the damning indictments of belligerence and cannibalism that ironically left them consumed by European aggression and colonization that has since been labeled genocide (Boucher 1992; Hulme and Whitehead 1992; Martin 2013).

Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]) records a detailed chronology of the French invasion of Grenada and the Indigenous response, but it is Blondel’s (1667) maps and Blondel and Vincent’s (1667) report that provide a clear picture of the locations of Indigenous villages on Grenada in the mid-1600s.¹ Blondel and Vincent (1667:256,259) record that the French settlers in 1666 were inhabiting areas “between the point of Grand Pauvre [today Victoria] and that of the saltworks [i.e. Pointe des Salines/Point Salines]” in the southern tip, while “The rest of the coast, which runs from the [Pointe des] Salines to the Cap de La Tante, is entirely deserted; and *the savage Caribs and Galibis occupy what is between this point of la Tante and that of Grand Pauvre*” (author’s translation/emphasis added). In the two versions of Blondel’s (1667a,b,c,d) maps of Grenada, however, he identifies habitations beyond La Tante to the southwest at Ance des Galibis, Ance de la Serpe and Baye de Bacaye, thus furthering the occupation of the island by the Indigenous groups into these areas; it is interesting to note that two of these place names—Galibis and Bacaye—are most definitely of Indigenous derivation (Figure 2.1). Based on this, the Kali’nago and Kali’na between 1649 to 1667 had at least 22 (semi)permanent villages/settlements in Grenada scattered in the northwest, north and entire eastern coast (Table 5.1) (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Blondel 1667; Blondel and Vincent 1667; Hanna 2017; Hanna and Giovas 2019; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017; Holdren 1998). The Kali’nago reportedly occupied most of the settlements in the north and northeast of the island, while the Kali’na occupied at least two villages in the east and southeast, specifically Marquis and Galby Bay (Figure 5.1) (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Holdren 1998).² It is not clear the extent of ethnic exclusivity among these

¹ According to Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]), he also wrote a manuscript on the Kali’nago in Grenada, but unfortunately it has not surfaced to date. The Anonymous author has been revealed by Dampierre (1904) and Rennard (1954) to be Bénigne Bresson, a Dominican priest resident in Grenada between 1656 and 1659.

² The place name *Ance des Caones* (Blondel 1667)/*Ances Caoüennes* (Romain 1749[1743])/*Les Ances Caouane* (Jeffreys 1775)/Ance Cowan (Johnson 1891) in the southwest on these maps, however, is not associated with Captain Kairoüane/Cairoüane as suggested by Holdren (1998:44-45), but rather with loggerhead sea turtles that were probably plentiful along the various beaches. *Caouane* is a French reference for the loggerhead turtle. The area is not identified by Blondel (1667) nor Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]) as an inhabited settlement site in the 1600s.

villages, but the Kali'na and Kali'nago often cooperated in their attacks against the French, and the French settlers in the 1650s often identified them as one and the same (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013).³

Figure 5.1 locates the Kali'nago and Kali'na in the Grenadian islandscape, occupying a coastal belt scattered across most of the island from the northwest to the southeastern shores (see also Honychurch 2000). Most of these sites heavily favor the windward side of the island overlooking the Atlantic Ocean, possibly providing more protection and security through greater lines of site/visibility, stronger currents discouraging navigating land approaches, nearshore reefs for both protection and food, extensive wetlands for food, and strong winds to deter insects/bugs (Brughmans 2016; Hanna and Giovas 2019; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017). This eastern coastal zone has a long history of Indigenous habitation, with its many rivers/streams, indented bays, extensive lowlands for agriculture, wetlands for food, greater visibility contributing to its favorability, and nearshore reefs, the latter proving a greater attraction since the Late Ceramic period (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2017; Hanna and Giovas 2019). It should also be noted that when the French began their war of extermination against the Kali'nago and Kali'na, it was the villages on the west at Grand Pauvre and Duquesne, and north at Sauteurs that were first attacked and destroyed as they were probably less protected and thus less defensible; an attack on the Kali'na village at Marquis in September 1654 resulted in the deaths of the lieutenant governor and several others due to rough seas while returning from the attack (Figure 5.1) (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]).

Grenada possessed a settled Indigenous population on the eve of the successful French colonization in 1649. Estimates of that population, or for any period, are nonexistent.⁴ The Indigenous population seemed to exhibit some degree of flux by the 1660s because of movement among the islands caused by European intrusion, mainly frequent Spanish raids, reprisals and diseases, and, thus, may have suffered decreases by the mid-1600s when the French invaded, but also supplemented by migrations from other islands and the continent,

³ There are vague references to discord among Indigenous groups in Grenada in the early to mid-17th century, but exactly between whom and to what extent remains unclear (see Bright 2011; Boomert 2002; Martin 2013; Petitjean-Roget 1981).

⁴ According to Espinosa (1942[1622]:57), "There will be on those islands, and on that of Grenada, over 18,000 Indians, who go naked, belong to the Carib tribe, and call themselves *Camajuyas*." The debate over population numbers for Indigenous groups in the Americas is very problematic. Historic data are either biased or guesses. The case of the Taíno in the Greater Antilles is illustrative of this problem (Anderson-Córdova 2017; Henige 1978; Cook 1998; Denevan 1992; Fernandes et al. 2021). Yet, despite inherent difficulties, it is important to have an idea of the extent of Grenada's Indigenous population as it helps in the analysis of their impact on the landscape and their subsequent interactions with Europeans.

again caused by European intrusions (Morgan et al. 2022). Since no contemporary estimates are available, any attempt to render numbers presents a problem because the only available data are descriptive phrases like “many” and “numerous” when numbers of Indigenous people on Camáhogne are identified (Du Tertre 1667-71, I:424). Based on population formulas like that of Steward (1946-50, 6:669-670) for the Lesser Antilles, Camáhogne could easily support a population of roughly 1,500 Indigenous residents, but the available information from the historical period, however, point to a slightly lower number, so it can be taken as an upper limit for the island on the eve of colonization.⁵

The Kali’nago and Kali’na lived in relatively autonomous groups or villages, comprising between 30 and 40 extended families headed by a patriarchal leader (Wilson 1993:50). In many cases the headman was related to many or everyone in his village, though he may have wives in other villages or islands. At the time of French colonization, a number of these “headmen” were identified, and included both Kali’na and Kali’nago (see Table 6.1). Among these were “Captains” Kairoüane (residence unknown), Grand Pauvre (Victoria, St. Mark), Marquis (Marquis, St. Andrew), Du Quesne (Duquesne, St. Mark), Du Buisson (unknown), and Antoine (River Antoine, St. Andrew), many of these names presently associated with current place names of villages in Grenada. They lived in settlements situated near the seashore on headlands, generally near rivers and streams, as the above sites illustrate. These small clearings were styled a *karbay* (popular French *carbet*) and contained a *tábouï* or long house or two where the men slept and congregated for, among other things, eating and drinking.⁶ The oval-shaped long houses, built of sticks and covered with leaves/grass of thatch, held as many as 120 hammocks or beds, though the ones on Grenada, as opposed to Martinique, would have probably been much smaller (Vérin 1967:116). Several small round huts or *mánna*, which housed the women and children, surrounded the large *tábouï* (see Figure 5.2).

According to Rochefort, a new *carbet* is established “when a man hath a numerous family and retires with it at a certain distance from others, and builds houses or huts for to lodge it in, and a *carbet*, where all of the family meets to be merry, or to treat of the affairs which

⁵ Boucher (1992:35) reports that the island of Dominica, which has been identified as the most populous Indigenous-occupied island in the mid-1600s, had around 5,000 due to their expulsion from the other islands.

⁶ These have also been recorded in the historical literature as *carbets* since the *tabouï* was the center of the village, though large villages like Duquesne in Grenada had two *tabouï*. So *carbet* has the meaning of both the village and the large “men’s house.”

concern it in common” (Hulme et al. 1992:123). If, on average, a village comprised 60-80 plus individuals, the Indigenous population on Grenada in the mid-1600s can be estimated at



Figure 5.2: Environmentally constructed Kali'nago village at the location of the Argyle archaeological site, St. Vincent, showing a large tábouï surrounded by several round houses or mánna, 2016 (photo by the Author)

approximately 1,300.⁷ Though it still appears high based solely on the reading of the information of interactions between the Kali'nago and the French settlers in the mid-1600s, the population estimate helps create a picture of the Indigenous peoples at the rupture of colonization, and enhances the understanding of Kali'nago and Kali'na settlement patterns on Grenada and their subsequent response to French invasion.

Figure 5.1 locates Kali'nago and Kali'na settlements/sites in Grenada, between 1649-67, with 500 meters impact zones, thus capturing the possible extent of villages and agricultural fields each may have occupied. Though these sites are identified here as distinct based on the available data, some may have been extensions of primary and/or larger nearby villages. Figure 5.1 illustrates the extent of the Indigenous settlements in Grenada and their control of much of the island, including the resources to the area the French referred to as the

⁷ It is interesting to note that following the 1654 French attack against the Kali'na village at Marquis on the eastern coast they reportedly killed at least 80 residents, though it is unclear if they were all from that village (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]).

Capesterre, or the northern and eastern portions of the island. Villages took up relatively small spaces, but gardens could be extensive, and the form of agriculture practiced, slash and burn or swidden, required extensive lands as cultivated fields were abandoned after (about 3-5 years) use and the depletion of nutrients in the soil (Kimber 1988; Morgan et al. 2022; Watts 1987). Fires, resulting from prescribed burning, could get out of control and inevitably destroy vegetation and thus alter the landscape (Kimber 1988). These activities would have altered the vegetation and soil makeup of the coastal and lowland areas that were in continuous agricultural use, and for many of these sites, were continually occupied by multiple Indigenous groups for centuries (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2018). The primary crops grown by the Kali'nago and Kali'na were cassava, sweet potato, yam, maize, cotton and tobacco (Watts 1992). The latter two, grown for clothing and ritual/medicinal purposes, respectively, demanded high nutrients and could deplete soils quickly, thus necessitating the move to newly cleared fields (Farag et al. 2005; Kimber 1988).

Though the vast forests were available for various uses, the impact on them may have been minimal as the Kali'nago only selectively removed large trees for specific purposes like canoe/pirogue and house building (Watts 1987). The island's rugged topography may have also restricted access, though there is evidence of at least one major inland archaeological site from an earlier period (Hanna 2017). Living on the coast afforded ready access to reefs with availability to various fisheries, remains of which have been identified in archaeological sites across Grenada (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2017; Krigbaum et al. 2013). Proximity to the coast also provided immediate access to the sea, which Indigenous peoples like the Kali'nago and Kali'na needed for travel to trade and raid, or quick departure as a last resort (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Holdren 1998; Slayton 2018).

The archaeological data on Indigenous peoples in Grenada are heavily skewed toward the precolonial era, but recent studies have begun to demystify the contact period; much however, remains to be done to address the deficiency (Holdren 1998; Hanna 2017; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017). Holdren (1998:38,40), in her study of Kali'nago and Kali'na identity in Grenada, made a concerted effort in "the identification of archaeological sites and material remains with colonization-period settlements attributed by both chroniclers and mapmakers to both Caraïbe and Galibi on Grenada." Holdren (1998:100) investigated possible settlement sites at Duquesne, Montreuil, Savanne Suazey, Sauteurs Bay, River Antoine, Marquis, Galby Bay and La Tante based on historical and archaeological data, concluding that "in general the

‘Caraïbe’ units have the least dissimilarity between them, while the ‘Galibi’ units have the most similarity between them. The results do compare with the sites’ historic, ethnic designations, and suggest variable relationships between them.” Cayo pottery, associated with the Kali’nago, was only recovered from Sauteurs Bay by Holdren (1988:86). Hanna, (2017, 2019), in his inventory and analyses of excavated materials from Grenada, confirmed Cayoid ceramics at Galby Bay, Sauteurs Bay, La Poterie/Artiste Point, and Isle de Ronde in the Grenadines, from earlier identifications by Petitjean Roget (1980) and Hofman et al. (2016, 2017).

Though Cayo ceramics have been recovered from several sites across Grenada (Bright 2011; Holdren 1998; Hanna 2017, 2018, 2019; Hofman et al. 2018) and the Lesser Antilles (Boomert 1986, 2011; Bright 2011; Hofman and Hoogland 2012, 2018, 2019), only one site has so far yielded more detailed information on Kali’nago habitation in Grenada (Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019). The site of La Poterie, St. Andrew, excavated in 2016 and 2017 by a team from Leiden University and Grenada, uncovered evidence of Cayo pottery dating to the period AD 1400-1620 (Hofman et al. 2018). Also recovered were 16th and early 17th-century European artifacts, illustrating exchange between the newly arrived colonists in the region and the Indigenous inhabitants (Hofman et al. 2019) (Figure 5.3A,B), demonstrating that La Poterie was most likely one of the last remaining free Kali’nago villages on the island; a similar site was excavated at Argyle, St. Vincent (Hofman et al. 2011, 2018). The archaeological site at La Poterie is located along a corridor on the rugged northeastern Atlantic coast that witnessed Indigenous habitation for centuries and includes the important sites of Pearls to its south and Savanne Suazey to its north, both of which were identified as Kali’nago sites in the historic period (Figure 5.1) (Bullen 1964; Donop 2005; Hanna 2017; Keegan 1991). La Poterie may have been part of the larger historic village of River Antoine located a few hundred meters to its north and occupied by Captain Antoine who figured prominently in the struggles against the French colonists in the early 1650s (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013).

The location of La Poterie overlooking the Atlantic Ocean (at the beaches at Conference Bay and Artiste Point) on a small bluff and next to a stream fits with the historical description of Kali’nago villages by chroniclers like Breton (1665) (Figure 5.4). Commenting on the data from La Poterie, Hofman et al. (2018:371) conclude, “At least 20 structures, all round to



Figure 5.3A (left): European wares encountered with Cayo materials at the sites of Argyle, St. Vincent (b-f,i) and La Poterie, St. Andrew (g,h,j-m), 2016 (Figure by Menno Hoogland, Hofman et al. 2019)

Figure 5.3B (right): Bone artifacts from Kalinago archaeological assemblages from Grenada, sites of La Poterie (a,c,d,e) and Telescope Point (b), St. Andrew (Figure by Catarina Guzzo Falci and Tom Breukel in Breukel 2019 and Guzzo Falci 2021)



Figure 5.4: Conference Bay, with La Poterie archaeological site in the foreground (bottom right), remains of the Conference coconut plantation (and before that sugar), and Pearls in the distance (top right), 2017 (photo by the Author)

oval, were (re-)constructed from ca. 500 posthole features at the site of La Poterie in Grenada, of which some belong to the Cayo component of the site. All of them have a double

row of posts, while some have two central posts and measure between 3 to 8 m in diameter. At La Poterie no plaza areas have been identified to date, obscuring the layout of the settlement and hampering full comparison to Argyle.”

The still emerging picture from La Poterie of the settlement pattern of a European invasion-era Kali’nago village provides some idea of the possible landscape impacts of their habitation. As Figure 5.1 illustrates, the Kali’nago and Kali’na villages had an immediate impact on the coastal and lowland areas they occupied, lived and farmed. Though Europeans often portrayed the Caribbean and the Americas as “first nature” or pristine natural areas little impacted by Indigenous peoples, islands like Grenada were in fact impacted by centuries of Indigenous habitation (Hanna 2017, 2019; Hauser 2021; Morgan et al. 2022) (see also Figure 2.1).⁸ The Kali’nago and Kali’na, like other Indigenous peoples before them, were interacting and altering the landscape in multiple exploitative ways—clearing areas to establish and re-establish villages and fields to farm for food (some of which they introduced from the mainland and possibly other islands) and trade, hunting of wildlife (some of which they introduced) into the forested interiors and wetlands, felling of trees (to construct houses, canoes, etc.), using forests to collect medicines and foods, fishing on coral reefs, and numerous other activities that aided their lifeways (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2018; Hauser 2021; Morgan et al. 2022). Though the historical Indigenous population might have been very small in comparison to earlier and definitely later occupants of the island, and their villages relatively sparse, their influences were substantial enough to impact the landscape in numerous identifiable ways, and thus contributing to the emerging “Creole ecology” and the palimpsest landscape. Thus, their ecological footprint—representations and *memory-traces*—was significant that it is still discernable today in the Grenada islandscape, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.2 Mapping the Establishment of Plantation Agriculture and Slavery Under the French (1649-1762)

“With no real incentives, continuing conflict, and little capital, agriculture developed slowly.”

James Prichard, *In Search of Empire* (2004:59-60)

⁸ Often referred to as the “Pristine myth.” See Denevan (1992, 2011).

In 1649 a small armed band of French settlers from Martinique set out to fundamentally alter the Grenadian landscape when they sailed into the spacious harbor in the southwest that 18th March morning and began unloading muskets, cannons, seeds, axes, and other materials and supplies for the establishment of a tobacco colony on the Kali'na and Kali'nago-occupied island of Camáhogne.⁹ The 45 men, according to Labat (2005[1722], 3:35), were chosen from a “large number who came forward... whom he [Du Parquet] knew to be men of good stamina, well accustomed to the clearing of land and the cultivation of the soil for food for themselves and for trading.”¹⁰ Over the next 113 years the French transformed Grenada from a sparsely inhabited Indigenous space (Figure 5.1) to an island that was mapped, subdivided into districts (parishes), plantations and plots among hundreds of small and large French planter families, crisscrossed with a network of roads, tracks and paths (that may have developed from Indigenous trails), and cultivated with several export crops and provision gardens by thousands of enslaved Africans and their descendants. The French had succeeded after a slow start, totally displacing the Indigenous population from their coastal villages and gardens (as they did across the region) by the early 1700s, creating a thriving slave-plantation colony, and rewriting the Grenada islandscape in their own image, all in just over a century (Martin 2013).¹¹

This section evaluates the invasion of the French after 1649, which violently and instantly ushered in dramatic settlement strategies that had far-reaching consequences for the peoples settled there and the landscape they inhabited. The establishment of plantation factories, initially using French indentured laborers and subsequently overwhelmingly imported enslaved Africans to produce crops for international markets, was gradual, but all encompassing. In so doing, the French fought and subjugated the Indigenous population in Grenada, relegating them to the periphery of their settlements while incorporating a smaller number who would later be identified in the Creole genealogical landscape. By the mid-1700s, the Grenadian settlement landscape began to mirror that of the other Caribbean islands similarly establishing the plantation complex model (Boucher 2007; Dunn 1972; Pritchard

⁹ Anonyme (1975:218) reported that “they planted some yams/potatoes, and some bitter manioc...,” as well as “peas, Brazil beans, and every kind of seeds.”

¹⁰ The number of settlers is in dispute, with Du Tertre (1667-71, 1:425) and Labat (1722, 3:36) claiming 200, which appears to derive from De Nouially's 1645 contract to settle Grenada, and Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]:49) recording 45, which seems more consistent with subsequent data he provides in his narrative.

¹¹ This destruction of the Indigenous peoples across the region by invading Europeans has since been labeled an act of genocide (Beckles 2013, 2022; Charles 2014; Newton 2014; Strecker 2016, 2017), and it is nowhere more illustrated by the unofficial “site of conscience” at Leapers' Hill, Sauteurs, Grenada and at similarly named places across the Eastern Caribbean that illustrate the destruction of the Indigenous populations in the 17th century.

2004; Williams 1944). To explore the French impact on the Grenadian landscape between 1649 and 1762, I analyze a series of HGIS models based on land-use data (primarily from periodic censuses) to help understand the nuances of these changes, the driving forces that influenced them, and their consequences. Unlike the earlier period, there is a plethora of information on the French period that will be used in this study to analyze Grenada's land-use changes, though the data are not evenly distributed across the time period.

Soon after landing and planting their flag on Grenada, the French settlers began the clearing of land to build a palisade fort to protect themselves from attacks from the Indigenous inhabitants and possible European rivals. According to Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]:51), Governor Du Parquet “took a billhook himself, his men followed him, some taking one too, others an axe and all started to cut and work the woods.” In the next few days the French cleared an area to construct a palisade fort, assemble a storeroom fabricated with pre-cut logs brought from Martinique, and built makeshift houses for the settlers. After the colonists were settled in, Du Parquet “ordered the land cleared, along the hill, near the pond [Lagoon], where he planned the arrangement of a large area, not with a view to establishing a market, but to ensure there being enough food for the support of the new settlers” (Du Tertre 1667-71,1:426). Plots of land for farming were allocated “under the condition that those who had no [white] servants were *emmateloted*, that means made an association of three together, or at least two, for fear of surprise from the Savages” (Du Tertre 1667-71,1:426). By the end of 1649 the French “had already reaped a harvest of tobacco, which was found so good that a pound was worth three of that of the other islands” (Du Tertre 1667-71,1:427). Thus began the transformation of the Grenadian landscape by the French colonial enterprise.

Within the first few years, despite or rather caused by running battles with the Kali'nago and Kali'na for control of the island, the French expanded from their initial settlement in the present-day Lagoon and established satellite villages along the western coast. From north at Rivière St. Jean (St. John's River) and Beau Séjour (that included the area known today as Molinière), eventually occupying the area between, including Pointe St. Eloy (today Cherry Hill) and Grand Masle (Grand Mal), and south to Grand Ance (today Grand Anse) (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975 [1659]; Martin 2013; “*Plan de l'avenue...*” 1670). By the 1660s when the island fell under the administration of the FWIC and the French Crown after 1674, the colony had expanded all along the easily navigable Caribbean Sea or western coast between Morne Rouge/Grand Ance in the south and Grand Pauvre (Victoria) in the north, a distance of about 30 km (19 mi). The area was divided into four districts, with a population in

1669 of 506 people, split almost equally between enslaved Africans/descendants (222) and whites (284, including 55 *engagés*/white indentured servants) (ANOM 1669b). Figure 5.5 is a historical visual representation of much of the colony in 1670 that provides a rare spatial depiction of the developing colony—the allocation of (small rectangular plots of) lands along a narrow coastal strip (less than 1,000 m/3,281 ft in from the coast), and the development of the settlements with fort, coastal batteries, port, roads/tracks, and chapels. The crops grown on these small plots included cotton and indigo (Martin 2013).



Figure 5.5A “Plan de l’avenue et du port de la Grenade,” 1670 (courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France/BnF)

It is evident from the 1670 drawing that the mode of production established was the beginning of the settlement model that would envelope the entire island in decades, and which by the mid-1700s was reflected in Romain’s (1749[1743]) *Carte de l’isle de la Grenada*. Figure 5.5B is one of the first detailed French maps of Grenada, showing the *bourgs* or towns (hamlets), with surrounding fortified points, chapels, the coastal road network around the island that linked its towns and ports, and the hundreds of plantations across the island (represented by small red squares) and along river courses, except in the central mountainous (forested) interior that was unsuitable for agriculture. Within 75 years the French had transformed the conquered Indigenous landscape into a colonized islandscape with its all-encompassing model of the colonial enterprise via the slave plantation complex.

The population (in 1745) had increased to 10,021, with the majority 8,700 enslaved, 1,050 whites, and 189 free non-whites, the latter a new social dynamic due to the (presumably mostly involuntary) racial mixing of Europeans and Africans (Table 5.2) (see Cox 1984). The

map does not show plantation boundaries, but identifies plantations with small red rectangles where the higher numbers seem to indicate a greater number of people (and structures), and thus could correlate with the type of crop produced, more rectangles representing sugar plantations, especially those along water courses that powered tens of watermills.

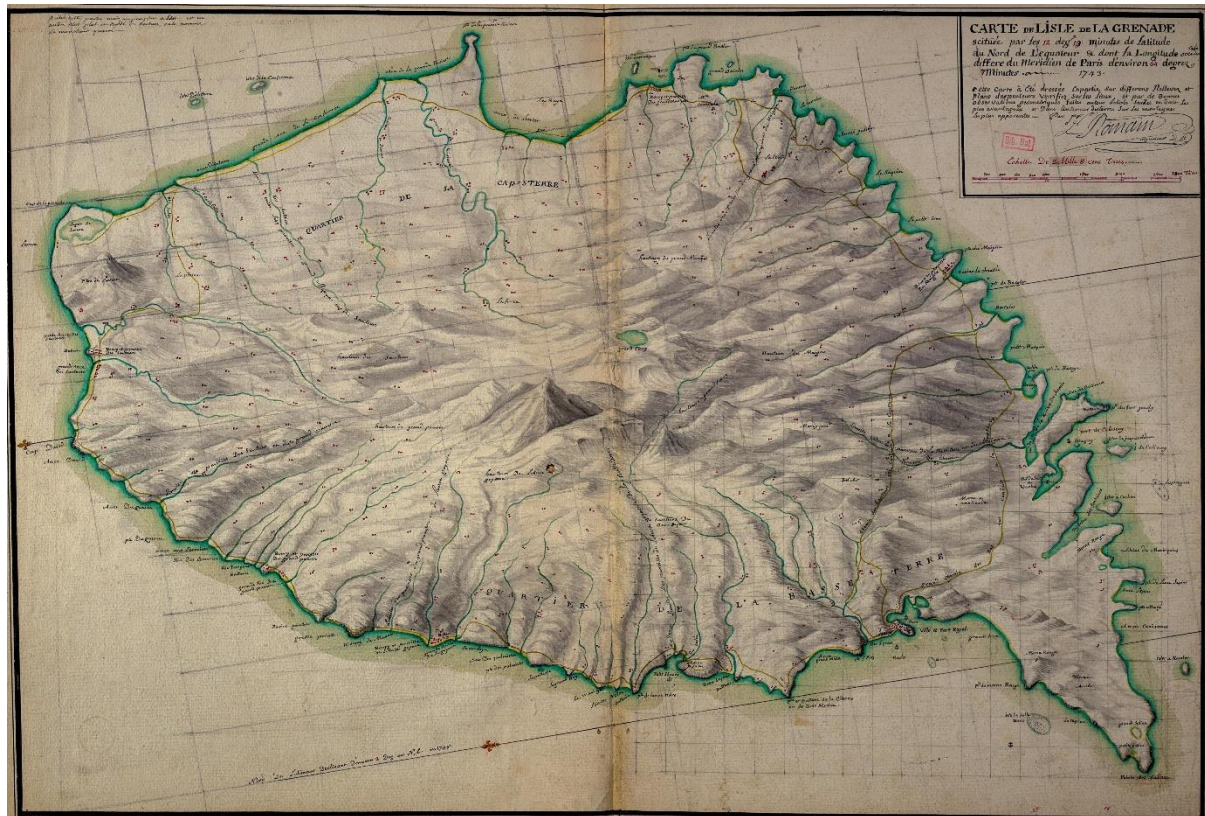


Figure 5.5B “Carte de l’isle de la Grenada,” 1749[1743] by Romain (courtesy BnF)

Figure 5.6 shows the distribution of plantations in 1763, the culmination of just over a century of landscape change orchestrated by the French as part of their establishment of the slave-plantation colony of La Grenade. Unfortunately, there is no comparable data to show the geographical change from an earlier period except what was presented above with Figure 5.5A. Other data, however, can show some of those gradual changes. Table 5.3 shows the change in the number of indigo and sugar plantations between 1687 and 1763, thus capturing the trend as well as what was required to arrive at Figure 5.6 with the changes in the two primary export crops. Indirectly, the growth in indigo plantations afforded an increasing level of skilled labor and processes that laid the foundation for sugar production (Martin 2013). The gradual change from indigo to sugar production required subsequent changes to the landscape in the form of land acquisition, capital investments, and increased semi-skilled labor. The increasing number and size of sugar plantations was made possible by land

consolidation in the coastal and lowland areas as large planters created economically viable sugar plantations. The smaller planters who sold off their coastal and lowland plots gained access to the newly opened areas in the higher elevations where many pursued lucrative tree crops like coffee and cocoa that were more suitable to the hilly terrain (Kimber 1988; Martin 2013).

Year	Total Population	% Slaves	% White	% FNW ¹	Avg. Annual Rate of Increase Since Previous Census (%)			
					Total	White	Slave	FNW ¹
1669	506	44	56	--	---	---	---	---
1687	659	45	47	8	1.7	1.43	1.62	
1690	795	50	42	8	6.9	-2.75	9.51	5.23
1700	835	63	31	6	0.5	-2.71	2.85	-1.57
1704	1,365	71	26	3	15.9	7.93	14.16	-5.82
1707 ²	1,466	76	24	--	---			
1718	3,476	80	13	7	11.0			
1722	3,668	83	12	5	1.4			
1726	4,328	80	15	5	4.5	4.56	2.80	4.34
1731	5,275	83	14	3	4.4	2.83	4.60	-0.88
1735	6,406	83	13	4	5.4	2.37	4.79	6.51
1741	8,983	86	12	2	6.7	4.25	6.28	2.17
1745	9,986	88	10	2	2.8	-0.82	3.12	2.47
1749	9,965	87	11	2	(.1)	2.01	-0.13	2.37
1755	14,036	90	8	2	6.8	-0.86	6.18	9.27
1761	16,456	87	10	3				
1763 ³	13,846	88	9	3	(.3)	1.79	-0.71	3.87

Source: FR ANOM DPPC G¹ 498, Recensements, la Grenade, 1669-1755.

¹ FNW – Free Non-Whites.

² Figures for 1707 are only overall numbers of people taken from a correspondence by the governor; see FR ANOM COL C¹⁸ 2 N^o 8.

³ TNA, Key, UK. Colonial Office 101/1/6. This is the recorded total though it was a miscalculation due to the undercounting by at least 1,400 slaves of the 14 year olds and under in the district of Grand Marquis (St. Andrew).

Table 5.2 Population of Grenada, 1669 to 1763, by race (percentage) and annual rate of change (Martin 2013)

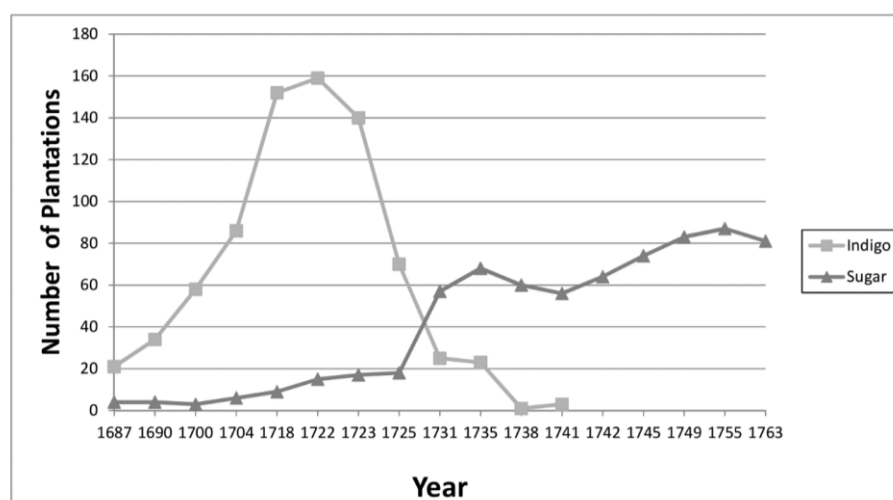


Table 5.3: Number of indigo and sugar plantations in Grenada, 1687 to 1763 (Martin 2013)

Figure 5.6 shows a total of 313 plantations of varying sizes growing various crops, capturing the French impact on the landscape on the eve of their expulsion from the island following the British invasion in March 1762. Unlike the HGIS model of the Indigenous settlements in Figure 5.1, Figure 5.6 starkly depicts the pervasiveness of French habitation of Grenada, transforming the landscape from one of primarily coastal subsistence cultivation to one supplying agricultural produce for international markets. Of course, this process was gradual, and very slow in the beginning as several roadblocks confronted the French in realizing their colonial enterprise (Martin 2013; Prichard 2004). But like the Indigenous peoples before them, the French began establishing their settlements on the coast and lowlands, and gradually moved inland as the population (both free and enslaved) increased, agricultural crops changed, and investments became available to fund expansion into more and larger plantations and at higher elevations. The clearing of forests was a difficult and expensive activity and required extensive inputs of enslaved labor, many of which succumbed to the onerous task (Kimber 1998; Morgan et al. 2022; Watts 1987).

Though appearing to be a random scatter across the landscape, there was nothing haphazard in the distribution of the plantations. This HGIS model reflects the culmination of a settlement model begun in 1649 when the French landed and laid the foundations of their colonial enterprise, driven by economic, demographic, and land-use changes. It entailed the clearing of forests for the plantations to grow the various agricultural crops, residential spaces, towns and/or hamlets, ports, anchorages and roads, as well as for materials and fuel. It opened areas for hunting of wildlife for food, and the creation of pastures for the rearing of large quantities of newly introduced animals like cattle, horses, mules, goats and sheep for transportation and food, creating the subsequent “Creole ecology” (Table 5.4) (Morgan et al. 2022). And with the importation of the labor necessary to establish and run these agricultural factories and carry out their various tasks, more forests were cleared to house and feed them. In 1763, the plantations identified in Figure 5.6 covered an area of 14,663 ha (36,234 acres) or 52.4 percent of the total land area, with 12,530 ha (30,963 acres) or 44.8 percent in “fallow or standing woods” (Jeffreys 1760[1763]).

Year	Horned Cattle	Horse/ Mule	Sheep/ Goat	Pigs
1669	89	14		
1687	264	52		
1690	310	52		
1700	659	74		
1704	496	120	80	
1718	945	352	1062	1063
1725	1252	711	1856	667
1731	1848	530	3588	817
1735	2378	740	4385	1159
1741	2179	1536	4274	745
1745	1853	1466	3739	977
1749	2483	2002	5112	1251
1755	1969	1085	3184	186
1761	1830	1029	2229	999

Table 5.4: Numbers and types of animals on plantation in Grenada, 1669-1761 (Martin 2013)

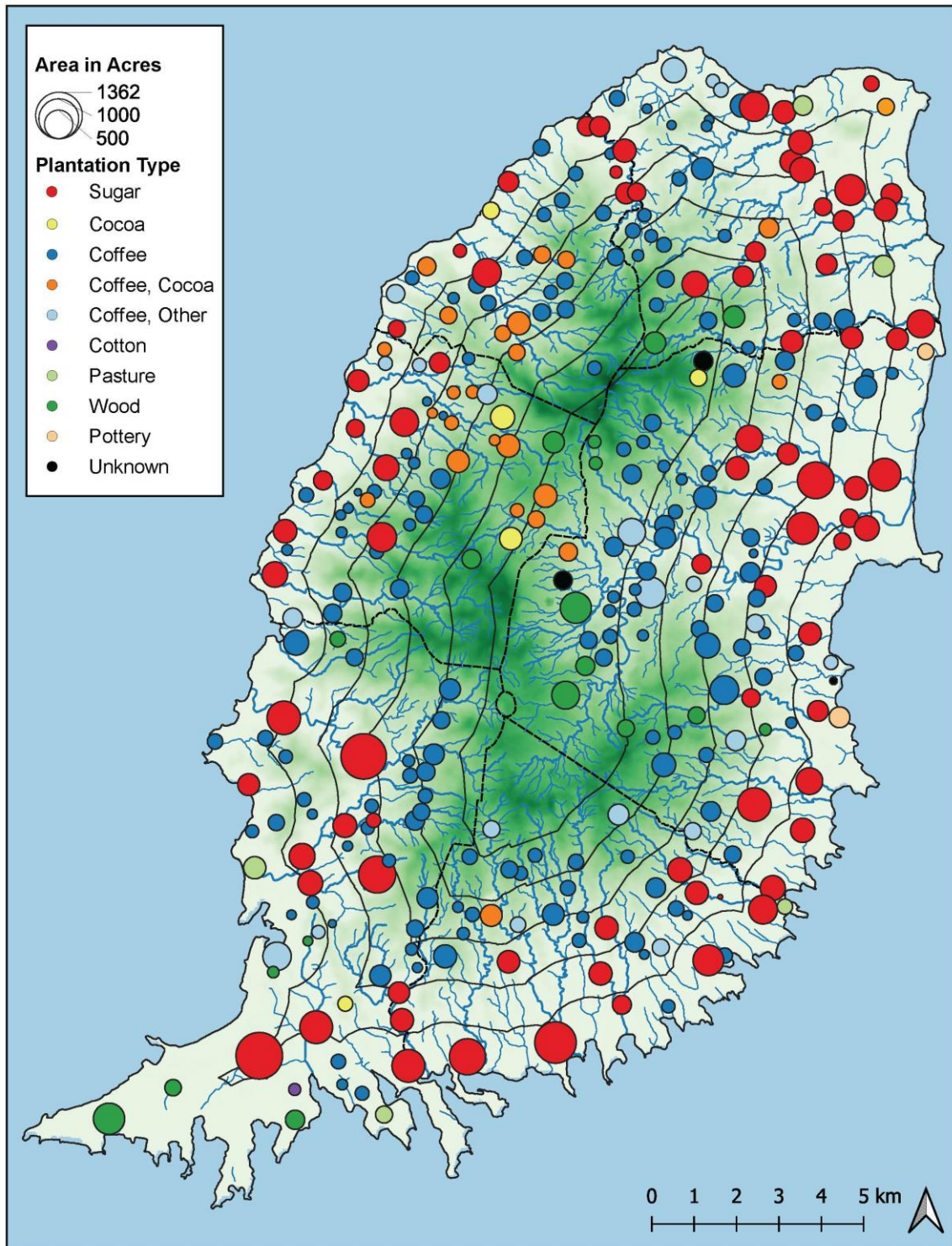


Figure 5.6: HGIS model locating all plantations by size and crop types within parish boundaries and 1 km increments from the coast, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

Though large areas of forests and other lands had been cleared, almost an equal portion was still in woods and fallowed; many plantations also maintained wooded lots to use for various activities like fuel or building materials (Jeffreys 1760[1763]).

The HGIS model in Figure 5.6 presents a picture of all plantations in Grenada in 1763. It illustrates several important characteristics of the French mode of production adopted in Grenada and much of the French Caribbean in the 18th century (Kimber 1988; Prichard 2004; Watts 1987). It shows the maturity of the island's plantation economy, with a diversity of plantation sizes and types across the island, utilizing diverse ecological zones. It also shows the diversity of the plantation economy, a facet of French colonialism in the period, with multiple crops grown at the same time by different economic classes (Boucher 2007; Prichard 2004).

In 1763 there were 83 sugar plantations occupying about 12,612 ha (31,164 acres), 86 percent of cultivated lands, and 30 percent of all lands (Figure 5.7) (Jeffreys 1760[1763]; Martin 2013). These were the largest plantations and located on the coast and lowlands, the majority within 2 km of the coast, especially along the southern, eastern and northern coasts. Sugar estates in the west of the island were usually smaller and nearer the coast, as the interior was rather steep with less lands suitable for the actual cultivation of sugar cane. Almost all sugar plantations were situated near to rivers or large streams which they utilized to generate power to operate the sugar mills; sugar plantations not situated near rivers utilized cattle mills (and later windmills under the British). Thus, many of these rivers were dammed, with extensive canal systems used to transport water great distances across the plantations (see Figure 2.8). Though sugar plantations were only 26 percent of all plantations, they dominated the landscape because of their larger size, ranging from 43 to 552 ha (105 to 1,363 acres), with an average of 154 ha (380 acres). Sugar plantations also utilized large numbers of animals, especially horned cattle and mules that required huge quantities of grass for feed, thus creating pastures on plantations across the island (Table 5.4) (Morgan et al. 2022).

A peculiar aspect of French sugar production required a type of plantation needed to supply sugar molds in order to process its sugar to a high quality and often compared to white sugar. There were three pottery plantations, and one pottery/coffee (on the west coast), making these sugar molds as well as roof tiles and other clay products (Jeffreys 1760[1763]). Interestingly, three of them were situated on the eastern coast, which may have had to do with the availability of raw materials and/or ease of transport near the coast. These plantations would disappear under the British as their sugar production practices did not utilize this technology, but the ruins (of kilns, tiles, molds) and the names La Poterie/Poterie remain embedded in the cultural landscape across the island, particularly in St. Andrew parish where two of the names persist.

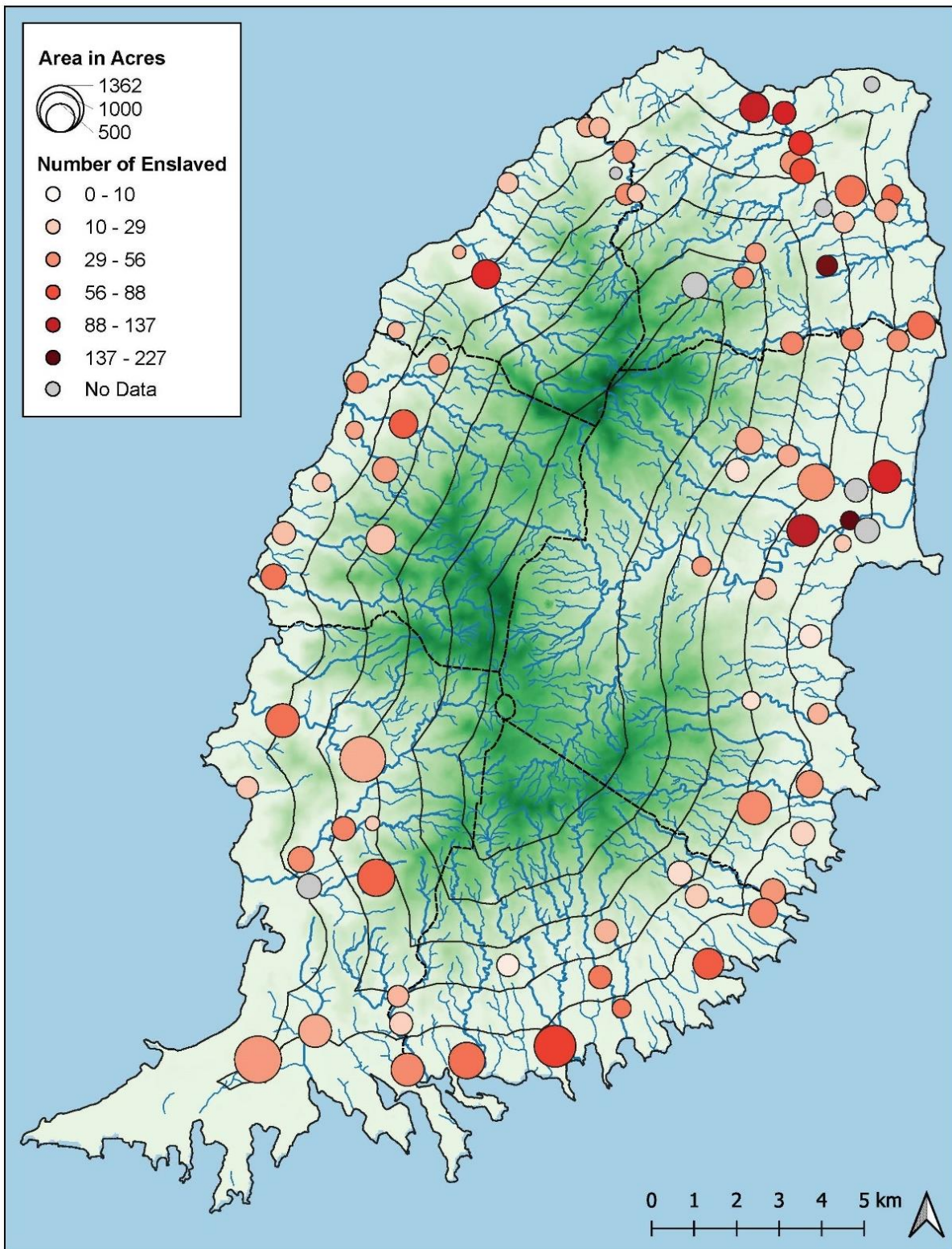


Figure 5.7: HGIS model locating sugar plantations by size and number of enslaved, within parish boundaries and 1 km increments in from the coast, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

Coffee was the most important crop after sugar cane, grown on 162 plantations, and together with cocoa on another 24 in 1763, occupying an area of 6,296 ha (15,558 acres) or 22.5 percent of the lands conceded. Coffee plantations, on average, were smaller than sugar

plantations, ranging in size from 8 to 223 ha (20 to 550 acres), with an average of 60 ha (148 acres). Though several coffee plantations were located on the coast, the majority occupied the second and third tiers or *etages* inland, which were more ideal terrain with better conditions for tree-crop production. Coffee, introduced to Grenada in the early-1730s, quickly grew to become the secondary crop of choice of middling planters with limited resources, though some wealthy planters operated them in addition to their sugar plantations (Jeffreys 1760[1763]; Martin 2013). The majority of planters in 1763 were growing coffee across the island. There were only three plantations exclusively producing cocoa, with a plurality producing cocoa and coffee, a cropping system that would be common throughout the 18th century.

Only a few thousand acres in the mountainous interior remained unconceded (and in “original forests”) because of its inaccessibility and unsuitability for agriculture, but most plantations were underutilized based on land-labor ratios as illustrated by the then hectarages under cultivation. Of the 27,620 ha (68,250 acres) conceded in plantations, 59 percent (14,380 ha/35,534 acres) was listed as under agricultural cultivation, with the remaining 40 percent in “woods” or “brush” (Jeffreys 1760[1763]). Many plantations maintained acres of standing wood for ongoing and future use.

Slave society in the Caribbean developed its unique form of the village, the plantation. For the majority of people living in Grenada, the plantation was the center of their world, each its own self-contained village, particularly for its enslaved residents. As more and more plantations spread across the island, the large plantations, particularly those producing sugar, formed contained hubs of economic and social activities. Enslaved on neighboring plantations often interacted and even engaged in various social activities, including personal relationships. This was generally the prevailing form of agricultural production in Grenada during slavery—large sugar plantations, scores or hundreds of enslaved, yet the existence of profitable secondary crops like coffee and cocoa also accounted for a sizeable portion of the economy and therefore an alternate settlement scenario (Figures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9).

The plantation mode of production in Grenada exploited the labor of enslaved Africans after a very brief period of white indentured labor (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013). Figure 5.9 captures the extent of the enslaved labor used on all plantations across Grenada in 1763, with Table 5.2 showing the growth of that population between 1669 and 1763 (ANOM 1669-1755; TNA

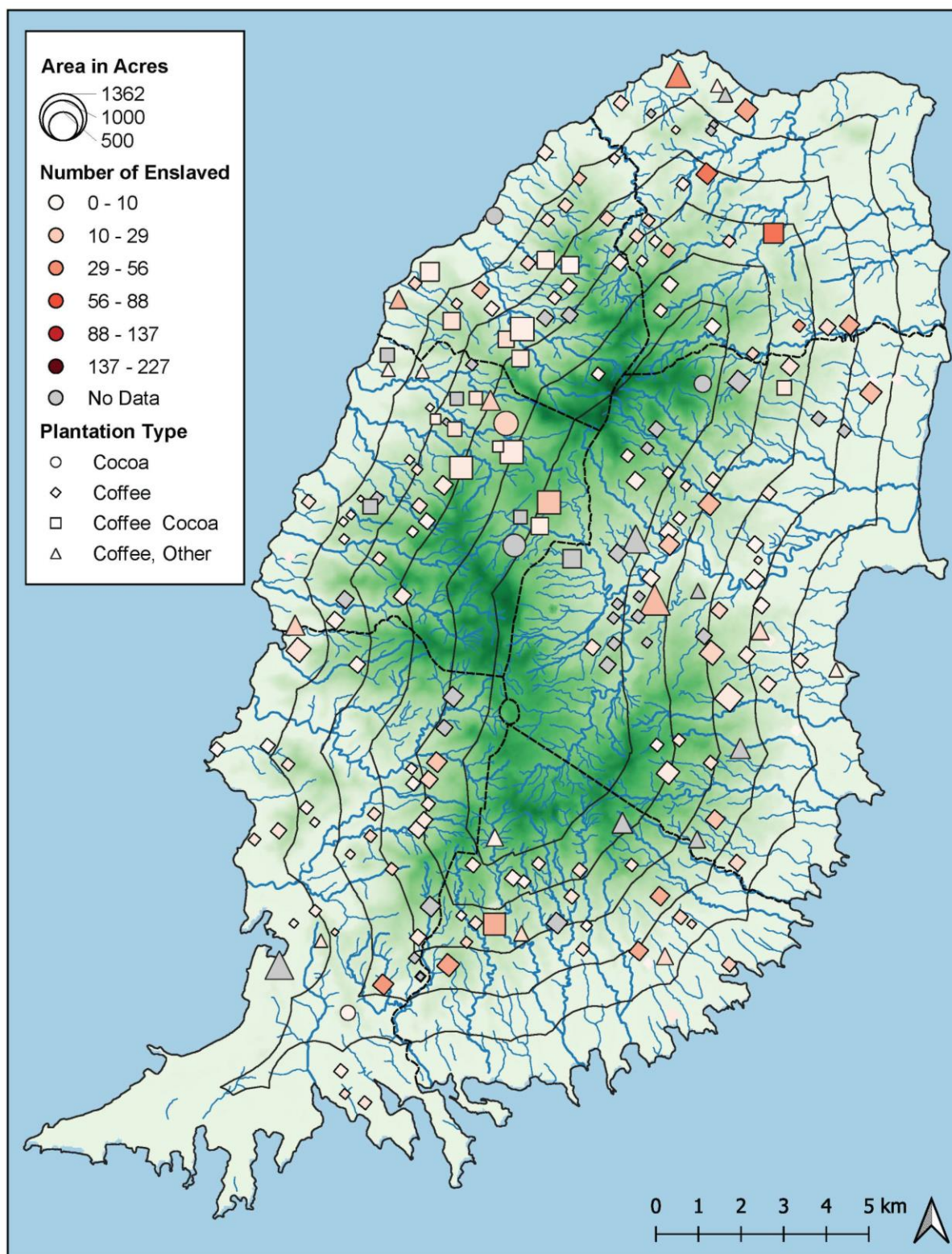


Figure 5.8: HGIS model locating none-sugar plantations by size, types of crops and number of enslaved within parish boundaries and 1 km increments in from the coast, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

UK 1763).¹² An analysis of the growth in the number of sugar plantations and enslaved data shows a correlation between the two as the increase in imports of labor fueled the growth in sugar plantations along with the availability of financial investments. There is also a direct correlation between the distribution of enslaved and the extent of plantations across the island, but also the type of plantations and their demand for enslaved labor.

The enslaved were the principal workforce in the plantation economy, 95 percent confined to the rural agricultural landscape on various plantations cultivating the three primary crops (sugar cane and coffee/cocoa), which required slightly different labor regimes (Figures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9). Sugar cane needed a continuous labor force while coffee and cocoa mainly at peak periods of the year. As would be expected sugar plantations utilized a large percentage of the enslaved labor, registering 55 percent (7,690), though most plantations in 1763 were underutilized. Coffee, cocoa and other plantations utilized 40 percent (5,564), with the remainder not attached to plantations and working in various mercantile activities or as domestics in urban centers and ports. The enslaved also produced the local food supply and were often called upon to provide the labor for public works, including the construction of roads and public buildings like fortifications and hospitals as part of the *covée*.

The enslaved population was not only responsible for the cultivation and production of the multiple export crops, but also for the vast quantities of subsistence crops necessary to feed the entire population. During the French period, gangs of enslaved cultivated common plots of land on the plantation to produce subsistence crops like ground provisions (manioc, sweet potato), corn, plantain and banana, all of these except the latter two were Indigenous crops then grown by the Kali'nago.¹³ As the system of subsistence crop production expanded, small plots of land, usually on the periphery of the plantation or situated in the mountains, were allotted to the enslaved to produce their own food, the surplus of which was sold at public markets or back to the plantation. Provision gardens would subsequently take on added

¹² Though the Capitation Rolls (TNAUK 1763) recorded 13,846 enslaved, it was an undercount by at least 1,400 enslaved, with the (untaxed) under 14 years old for Grand Marquis (St. Andrew) not counted. This number is a more accurate representation of the slave population based on projections from the 1761 French census. It is also possible that some of the departing French may have departed Grenada with their enslaved, thus reducing the actual total at that time.

¹³ Though it might seem that "ground provision" specifically references tubers and corms that grow underground (yam, sweet potato, dasheen, eddoe, tannia and cassava), it also includes an array of above-ground vegetables and fruits, all starches, like *fig* (bananas), bluggoe, breadfruit and plantain which take their collective name from the fact that they were/are grown in provision grounds/gardens, thus provisions, deriving from its English/Latin origins of basic foods which these starches were/are. Allsopp (1998) adds that "ground provisions" also derive from the fact that they were grown in "grounds," or lands as defined across the region. See also Franklyn (2007).

importance during the British period and have far-reaching consequences in terms of food and identity of the enslaved and later peasantry (Marshall 1993; Pulsipher 1990).

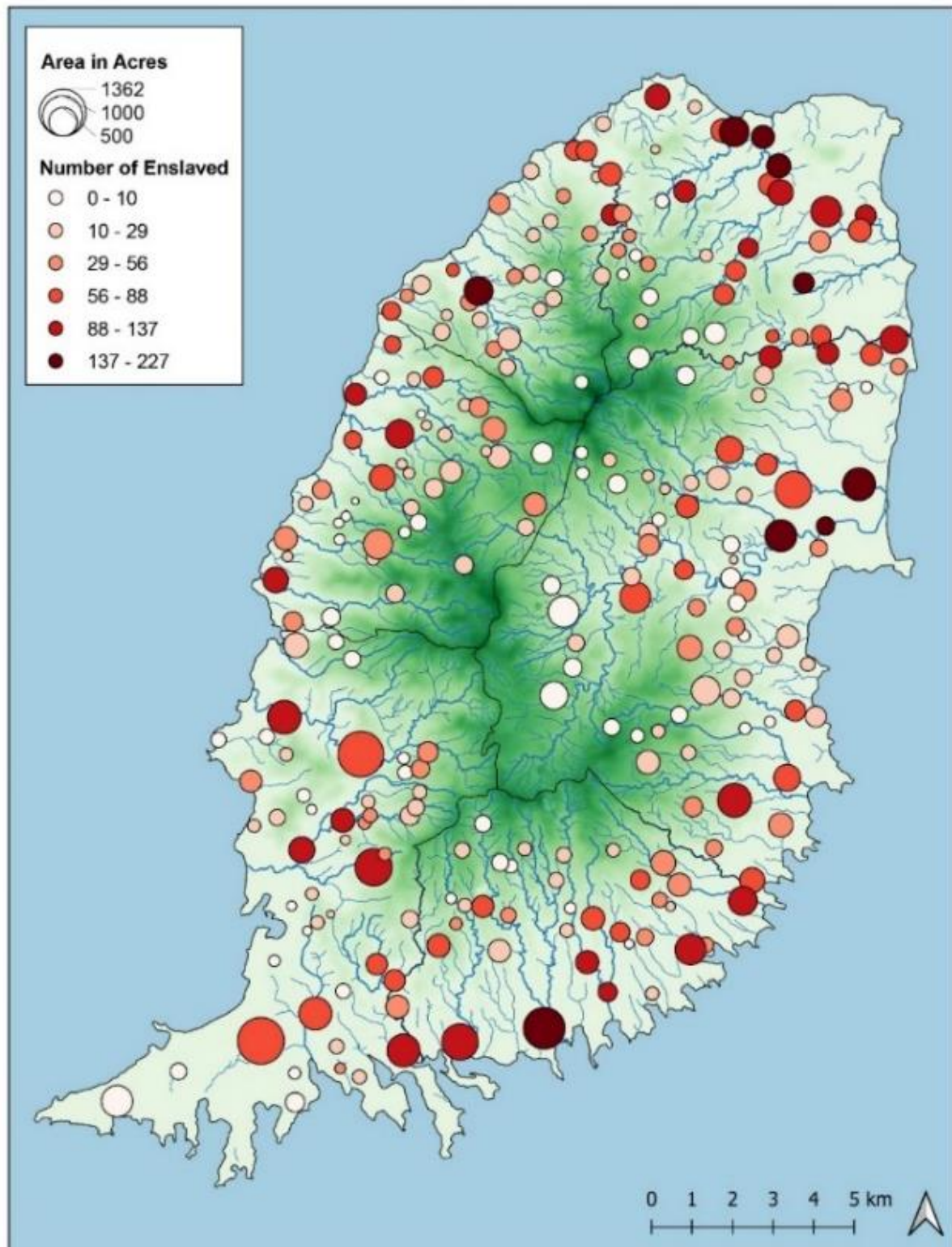


Figure 5.9: HGIS model locating plantations by size and number of enslaved, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

Figure 5.9A shows the extent of French road and port infrastructure constructed across Grenada by 1763, illustrating the extent of their occupation. The establishment of an island-wide road network linked the districts or *quartiers*, plantations, ports and anchorages, and hamlets/towns to the main town (*bourg*) at the Ville du Fort Royal. The urban centers provided port facilities, security (fortifications), chapels/churches, and some government administration. The *Chemin Royal* or King's Road built along the coast where possible was constructed on land reserved by the state as the King's fifty paces from the high tide watermark. On the western coast, the road was practically chiseled from the steep slopes in some areas (see Figure 5.5B).

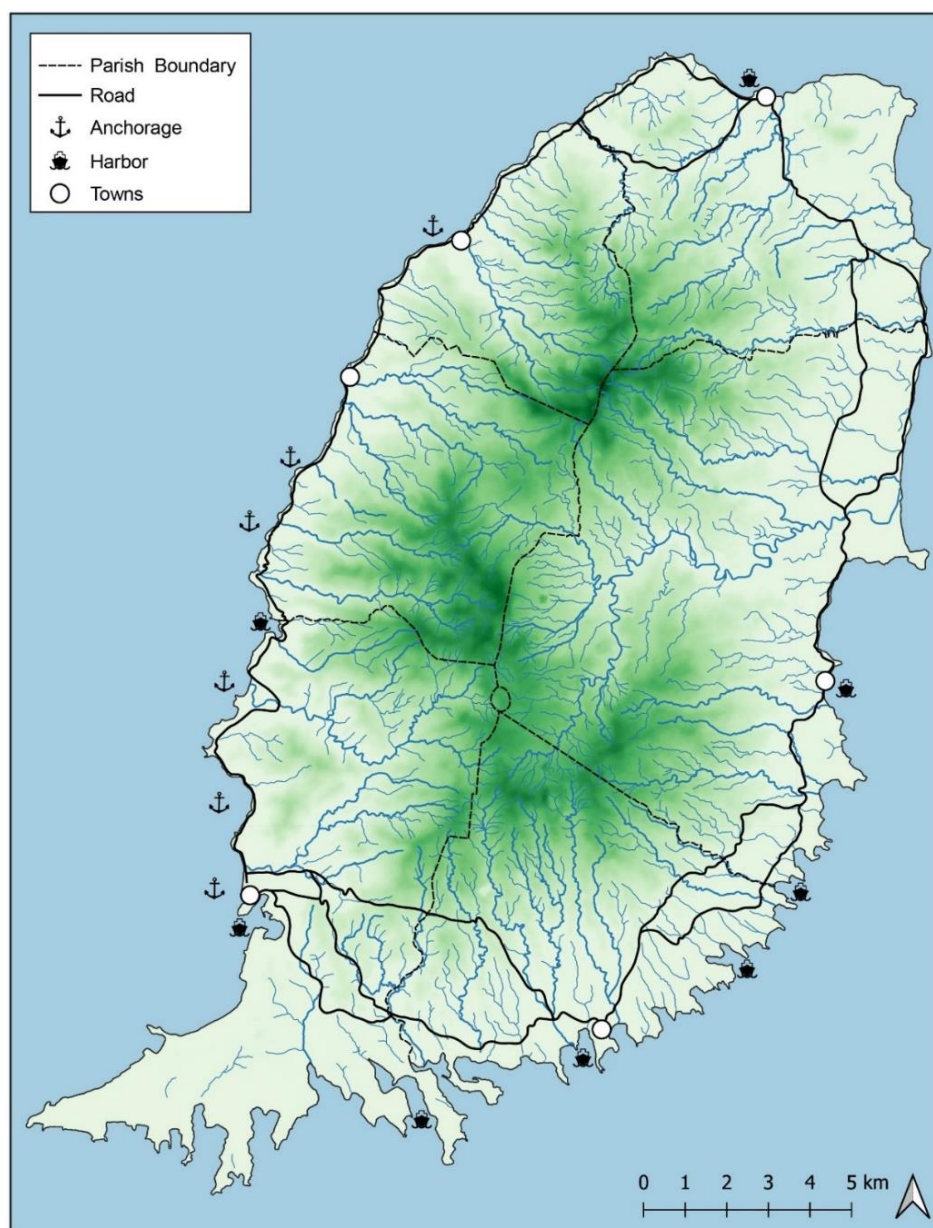


Figure 5.9A: HGIS model locating French-era built roads, ports, anchorages and towns, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford, 2021)

Except for part of the southern section of the island and through Sauteurs, there were no trans-insular roads, which accounted for the lack of access and thus development of many of the plantations located over four or more kilometers in from the coast. There were no coastal roads in the northeast and southwest due to marshes and “barren lands,” respectively (Jefferys 1760[1763]). There were, however, many tracks across the island that connected to small ports or landings where canoes and ferries carried people and produce to and from the main ports. The main *bourg* at La Ville du Fort Royal provided the primary facilities: international port, fortifications, church and government administration. Only the wealthy planter families, merchants and officials owned townhouses in the Ville du Fort Royal, which had established its new central marketplace c1748, moving from the Carenage (Figure 5.9B) (d’Imbert 1765).



Figure 5.9B: “A plan of George Town in the Island of Granada, surveyed by the direction of the Commissioners for the sale and disposal of His Majesty’s lands in the year 1765” by François d’Imbert (courtesy The National Archives, UK)

In addition to the harbors located in the towns/hamlets, there were several anchorages along the coast to facilitate the regular transport of supplies and produce to and from the plantations. A common practice was to construct “Bay Houses” at the many landing areas and anchorages to store supplies and produce until ferries or ships would take them to their destinations. Absent from Figure 5.9A, however, are the over 80 sugar works that included extensive canal systems, dams, waterwheels, and numerous buildings constructed of stone on sugar plantations that radically transformed the physical landscape (see Figure 5.7). Though the French had transformed the Kali’nago-occupied island of Camàhogne into the slave-plantation colony of La Grenade, their occupation should be seen as adding to rather than replacing the extant exploitative techniques of the Indigenous population (Kimber 1988). However, their impact on the landscape was tremendous, especially in such a short time, and their enduring consequences will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.3 Mapping the Expansion of Sugar and Slavery Under the British (1762-1838)

“Following the British occupation, sugar cultivation expanded rapidly in the Windward Islands, especially in Grenada, on the eve of the American Revolution.... Grenada became the second most valuable colony [after Jamaica] in the British Caribbean.”

Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided...* (2000:60)

The British capture of Grenada ensued without a single gun/cannon being fired as the overwhelming size of their invading fleet in March 1762 convinced the French that it was in their best interests to accept the favorable terms of surrender offered, especially as the other French islands had already fallen to the British (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013). The British captured an island (a century and a half after they had failed to settle it in 1609) that had been significantly transformed by the French in just over a century of occupation. After eliminating the Kali’nago and Kali’na (threat), the French, with the labor of thousands of enslaved Africans, developed the infrastructure needed for the management of hundreds of sugar, coffee and cocoa plantations worked by thousands of enslaved laborers, several “towns,” an extensive road network, and ports where tens of ships docked annually before carrying off tens of thousands of tons of agricultural produce for European markets. French language, culture and laws were embedded in the newly created slave plantation society, and

though much was about to change under the British, it would be a gradual process fraught with economic, political and social upheavals (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Steele 2003).

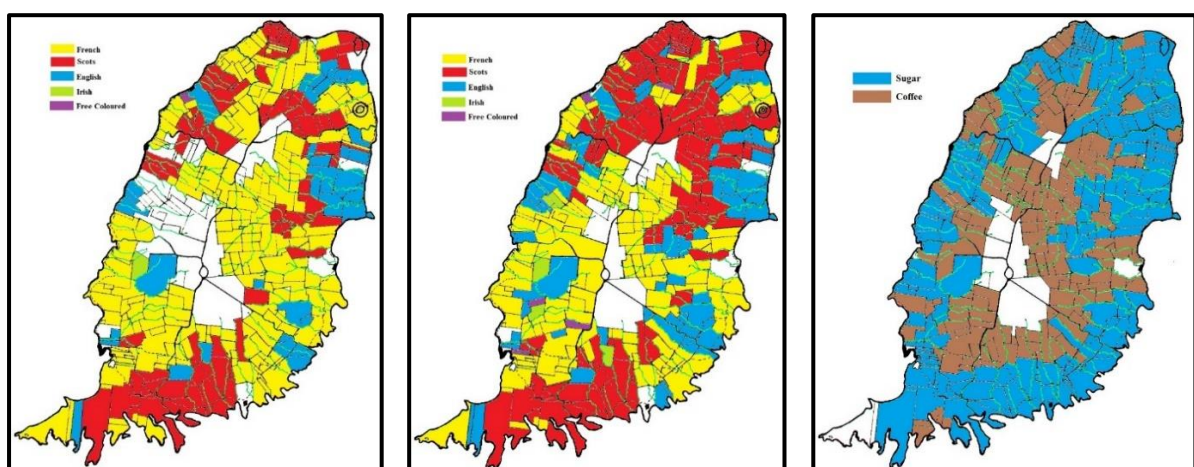
The British occupation of Grenada brought about profound changes to the island's cultural landscape, including the migration of diverse peoples into and out of the island, dramatic increases in its enslaved population, social conflicts, and the expansion of monocrop cultivation with the widespread adaption of sugar cane as the (overwhelmingly) dominant crop. The period resulted in the consolidation of smaller properties into larger plantations and increased exports of agricultural produce, especially sugar, on British-owned estates. It would, however, witness the end of the Atlantic Slave Trade in 1808 and the "freeing" of the island's enslaved population in 1834. Thus, creating new trajectories for the constantly changing Grenadian landscape that was transformed from an Indigenous space to slave-plantation colony, and following the arrival of the British, a booming sugar-plantation complex.

The British colonial government, under its newly appointed military governor, moved quickly to consolidate its power even though the treaty ending the war was almost a year away. Though there was no guarantee that Grenada would be ceded to the British, there appeared little hope that the French would retain it as it was the only official French colony that was captured and thus figured prominently in the treaty discussions as the French were not willing to give up its lucrative colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe (Martin 2013). Without waiting for an answer, prominent French planters left Grenada for France and other French colonies in the region rather than remain under British rule, initiating the first of several migrations of French Grenadians out of the island (Bonnefoy 2019). A plurality of the French, however, desiring to maintain the livelihoods they had created over the last century chose to remain, though their reality was drastically changed as they became "New (British) Subjects." For those who desired to leave, they were quick to sell off their plantations to eager British investors literally rushing into Grenada (Gonzalez 1994).

Within the first year the British carried out several assessments, providing a picture of the cultural landscape the French had created in Grenada following the destruction of the Indigenous Camáhogne islandscape. One of the most immediate issues to be settled was land ownership, which could prove contentious. Aware that most of the land had already been granted by the French (though much of it remained underutilized), Lieutenant Governor Scott's goal was to ascertain which lands were legally granted and what remained

unconceded and could be subsequently allotted to British subjects. The French, since the early 1760s, had been preparing a detailed survey of the island under Jean-Baptiste Pinel, French royal surveyor and road inspector (Jefferys 1760[1763]; Niddrie 1966; Saveno 2013). Thus, the British utilized that survey to create the first detailed plantation map of Grenada that illustrates, as discussed above, the extent of French colonization of the island (Figures 2.5 and 5.6-5.9). They also carried out a census of the population for tax purposes.

In the next 15 years, the British aggressively pursued the expansion of plantation agriculture in the southern Caribbean among its newly acquired territories (Brizan 1998; Murphy 2022; Ragatz 1928; Steele 2003). From Grenada, its most developed colony, it created the Government of the Southern Caribbee Islands that included the Ceded Islands of Grenada, the Grenadines archipelago, Tobago, St. Vincent and Dominica. British subjects in the region flocked to Grenada (and the other islands), which also attracted investors and planters from the region and the UK, especially from London and across Scotland following promotions by individuals like Campbell (1763) and Young (1764). The new arrivals included English and Irish, but the Scots were heavily represented, especially among the professional and propertied classes (Gonzales 1994). They were all seeking new opportunities. It is clear that the British, dominated by the Scots, were interested in the larger properties, particularly sugar plantations, though some purchased coffee plantations and quickly transformed them into sugar cane (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994). By 1766 the British had purchased about 38 sugar plantations, approximately 45 percent of the sugar properties on the island, and some 40 coffee and cotton plantations (Figure 5.10) (1764 *Purchases in Grenada and by Whom* 1764; ANOM 1765; Gonzalez 1994).



Figures 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12: Plantations by nationality, 1766 (left) and 1772 (center), and Plantations by crops, 1772 (right) (adopted from Gonzalez 1994)

In 1772 the British carried out a census of the plantations ten years into their occupation of Grenada (TNAUK 1772). It provides data on plantations, including owners, size, crops, and number of enslaved. Unfortunately, the data were not mapped, but there is definite overall agreement with the 1763 survey and map. Though many property boundaries were altered in the ensuing decade due primarily to the sale and consolidation of multiple properties, it is possible to represent the 1772 data on the 1763 plantation maps after Gonzalez (1994) to produce Figures 5.11 and 5.12, thus geographically capturing the British impact on the landscape and its land-use transformation since 1763. Despite the consolidation that was taking place, the total number of plantations went from 313 in 1763 to 348 in 1772, with the French owning 200 and the British 148. There are many small properties producing coffee, which appear to be a result of division of some French properties based on French inheritance laws. Sugar plantations increased from 81 to 113 (28 percent increase), comprising 18,284 ha (45,181 acres) (71 percent of which was cultivated with cane), with an average size of 162 ha (400 acres). The British owned the vast majority, 80 (71 percent), and the French 33 (29 percent). It was the reverse for coffee estates where the French owned 71 percent and the British 29 percent. The picture also shows that the British concentrated their efforts in the three larger districts (with greater lowlands) of St. George, St. Patrick and St. Andrew for sugar production, and St. John and St. David for coffee (Figures 5.10 and 5.11). Of course, this fits with the ecological and topographical layout of the island and these specific areas. According to the 1772 data, the enslaved population had increased to 26,211, an increase of about 60 percent from its total a decade prior. The majority, 69 percent, were involved in sugar production.

The British, in their haste to expand and profit from their new colony, encountered several problems that almost derailed their immediate and long-term plans for Grenada. By allowing the conquered French to remain as New Subjects, retaining their plantations, enslaved, and rights of citizenship, the British had hoped to utilize an existing population as a base for their new colony and especially its continued security (Gonzalez 1994; Brizan 1998). But in doing so they accepted a historically hostile population, which they arrogantly believed or naively wished, that their supposedly superior and inherent benevolent form of government would endear itself to the French and gradually convert them, both culturally and religiously, into true British subjects (Gonzalez 1994). Unfortunately, with antagonist policies towards the French by many of the incoming British, particularly the Scots, the political and social

situation quickly deteriorated into discriminations, chaos and violence (Anderson 2010; Gonzalez 1994; Harland-Jacobs 2015; Mueller 2014, 2017; Polson 2011; Willis 2014).

In the midst of the American War of Independence, Grenada was captured by the French in July 1779. The French made every effort to reassert their historical claim by imposing policies the British residents would later characterize as rather harsh (Devas 1974; Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994; Polson 2011). With the return of Grenada to the British four years later by the Treaty of Versailles, the British embarked on revenge against their French compatriots to disenfranchise them, creating a second mass immigration of the French from Grenada (Bonney 2019; Brizan 1998; Polson 2011). Some believed that the British were trying to force the remaining French out so they could purchase their properties at reduced prices as they had supposedly done in the 1760s (Gonzalez 1994; Polson 2011). The British were harsh in their practices, even forcefully appropriating French Catholic churches and Glebe properties for the use of the Anglican church, the new de facto state religion. The French New Subjects were forbidden to vote and deprived of their participation in local governance and politics, thus restricting their citizenship they believed was guaranteed by the 1763 Treaty of Paris (Cornelius 2020; Harland-Jacobs 2015; Polson 2011; Willis 2014).

The French had become totally disenfranchised, and the remaining population, especially the free coloureds and blacks, influenced by the spread of revolutionary ideas across the region in the wake of the French Revolution and the declaration of the “Rights of Man,” and possibly the slave revolt in St. Domingue (Haitian Revolution), staged a rebellion against their British compatriots (Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Friedland 2018; Jacobs 2000; Martin 2017; Polson 2011). It was a devastating blow to the British colonial government and Grenada’s plantation economy. In 15 months, Fédon’s Rebellion resulted in the total ruin of the Grenadian economy with the destruction of plantations across the island, the death of thousands of enslaved, rebels and British troops, and the disruption of economic and social institutions (Garraway 1877). It would take years before the plantation economy returned to its pre-rebellion levels as the British were forced to invest in replenishing its enslaved labor (at a time when the Slave Trade was being challenged), rebuilding burned plantations buildings and replacing damaged equipment and its entire stock of livestock. This effort led to a total rebuilding of the Grenadian economy that had suffered damage to its very foundations, but the British had inadvertently succeeded in eliminating the French threat to their political, cultural and economic dominance in Grenada, and free to (re)make the island in their own image.

It took the British (and the remaining chastened French) years to rebuild the economy of this once flourishing plantation colony. Fédon's Rebellion, with its destruction, had forced the reshaping of the Grenadian landscape in several ways. It led to the end of French social influence as many French residents implicated in the revolt were killed, executed, or banished from the island; others chose to leave because of the strained relations and an atmosphere of distrust (Brizan 1998). Almost every plantation, including those belonging to the French, were impacted by the rebellion that had seen many plantations burned, their enslaved either killed or on the run, their livestock (essential for production) killed and consumed during the rebellion, and production grounded to a halt (Grenada Government 1799; Hall 1961; Imbarrato 2018; Polson 2011; Rothschild 2011). Many of the French planters implicated in the revolt had their properties confiscated by the state and sold off to British planters, placing thousands of acres of lands and enslaved on the market, with many small properties (belonging mainly to free-coloured rebel families) added to existing plantations as provision grounds (Kesselring 2011; *St. George's Chronicle* 11 Jan 1799). It was the largest reorganization of the landscape since the British capture and purchase of many plantations three decades earlier. As Grenada entered the 19th century, the island was experiencing a massive restructuring of its agricultural and cultural landscape as a consequence of Fédon's Rebellion.

Figure 5.13 HGIS model, based on Gavin Smith's 1801 map and 1824 data (Smith 1801, 1824), captures the British slave-plantation landscape. It captures the post-rebellion plantation landscape as it was in the process of rebuilding from that catastrophic event. The 357 listed plantations ranged in size from 2 to 495 ha (5 to 1,224 acres), totaling some 30,450 ha (75,243 acres).

Though many of the forfeited proprieties of the rebels had been purchased and added to existing plantations, that, however, was not reflected on the 1801 map and so counted as separate properties; a few properties were still listed as "forfeited" and managed by a government-appointed manager (Kesselring 2011; Smith 1824). These smaller properties were usually added as provision grounds for the enslaved who used them as provision gardens, thus showing many small plantations producing only provisions. Figure 5.13 shows at least 73 properties producing provisions, the majority in the mountainous interior.

Figure 5.13, with 1-km increments in from the coasts, illustrates the geographic distribution of the various types of plantations. Almost half of all plantations (48 percent) are located

within two kilometers of the coast, with sugar plantations accounting for 61 percent. At five kilometers in from the coast 86 percent of all plantations, including 99 percent of sugar, 94 percent of coffee and 70 percent of provisions estates accounted for. The remaining elevations were dominated by woods, brush and a few properties producing “provisions” or as slave gardens.

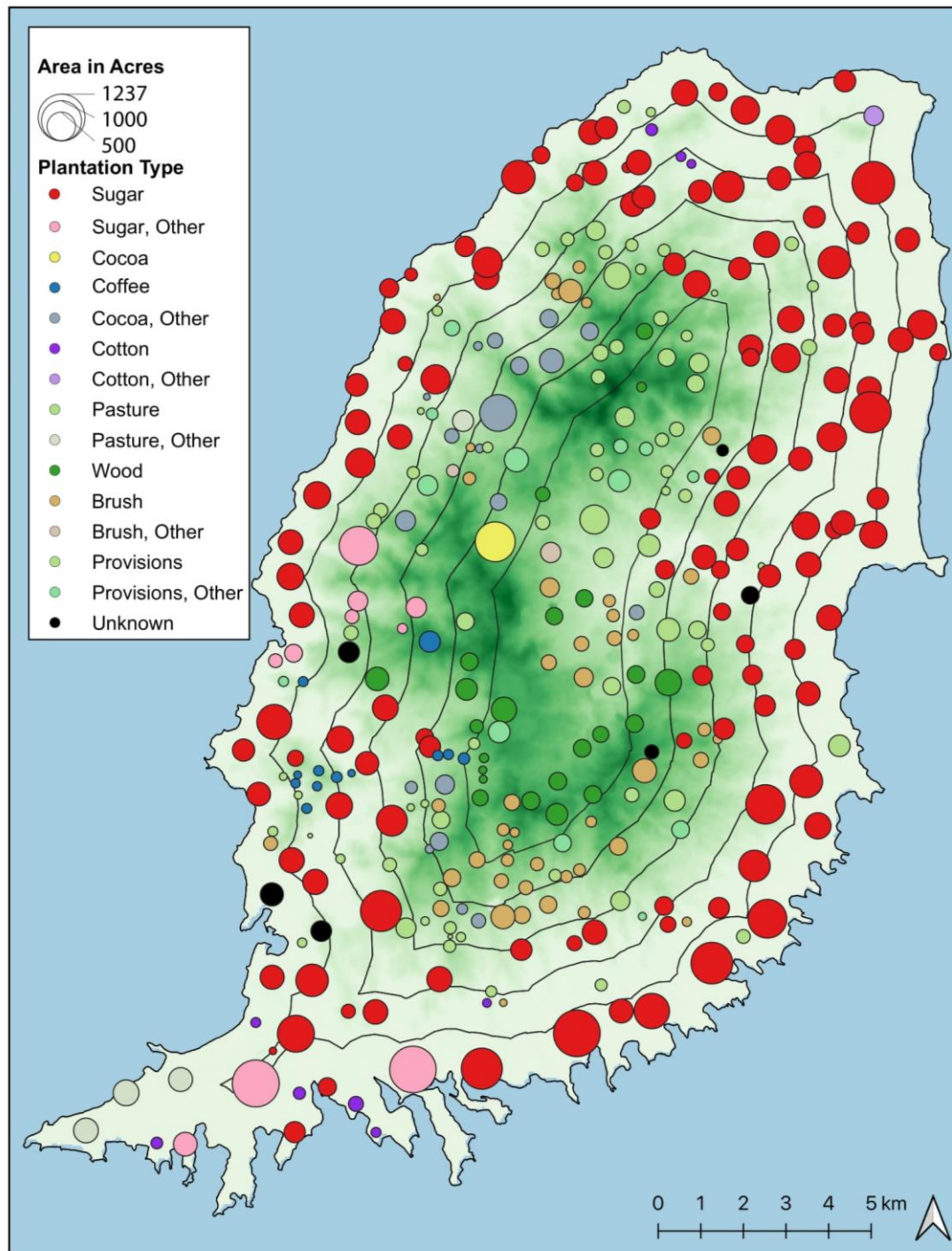


Figure 5.13: HGIS model locating plantations by size and crop types, within 1 km increments in from the coast, 1801/1824 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

Sugar plantations dominated the landscape, increasing from 113 to 134, ranging in size from 37 to 495 ha (92 to 1,224 acres), the majority utilizing watermills, and several using windmills and cattle mills, especially in the north and south. This picture was the climax of the British sugar complex embarked on in the 1760s. Both French and British planters were heavily involved in sugar production, thus the increase in the number of sugar plantations and the decrease in the size of plantations, despite the small increase in the total area under sugar cane cultivation from 18,284 to 19,484 ha (45,181 to 48,145 acres). Some sugar plantations had purchased additional properties that were used exclusively to produce food or provisions for the enslaved, but not counted in the acreage of the said plantations. The process had become so efficient that small planters could invest in sugar production. As is evident from Figure 5.13, sugar-cane cultivation was concentrated on the coast and lowlands, with 61 percent of sugar estates within the first two kilometers from the coast, and 94 percent four kilometers from the coast, replacing the coffee plantations that had previously occupied these lower areas. Sugar plantations were concentrated in the districts of St. Andrew, St. Patrick and St. George, the largest districts and those with extensive coastal areas and lowlands.

The most profound change in the agricultural landscape was the absence of coffee and cocoa which had dominated as the primary, secondary crops after sugar cane since the mid-1700s. About 21 plantations were producing coffee or a combination of coffee, cocoa and other crops; another 23 plantations were producing cotton. The disappearance of a primary, secondary crop can be linked to the conflicts with the French as they were the primary producers of secondary crops like coffee, cocoa and cotton, with the British planters' emphasis on sugar-cane cultivation. The problem began in the 1770s when, due to the financial crisis, some French planters abandoned their plantations and left Grenada without paying debts to British lenders (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994). It was further compounded when many of the French planters involved in Fédon's Rebellion lost their properties as a result and were forced to leave the island. The change would signify the end of coffee production in Grenada as an export crop before the end of slavery a decade later, with the involvement in largescale sugar production an indication that the colony had adopted the British land-use practices seen across the region. This also had important social implications as the cultural differences between sugar and cocoa/coffee plantations were quite evident. Cocoa, on the other hand, would later rebound to change the landscape in the late-1800s.

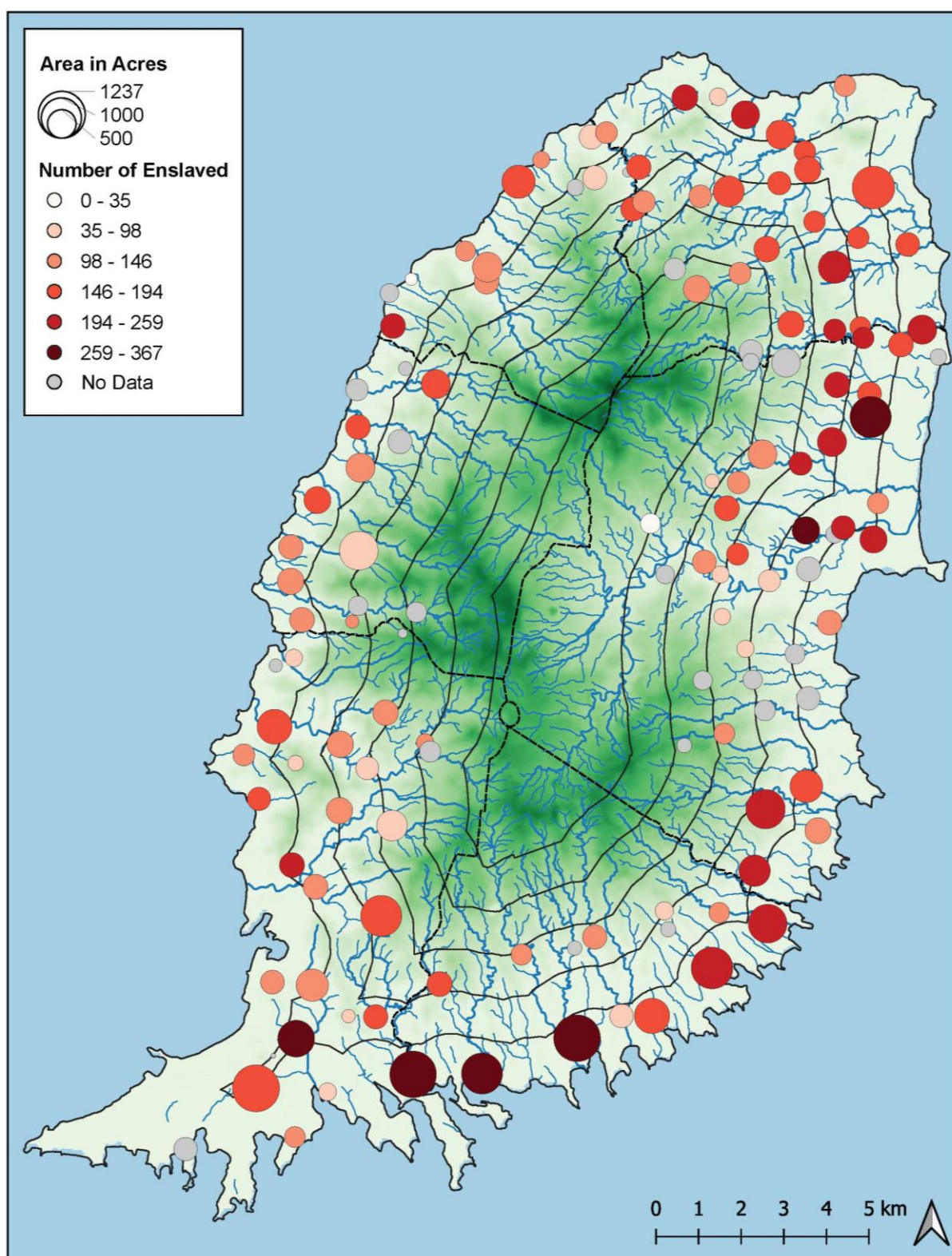


Figure 5.14: HGIS model locating sugar plantations by size and number of enslaved, within 1 km increments in from the coast, 1801/1824 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

Figure 5.15 shows the relative size of plantations and the number of enslaved, illustrating another efficiency that had been achieved in the sugar industry in Grenada under the British. The total number of enslaved involved in agricultural production was 17,666, a decrease of 33 percent since 1772. Factors contributing to the decrease in the enslaved population included the thousands of deaths due to Fédon's Rebellion in 1795-96, and the ending of the British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in 1808 that curtailed the importation of captive Africans (Brizan 1998; Steele 2003). The overwhelming majority of enslaved worked on sugar plantations, accounting for 94 percent (16,547) of the total as would be expected for the dominance of sugar in this period. The profitability of sugar in the late 18th and early 19th centuries had been the major cause for the change in the diverse agriculture established by the French to almost monocrop cultivation under the British. But it was also the changing demographics as the French planters in Grenada decreased due to immigration that destroyed the diverse agriculture once present in Grenada.

The British occupation of Grenada to date had transformed the agricultural landscape as discussed above, but with that came changes in many other aspects of the cultural landscape. Figure 5.16 shows the HGIS model of the major infrastructure (towns/ports/road/sugar mills) under the British as identified on Gavin Smith's 1801 plantation map. The British added two major roads connecting the island across the interior and opening up the plantations in the higher elevations with secondary and tertiary roads and tracks. The road across Grand Étang (at 536 m/1760 feet asl) was begun in 1774 and when completed connected the major town of St. George's with the eastern coastal town of Grenville, which the British had established in the 1760s.

This new road, a feat for its time, provided access to plantations in the interior of St. George and St. Andrew, the two largest districts. Grenville was the only new town and port established by the British, soon replacing the French town of Marquis three miles to its south.¹⁴ It was meant to cater to the extensive plantations, particularly sugar, in the district and along the eastern coast. The new port at Grenville (not identified on the 1801 map), despite a belt of reefs restricting access, was facilitated by the creation of a port's pilot on the hill overlooking the bay that became known as Pilot Hill to guide ships in. Like the port in St. George's, the Grenville port received ships directly from British ports. A second road,

¹⁴ As early as 1743 the French in the parish of Grand Marquis had advocated for the establishment of a more northerly center to cater to the many residents who did not want to travel all the way to Marquis, particularly for religious services.

developed from the existing track, connected the western town of Gouyave to the eastern town of Grenville, enhancing access to the coast and ports for many properties in the interior of the northern districts. Due to ongoing colonial conflicts in the region in the late 18th and early 20th centuries, the British constructed a series of fortification across the island, with its primary fortifications encircling St. George's town and port, small forts and batteries around each urban area and at strategic points along the coasts; in 1771 there were 24 coastal batteries manned by 182 soldiers (TNAUK 1771).

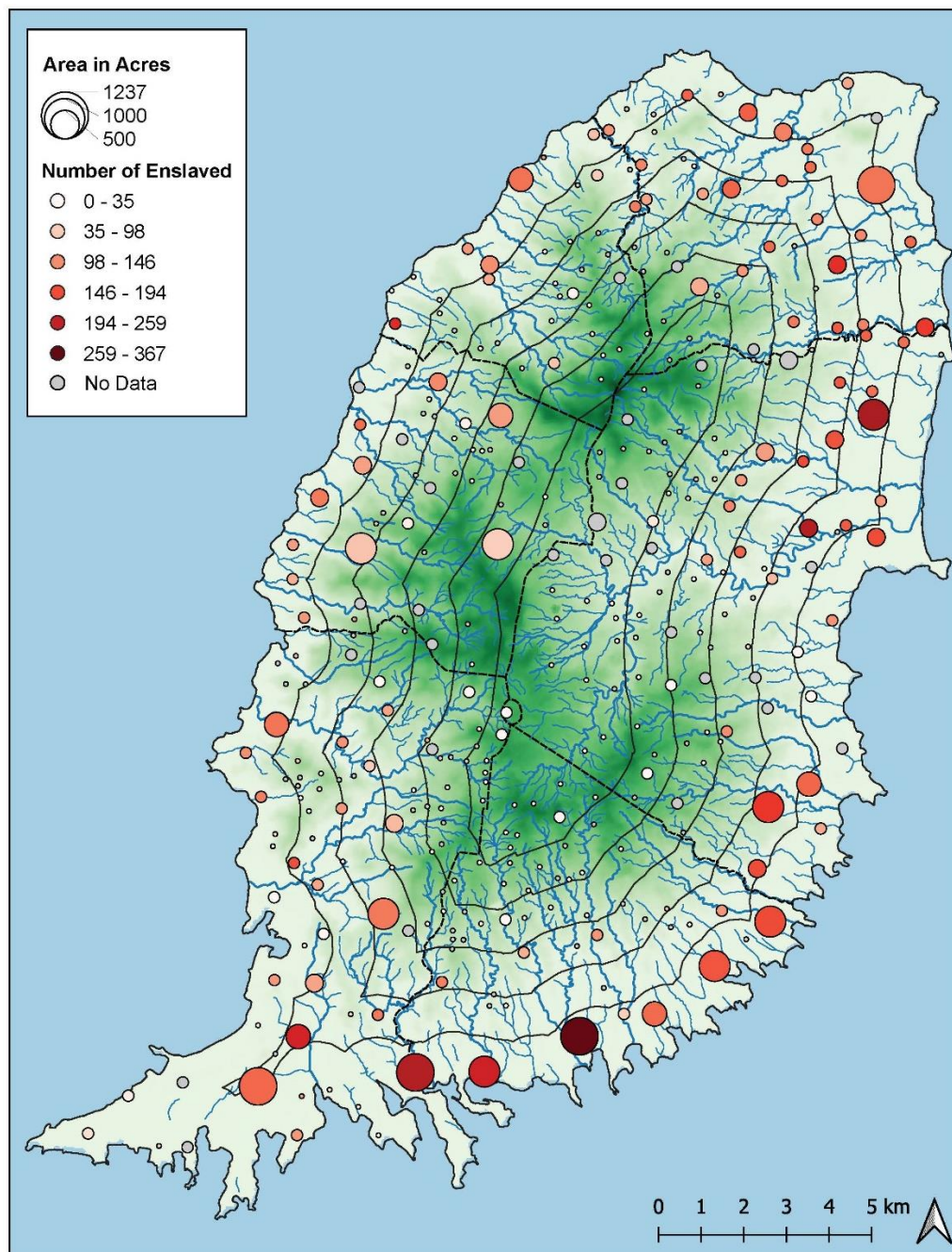


Figure 5.15: HGIS model locating plantations by size and number of enslaved, within 1 km increments from the coast, 1801/24 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

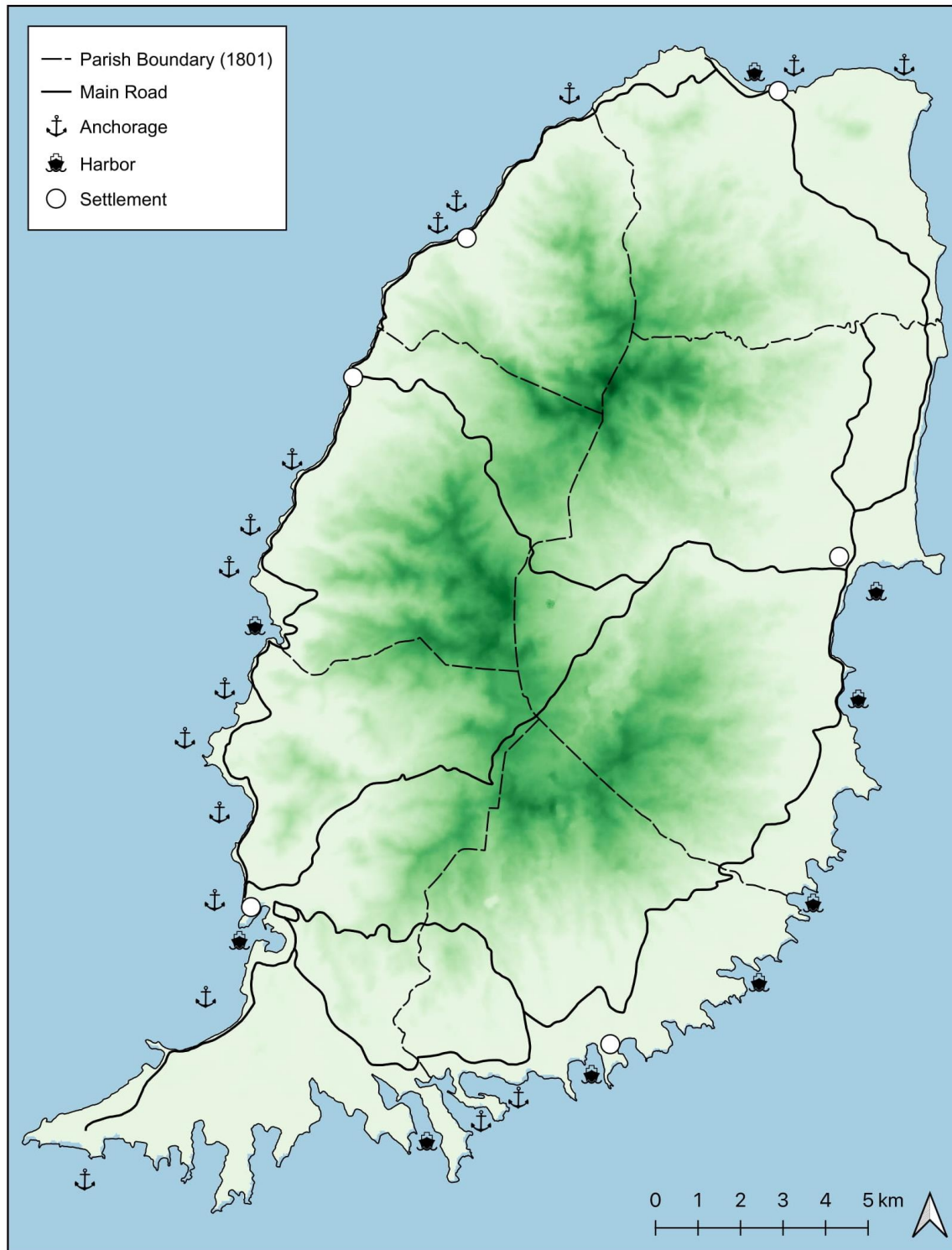


Figure 5.16: HGIS model locating British-era ports, anchorages and towns, within parish boundaries, 1801 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

Figure 5.14 imposed on Figure 5.16 would show the extent of the British-era infrastructure development, capturing sugar works, which had increased from around 80 in 1763 to about 120 in 1801, a 50 percent increase. Sugar mills—watermills, cattle mills and windmills—were

extensive constructions, requiring large outlays of resources, including financial and labor (Cherry and Rothenberg 2021; Nisbet 2009; The Willie Redhead Foundation 2019).

Between 1762 and 1838, the British had taken this slave colony from its formative years under the French and transformed it into one of prominence, only to see it almost destroyed by rebellion, the end of the British Atlantic Slave Trade, and finally the end to slavery itself. The British, however, had succeeded in placing their own stamp on the Grenadian social, political and cultural landscape that endures today. These impacts will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.4 Mapping the Post-Emancipation Settlement Landscape and the Rise of a Peasantry (1838-1900)

“The abolition of slavery had far-reaching effects in transforming not only Grenada’s economic base..., but also its social character.”

John S. Brierley, *Small Farming in Grenada* (1974:7-8)

The economic success of plantation colonies in the region was premised on coerced labor, developing a dependence on captive labor from western Africa. After 189 years as a slave-plantation colony, the fundamental structure of Grenada’s economy, with its dependence on enslaved labor, came to an end. This brought about profound changes that saw the gradual abandonment of the plantations by many freed slaves to take up residence on their peripheries and other marginal lands as they created villages and embarked on subsistence agriculture and small-land ownership. This exodus of workers led to the importation of indentured laborers from Africa, India and other places, adding yet another complexity to the population demographics. The period marked a slow change in the condition of the growing peasantry in an era of free labor, with their increasing access to land or provision grounds and an increased role in not just subsistence agriculture, but export agriculture. The period also witnessed the demise of sugar, and the emergence of other crops, especially cocoa and spices (particularly nutmeg/mace) that were championed by the peasantry.

The post-Emancipation era in Grenada began without much preparation by the colonial government to create a new society from the collapse of the slave-plantation complex that had been the de facto society for almost two centuries (Marshall 1968; Paget 1964). Such a

profound change from a slave to a free society was embarked upon without much of a plan, with more or less a continuation of the status quo as the former enslaved were expected to continue as they had except that their legal status had changed. As Brizan (1998:133) noted, “Very little was done by the Grenada Legislature to help other classes of the newly emancipated to become economically functional after 1833....” However, the ex-enslaved, equipped only with the basic skills they had been forced to acquire on the plantations, forged ahead, plot by plot, mountainside by mountainside, provision garden by provision garden, community by community, village by village and created a new society out of the ashes and debasement of their enslavement. In the next six decades (and beyond), the former enslaved would lay the foundations of a free, new Grenadian society coupled together from the remains of French and British colonial societies and memories of their African past to create a Creole society in their own image that had its beginnings in the slave society.

A first glimpse of the post-Emancipation society comes from a report by the stipendiary magistrates for each district who were asked to respond to queries from the Colonial Office in London regarding the status of the formerly enslaved (Great Britain 1842). Overall, the report is positive, assessing that the lives of the former enslaved had improved in the three years since the end of Apprenticeship and their “total freedom”—decrease in crime, decrease in mortality, especially among children, improved habits and tastes, improved housing, including furniture and clothes, increased consumption of food, particularly meat. The tenancy system, however, comes in for harsh criticism, with some of the magistrates blaming its negative effects on the decreased supply of labor, and encouraging emigration to Trinidad (Great Britain 1842). Though they had not yet established villages, some ex-enslaved had purchased, rented or acquired small plots of lands on the periphery of existing plantations and established themselves doing what they had done best, farming, but this time solely for themselves and their families.

The magistrate for St. George (St. David and St. Andrew) reported that the laborers in his districts, more than any other, “became freeholders and small landholders in the greatest number. They do not congregate in villages; each erects his cottage in the center of his holding” (Great Britain 1842:172). The magistrate for St. Andrew reported that “There is certainly amongst the whole body a strong desire to become possessed of land” (Great Britain 1842:176). It is that overwhelming desire to own land, to own a piece of the landscape that had enslaved them, to own the only means of production that they knew that would have the greatest effect on the agricultural landscape in the next half century as the Grenadian

peasantry embarked on their new journeys. As Brizan (1998:136) noted, “Ownership of land, no matter how little, became the most important criterion of freedom to the Grenadian.” Fanon and Farrington (1963:34) add that “For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity.” It was probably the most profound lesson they had learned from their experiences as enslaved on the plantations and especially in their provision grounds (Henke 1996).

Marshall (1968), in his study of the development of the peasantry in the post-Emancipation British West Indies, divided the growth of the peasantry into two periods that fall within the study period examined here: the “period of establishment” between 1838 and 1850/60, and the “period of consolidation” between 1850/60 and 1900. Marshall (1968:254) attributed the desire of the ex-enslaved to set themselves up as independent cultivators from the fact that the “Cultivation of the soil was the one skill the ex-slaves possessed; moreover, in many of the territories enough land seemed to be available to furnish the would-be cultivator with at least the elements of subsistence.” As identified by Great Britain (1842), the ex-enslaved who desired to leave the plantation wasted no time in pursuing access to lands to establish provision gardens for their subsistence. Before the end of this establishment period 2,939 ha (7,262 acres) (in 1858) were under peasant cultivation, with thousands of independent farmers either owning or renting lands (Brizan 1998). Cultivators were mainly producing subsistence crops for themselves, and selling the surplus at weekly markets in the towns that provided them with enough of an income for their families. Despite this growing trend in land ownership, however, many laborers wholly employed on estates in 1852 totaled 8,349, still a significant number (Brizan 1998).

The trend in owning lands would continue to grow in the “period of consolidation” as the peasantry not only increased their access to more and larger holdings, but embarked on cultivation of traditional export crops like cocoa and spices. Marshall (1968) noted that these were viewed “as peasant crops from the 1850s onwards,” crops they were previously forbidden to cultivate on pain of punishment during slavery. In 1860, the number of small holders increased from 3,600 to more than 8,000 in 1911, with over 2,000 proprietors owning plots between 1 to 4 ha (2½ to 10 acres) (Marshall 1968). The 1891 census summarizes some of the important characteristics: a total of 12,237 ha (30,239 acres) (35.5 percent of the island) were cultivated, comprising 3,024 holdings, with 2,508 (83%) owning less than 2 ha

(5 acres). Cocoa holdings comprised 1,700 and 6,291 ha (15,545 acres) (51 percent of cultivated lands), with 1,422 owning ≤ 1.6 ha (≤ 4 acres) and comprising 953 ha (2,354 acres).

Ten years after Emancipation a picture of the estates emerges from the official *Blue Book of Grenada* (1848), illustrating that the agricultural landscape was quickly adopting to the changing wage-labor regime. The report lists a total of 148 estates, including 102 “In Sugar Cultivation” (58 operating “For Wages,” 12 “On the Méteyer System,” 17 “Partly on Wages and Partly Méteyer System,” 15 “Abandoned” either in 1847/48 or earlier), 27 “In Coffee and Cocoa,” six “In Provisions, Corn, etc.,” four “In Pasture,” and nine “Leased out to small tenants.” Almost 15 percent of sugar estates were “abandoned” by 1848, due to their inability to respond to wage labor and continue to produce sugar profitably. The majority of sugar estates operated under the wage system, with the Metayer sharecropping system partially and/or fully operating on another 29 sugar estates. The district of St. George appeared to be experiencing the greatest change, with over 50 percent of abandoned sugar estates and 75 percent of estates “Leased out to small tenants.” In 1866 there were 140 estates, including 72 sugar estates (with 28 operating under Metayer, 22 abandoned within the last 10 years, 12 switched to cocoa), and 56 cocoa estates (*Blue Book of Grenada* 1867). That change would continue and be reflected in the data to the end of the century.

Figure 5.17 shows a HGIS model locating plantations by size and types of crops in 1894. It captures the post-Emancipation land-use landscape that was created in the years since the end of slavery and Apprenticeship, and the advent of free labor and its effects on the island’s agriculture. Though the data is not consistent and deficient with regard to the earlier GIS representations (see Chapter 4 above), the model allows for some comparisons and illustrates trends and changes over the period. The most obvious is the change in the types of crops cultivated and produced since 1824. About 36 estates continued to produce some sugar and rum (ranging between 10 and 1,000 barrels of sugar), with all but four also producing cocoa, spices and/or coffee (Drayton 1897). Charles Eves (1889:208), on a visit to Grenada, remarked that “sugar has practically disappeared from its list of productions.... A fine sugar island, therefore, in regard to this specific article of production, has gone entirely out of cultivation.” As Euwema (1993:9) notes, “Grenadian sugar planters responded to changing market conditions by planting their impoverished estates in cocoa. Cocoa was to be their salvation.” The 1891 census did not mention sugar estates in its crops data, including its acreage under “Holdings other than Cocoa or Spices” (Johnson 1891:12). Acreage under

sugar cane fell from 7,105 (1852) to 4,988 (1866), with the number of estates decreasing from 73 in 1878 to 36 by 1894.

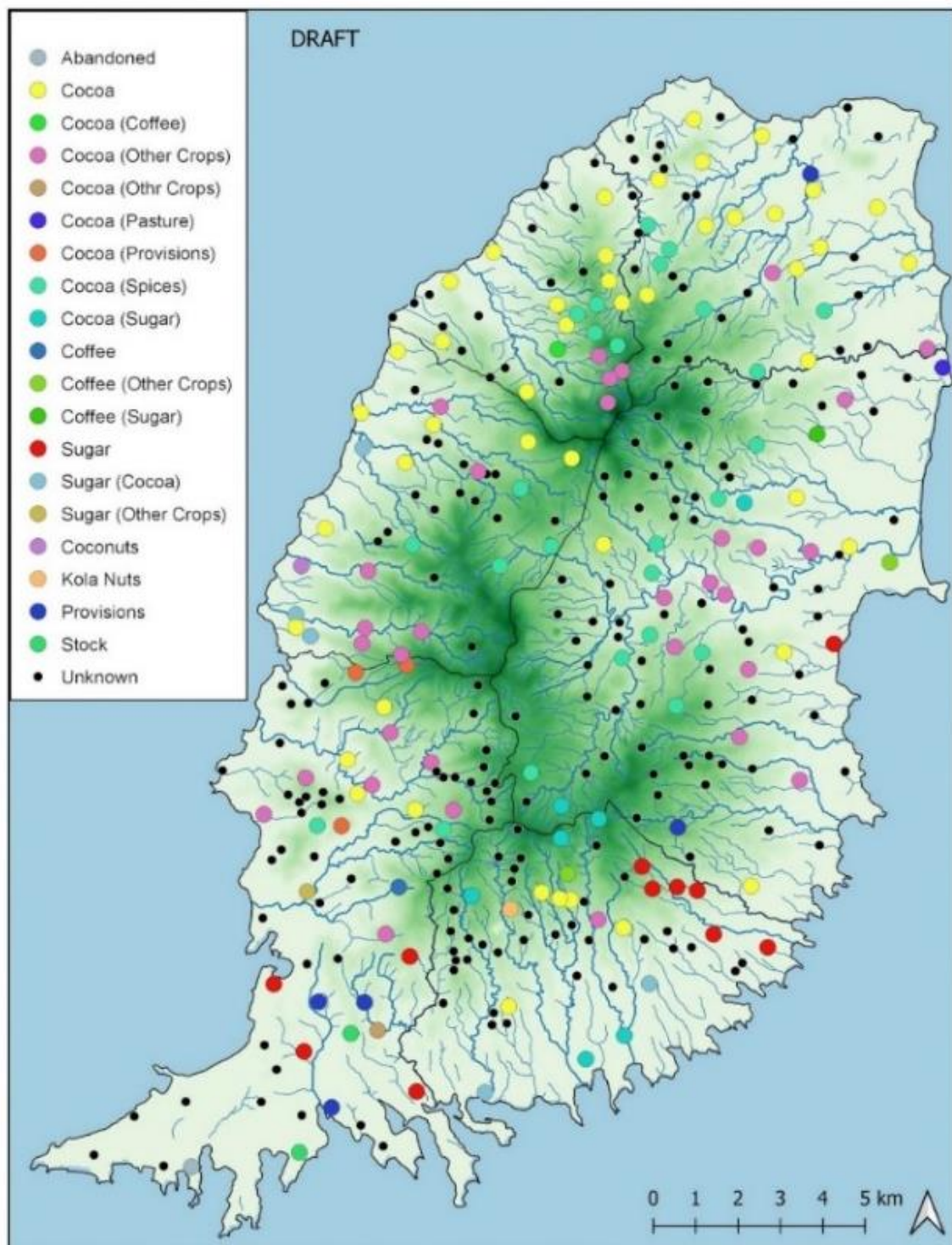


Figure 5.17: HGIS model locating plantations by crop types, 1897 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

The majority of properties by far (223 in total) were producing cocoa or a combination of crops including cocoa, spices, sugar cane and coffee (Drayton 1897). The majority of the 1,700 “coffee holdings,” of ≤ 1.6 ha (≤ 4 acres) or an average of 0.7 ha (1.66 acres) each, illustrated the large involvement of peasant farmers in cocoa production (Johnson 1891:12). The Royal Commission (1897) reported that no other crop could compete with cocoa which occupied some 8,094 ha (20,000 acres), attributing its rapid expansion to the peasantry who planted the crop on their small holdings. The corresponding increase in acreage under cocoa is clearly demonstrated in Figure 5.16 where the number of estates went from 52 in 1846 to 103 in 1879, and 223 in 1894. The total acreage went from 350 ha (864 acres) (1852) to 2,581 ha (6,378 acres) (1878), surpassing sugar cane (Brizan 1998; Johnson 1891). The change had begun earlier, but increased by the 1850s when sugar plantations began experiencing multiple problems due to a crisis in the industry in the region, including high cost of production, competition from other (slave) colonies and beet sugar, little or no innovation in the local industry, poor management, indebtedness, inefficiencies, and the loss of preferential access to the British sugar market (Brizan 1998). This dire situation resulted in the abandonment and subsequent sale of many of these sugar estates under the Encumbered Estates Act, either as small plots to the peasantry or converted to cocoa and other production as is reflected in Figure 5.16 (see Brizan 1998). Sugar cane, long established in Grenada as a primary crop, had been displaced within the century by cocoa, a long established secondary crop that had gradually grown to assume its current status. In 1895 cocoa exports from Grenada accounted for 11 percent of world production, the highest it would ever achieve (Brizan 1998).

Figure 5.17 also highlights the emergence of several crops that were to have far-reaching consequences on the agricultural and tourism landscape. Spices, particularly nutmeg/mace, were already growing in Grenada by the 1830s, but their commercial value was not significant until the 1850s when nutmeg/mace and clove are mentioned, especially in the parishes of St. David and St. Andrew (*Blue Book of Grenada* 1854). Because these crops could be grown on small parcels of land and provide a continuous return to small farmers, peasants began cultivating a few trees in their provision gardens, helping to make spices a growing export (Johnson 1891). According to Johnson (1891), though the census returned only 15 holdings comprising 41 ha (102 acres), it was an undercount regarding the nature of the returns. The production of nutmeg/mace had increased to such an extent that when Dr. Morris (1888:450) of Kew Gardens visited in 1886, he predicted that Grenada was “destined

to become the spice island of the west.” A. H. Keane (1901:410), on a visit to Grenada at the turn of the 20th century, noted that Grenada was claiming to be “The Spice Island of the West,” and Algernon Aspinall (1910:155) added that nutmeg was “so considerable in quantity and so excellent in quality that the island is often called the ‘Spice Island of the West.’” That label would define the island for decades, especially after nutmeg replaced cocoa as the island’s primary crop by the 1920s. It would become an essential part of the island’s identity for the next century, even embedding itself on the islands’ independence flag.

The array of new crops reflected the changing agricultural landscape and its transitional state. Coffee still lingered on, but would disappear as a commercial crop by the early 1900s, though small farmers continued to harvest it for their personal use into the mid-1900s. One interesting crop that shows up briefly is the kola nut, a West African import during slavery that was grown and exported for a brief period, but disappears except for its ritual use among Shango and Spiritual Baptists adherents for devination (George 2016). The agricultural landscape had gone from a diverse array of crops under the French, almost monoculture under the British, and now back to diverse on plantations, but especially in peasant gardens. Not only were the crops very diverse, but the majority consisted of tree crops that would have a different impact on the island’s overwhelming mountainous landscape compared to annuals like sugar cane, though some of the latter production would continue in the lowlands in the east and southeast.

As Brizan (1998) shows, the number of laborers employed on plantations continually decreased after Emancipation: 21,445 (1834), 16,835 (1836), 10,196 (1844), 8,349 (1852) and 7,000 (1871), as many of these laborers became peasants and gained access to small plots of lands on the periphery of plantations or in the mountains. As they occupied these marginal lands either sold or given by the estates as part of the labor regime, they formed hamlets and later free villages, which by 1852, a decade and a half after Apprenticeship, accounted for 22 percent (7,127) of the population (Brizan 1998). These villages began appearing by the late 1840s and early 1850s, and took hold by the 1870s across much of the island. Figures 5.17 HGIS model locating infrastructure in 1900, illustrating these overall changes to the landscape via the increasing road network across the island.

Figure 5.18 presents a HGIS model of the island’s infrastructure (parishes, towns, roads, ports, anchorages) based on the updated Gavin Smith’s (1801, 1900) *Map of Grenada*. The

map, signed by “W.F. Lawrence, Superintendent of Works, 1899,” does not show new plantation borders which had drastically changed in almost a century, only updating the road network (main, 1st and 2nd class byways), and identifying public buildings, Crown Lands, water works, reservoirs, watermains and burial grounds.

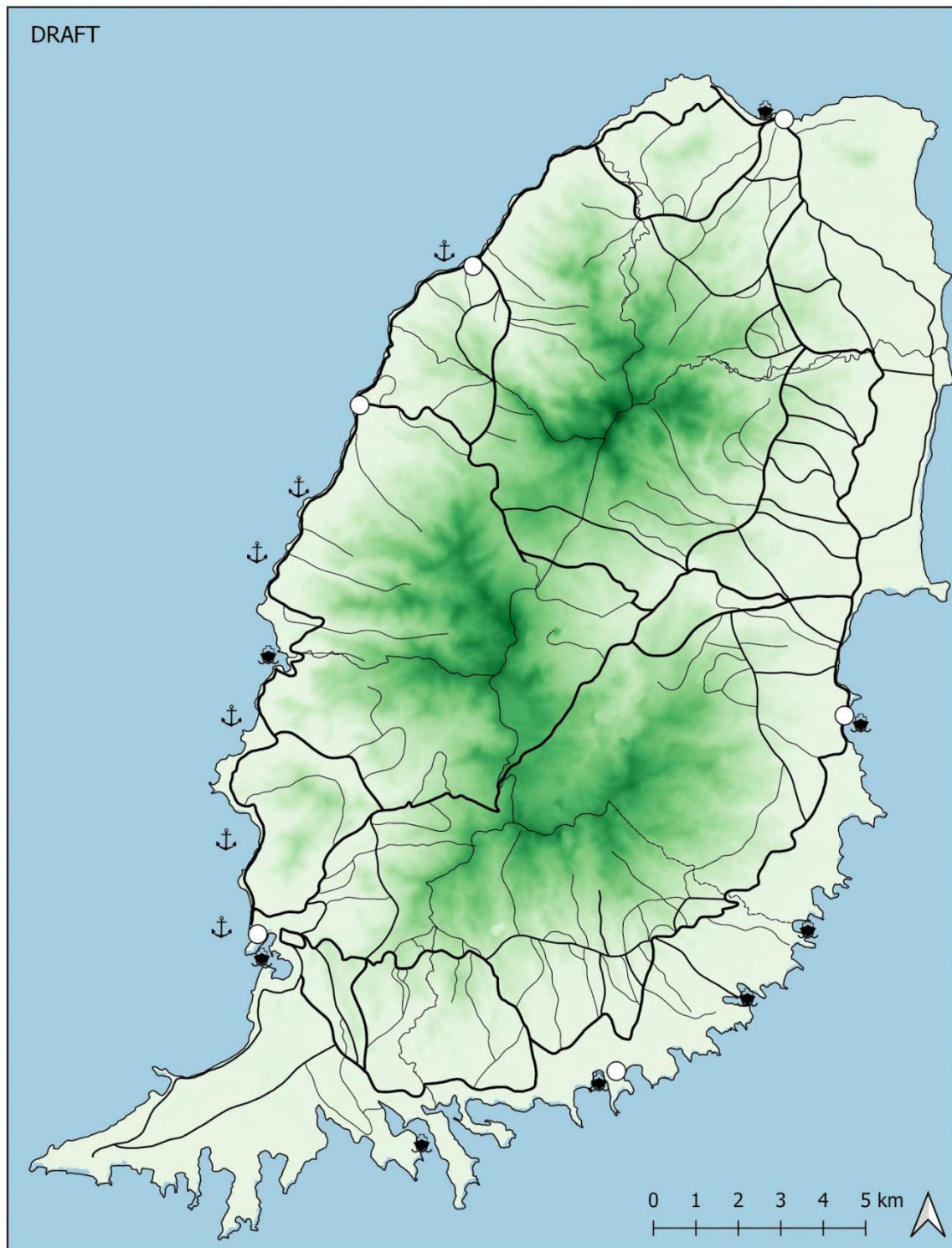


Figure 5.18: HGIS model locating infrastructural changes between 1801 and 1900 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

It clearly illustrates the extent of the changes in access across the island that had taken place since Smith (1900) published his first map in 1801. The extensive road network most likely had gradually developed from initial tracks and trails, some of which may date back to the French, and even possibly earlier to the Kali'nago and Kali'na. It also reflects the initial breakdown of the plantation system with the proliferation of peasant proprietorship on marginal plantation lands, the creation of villages on the periphery of plantations, and greater access and movement of people and resources between the mountainous interior and the coast.

The post-Emancipation period was instrumental in laying the foundation of a new society from the ashes of slavery, with an emerging peasantry at the center of the transition as they built villages and communities and staked out their place in the changing landscape. In doing so, they would impact the landscape in new and interesting ways as they laid the building blocks of a new society that reflected more of their desires and wishes, their dreams and memories, and their goals for a future that have today become embedded in the landscape. The impacts of the emerging peasantry will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.5 Mapping the Changing Socio-Economic Landscape and the Remaking of Society (1900-1950)

“By 1930, even though politically and economically weak, they [the peasantry] were a force to be reckoned with.”

George Brizan, *Island of Conflict* (1998:251)

There was an exuberance regarding Grenadian society in the post-Emancipation period with regard to its growing peasantry, its successful agricultural transition and overall economic outlook, especially relative to some of the other colonies that had suffered much from the collapse of their sugar industries (Euwema 1993; Marshall 1968). The West India Royal Commission (1897) praised Grenada's change from sugar to cocoa as the reason why it was able to avoid a dismal economic future, but also singled out for praise the large number of small proprietors who were involved in cocoa and subsistence agricultural production. It touted the benefits of peasant freeholds as a way to lessen the overwhelming economic and social inequalities facing the ex-enslaved and their children (Brierley 1992), which would

influence one of its primary policies regarding land tenure in the first half of the 20th century, government sponsored land settlement schemes meant to enhance the growing peasantry.

Two decades into the 20th century, however, the exuberance began to fade as two world wars disrupted international trade markets and the world economy, severe weather events affected crops, and the decrease in world cocoa prices led to a downturn in the Grenadian economy and erased some of the material gains made by the peasantry. It would inevitably force to the forefront the social and economic problems confronting the majority of Grenadians, especially the laboring classes, some of whom were experiencing extreme poverty and their living conditions seemed little improved from that of their ancestors during slavery. It brought demands for changes to the existing agricultural system that would benefit them and create a better society for more Grenadians. At the center of the problem, however, was the continued dominance of the plantation system.

Despite all that had been achieved in the last half century in creating access to lands for the newly emancipated, Grenada remained an island dominated by plantation agriculture and its labor regime (Brierley 1992; Brizan 1998; Marshall 1968). Though experiencing some drastic changes in the post-Emancipation period, particularly in its labor regime, plantations remained at the heart of the island's economy and society. As the 1901 census clearly illustrates, plantations over 40.5 ha (100 acres) numbered 129 and occupied some 17,298 ha (42,745 acres), with an average of 134 ha (331 acres) each; in 1824 there were 219 plantations over 40.5 ha (100 acres) comprising 27,667 ha (68,366 acres), with an average of 128 ha (317 acres) (Paterson 1901; Smith 1824). There was a total of 14,448 laborers across Grenada, a majority of whom worked on the plantations and lived in the rural areas, either on the plantations or in adjoining villages (Peterson 1901). The plantation system, continuing much as it had been during slavery, determined the daily lives of those who depended on it for their very survival.

Figure 5.19 shows the locations of estates by size in Grenada in 1940 (Brierley 1992). It identifies 112 estates, consisting of 15,049 ha (37,186 acres) (52.4 percent of all farm holdings), with an average of 124 ha (307 acres). In almost four decades, the number of estates in Grenada over 40.5 ha (100 acres) had only decreased by about 17, and an average hectareage of less than 4 ha (10 acres) per estate (Brierley 1992; Knight 1946). The 1940s would witness the demise of another eight estates over 40.5 ha (100 acres), bringing the total at the end of the period to 104. Estates, however, still dominated the central place in the

island's economy and society because they occupied the majority of farmlands (over 12,141 ha/30,000 acres) and were owned by just over 100 proprietors, accounting for the largest share of employment across Grenada. One hundred years after the end of slavery and Apprenticeship, the plantation, which had been the central part of that complex, remained a dominant player in Grenadian society. However, it was about to undergo drastic changes in the coming decades in the face of the changing labor regime and overall society.

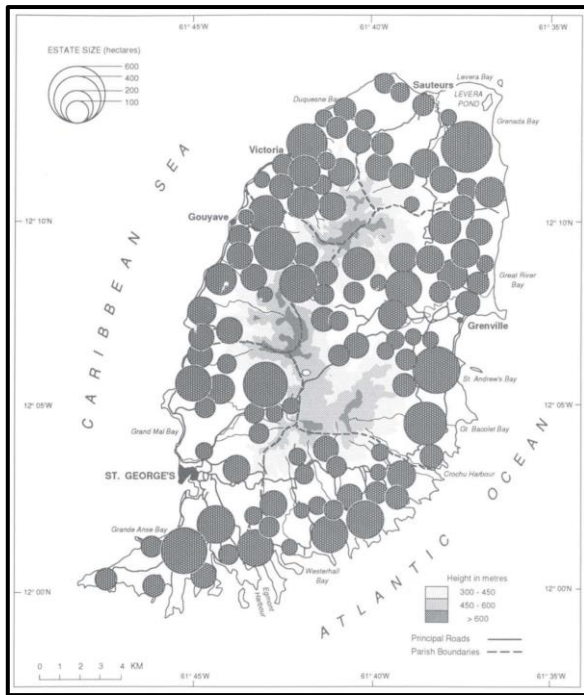


Figure 5.19: Map showing distribution of plantations by size, 1940 (Brierley 1992)

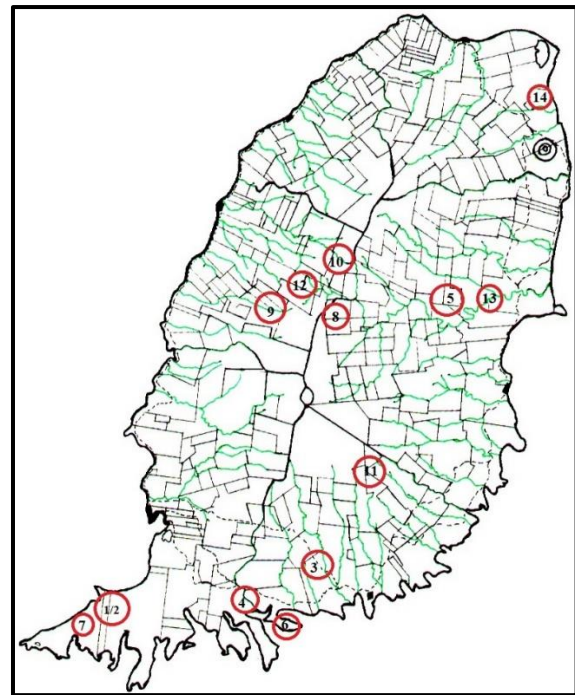


Figure 5.20: Map showing Land Settlement Schemes, 1909-1939 (see also Table 5.5)

The image on the other side paints a different picture where there were 6,350 small proprietors who owned less than 2 ha (5 acres) of land each, their acreage totaling 3,967 ha (9,802 acres), with an average of 0.61 ha (1.5 acres) (Paterson 1901). Brizan (1998:248) notes that Grenada's peasantry, despite being the primary source of labor and the predominant producers of the domestic food supply, remained on the fringes of Grenadian society in regard to "income distribution, overall economic status and general social conditions." Their social and economic state—housing, health, education, and wellbeing—remained little improved and had not been fundamentally altered by a system that continued their exploitation. This seeming duality in Grenadian society led M. G. Smith (1965) to characterize it as a "plural society" where distinct racial and class groups existed in conflict with each other.

Having viewed peasant proprietorship as a positive economic and social benefit to Grenada, the West India Royal Commission (1897) recommended that the colonial government promote small ownership through more access via land settlement schemes. Though peasant ownership of land had increased tremendously, and Grenada was far ahead of most of the other islands in the region, land tenure remained acutely skewed. The scheme was initiated in 1903 on the small dependent island of Carriacou because the situation there was so dire (Auchinleck 1912; Auchinleck et al. 1914; Great Britain 1903), but its success “has enabled proposals to be made for a similar venture in Grenada itself...” (*Grenada Report for 1909* 1910:10). The scheme started slowly, with the government using portions of an escheated estate in St. George to create some initial plots, which were mainly used to grow sugar cane by its owners as they were located in the region still producing sugar for the local market (*Grenada Report for 1911* 1912). Between 1910 and 1918, the government had a total of six settlement schemes totaling just under 405 ha (1,000 acres), and comprising 355 lots between 0.8-1.2 ha (2-3 acres) (Figure 5.20). It’s interesting to note that the government decided (*Grenada Report for 1920* 1921:8) that “Owing to the extent to which the Colony was given up to cocoa, the latter crop was prohibited on Government Land Settlement lots in order to encourage the growth of local food crops, the supply of which is insufficient for the demands of the ordinary people, and the dearth of which makes conditions arduous for the poorer classes.”

Over a decade later the government resumed the land settlement scheme, spurred mainly by the labor unrest across the region though Grenada had remained unaffected (Emmanuel 1978). Between 1933 and 1950, the government created eleven additional schemes with approximately 551 ha (1,362 acres), for a total of almost 700 lots, ranging from 0.4-1.2 ha (1-3 acres) (Figure 5.20; Table 5.5) (Brierley 1992; Brizan 1998; Grenada Agricultural Department 1948; Ifill 1978). The land settlement schemes, as limited as they were, did contribute to the growing peasantry throughout the period. As the figures show, peasant proprietorship (owning less than 10 acres) went from 8,637 in 1901 to 19,592 in 1945 (Brizan 1998; Paterson 1902). Brizan (1998:253), however, argues that these land settlement schemes were less about land settlement or land tenure, and more about land transfer. As such, they did nothing to change the overall structure that kept the small farmer in poverty and the plantation system intact.

On the small farms and especially on the plantations, cocoa continued its dominance, increasing production throughout the first decade of the 20th century, achieving its largest

growth in the history of Grenada in 1908 when it recorded 6,884 metric tons (135,500 cwt) reaching 11 percent of the world cocoa market. But a number of factors, including low prices on the international market, ravages by pests, the aging of trees, and the increasing emphasis on nutmeg production, would contribute to a gradual downturn in the cocoa industry in Grenada after the 1920s. Between 1908 and 1948, cocoa production declined from 6,884 metric tons (135,500 cwt) to 2,806 metric tons (55,242 cwt), a 245 percent decrease. With the peasantry heavily involved in cocoa production, the downturn in the industry impacted them negatively despite Brizan's (1998:330) characterization that "their share of production was small and of inferior quality." Attempts were made to improve the industry in this period, and they did help, but cocoa, like sugar before it, was challenged with the ascendancy of another lucrative crop, nutmeg/mace.

Year	Schemes/Locations	Acres	Lots	Cost (£)
1910	Morne Rouge North	108	37	249
1911	Morne Rouge South/Calliste	87	32	394
1911	"Old Westerhall," St David	296	106	1607
1912	Calivigny, St. George	63	23	431
1913	St. Cyr Mountain, St. Andrew	297	152	2814
1918	"New Westerhall"/ Westerhall Point, St. David	69	32	
1932	Point Salines, St. George	105	14	160
1934	Fraze, St. Andrew	128	42	1,286
1934	Mount Nesbit, St. John	169	69	1,909
1934	Plaisance, St. John	112	62	1,064
1935	Mount Cassell, St. David	102	62	612
1935	Belair, St. John	36	21	471
1937	St. Cloud, St. Andrew	78	84	1,617
1939	River Sallée, St. Patrick	291	214	5,082
	Totals	1,941	923	17,786

Table 5.5: Land settlement schemes in Grenada, 1909-39 (source Brizan 1998)

In 1950 nutmeg (and mace), grown on over 4,047 ha (10,000 acres), recorded production of 62,000 kg and earned £667,000, surpassing all other crops in Grenada and replacing cocoa as the number one export crop (*Colonial Reports Grenada* 1953). Grenada would supply one-third of the world's production. Nutmeg, unlike cocoa, coffee and sugar cane before it, was a relatively recent introduction to Grenada and grown in the island for only about 120 years, though it was probably introduced since the late 1700s but proved unsuccessful.¹⁵ Its

¹⁵ Though it has been widely accepted that nutmeg arrived in Grenada around 1843 from the Banda Islands, Indonesia, supposedly brought back by Grenadian planters like Frank Gurney who had gone there to assist with sugar production (Brizan 1998; Groome 1964; Steele 2003), there is overwhelming evidence contradicting this

production took off after the 1850s as “Spices” on many estates in the wake of the downturn in the sugar industry and would gradually become Grenada’s most valuable crop and top export for decades in the 1900s and into the 21st century. Its economic importance led to the nutmeg being emblazoned on the island’s new flags at Associated Statehood in 1968 and Independence in 1974, and confirming Grenada’s appeal as the “Isle of Spice” (Velvet 2012).

Before the first half of the 20th century ended, the agricultural landscape was to experience another change with the introduction of bananas as an export crop, though it had been produced as a food crop in slaves’ provision gardens, along with plantains, for centuries. Around 1923 the idea of a banana industry was initiated, but it was not until 1934, following an agreement with the Canadian Buying Company, that production was promoted among farmers, steadily increasing thereafter (Brizan 1998). It was a short-term crop, unlike both cocoa and nutmeg that required years to mature before beginning production. By 1950 banana, together with nutmeg (and mace) and cocoa, were the primary crops grown for export in Grenada, but it would take Hurricane Janet in 1955 to make it the final crop in the triumvirate of crops that would define Grenada’s agriculture to the end of the 20th century and upon which the island’s economy would cautiously rest (Sandiford 2000; Thomson 1987).

With no plan for the development of a new Grenadian society, the majority of Grenadians were left to their own devices in crafting that society as best they could. Limited by resources and political power, it was a slow process as they pieced together the elements that would create their new society. Though they had laid the foundations of that new society in the decades immediately after Emancipation, their efforts were stalled when the economy faltered in the first half of the 20th century. In just over a century after Emancipation, the majority of Grenadians had gained some improvements in their everyday lives, but the situation remained dire for most who had little or no effect on the politics and the society that seemed quite removed from their lives (Emmanuel 1978). However, the situation was about to change in a dramatic way and would upend the society and finally bring about the end of the plantation system, and attempt to create a new society reflecting their full participation.

official scenario. Nutmeg, with plants coming directly from the Trinidad Botanic Gardens, was first grown as a crop by Robert Kennedy on his slave plantation at Bellevue, St. Andrew and in turn promoted it among the members of the Grenada Agricultural Society (like Thomas William Bell, Alexander Bain and George McFarlane) as early as the late 1820s (*The Chronicle and Gazette* 1877; *The Technologist* 1864). Thus, nutmeg began as a crop grown by enslaved laborers on several estates, primarily in St. Andrew and St. David, subsequently spreading across the island after the 1830s.

5.6 Mapping the Remaking of the Political and Social Landscape from the Bottom Up (1951-1983)

“We are not in anybody’s backyard, and we are definitely not for sale. Anybody who thinks they can bully us or threaten us clearly has no understanding, idea, or clue as to what material we are made of.... Though small and poor, we are proud and determined.”

Maurice Bishop, “In Nobody’s Backyard” speech (13 April 1979)

The second half of the 20th century in Grenada exploded with a bang! The calm and quiet of the preceding half century was replaced by a revolutionary fervor that aimed at nothing less than reforming, if not overthrowing the existing Grenadian society and remaking it in a new image (still to be determined), but definitely from the bottom upwards (Lewis 1984; Singham 1968; Smith 1965a, 1965b). It opened with labor protests by agricultural workers that brought about the most profound changes to the plantation labor regime in the post-Emancipation period, and with the granting of universal adult suffrage in 1951, the majority of Grenadians claimed their political voice for the first time since the end of slavery (Baptiste 2002; Emmanuel 1978; Rottenberg 1952). A devastating hurricane in 1955 dealt a serious blow to every aspect of life on the island, but it would aid the renewal (after almost wiping the slate clean) of the agricultural sector (McIntosh 1956; Steele 2002; Watts 2011). The period also witnessed the beginning of the tourism industry that initially competed with, but would ultimately replace agriculture, bringing about the demise of the plantation economy by the end of the century (Brizan 1998). The inauguration of party politics and the rapidly changing constitutional system created much political and civil unrest that led to Grenada’s political Independence in 1974 and the Grenada Revolution in 1979, but this period of revolutionary change and determined efforts by Grenadians to remake the Grenadian landscape in their own image ended in a crash as these attempts fell far short of their goals, with the US military invasion halting those plans (Brizan 1998; Lewis 1984; Pryor 1986; Puri 2014; Thorndike 1985).

In January and February 1951 the rural landscape was literally on fire, as conflagrations set by protesting agricultural workers who struck against the inequality of the oppressive plantation labor regime that had kept them in poverty since the end of slavery. The labor dispute and demand for the recognition of the GMMWU as their bargaining body by agricultural workers mushroomed into protests, looting, destruction of fields and fires that resulted in a state of emergency, leading to arrests and the killing of three protestors by the

police before it was quelled (Rottenberg 1952). Skyred, the term coined to describe the period, was much more than the result of a wage and labor dispute. The anguish had been simmering for decades, pitting the majority working-class Grenadians against an entrenched and oppressive plantocracy and urban elite (Brizan 1998; Smith 1964). The rural peasantry and workers found their political voice and shouted loudly to be heard by a recalcitrant plantocracy that had shown little compassion in its interactions with them over the years. The fires of Skyred put a torch to the political system and economic backbone of the island, resulting in changes that were necessary to build a new Grenadian society that had been in the making since Emancipation, but apparently stalled in the first half of the 1900s. Skyred resulted in nothing less than a revolution, upending the status quo, and forcing needed changes to the island's social, political and economic institutions that had only changed cosmetically in the post-Emancipation period (Rottenberg 1952; Singham 1968; Smith 1965).

T.A. Marryshow and other well-meaning politicians had failed to advocate on behalf of the mass of agricultural workers in the 1930s when the region experienced an explosion of labor union protests that ushered in some needed changes as a result of the *Report of the West India Royal Commission* (1945) (Brizan 1998; Sheppard 1987). These changes, however, were slow in coming to Grenada, thus the protests in 1951, which seemed to have had to await the emergence of the newly returned (from Aruba) and charismatic labor-union leader Eric Gairy, founder and leader of the GMMWU (Emmanuel 1978). Gairy's success in leading the 1951 protests and negotiating wage increases and better working conditions for agricultural workers propelled him to the political stage and crowned him the leader of the masses, as he became affectionately known as "Uncle Gairy." His political anointment was probably the most profound consequence of Skyred, and it would have far-reaching implications for the plantation system and the plantocracy that he vehemently opposed in his decades in political office, altering the social and political landscape in Grenada forever (Brizan 1998; Griffith 2015; Lewis 1986; Singham 1968; Smith 1965).

Though unaccustomed to severe hurricanes, Grenada was visited by Hurricane Janet on 22 September 1955, devastating almost every aspect of life in the islands (McIntosh 1956; Steele 2003). The category three hurricane, with 282 km/h (175 mph) sustained winds, left 120 people dead (including on Carriacou) and thousands homeless as most of their already inadequate housing were either damaged or destroyed. The island's agricultural economy was heavily impacted, with 75 percent of nutmeg and 45 percent of cocoa trees destroyed, as well as 4,000 ha (9,884 acres) of forests defoliated or damaged (Brierley 1992; Weaver 1968). The

island's infrastructure, including its pier at the St. George's Harbour, communication system, water supply, electricity, many bridges and roads, churches, hospitals and clinics, were in ruins (Steele 2003). The social and economic landscape was totally altered as Grenadians struggled to comprehend the destruction all around them. Hurricane Janet seemed to confirm that the 1950s were ushering in dramatic and drastic changes to the Grenadian landscape, literally forcing the island and its people to modernize their housing, healthcare and public infrastructure, but it would take many years for these changes to actually take place.

In the wake of the extensive damage to the agricultural sector caused by Hurricane Janet, the Grenada government used the available resources to invest in the economy by restructuring the industry with the promotion of banana cultivation as a profitable short-term crop, increased agricultural extension services to better equip farmers, improve roads for agricultural transport, and the extensive rehabilitation and replanting of nutmeg and cocoa trees (Brierley 1992; Weaver 1968). Bananas had been experiencing increasing cultivation since the 1930s, and though impacted by Hurricane Janet, it quickly recovered following its promotion on plantations and among small farmers because of its short production period. For small farmers it was an ideal crop because it required little capital investment, intercropped with food crops, short term, produced throughout the year, and provided a small, but regular income (Thomson 1987). Banana provided planters and farmers the needed income in the short term as the cocoa and nutmeg trees matured following replanting. Thus, banana would grow to become the final crop in the triumvirate of Grenada's agricultural economy until the end of the 20th century when the entire sector would weaken, and later eclipsed by tourism.

The destruction caused by Hurricane Janet had an immediate effect on most estates with the loss of much of their cocoa and nutmeg crops; many of them would add banana as a short-term solution or switch altogether to banana cultivation. According to Brierley (1992), nine estates (over 40 ha/100 acres) were so badly damaged by the hurricane that they were forced to sell off some or all of their holdings, thus adding to the negative effects on the plantation economy. Weaver (1968) adds that additional estates, maybe as many as 12, three of them entire estates, were purchased by the Grenada government to establish forest reserves of quick-growing Blue Mahoe (*Hibiscus elatus*) from Jamaica to repair watersheds in the interior (Glenn and Bensen 2008). In the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Janet, the government implemented eight small land settlement schemes comprising 65.7 ha (162 acres) and 450 lots to assist some of those left homeless (Brierley 1992). Though there were an

equal number of schemes between 1960 and 1963, Brierley (1992) concludes that schemes between 1946 and 1968 involved mostly pieces of marginal lands from estates, but overall, these had little effect on reducing the size or the number of estates.

By the 1960s estates were operating at only 57.5 percent of their holdings as large portions were left idle, with Brierley (1992) describing them as “deplorable” and in “retrenchment.” In the next three decades the situation would only get worse as several political and economic challenges—Eric Gairy’s so-called land settlement scheme styled “Land for the Landless,” the emergence of the tourism industry in the 1960s, the Grenada Farms Corporation under the Maurice Bishop led People’s Revolutionary Government (PRG) in the early 1980s, decreasing commodity prices on the international market, and the decreasing availability of workers due to emigration and the aging of the agricultural labor force—would hasten the demise of Grenada’s plantations, marking the end of an era and an evolving landscape.

The 92 estates (above 40 ha/100 acres) recorded in 1961 had decreased to 65 by 1975, with over 80 percent of the losses occurring in the 1960s and 1970s (Brierley 1992). Two of the major causes of this decrease were attempts by governments to alter the agricultural sector by land reform/settlement. The Land for the Landless Scheme operated between 1968 and 1979 under the GULP government of Eric Gairy. It was billed as a land reform and redistribution scheme, and comprised over 1,295 ha (3,201 acres) taken from about 24 estates, some without compensation (Figure 5.21) (Brierley 1992). The Land Settlement Development Act (1968), intended to make acquiring unproductive estates easier and more accessible to small farmers, ultimately gave Eric Gairy the power to acquire estates at will, and operate a well-intentioned policy on patronage (Martin 2022). The Land for the Landless Scheme failed to increase the availability of land to the rural poor, with less than 20 percent of acquired properties redistributed. In the end, it did little to enhance agriculture and was even criticized for contributing to the decrease in agricultural exports and the demise of the plantation economy, primarily due to the appropriation of productive estates, many of which were owned by Gairy’s political opponents (Brierley 1992; Brizan 1998).

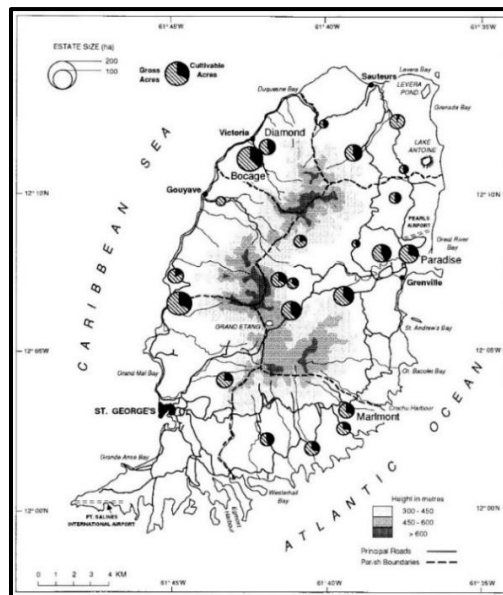
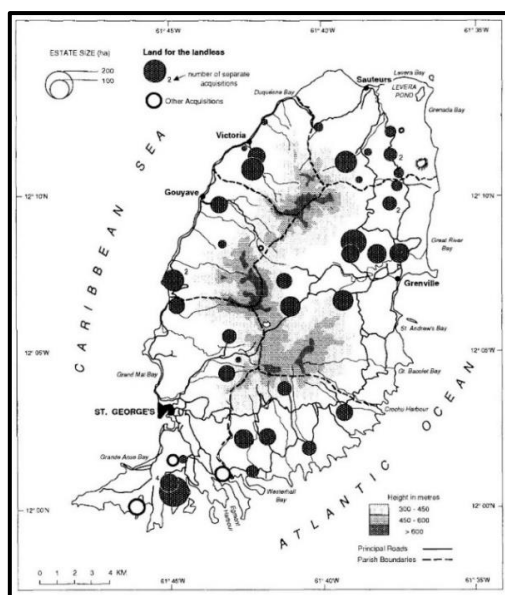


Figure 5.21: Land acquisitions under Land for the Landless Scheme, 1968-79 (Brierley 1992)

Figure 5.22: Map showing Farms Corporation under the PRG, 1983 (Brierley 1992)

Grenadian society had been undergoing rapid changes for some time, but the pace of these social, political and economic changes quickened after 1951. Agriculture, which had dominated the island's economy for centuries, was gradually decreasing, with acreage classified as agricultural lands going from 71 percent in 1961 to 41 percent in 1995. In 1940, agricultural workers made up 59 percent of the workforce, but that number was fast decreasing as the economy changed and the workforce became more diverse, as some of those workers found jobs in the new tourism industry, and accompanying industries like construction and tourist boutiques.

The idea of promoting Grenada as a place for visitors dates to at least 1890 with the publication of Septimus Wells' *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Island of Grenada* for the Jamaica Exhibition of 1891. In it Wells highlights some of the sites to visit in Grenada, but dedicates a section titled "Hints for Tourists Contemplating a Visit to Grenada," even describing the sea journey from Jamaica to Grenada, and suggestions for transport from the US and UK. He regrets that St. George's "cannot boast of anything very elaborate in the shape of hotels," but suggests the "two places which go under the name of hotels..., if he is not of a cantankerous or over fastidious nature" (Wells 1890:36). After suggesting a few things to do, he concludes that "the visitor have sea-bathing to his heart's content, excellent bathing places within a stone's throw of any part of the town" (Wells 1890:37). Wells' well-meaning effort was rather optimistic when he cited "the health-restoring influence of its [Grenada] climate," and its "excellent sea-bathing," but it would be decades before tourism

would develop as an industry, and when it did it would change the island's socio-economic landscape (Wells 1890:27).

Over the course of the next six decades individual events and actions, primarily from the private sector, would gradually lay the foundations for the tourism industry, including the establishment of the Grenada Aquatic Club by John Branch on Grand Anse Beach by 1933, the arrival of day visitors beginning around 1932 with the Canadian National Steamships Co. and other services from North America during winter months,¹⁶ the establishment of the Tourist Development Board in 1938 to promote the industry, the construction of Pearls Airfield in 1943 linking Grenada to the rest of the world via air travel, the reclamation and filling in of the Morne Rouge Swamp (today the playing field, Spiceland Mall, Trade Center and Police Station) by 1948, and the arrival of the first cruise ship in 1955. In the mid-1940s there were still only two decent "hotels" in St. George's with a total of 35 rooms, but in 1949 local businessmen constructed the island's first purpose-built hotel, the Santa Maria Hotel on Monckton Hill in the village of Belmont, overlooking the eastern entrance to the Carenage. Yet the greatest advancement was the establishment of the Grenada Aquatic and the International (Silersands) Clubs on Grand Anse Beach, offering "recreation, sea bathing, yachting, entertainment and amusement" to tourists that opened up the southern shores to recreation, especially for visitors (Knight 1946:159).

The start of Grenada's tourism industry was a very local affair and predominantly privately funded. By the 1930s the benefits of Grand Anse Beach to a tourism industry was duly recognized, but it was surrounded by the Morne Rouge Swamp, a primary breeding ground for mosquitoes; it was not completely reclaimed and filled in until 1948 with government funding (Clyde 1984). In 1951 an American tourism expert visited and presented a report to the Tourism Development Board and the Committee for the Development of Morne Rouge, both of which approved of the recommendations, but due to lack of financial resources not much was done (*Colonial Reports Grenada 1951-52* 1953). In 1960 the Silersands Hotel (from the Silersands Club) opened and was followed soon after by Spice Island Inn, both by Grenadians, launching beach tourism in the southern part of the island, which was ideally suited with its many beaches, dryer climate, and scenic vistas.

¹⁶ In 1938 a total of 12 ships on winter cruises brought 4,180 visitors who spent an average of nine hours in Grenada (*Annual Report for Grenada, 1937 and 1938* 1939).

The 1960s witnessed a huge increase in the sector, which by 1964 led the *NYT* to opine that “Tiny Grenada Hits Big Time: Island Takes the Lead as Tourist Attraction in the Windwards,” with three new hotels along Grand Anse Beach and a renovated Santa Maria as Islander Hotel (*NYT* 1964). In that same year Grenada recorded 31 cruise ships visiting the island. The growth in the sector continued in the 1970s, due mainly to cruise ship arrivals, but several problems persisted, including the absence of an international airport and adequate accommodation. The most immediate deterrent to growth, however, was the political turmoil and civil unrest in the early to mid-1970s that caused arrival figures to fluctuate. The PRG coming to power in 1979 presented the industry with both potential and problems. It embarked on the building of an international airport at Point Salines which Prime Minister Bishop described as “the gateway to our future” (Bishop 1979; Hudson 1983). Though supportive of tourism as it was viewed as an economic necessity for Grenada to develop, the PRG, however, wanted to make fundamental changes to what PM Bishop called “old tourism” because it presented several adverse social, cultural and political problems (Bishop 1979). The PRG advocated for a “new tourism” that would serve as a tool of Grenada’s development by creating linkages across sectors of the economy, a goal that most governments have voiced but have never been able to achieve. Despite its support for the sector, tourism began to falter as the US government’s adversarial relationship with the PRG led to negative publicity reported in international newspapers and travel magazines, with Grenada earning such titles as “Police State” and “Soviet Satellite,” discouraging many visitors who were afraid of “another Cuba.” By the end of 1983 the number of visitors had declined.

The rapidly changing political landscape since the 1950s had created some political turmoil as political power was transferred from the British colonial administration to Grenadians. With constitutions transferring more and more power to local administration and the emergence of party politics, the situation became very contentious by the 1960s. Eric Gairy, who had been responsible for the 1951 “revolution,” was now seen by the younger, mainly foreign-educated politicians and activists as anachronistic, more akin to the colonial elite than to the people of Grenada whom he had championed in the 1950s. Though he orchestrated a revolution decades ago, he was seen as not revolutionary in his outlook because he desired more to be a part of the colonial hierarchy (illustrated by his multiple colonial titles that

culminated in his Knighthood in 1976).¹⁷ Thus, the 1970s witnessed a clash between the old and the new for the soul of Grenadian society. By 1973 Eric Gairy had convinced the British government that Grenada was ready to pursue political independence and the British wholeheartedly agreed, desiring to rid itself of an economic and political burden. Thus Grenada became the smallest independent state in the Western Hemisphere when it achieved independence on 7 February 1974, with no support from the former colonial power as it embarked on a fraught course of development.¹⁸ That independence, however, did not come without an internal struggle, one that would energize a vocal and growing opposition, eventually leading to the violent overthrow of the elected government a few years later.

On 13 March 1979 the opposition New Jewel Movement (NJM) under Maurice Bishop staged a successful coup d'état that ushered in a revolutionary style government extolling the virtues of "people's power" (Phillip-Dowe and Martin 2017). After centuries of slavery and colonialism, it advanced that the reins of power were in the hands of the majority of the people, and many Grenadians, similarly under the GULP, believed that they were part of something larger than themselves, finally creating a new Grenadian society. The goal of the Grenada Revolution, as outlined by Bishop (1979) on the morning of the takeover in his speech "A Bright New Dawn," is "for work, for food, for decent housing and services, and for a bright future for our children and great grandchildren." It was the boldest step yet to remake, to transform the Grenadian political, social and economic landscape as the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) set out to change the face of the nation by instituting various programs meant to take Grenada from what it termed a "neo-colonial society" to an independent, non-aligned nation (Pryor 1986; Layne 2016; Lewis 1987). It also hoped to transform the agricultural sector, creating an agricultural processing plant to utilize the island's large reservoir of fruits, vegetables and fisheries. It created mass participation in various sectors, including the political and social arenas, and gave many a voice in the process of governance with its village councils and local government for the first time. Its objectives were far-reaching, and it generally had the support of many Grenadians who believed that their goals and desires were finally reflected in their government. It was an experiment whose time had come, and it was believed would finally transform Grenada into the society where it needed to be for all of its people.

¹⁷ The NJM often ridiculed Eric Gairy's desire for international recognition by "giving" him ridiculous awards by adding the entire alphabet after his name. In 2008 Sir Eric Gairy was made the island's 1st official National Hero per its National Honours and Awards Act (2007), but the awards seem to have lost favor since as no new leaders have been added.

¹⁸ Some have suggested that this is a more appropriate case for reparations than slavery.

The PRG attempted to alter the economic and social landscape in every imaginable way, embarking on multiple projects to transform the island, including a massive infrastructure project to build an international airport to make the island more accessible for business opportunities like tourism, or as it termed it “new tourism.” The PRG believed that agricultural productivity was essential to its economic program and thus promoted agricultural reform as a way to improve the conditions of the rural peasantry and the island’s agricultural exports through its Grenada Farms Corporation (GFC) (Brierley 1985a,1985b, 1992; Brizan 1998). It passed the Land Development and Utilization Law (1980) with the goal to lease for long terms “idle” lands, which by 1983 accounted for 1,679 ha (4,149 acres) from 13 estates, comprising 20 percent of the arable land in Grenada, of which a large percentage was inherited from the GULP government (Figure 5.22) (Brierley 1992; Brizan 1998). Under the GFC, the goal was the collectivization of government owned lands into state farms run by workers’ cooperatives where technology and improved methods would be demonstrated and exhibited to achieve greater productivity and efficiency (Brierley 1992). Unfortunately, the PRG was unable to put much of its plans into operation, and the GFC was confronted with such challenges that it would have taken a miracle to achieve success. Both the Land for the Landless scheme (1968-79) and the Grenada Farms Corporation (1979-83) were unable to reverse the decline in estate agriculture, and inevitably contributed to it.

Unfortunately, this bold endeavor on the part of PRG to transform Grenada met with internal and external opposition, some of it stemming from its arrogance, overconfidence, mistakes and blunders and flawed organizing structures (Brizan 1988; Pryor 1988). The attempts to do so much with limited resources in so little time created extreme pressures on the government that led to some of the problems that ultimately threatened the Revolution from within (Coard 2017, 2018; Layne 2016). In this atmosphere, the Revolution began to falter and soon cannibalized itself, self-destructing with an internal coup that resulted in the executions of Prime Minister Bishop and a core group of supporters, leaving the door open for the US military to intervene (Sunshine and Wheaton 1984). The experiment of the Grenada Revolution imploded, dashing the hopes of many who had dreamed of creating a new Grenadian society for the benefit of the majority of Grenadians. In the end, this bold attempt to remake, transform, and enhance Grenadian society failed to achieve its immediate objectives, but it was, however, responsible for changing the political, economic and social trajectory of the island, and the consciousness of many Grenadians (Puri 2014).

5.7 Mapping a Caribbean SIDS in a Global Landscape (post-1983)

“The Terrain is more rugged than I imagined, but it is certainly a lovely piece of real estate.”

US Secretary of State George Shultz on a visit to Grenada following the US Invasion (1984)

After three decades of radical political and social activism and changes across the Grenadian political and social landscape that began with Skyred in 1951, the island’s nationalist and socialist detour were halted, stopped in its path by a massive US military invasion that terminated a promising experiment that had gone awry. The PRG’s assertion of Grenada’s independence and desire to act as though it was “in nobody’s backyard” were challenged and demolished by the US. The next three decades and beyond, however, are proving to be the most defining in its economic and social development as it confronts challenges from the more menacing invasions of intense hurricanes, navigating the ever-changing and ominous global economic landscape of which it is but a miniscule player, managing the fast approaching climate change that threatens to destroy its economic and physical landscape, and orchestrating the transition from an agricultural to a service economy (heavily dependent on tourism) as an uncertain path forward into the 21st century, but still finding a way to harness its agricultural resources for the benefit of its people and economy.

As Grenada approaches 50 years of political independence, this small island nation and its people are forced to reckon with their past—the recent past, the *longue durée*, the slavery past, the brutalized past, the forgetful past, the difficult past, the beautiful past—and debate where the country should go in order to achieve the Grenadian society dreamed of since the end of slavery, the one William Galway Donovan wrote about, the one Eric Gairy had promised, the one the PRG had begun, the one that is destined before it all gets washed away by the coming tsunami of globalism, climate change and just plain uncontrollable change SIDS like Grenada have to accept, but can still prepare for as best they can.

In its desire and fervor to transform and develop Grenadian society along a different path, a socialist path, a non-capitalist path, a people’s path..., the People’s Revolutionary Government, with its left-leaning associations, rhetoric and politics, incurred the wrath of the United States, the mightiest nation and world superpower (Williams 2007). Like a sledgehammer to a nutmeg, the US military slammed into Grenada to crush a revolution that was already on life support, barely alive from a self-inflicted wound that it probably would not have survived due totally to its arrogance (Adkin 1989; Clausen 2010; Economist 1983;

Martin 2017; Williams 2007).¹⁹ As the Grenada Revolution was archived and its leaders incarcerated at Richmond Hill Prison or buried dishonorably in unmarked graves, Grenada, with the convincing guidance of the US military and government, embarked on a new path, a free-market path, a politically factionalized path, forsaking its recent past with scorn and forgetfulness, but tormented by its many shadows stalking its nightly visions of the future (Ferguson 1991; Puri 2014; Williams 2007).

The Interim Advisory Council (1983-84) and the New National Party (NNP) government (1984-90) of Hubert Blaize made every effort to excise the past four and a half years of the PRG and its social policies by dismantling or divesting many of its signature projects, some of which Grenadians had supported, including the Spice Island Agro-Industry Plant and Sandino Factory (Ferguson 1991). Another of these was the GFC which the NNP government remodeled into the Grenada Model Farms Corporation (GMFC) under new legislation in 1986. Its goal was to provide farm families with the means to engage in commercial agriculture by utilizing new methods and technologies following privatization. After having to return some properties that had claims against them for non-payment after confiscation under the GULP and PRG governments, the GMFC was left with 769 ha (1,900 acres), 501 ha (1,238 acres) of which were considered suitable for the setting up of 159 model farms (see Figure 5.22) (Brierley 1992). Unfortunately, the GMFC met with as much success as its predecessors, and like them, was unable to stem the decline or transform estate agriculture or the agricultural economy (Brierley 1992; Ferguson 1991). Grenadian agriculture, desiring to transform from its slavery-era methods and practices, failed to advance using new technologies and work regimes in order to survive and make it viable for the next century, especially for a generation that does not see it in their futures because of its past.

Estate agriculture remained under threat, continuing its decline after the 1980s due to a host of problems, mainly some of the historical problems that have affected the industry. The 65 estates recorded in 1975 had decreased to 41 by 1981, and by 1988 further decreased to 34, including seven belonging to the GMFC that were not divested (see Figure 5.22) (Brierley 1992). It is clear from Figure 5.22 that estate agriculture in Grenada had lost its primary place in the island's economy, though it remained important for much of the 1980s and early 1990s, recording 90 percent of exports and 25 percent of GDP in 1984. By 1985 revenue

¹⁹ The sledgehammer and nutmeg analogy became quite popular among reporters following the US invasion like "Why the Sledgehammer Hit the Nutmeg," *The Economist* (29 October 1983:41).

from tourism surpassed that from agricultural exports, and despite continued investments in the agricultural sector revenue continued to decline.

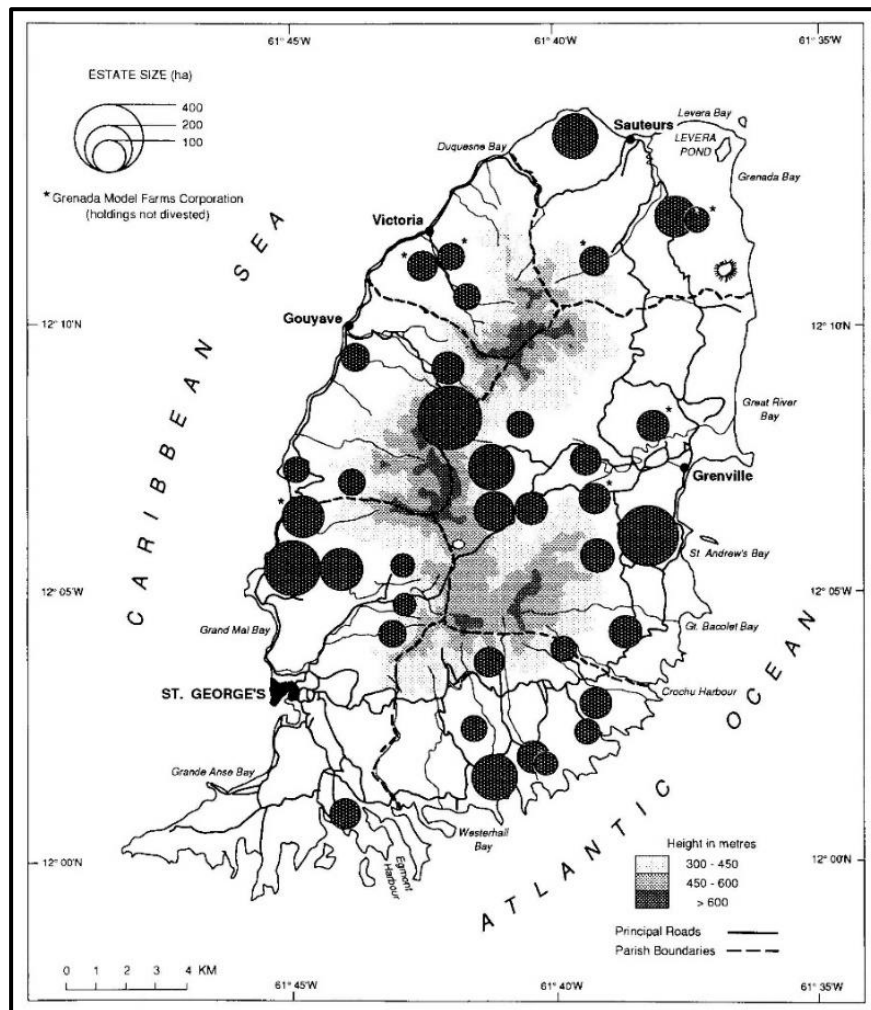


Figure 5.23: Map showing distribution of plantations over 100 acres, 1988 (Brierley 1992)

The decline in the agriculture sector continued into the 2000s when Hurricane Ivan struck, leaving the industry severely impacted, with the destruction of crops, especially nutmeg and cocoa cultivation (OECS 2004). Unlike the last severe hurricane, there was no short-term crop like banana as it had been on its last legs as an export crop and Hurricane Ivan sped it along to its final demise. As a matter of fact, Hurricane Ivan put the final nails in agriculture's coffin as the island's economic engine, allowing tourism, despite its temporary setback, to assume that role in the next few years. Agriculture, however, remained important as it still accounted for 25-30 percent employment, especially in the rural areas. It also continued to supply the island's basic food stock, allowing Grenada to remain (barely) self-sufficient in the production of fruits and vegetables. As such, the first post-invasion governments promoted both agriculture and tourism as Grenada's leading economic sectors.

Although the US government had publicly chastised the PRG for constructing an international airport at Point Salines that was probably going to be used as a military base (which incidentally it was the first to use as such), it provided the funds (US\$19 million) for its completion as it now viewed the airport as important to Grenada's new path to foreign investment and tourism; it had first said it would not but relented after Grenadian advocacy (Ferguson 1991; Mowforth and Munt 2016). The international airport, which the PRG argued would facilitate the expansion of its long-term stay visitors, was now being recognized as such, placing it at the center of Grenada's new economy and promoted by Grenadian politicians and the business community. As such, the Point Salines International Airport (renamed the Maurice Bishop International Airport) became, as Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had envisaged it, the gateway to Grenada's future following its opening in 1984 (Bishop et al. 1983). Grenada's GDP growth and economic prosperity in the next few years would be credited to the completion of the international airport by boosting the construction sector, expanding tourism, and export trade (Meditz and Hanratty 1987). The international airport would remain at the center of Grenada's expanding economy.

With the international airport functioning, Grenada began the process of developing its tourism industry and initial investments and promotion would see the increase in visitors throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Between 1985 and 1988 stay-visitors increased by just under 100 percent from 32,500 to 61,795, but the number of hotel rooms remained inadequate. In 1984 there were only 500 hotel rooms, with mostly small hotels and guest houses, with no hotel over 25 rooms. The Government of Grenada (GOG) pushed tourism by promoting investments in the sector, especially foreign direct investments to help build infrastructure like hotels and other accommodations. As mentioned above, the tourism industry to date has been primarily local, with minimal foreign investment, especially in its small hotels. During the Grenada Revolution, the one international hotel, Holiday Inn, was purchased by the PRG; this was divested by the post-PRG government as part of its privatization push. This was about to change in the 1990s, especially when the NDC government of PM Brathwaite "decided to give much greater emphasis to tourism... to establish a vibrant tourism industry" (Walzer 1994). As new investments in the early to mid-1990s the room stock increased to 1,400 with the opening of two large hotels in 1994, one of them being the first all-inclusive hotel on the island. Between 1993 and 2000, room availability increased between 30 and 50 percent. Stay-over visitors had increased to 300,000 by 1993, with revenues from tourism the leading sector of the economy and growing quickly.

Figure 5.23 is a land cover/forest formation map of Grenada taken in 2001, showing the extent of land cover and protected forests mapped by satellite imagery for the first time (Helmer et al. 2008). The areas of land-cover and forest formation are based on the decision tree classification of Landsat imagery, with the expected areas showing the high and low densities of urban areas around the central towns in each district. What the data show is that in the second half of the 20th century, forest cover has apparently increased on... Grenada..., by about 200 percent, with cultivated land decreasing by 65 percent (Table 3 in Helmer et al. 2008). This of course corresponds with the observed trend of the decrease in estate acreage, the estate economy and the agricultural sector in general as discussed above. Developed land and urban areas have increased by 1,458 percent, illustrating the shift from agriculture to tourism and associated service industries, especially in the southern part of the island and along the coast since the 1980s. The establishment of St. George's University, an American offshore medical and veterinary school, would also contribute to the changing landscape in the south of the island. As Figure 5.23 show, the Grenadian landscape had undergone tremendous changes in the last half century, a direct consequence of its change from an agricultural to tourism economy, and a growing and urbanizing population. Three years later the island would be hit by Hurricane Ivan, totally altering the evolving Grenadian landscape, but nonetheless speeding it along its then trajectory.

Hurricane Ivan dealt a devastating blow to every aspect of life in Grenada when it struck the island on 7 September 2004. In its immediate aftermath, it left 28 people dead, the island's agriculture and tourism industries in ruins, its forests denuded, its infrastructure severely damaged, with between 80 and 90 percent of buildings roofless and damaged, power lines down, water contaminated, and roads and bridges destroyed (OECS 2004; OECS 2005). It was a severe blow to the island's growing tourism industry.

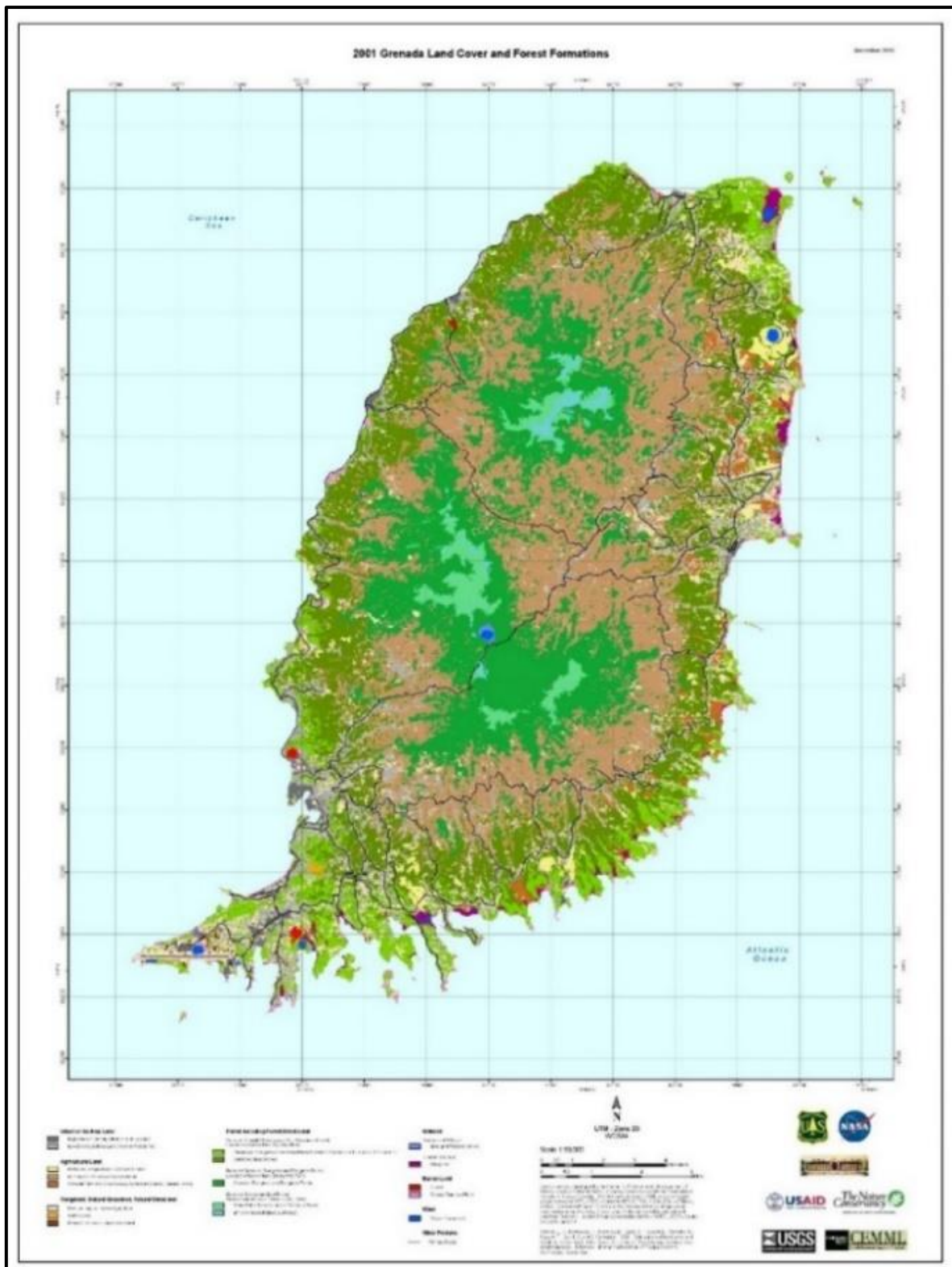


Figure 5.24: Land cover/forest formation map of Grenada, 2001 (Helmer et al. 2008)

By the early 2000s, with multiple North American and European airlines making non-stop flights to Grenada and the continuing increase in investments in hotels in the southern area, Grenada became one of the growing tourist destinations in the Caribbean. With the increasing

emphasis on tourism Grenada invested in a cruise ship terminal to accommodate the latest generation of large cruise ships. Cruise ship arrivals had grown since the 1980s from less than 50,000 to 135,980 in 1988, to over 500,000 in 2019. The GOG invested US\$100 million dollars in a new 400-meter Cruise Ship Port in the open Grenada Bay to accommodate at least two large ships at one time. This was a large construction project that involved extensive land reclamation to accommodate the Cruise Ship Port, a mall and other businesses. The layout of the town had seen many changes since the 1980s, but now the town was being remodeled to accommodate the island's growing tourism industry. Two years after the passage of Hurricane Ivan, the Cruise Ship Port was opened, signaling the transformation of Grenada's economy from agriculture to tourism, expressed by a local guide who "worries that the nutmeg logo on the Grenada flag will be replaced by a cruise ship, as tourism overtakes agriculture" (Spreekmeester 2005).

The hurricane had a devastating effect on the island's infrastructure, including its hotels and other accommodations for the tourism industry. Despite the destruction, it presented an opportunity to rebuild and improve hotels and other infrastructure. Within the next few years hotels were rebuilt, and the industry continued to grow. By 2011 stay-over visitors had increased to 116,398 and cruise ship visitors to 319,427, with the tourism industry recording almost 22 percent of GDP. The expanding tourism industry created a ripple effect in the service industry, impacting the southern part of the island as businesses catering to the industry spread there. The entire southern area, especially around Grand Anse, became its own city catering to the tens of thousands of visitors and the students at St. George's University. By 2015 the entire area was transformed from a sparse coconut, sugar cane and stock plantation in the 1950s to a bustling city by 2010, even surpassing the central town of St. George's in many respects (Figure 5.25). The most startling change, however, was the decrease in the coral reefs (as seen in Figure 5.25) in the bay, a direct result of the booming touristic facilities along the 3.2 km (2 mi) long popular Grand Anse Beach that have had negative impacts (Huber and Meganck 1990).



Figure 5.25: Satellite images of the Grand Anse area in 1951 and 2010, showing the extensive landscape changes in the intervening 59 years, particularly in the urbanization of the area due primarily to tourism development (courtesy Ministry of Agriculture, GoG)

In the wake of Grenada's expanding tourism industry, the GoG decided to enhance its promotion of the island's product to the international community. In 2014 the Ministry of Tourism and the Grenada Tourism Authority rebranded its Grenada product to the world, changing from "Grenada, The Isle of Spice" to "Pure Grenada." Though many celebrated the new approach, others protested the downplaying/dethronement of the "Isle of Spice" label which had been the island's identity for over a century, garnered from its lucrative production of spices, particularly nutmeg and mace (Thomas-Francois and Francois 2014; Nelson 2012, 2017; Shemer 2012). The change was probably more symbolic of the transformation of the economy from agriculture to tourism, and a direct nod to geo-tourism and the "natural environment," but also invoking unspoiled and undiscovered. To appease the dissenters the brand tagline was enhanced to "Pure Grenada: The Spice of the Caribbean." Though the tagline is now applied to everything like Pure Grenada Chocolate Festival and Pure Grenada Music Festival, the Spice label is still prominent as in Spicemas for Grenada's carnival.

Figure 5.26 is a land cover map of Grenada, showing the status of the island in 2015 (Jordan et al. 2015). The most noticeable change is the built-up areas, especially the entire southern part of the island and along the main road network across the island. In the southwest, much of the "Deciduous, coastal Evergreen and mixed forest or shrubland" has declined, replaced by the growth of built-up areas, except for the Mt. Hartman-Egmont/Hog Island area which has been slated for a controversial resort development, but had been held up by the presence of the endangered Grenada Dove (Buckmire et al. 2022; Rosenberg 2001; Rusk 2007, 2010). By 2015, much of the "Seasonal Evergreen Forest," "Semi-Deciduous Forest," and "Elfin and Sierra Palm tall Cloud Forest," had recovered from the devastating effects of Hurricane Ivan a decade earlier. Agriculture had suffered a great deal in the wake of Hurricanes Ivan and Emily, pushing the demise of bananas as an export crop. Almost twenty years after Hurricane Ivan devastated the island of Grenada, much of the landscape has recovered to the point where most of the outward signs have disappeared. Grenada lived up to its slogan "Build Back Better," as infrastructure was a huge investment in the post-Ivan era as the GOG rebuilt and built roads, public buildings, and bridges. The face of Grenada was changing again, but some saw these infrastructural changes as detrimental as it destroyed what many described incorrectly as "pristine" areas like La Sagesse, St. David and Levera, St. Patrick, some of the island's last remaining wilderness landscape (Buckmire et al. 2022).



Locating the Representations and *Memory-Traces* of the Authors of the Grenada Islandscape

“Our landscape is its own monument: The trace that it signifies is detectable underneath. It’s the sum total of history.”

Édouard Glissant in Patrick Chamoiseau’s “Weaving a Creole Patrimony” (2019:55)

Our landscape reflects who we were, who we are, and where we have been. It is like a vessel that conveys our histories, endeavors, artifacts, stories, mythologies, monuments, and memories—the “material record of human activity”—across mythic journeys and epochs (Wylie 2011:303; see Ingold 1993). Thus, the Grenada islandscape is permeated with the representations and *memory-traces* of our habitation, often obscured like a palimpsest, written and rewritten birth after birth, decade after decade, death after death, generation after generation, and century after century. It has retained, but often only partially or even surreptitiously, centuries of human habitations and interactions that are discernible, yet not regularly or readily accessible unless you dig deep to uncover the historical and cultural layers of its entangled past embedded deep within our creolizing landscape. Sometimes, traces (like Indigenous petroglyphs, encrusted ceramic sherds, or even folklore), when found, have “unreadable meaning,” further complicating our ability to understand our entangled cultural landscape (Chamoiseau 2020; French 2020). Other times, traces present multiple possible origins or entanglements, thus making connections to specific authors difficult, sometimes dubious.¹ However, each piece or trace uncovered, identified, and deciphered adds to the story, the human story of this islandscape. Hence the need for exploration and study, as who we are is a direct reflection of the knowledge we have of our histories and geographies, what we learn through the interpretation of our landscape, and what the landscape teaches us

¹ The *Dwenn* is a perfect example of entanglements. This folk spirit takes much from the Asanti *Mmoatia*, but has a Spanish-derived name and incorporates Christian beliefs, thus echoing the Grenadian (and Caribbean) Creole landscape (Martin 2022).

about the multiply journeys we have experienced to arrive where we are today, across the *longue durée* (Braudel 1982).

Yet landscapes like Grenada's are not neutral, maybe never were, having undergone centuries of invasions, violence, genocide, colonization, slavery, indentureship, colonialism, revolution, and civil unrest, and marked by extreme power imbalances among its multiple and diverse authors (Darby 2020). Representations have always been skewed toward the powerful and influential, which are directly reflected in the monumental landscape with its cities, towns and ports, fortifications, plantations, grand architecture like churches and public buildings and squares, petroglyphs, memorials, and official toponyms recorded on maps. However, the less powerful or even the subjugated oftentimes unwittingly play primary roles in building and perpetuating much of these via their labors and memories. This monumental landscape is further enhanced by the colonial archives that readily reinforce their historical presence, though often contributing to a contested landscape because of their selective memories. Hence the contradictions and nuances in our interpretations and understanding of this entangled and contested islandscape.

To enhance our understanding of the deep life history of this islandscape and present a more balanced interpretation of its material culture and the journeys of its authors, it is necessary to excavate, dig deeper, from below, to locate that "sum total of history" as Glissant (1989:11) insists (see Whyte 2013). To locate the immediately identifiable representations of the powerful and influential, but especially that of the often hidden influences of those who did not always have the power or agency to represent themselves with monuments by unearthing the *memory-traces* that may be "broken, diffused, scattered," but "stubbornly discernible to those willing to look more closely and listen more attentively" (Forsdick 2020:xiv). It is reading the landscape as a primary document to unearth and expose traditional knowledge that has been tucked away in cobwebbed cupboards or clouded in amnesiac minds, abandoned myths and legends roaming aimlessly in the forests, forgotten (medicinal) plants growing as weeds, dirt covered fragmented sherds obscuring ancient lifeways, undecipherable oral histories concealed in lost languages, and castoff and repressed memories that can unlock the past, and the present. Though these monuments and *memory-traces* populate and define the cultural landscape, providing clues and understanding to its many and diverse authors, they are not only of the past, but of the present and the future. Understanding how the landscape retains the past (through representations and *memory-traces*) is important

in our multicultural societies today because of its influence on our histories, our memories, our identities, our sense of place in these constantly changing landscapes.

This chapter, therefore, discusses the first part of the main research question identified in Chapter 1: ***What can the life history of a SIDS like Grenada (i.e. its landscape biography), tell us about how people convey value to the landscape through their various representations and memory-traces...***? With the detailed life history or biography documented in Chapter 5, this chapter examines how various groups, as authors of the Grenada landscape, are represented or represented themselves in multiple and varied ways, intentionally and/or inadvertently, across the centuries, beginning with the Kali'nago, and are today discernable in the constantly changing Grenadian Creole landscape. And as Benoit (2020) insists:

“Institutions and objects inform the culture of a particular time and place. Objects such as buildings connect the society to its past institutions (like slavery). Yet, this is not always acknowledged. We may think that aspects of a particular cultural past can be erased from the minds of people. However, those aspects of material culture once created exist within present experiences; a continuum of past experiences remains even unconsciously. People may not always make reference to their past, and sometimes the past is ignored even when that past influence their action.”

By examining Grenada's material culture: historical maps (official toponyms), objects (like petroglyphs, plantation relics, ceramics, historical architecture), traditional memory (like botanical lore, folktales, folksongs, folk dance, folk music), historical events and scenic places (like Grand Étang Lake, Leapers' Hill, plantations, Fédon's Camp, *Bwa-Nèg-Mawon*), historical documents (like genealogies and chronologies), oral histories, fauna and flora, and contemporary imagery of representation, the stories and *memory-traces* of the authors of the Grenadian landscape are chronicled to provide the basis to explore the idea of landscape identity and the creation of sense of place and identities in Grenada's Creole island landscape.

6.1 “Carib Stones,” Cracked Pots and Postholes: Unearthing Kali'nago Beyond Caribs' Leap

“Like other Indigenous populations, those of the Caribbean have been subjected for centuries to a narrative in which they are doomed, vanishing, always on the verge of becoming nothing more than a memory. And yet the Indigenous Caribbean is still here, in communities who

identify as such as well as in many of the lifeways and cultural practices of the Caribbean. They have been told they are vanishing for over five hundred years, but they have refused to do so.”

L. Dubois and R.L. Turits (2019:10)

Representations of indigeneity, the earliest possibly dating as far back as 1,600 to 2,000 years ago, are scattered across Grenada’s physical and cultural landscape (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2017, 2019). That of the Kali’nago and Kali’na, the island’s most recent Indigenous peoples, are quite often identifiable and accessible, though all Indigenous memories are regularly conflated (see Hanna 2017, 2019, 2022; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020; Holdren 1998; see also Honychurch 2000). These material, linguistic and cultural characteristics are discernible at archaeological and historical sites, in toponyms and language, ecological and traditional knowledge (folk/bush medicines, folk beliefs, and fishing and hunting practices), agricultural crops, tools and farming practices, and food procurement and preparation (Boomert 2016; Honychurch 2000; Martin 2022; Wilson 1997). Though many remain unaware of most of these Indigenous representations and *memory-traces* scattered all around or embedded in the folk culture and the people who created them, they nonetheless provide knowledge of the Kali’nago and their creation and/or continuation of the Grenadian Indigenous cultural landscape. The persistence of Indigenous memories in our *Grenadianess* is proof of the impact and influence they have had and continue to exert in our cultural space (Martin 2013, 2022).

The Kali’nago and Kali’na remain an integral part of who we were and who we are as their story is the beginning, the roots to our branches, the hearth from which our story rises, and without which our narratives of who we are remain incomplete, uprooted, disconnected, and disoriented in this New-World tropical dreamscape.² They are the Indigenous peoples whose timeless chronologies populate this ancient landscape and take us back to mythological origins. They are the ones who birthed this island and created the foundations of our cultural space, our cultural identity. They are the ones who first brought captive Africans to Camáhogne, unwittingly holding them captive and mimicking the European practice from whom they were stolen. They are the initial cultivators of crops and plants that provisioned

² Though Grenada’s Indigenous chronology dates back at least 1,600 years, the Kali’nago and Kali’na are the only two groups that have a written historical presence (as recorded by European observers) that allows us to imagine their importance and contributions to our Creole landscape, to our identity, and even to our genealogies. Unfortunately, we have only a few named Kali’nago and Kali’na to connect to the Grenadian landscape, with those representing the hundreds or more of our forebears, and like the many enslaved Africans brought to Grenada, most remain nameless, but nonetheless acknowledged here.

our gardens and infused our traditional knowledge. Theirs are the struggles in the face of genocide and ethnic cleansing that inspire our admiration for their determination and defiance of European invasions. Theirs are the few words that frequently accent our Creoles all the way back to its Indigenous beginnings. Theirs are the Cayo ceramic pottery and broken sherds that allow us to envision their utility and creativity, but also to recreate their lifeways. And theirs are the tiniest of DNA fingerprints in the genealogical landscape that bound us to a proud and ancient ancestry that still courses through our Creole veins.

Locating the narratives of representations and *memory-traces* of the Kali'nago and Kali'na in the Grenada islandscape must begin with words, for it is in lost languages that lie the handful of words that directly connect us today to the people who named this islandscape, named its plants, animals, streams, mountains, and the places they inhabited, beginning with Camáhogne. Only a few Indigenous place names, their meanings indecipherable as the petroglyphs, are recorded on the early French maps of Grenada, with several other places associated with Kali'nago and Kali'na villages also identified (Figure 6.1) (Allsopp 1996; Blondel 1667; Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Romain 1749[1743]). These few words, these altered words of mislaid vernaculars, and these persistent places faintly remind us of how the Kali'nago first claimed this islandscape and (re)named it in their image. The familiar words trip off the tongue as if we were there when they were first spoken, when they first birthed this Camáhogne islandscape. Like an Indigenous alphabet learned as a child, we recite A for *agouti*, *ajoupa*, *anoli*; B for *Bacaye*, *Bacolet*, *boutou*; C for *Camáhogne*, *Cambala*, *canari*, *canoe*, *Carriacou*, *Caouane*, *colibri*; G for *Galibis*, *genip*, *Gouyave*, *gru-gru*, *guava*; I for *iguana*; K for *kumaka*; L for *lambi*, *Levera*; M for *Mabouya*, *Mahoe* (*Mahot Beach*, *Mahot tree*), *manatee*, *manicou*, *Marigot*, *marouba*, *maubi*, *Menere*; P for *piroque*; R for *roucou*; T for *tannia*, *titiri*; Y for *yaws*..., trailing off tongue-tied as if our memory of those languages suddenly vanished (Figures 6.1) (Allsopp 1996).³

Our provision or vegetable gardens today have their origins in the Indigenous *conucos*, cultivated with so many native crops, vegetables and fruits that adorn our tables at mealtimes—cassava, sweet potato, maize/corn, kidney beans, tannia, arrowroot, Indian yam, peppers, pumpkin, guava, mami-apple, papaya, sapodilla, star apple, soursop, sugar apple, hog plum, roucou, cotton, coco plum, genip and custard apple (Berleant-Schiller and

³ There are several Arawakan and Tupi words, mainly fauna and flora, that are present in the Grenadian vocabulary and date to the French in the 17th century. Most are used across the Eastern Caribbean, but may have been brought by captives from South America to the Eastern Caribbean (see Allsopp 1998; Honychurch 2000).

Pulsipher 1986; Boomert 2016; Groome 1970; Hawthorne et al. 2004; Honychurch 2000; Kimber 1988; Watts 1987; Wilson 1997). From many of these and others the Kali'nago derived “bush medicines,” steeped with botanical knowledge that they passed on to French settlers and enslaved Africans whose descendants today still use these remedies to cure ailments and alleviate physical and psychological ills (Berry 2005; Hodge and Taylor 1957; Carney and Rosomoff 2009; Hawthorne et al. 2004; Martin 2013; Wilson 1997).⁴



Figure 6.1: Indigenous-derived words in Grenada's English Creole as a word cloud

Even techniques of the practice of subsistence gardening were transferred from Indigenous experiences like ringbarking for land clearance, preparing mounds for root vegetables and corn, deciding when and where to sow and harvest Indigenous crops, and when to cut a tree (to make a canoe) depending on the phases of the moon (Boomert 2016; Berleant-Schiller and Pulsipher 1986; Honychurch 2000; Steele 2003; Watts 1987). Other practices like fishing, especially inshore and reef fishing, diving and cleaning *lambi* (conch), sea turtle and *sea egg* (sea urchin), *torching* crabs in the mangroves, catching crayfish in the rivers, *titiri* in the *bouchourie* (river mouth), collecting *brigo* (whelks) from the rocks, catching and storing fish in basket-woven fish pots, or using several tree barks and plant leaves to stun or stupefy

⁴ On the 1678 “*Rolles general de la Compagnie Colonelle*,” seven Indigenous people (one identified as “*Aroüagues*” – Arawak) are listed under French households as “*Sauvagesses*,” along with enslaved Africans, indicating possible intimate contacts and a direct route for the exchange of Indigenous knowledge of the Camáhogne landscape (ANOM 1669-1755). The escape of enslaved in Grenada did not result in a relationship with the Kali'nago and Kali'na as occurred in Dominica and St. Vincent. As a matter of fact, the Indigenous population in Grenada cooperated with the French in returning escaped slaves to the plantations (Martin 2013).

fish for easier harvesting.⁵ Using *acoma* (*Sideroxylon quadriloculare*) and *balata* (*Manilkara bidentata*) trees for lumber in buildings and furniture (Groome 1970). And food preparations, particularly the processing of bitter cassava (to remove a mild toxicity) to make cassava flour or *farine* for bread, the bitter thirst-quenching drink of *maubi*, the aphrodisiac *bobandé*, and the decades old, multi-meat dish “pepper-pot” (Dubois and Turits 2019; Goucher 2014; Honychurch 2000; Martin 2022; Wilson 1997). It is evident that both Europeans and enslaved Africans were obliged to adopt processes and practices of everyday Indigenous lifestyle already embedded in this Kali’nago-fashioned islandscape in order to survive and eventually overwrite, rewrite and reimagine this island first as exploitable, then eventually as a Creole cultural space (Faraclas 2012; Goucher 2014; Kimber 1988; Sheller 2003; Watts 1987).

Though we usually associate Grenada’s folk traditions with origins in West and West-Central Africa and western Europe, we can no longer ignore the fact that characteristics of Indigenous folk beliefs and practices, particularly of the Kali’nago, were transferred to the enslaved population and thus became part of the island’s Creole cultural landscape (Boomert 2016; Dubois and Turets 2019; Wilson 1997). These blended in almost seamlessly so that they became indistinguishable or unrecognizable, just like botanical knowledge, subsistence agricultural practices, and fishing techniques. They include the folk beliefs like *Papa Bwa*, the protector of the forest and animals that bears resemblance to the *Master of Animals* among several groups in northern South America today (Boomert 2016; Martin 2022; Pesoutova 2019); *Mama Glo* or *Mamiwata* that mimics the *Watramama* and Indigenous water spirits of the mainland that inhabit and rule over water sources like rivers and lakes (Bell 1889; Boomert 2016; Martin 2022; Paxson 1983; Vázquez Barreto 2021); the ominous spirit of the dead or *mabouya* that inhabit the *jumbi* tree (silk cotton tree), *jumbi* bird (barn owl and black bird), *jumbi* umbrella (mushroom), and other spirits that possess and rule over the nocturnal landscape (Boomert 2016; Martin 2022); the mystical tale of the *cribo* (snake) and its continuous search for its stolen crown of jewels, or its chasing of pregnant women to cause them to give birth and thus be able to suck milk from their breasts (Bell 1889; Martin 2022; Pesoutova 2018; Rochefort 1666; Taylor 1938, 1952); the magical *colibri* or doctor bird (hummingbird) that feeds on the nectar of tobacco plants in its dialog with the gods; *maroon* or cooperative work party that bears similarity to the *caouyage* feast that was

⁵ Though the bark of the maruba tree (?*Simaruba amara*) has been identified as a possible fish poison (not poisonous to humans), other plants like the bark of the dogwood tree (*Piscidia carthagenensis* and *P. piscipula*), *Clibadium surinamense*, and bitter cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) may have seen more widespread use as fish poisons (Hawthorne et al. 2004).

practiced most recently among the Kali'nago dugout canoe builders of Dominica to encourage others to assist with the building and launching of these crafts (Honychurch 2000)⁶; the respect and fear associated with the sacred silk cotton or *kumaka* tree that should not be felled without acknowledging it because it is a “spirit tree” (Pesoutova 2018; Taylor 1952), or the blowing of the *lambi*/conch shell (to signal marine arrival and departure among the Kali'nago) by fishermen or carnival revelers as an adopted practice of communication and celebration (Breton 1665; Martin 2022; Murphy 2021). All of these and more have origins and/or connections to the Kali'nago as their mythology and rituals inhabited and freely roamed across Camáhogne's landscape that Europeans and especially enslaved Africans adopted, and subsequently incorporated these cultural practices with theirs in order to survive, eventually reimagining them as their own in the Grenada Creole islandscape (Boomert 2016; Honychurch 2000; Martin 2021; Taylor 1938, 1952; Wilson 1997).

Some of the material culture of the Kali'nago that persists in the Grenadian landscape are not so easily accessible as they have become part of lost *memory-traces* now embedded in the Creole cultural landscape or buried by centuries of landscape change that requires excavation and interpretation by archaeologists, anthropologists, linguists, historians, folklorists, and geneticists. There have been several archaeological excavations carried out in Grenada, but most have concentrated on the precolonial era as detailed in Chapter 2 (Bullen 1964; Hanna 2017). Only recently have there been excavations specifically focused on the so-called contact period or the era of European invasion that have shed some light on the Kali'nago occupation of Camáhogne (Hanna 2018, 2022; Hofman 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020; Hofman and Hoogland 2018; Holdren 1998). The most detailed excavation of a Kali'nago site took place in 2016 and 2017 in the village of La Poterie, St. Andrew. As detailed in Chapter 5, it revealed that the area most likely was home to one of the last free Kali'nago villages on the island. The retrieval of European artifacts established La Poterie as a possible “contact site” due to trade or plunder between the Spanish and/or the Portuguese and the Kali'nago. Along with these have been the recovery of Cayo pottery now confidently associated with the Kali'nago, exposing a more detailed picture of the technology and lifeways of Grenada's last

⁶ The Indigenous canoe (<Carib *canáoa*: for the narrow water vessel with pointed ends made from a single tree and propelled by oars) or pirogue (<Am Sp *piragua* <Carib) was in widespread use by Europeans, enslaved Africans and others during the colonial period for intra-island/interisland travel, but disappeared from Grenada by the mid-1900s, replaced by small fishing boats built of manufactured imported lumber. The Grenada National Museum owns the ruins of an Indigenous dugout canoe that was recovered in the early 1970s on a beach at Point Salines and believed washed ashore from South America (*Now Grenada*, 31 January 2021).

Indigenous peoples (Boomert 2011; Hofman et al. 2016, 2017, 2019, 2020; Hofman and Hoogland 2018).

Indigenous artifacts have intrigued Grenadians much as arrowheads have fascinated boys and hobbyists in North America who scour the landscape for these remains of a believed ancient civilization with little connections to the present. Grenadians, particularly farmers (and unfortunately illegal artifact dealers), have been unearthing various Indigenous artifacts like beads and stone sculptures in the course of their farming (Breukel 2019; Falci et al. 2020). Of particular note are the variously shaped stone axes or “thunderstones”⁷ that have been recovered from across Grenada and cherished as family heirlooms; many, however, have been sold to so-called collectors, creating an illegal market for Grenada’s Indigenous artifacts (Breukel 2019; Hanna 2017, 2021; Wilder 1980). Recently, the appearance of Indigenous artifacts (like zoomorphic adornos) have proliferated and can be found everywhere, in private collections in Grenada, North America and Europe, museums in the Caribbean and North America, adorning storefront displays and mantelpieces in Grenada, and on the American online auction site eBay, with most having been removed from archaeological sites, especially Pearls, St. Andrew, and sold despite this being illegal (Campbell 2020; Hanna 2018, 2021). However, these various artifacts, devoid of any archaeological or historical context, have come to represent indigeneity, creating a connection to a past that seemed so long ago, so far away, so distant, but still part of the Grenadian landscape, part of the island’s heritage.

Round human-like faces, exotic animal faces, and geometric symbols, these are the chiseled designs on several rocks in northern Grenada that are locally called “Carib Stones,” linking these ancient petroglyphs or rock art to the island’s last Indigenous peoples, the Caribs or Kali’nago. The mystery of who, when and why surrounds these large rocks with faded impressions, telling undecipherable tales as the hieroglyphic-like drawings obscure possible spiritual (animistic) beliefs of the people who created them and maybe “meditated” here, or just artistically chronicled their lifeways, origins and/or beliefs in ancestors; interpretations are speculative (Cody 1990; Hanna 2017). Though they pre-date the Kali’nago and Kali’na by centuries, these petroglyphs were probably important to them as part of their beliefs as several are located next to their 17th-century villages at Grand Pauvre (Victoria), St. Mark

⁷ The name thunderstone for aboriginal or “prehistoric” remains like stone axes dates back to Europe where many of these were believed to be found at sites where lightening had struck. These objects were used as talisman to protect people and buildings since the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

and Duquesne, St. Patrick. Hanna (2017:163) suggests that these petroglyphs, specifically the ones at Mt. Rich, could have been added to “by successive traditions, as a palimpsest,” and possibly including carvings by the Kali’nago (see Cody 1990; Dubelaar 1995; Huckerby 1921). Petitjean Roget, according to Hauser (2021:58-59), posits that the location of petroglyphs on rocks near rivers and streams suggest their concerns or “to ensure the safety and security of water resources.” These “Carib Stones” remain an artifact of Indigenous heritage that help us to imagine, envision, and understand Indigenous peoples and their cultural expressions that are now an integral part of Grenada’s cultural landscape.

Sometimes, the changing landscape unearths buried histories like the human remains that have been washing into the Caribbean Sea from the beach at Sauteurs Bay or Mt. Craven in the northern coastal town due to severe wave actions since early 2018; there have been similar events at Molinière Bay and True Blue, St. George, but these remains are believed to be enslaved/Africans (Alexander 2020; Campbell 2018; Hanna 2017, 2020, 2022; “Unbelievable Destruction” 2023; Wong 2020). This has been the worse coastal erosion in the area in decades, leaving the beach degraded, with coconut palms and other large trees falling into the surf, and destroying the homes of several nearby residents and threatening the main road through the community. Though this wave action may have been influenced by immediate manmade (sand mining, climate change), and natural causes, i.e. hurricanes and storms, the recent construction of the breakwater project in the bay that was, ironically, initiated to mitigate the strong waves, control coastal flooding, and replenish the vanishing beach, bear much responsible for the catastrophe (Hanna 2022; St. Louis 2017; Wong 2020).

Hanna (2020, 2022) suggests that the human remains are from an extensive burial site of Late Ceramic Age (750-1500 AD) peoples who settled the area, and possibly into the historic period (Holdren 1998). The sudden involuntary unearthing of the remains is almost as if the “skeletons refuse to remain buried and resist permanent erasure” (Regis 2020:8). But as broken human bones and skulls continually wash into the sea and disappear for a second time, little or no action has been taken by any government agency to safeguard the remains of the island’s “First Peoples,” or at least provide a proper “burial” for their vanishing remains, taking centuries of historical information with them to their watery graves.⁸ Some of the remains have been and continue to be recovered by interested parties, but there is no end in

⁸ However, the spontaneous second burial at sea may be the most fitting in light of what fate may await these remains if stuffed into boxes and left to rot in storage as has been the previous practice since Grenada lacks the resources and policies to study and manage human remains from archaeological sites (see Hanna 2017, 2022).

sight to this failure to rescue Grenada's heritage or show respect for the human remains of some of our first Grenadians (Hanna 2020, 2022; NEXUS1492 2018; Wong 2020).

Material representations of the past can manifest themselves in diverse and unexpected ways in the current cultural landscape. During the annual carnival festivities, representations of “Red” or “Wild” Indians and “Apache Indians” are seen marauding through the streets of Hillsborough, St. George's, St. David and Grenville.⁹ With mottled (painted) covered skin or vests, draping roped locks or festooned headdresses, bodies adorned with earrings, (job's tears)-beaded chains around their necks, bracelets and nose rings, tinkling bells at the ankles, and uttering indecipherable “Indian talk” as they run through the streets in serpentine motion waving their wooden spears and swords at imaginary invaders are these muddled modern representations of first Grenadians popularized in historical European tales of Indigenous peoples, often termed savages (Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2: “Wild Indian” masqueraders at the annual carnival celebrations, St. George's, 2014 (Photo by the Author)

⁹ The *Wild Indian*/Apache Indian masquerade is not so common today, with the majority of portrayals coming from the districts of St. David, St. Andrew and Carriacou.

The current “Wild Indian” masquerade, influenced by Hollywood portrayals of “American Indians,” has been reimagined as a homage to the islands’ Indigenous peoples, representing the Caribs/Kali’nago and even the “Taino”/Arawak. And like the historical *Djab-Djab*, *Shakespeare Mas*¹⁰ and *Shortknee* masquerades, are celebrated as “uniquely rooted in our rich ancestral traditions” (Phillip 2011; Steele 1996; Zane 1999).¹⁰

This distorted artistic expression of Indigenous heritage is both confused and inaccurate in its amalgamation of diverse Indigenous stereotypes that is innocently recreated annually and celebrated as authentic Grenadian heritage and culture. Despite Zane’s (1999:143) assertion that the historical Caribbean portrayal is a protest, expressing “dissatisfaction with the colonial order” because of the Native Americans’ “traditional belligerence, fierceness and proud defiance of colonizing white men,” these masquerades perpetuate the biased representations handed down from European misconceptions and distortions still seen in some published historical representations or outdated Hollywood films. These caricatures continually recreate the distorted picture of Indigenous representations, even perpetuating the contested and harmful views of belligerence, warlike, and even man-eaters (Arens 1979; Boucher 1992).

The Kali’nago, as the Indigenous people met by Europeans and enslaved Africans, have been positioned as the island’s “first peoples” and thus the “ancestors” of current Grenadians, metaphorically speaking as no genetic connections were initially surmised to these supposedly vanished peoples.¹¹ It can be seen as a symbolic representation (DeLoughrey 2007), especially as the Kali’nago and Kali’na were subjected to European colonization and genocidal policies, they were seen as sharing a common experience and thus connected to other victimized peoples like enslaved Africans.¹² This view has been embraced by poets, politicians and others across the region who have written about “our Carib ancestors” and our national identity (Carew 1988; Collins 1995; Walcott 1993). But Harris (1983:124) questions that view, arguing that despite the presence of Indigenous material culture across the region,

¹⁰ The origin of Grenada’s “Wild Indian” masquerade is unclear, but could possibly date to the 1930s/40s and influenced by Trinidad’s traditional Warahoon or “Red Indian” masquerade that itself has a longer history and may be modelled from its own indigenous heritage, but certainly influenced by the North American portrayal of Indigenous peoples.

¹¹ Of course, indigeneity dates to at least 300 AD so the designation “First Peoples” is a grouping rather than a chronological accuracy.

¹² The relationship between the Indigenous peoples and captive/enslaved Africans in Grenada remains to be researched, but there is evidence that the Kali’nago kept enslaved Africans whom they had captured from Europeans in South America (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]). There is also evidence that the Indigenous and enslaved populations interacted with each other, enough to enable the transmission of Indigenous cultural practices as well as through the cultural landscape (ANOM 1669-1755).

their “legacies are regarded as basically irrelevant to, or lacking significance for, the late 20th-century Caribbean.” Like Harris, Lowenthal (1972:186) believes that “Amerindians play an important symbolic role in the West Indian search for identity. The very absence of Indians is a source of regret to Creoles, who found it hard to feel at home in lands lacking visible remains of an ancient past. Cultural nationalism throughout the Caribbean today promotes the search for Arawak and Carib remains.” DeLoughrey (2007:234), however, recognizes what she regards as “an unprecedented excavation of indigenous Caribbean history” as a regeneration of the native Caribbean islander taking place.

But what of actual Indigenous heritage? In 1911 Fenger (1917) remarked on meeting “the only Carib on the island,” whom he described as a “Yellow Carib” boy of 15/16 years who had migrated from St. Vincent after the volcanic eruption of 1902 and settled here.¹³ There has never been a clear account of how many “Amerindians” lived on Grenada because they were not recorded as a group except on a few censuses like in 1991 when 62 persons self-identified as “Amerindian,” with many of them having origins in Guyana, South America. The category has not appeared on later censuses and was only recorded on censuses between 1683 and 1735 (Martin 2013). Several Grenadians have over the years asserted their Carib/Kali’nago/Amerindian ancestry, usually with reference to family stories of personal inheritance as very few to none exhibit obvious Indigenous phenotypes or group identity like seen in the Kalinago Territory in Dominica (see “Last True Carib” 2013). It is most likely that many of these references are of Grenadians with either Vincentian and/or Dominican roots as a result of migration among the islands and not of direct descent from historical Indigenous Grenadians, thus illustrating a more recent introduction from existing or more vibrant Indigenous populations in the region as referenced in Fenger (1917) (“Last True Carib” 2013).

With the advent of personal DNA testing, however, it became apparent that a more nuanced picture of Indigenous (genetic) ancestry can be illustrated. Ben Torres et al. (2007; 2013) “genotyped for 105 autosomal ancestry informative markers” from populations in the Anglophone Caribbean, including Grenada. They conclude that on average, “Native American” accounted for 7.7 percent, and in Grenada for 6.8 ± 4.6 percent, with a maximum of 21.7 and minimum of 2 percent. For the group of people who were viewed as extinct it was

¹³ There is no direct evidence to confirm the popular references to “the last Carib village” at Champs Fleur, Vincennes, St. David, or the “Carib Camp”/“Carib Reservation” at Azema/Black Forest, St. George, but these need to be further researched (see Dodsworth 1904).

a validation that a fair number of Grenadians (again, also with possible ties to St. Vincent and/or Dominica) carry genetic markers for Indigenous DNA, illustrating a deeper connection supported by the historical evidence. Results like these are important in validating for the few Grenadians who have claimed “Carib ancestry,” thus confirming the presence of Indigenous biological heritage in the Grenadian landscape and across the region. Some, however, disapprove or resist home DNA testing as a way to connect to indigeneity as it may negate their perceived Indigenous identity or memories, if none is found (Mendisco et al. 2019). However, it can possibly increase the numbers of people who could somehow connect to an Indigenous past, thus illustrating the historical creolization of the biological landscape as well.

The popular connections to Grenada’s Indigenous past can be seen across the island in public displays that include the use of the terms Arawak, Carib, Kali’nago and Camerhogne as in the names of businesses: Arawak Islands Ltd., Arawak Drivers, Carib Marine Retailers, Caribcats, Carib Autos and Camerhogne Medical Laboratory; hotels like Kalinago and Coyaba Beach Resorts; restaurants like Carib Sushi; Camerhogne Park, Grand Anse; sports teams like Carib Hurricane FC and Camerhogne FC; and even a rum made by Clark’s Court Distillery called Camerhogne Spiced Liqueur. The Government of Grenada created the Camerhogne Award as a national award, and the now defunct Camerhogne Folk Festival that attempted to revive the island’s disappearing folk traditions. All of these are overshadowed by Carib Beer, the most popular beer in the southern Caribbean and made at the Carib Brewery in Grand Anse that can be found at every bar and restaurant across Grenada. For most, these are the enduring visible resonance of indigeneity in Grenada.

Despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the tale of extinction still dominates the narrative of the Kali’nago and Kali’na on Camáhogne (and the region) as the distant memory of the nocturnal ambush and massacre at Caribs’ Leap or Leapers’ Hill, Sauteurs permeates our consciousness in a reoccurring nightmare played out for the past three centuries and more (Bubb 2017; Martin 2013; Newton 2014; Scoon 2013; see also Strecker 2016).¹⁴ It is a tale

¹⁴ Though at least 40 Indigenous men were killed/died that evening, it was not the end of their population as is repeatedly (mis)written (see Brizan 1998; Devas 1975; controversial Leapers’ Hill Monument at Sauteurs). There is ample evidence to the contrary, including census data that recorded an Indigenous population on Grenada between 1683 and 1735 (ANOM 1669-1755; Labat 2005[1722]; Martin 2013). The author insists that despite the overwhelming recording of this incident as “communal suicide”/“mass suicide” by many (Brizan 1998; Franklyn 1992; Honychurch 2002; Lieberman 2005; McQueen 2002), beginning with Anonyme[Bresson] (1975)[1659] and Du Tertre (1665), and reflected in “The Jumpers” implied in the “Le Morne des Sauteurs” designation, the Leapers’ Hill incident was an ambush attack that resulted in a precipitous “jump.” It was not a coordinated act of defiance or the choice of death in the face of colonial persecution/death and domination as are

we tell each other, our children, our grandchildren, and all who visit the forlorn hill overlooking the small bay where the persistent crashing waves continuously whitewash genocide. It is the sadness, the feeling of loss, the sense of injustice, and the anger that daily accost visitors to the site, but also the belief that this surreal memory must be kept alive. This tale of massacre is one told across the region, and despite the belief that Leapers' Hill may only be an allegory, an Anansi story told since our time began, it, like the others, are symbolic of the genocidal violence perpetuated against the Kali'nago (and Kali'na) on Grenada and across the region by European invasion and colonization.¹⁵ Thus, the retelling of the tale over, and over, and over because this tale needs to be revisited, told from new perspectives, enhanced using technologies that shine light on darkened, hidden histories, nuanced with the view of the cultural landscape that renders new interpretations of the old narratives in the light of day.¹⁶

Caribs' Leap is not an ending, it never was! It is the beginning of Grenada's founding mythscape, and as Roberts (1971:55) muses, it "is material for the as yet unwritten epic poetry of the Caribbean" (see Huggins 2015; Walcott 1993, 1990, 1986). It is a "site of conscience" where a ghostly eternal flame illuminates the darkness that loomed over the hill in the fading light of day that May evening in 1650 when armed French settlers violently ambushed Kali'nago and Kali'na men "drinking their wine and feasting," with the sole intent to eradicate them from the settlement landscape (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]:20; Martin 2013). Leapers' Hill remains a monument to their resistance and survival despite the overwhelming odds of European "guns, germs and steel."¹⁷ It commemorates the memories of a people whose faded languages keep us connected like a string of words on finger-worn

often repeated in the literature (Bell 1889; Honychurch 2002). And as Lowenthal (1972:184) suggests, this myth is in keeping with the noble savage romanticized stereotype that "Indians preferred death to loss of liberty." The "jump" off Leapers' Hill was an attempt at escape and survival not destruction that the French embellished to elevate their own victory and mask their genocidal act, though it has earned the Kali'nago (and Kali'na) our admiration and praise ever since (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Newton 2014).

¹⁵ The stories of massacres abound across the Eastern Caribbean, embedded in the landscape as toponyms like Bloody Point, St. Kitts (1626), Massacre, Marie Galante (1636), Leapers' Hill, Grenada (1650), Rocher du Tombeau des Caraïbes, Martinique (c1654-60), Massacre, Dominica (1674), Massacre, Anse-la-Raye, St. Lucia (unknown), Point Radix, Trinidad (1699), and Balliceaux island, St. Vincent (1796). See Finneran and Welch (2020) for a detailed analysis of Balliceaux.

An Anansi story, based on the Ghanaian god and folk-spider tales, is defined in Grenada as an unbelievable/made-up story.

¹⁶ Leapers' Hill, Sauteurs should be made a "Site of Conscience" for Grenada, the Caribbean and the world in recognition of the humanity of the Kali'nago and Kali'na in the face of genocide and the malicious branding of cannibalism. The current monument should be redone, even relocated to the more appropriate site, to represent the Kali'nago and Kali'na more accurately, with its Christian cross anathema to their continuous struggles against European colonization, attempts at religious conversion, and ethnic cleansing. See also Bubb (2017). Maybe "Sites of Conscience" should be designated for the entire Eastern Caribbean. See footnote 15 above.

¹⁷ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fate of Human Societies* (Norton, 1997).

prayer beads. Their named places ground us in our identity, their cultural knowledge of this islandscape informs our heritage, lets us celebrate Grenadian heritage, and keep their memories in the Camáhogne landscape alive. And as Nobel Laureate poet Derek Walcott (1986:281) commiserates, “I leap for the pride of that race at Sauteurs! An urge more than mine, so, see them as heroes or as the Gadarene swine.”

6.2 Plantations, Priests and Place Names: Situating the French at the Rupture of the Modern Grenadian Landscape

“Grenada... experienced little development during the seventeenth century.... Early colonizing attempts failed in the face of successful Carib attacks, internal divisions among the settlers, and the brutal tyranny of the island’s owner. However, with no real incentives, continuing conflict, and little capital, agriculture developed slowly.... Grenada was left to grow on its own.”

James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas* (2004:59-60)

Despite their relatively short occupation, despite their subsequent defeat and expulsion (of the French government) by the invading British (on two occasions), and despite the continuous dwindling of their population and thus political influences as a result of emigration (due to conquest) and finally Fédon’s Rebellion (1795-6), the French have a visible lingering impression on Grenada’s cultural landscape as the island’s first European colonizer (Brizan 1998; La Grenade-Lashley 2016; Martin 2013). Unlike the Kali’na and Kali’nago whose Grenada narrative is one of “extinction” (at the hands of the French, nonetheless), the story of the French in Grenada is one of patrimony and identity (Chase and Chase 2011; Joseph 2012; La Grenade-Lashley 2016).¹⁸ That legacy is probably no more noticeable than in the incongruous French Tricolor once flown over Fort George in recent memory, the island’s oldest built structure crafted by enslaved hands under French design as Fort Royal (Figure 6.10).¹⁹ After just over a century of French invasion, settlement, colonial occupation and

¹⁸ This is blatantly illustrated by a monument dedicated to the 1649 (incorrectly recorded as 1650) French settlement of Grenada, with no mention of the demise of the Indigenous residents at the hands of the invading French, or the controversial monument at Leapers’ Hill, Sauteurs that appears to fault them for their extermination, not the French!

¹⁹ The flag of Grenada’s most recent colonial ruler, Britain, also flew over Fort George, as does the Grenada national flag, but recently, because of the lack of replacements, both the British and French flags have been absent above Fort George.

establishment of plantation slavery, the Grenada island landscape retains a lingering *je ne sais quoi*? French Creole flavor that is most discernable in its political map (replete with French-derived toponyms), its Catholicism that remains the faith of about half of the population, the reimagining of its (vanquished) French Creole or *Patwa*, folklore, carnival, and of course its convoluted genealogies (Chase and Chase 2011; Joseph 2012; La Grenade-Lashley 2016). The legacy, identity and expressions that derive from the French *Ancien Régime* colonial culture, however, is fraught with ambivalence, constantly contested, and its acceptance nuanced.

Like the Kali'nago and Kali'na before them, the French remain essential to the story of who we were and who we are as they are the scion violently grafted onto cannibalized (Indigenous) roots that birthed by cesarean our modern Grenadian landscape. Theirs is the violence of conquest that brought about the destruction and demise of Grenada's Indigenous peoples and defiled the landscape with the blasphemy of genocide. Theirs are the designs that appropriated, dissected and divided the island from itself into pieces to create the colonial landscape, to furnish the colonial enterprise. Theirs is the exploitative production that birthed chattel slavery in the Grenada landscape, desecrating their own perception of paradise. Theirs



Figure 6.3: 17th/18th-century Fort George commandeering the town of St. George's today as it did when it was built by the French as Fort Royal after 1668 (photo by the Author)

are the words that fashioned the first language that gave voice to disparate vernaculars to rename and possess this island landscape, and to voice pain, sorrows and celebrations. Theirs are

the religious beliefs that camouflaged forbidden African spirituality, and tenaciously cling to the landscape despite a contradictory and oppressive colonial past. Theirs are the celebrations that inspired the most creative expressions of cultural arts and folkloric beliefs. Theirs are the names that we call ourselves and complicate the search through a labyrinth of uncomfortable genealogies. And theirs are the names of places, flora and fauna that rebirthed this contested island in their domineering colonial image that still reverberates today.

The French, as the first European colonizer of Grenada, laid the foundations of our modern Grenadian society—plantations, road network, ports and harbors, parishes/districts, and hamlets and towns (built mostly by enslaved labor) (Figure 2.7, 5.9). Enveloping the island as they quickly ascended the steep hillsides from their coastal origins, plantations divided and subdivided the Indigenous island landscape, transforming it into a new geography that emphasized individually owned plots over communal spaces, boundaries over open forests, dammed rivers and streams over unrestrained courses, and fields of sugar cane, indigo, coffee and cocoa over tropical forests and *conucos*. The plantation became the physical manifestation of the elaborate colonial enterprise initiated by the French that dominated the economic, social and political life of the islands across three centuries (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013). This infrastructural development was a consequence of the larger goal of creating a plantation system exploiting enslaved Africans as laborers to produce export crops for European markets, thus initiating and expanding a domineering global economic system that created the current world system that held the Caribbean islands central to a vast web of connections across the Atlantic Ocean (Wallerstein 1992; Williams 1942). Three and a half centuries on, the impact of what the French initiated is quite discernable across the Grenadian landscape (Martin 2022; Martin and Thompson 2020).

Much of the public infrastructure like fortifications (for example Fort George) and much of the road network that circumnavigates the island today were designed and built by the French using the *corvée* system of conscripting enslaved labor to create access to plantations, carry off the produce for export, and move militia and troops around in times of need to protect and defend the enterprise (Martin 2013). This road network, like today, was essential to the development of Grenada via the expansion of the plantation system and created supply routes to the anchorages and harbors that became ports built to accommodate the growing plantation economy. The French created parishes or districts for more efficient sub-regional administration, including religious centers and local militia companies for security, and established hamlets that centralized business and commerce; most of these also functioned as

port towns (Martin 2013). By the mid-1700s these developments were reflected in geographical representations like that of Romain's (1749[1743]) *Carte de l'isle de la Grenade* (Figure 2.5). When the British captured the island in 1762, the French had successfully created an infrastructural base to support their colonial enterprise and seen in the survey by Jean-Baptiste Pinel and the *Plan de l'isle de la Grenade* (see Figure 2.7) (Jeffreys 1775; Scott 1763). Many of these structures are still in place today, much of them in use as essential to the economic, social, and political structure of an independent Grenada (Figure 6.11). But probably the most visible representation of French infrastructure on the island, Fort George (formerly Fort Royal), is the home of the Royal Grenada Police Force, continuing its dominance over the Grenada cityscape much as it did when it was first constructed under the French in the 17th and 18th centuries, and enhanced by the British in the 19th century to serve as the central military and later police command over this dominated and policed islandscape (Jessamy 1998; Martin 2013; McBarnette 2014).²⁰

As the Kali'nago inhabited the Camáhogne islandscape and (re)made it in their image, so too the invading French following their settlement of the island and the violent displacement of the Indigenous population. It began almost immediately upon their arrival in March 1649, but it was not until eighteen years into their occupation that the French drew their first map of the island, *L'Isle de la Grenade* by François Blondell (1667), illustrating the changed polity in such a short space of time (see Figure 2.6). The planimetric map does not reveal much except for the coastal settlements, with most of the island's interior a blank space, an indication of their lack of knowledge of the Indigenous-controlled and rendered islandscape (see Figure 2.6) (Blondell 1667b).²¹ This map, however, marked the beginning of the French official territorial claim to this tiny, isolated island, with the preponderance of French toponyms at sites identified by "small houses," especially in their parts of the island occupied along the western coast. Murphy (2018, 2021) adds that representation of the small buildings on the map attest to the imposition of French administration and religion (see Hutchinson 2021). The French naming and representing on maps of the rivers, streams and bays across the island would result in the dominance of French-derived toponyms then, throughout British colonization, and even today (Figure 6.4). Blondel's map records what appears to be several

²⁰ There are current plans, funded by the World Bank, to restore the 17th/18th century Fort George solely as a visitor attraction (INES 2019), thus forcing the removal of the Police Station by the end of 2023 to a more appropriate location.

²¹ It is an intriguing map in that north is orientated south, an anomaly that would be repeated on maps of Grenada until 1748, with "Latitude S[outh] 12 D" recorded on the map rather than north of the equator, but that remains a mystery (Dunnigan and Pedley 1997; Martin 2013).

Indigenous toponyms, especially in the places that were inhabited by them in the north, east and southeast, but French place names were already more common in these Indigenous-occupied areas as represented on the French map of Camáhogne that they had since (re)christened La Grenade, signifying the island's redesign as a conquered space, a colonial space, familiarizing the former Indigenous space in their image of their own far-off origins (Hutchinson 2021).

That colonial conflicts were threatening the region and becoming more widespread are the primary reason for the French rendering a map of this frontier colony where it had but a tenuous foothold at best (Martin 2013). Today, many of the toponyms rendered by the French in the 17th and 18th centuries are captured on Blondel's *L'Isle de la Grenade* and Romain's (1749[1743]) *Carte de l'isle de la Grenade*, and became institutionalized following Pinel's survey and *Plan de l'isle de la Grenade* (Scott 1763; Jefferys 1772), Gavin Smith's (1801) *Map of the Island of Grenada* with few translations, and on the current official topographical map of the island (Figure 5.22) (DOS 1985; Wesche 1961). French toponyms have held on tenaciously despite the subsequent two centuries-long British occupation of Grenada and expulsion of French governance. French was the first colonial language of Grenada, and it was used to name and dominate the Indigenous landscape, renaming it, and still quite evident today. Wesche (1961:92), in her study of place names in Grenada, concludes that "The old French names have shown remarkable durability in the face of two centuries of English political dominance." Wesche (1961) found that of the 387 toponyms on the 1961 official DOS map of Grenada, French names (including some translated from French to English) made up 58 percent, while English names were only 39 percent even after two centuries of dominance. Anywhere you go in Grenada you will encounter French-era derived toponyms, with clusters in specific parts of the island (Figure 6.4) (Wesche 1961). Wesche (1961:92) adds that "almost all of the old French names that were lost disappeared during the first thirty-odd years of British possession" when there were conflicts between the "Old" and "New" British subjects (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994).

The primary reasons for the survival of French toponyms have been the naming of the physical landscape like rivers, streams, lakes and bays, their recording on maps and official documents like land deeds, and the dominance of the French language between 1649 and the late 1700s. But it is probably the French Creole or *Patwa* spoken among the enslaved and peasantry into the 1930s that played the most persistent role, illustrating their agency in "fashioning" the Grenada islandscape (Joseph 2012, 2020; La Grenade-Lashley 2016; Martin

2013, 2022). As such, French had a strong presence even after the conquest of the island by the British as a large number of French planters remained on the island, and the French Creole-speaking enslaved dominated the population and influenced the newly arrived captives from Africa.

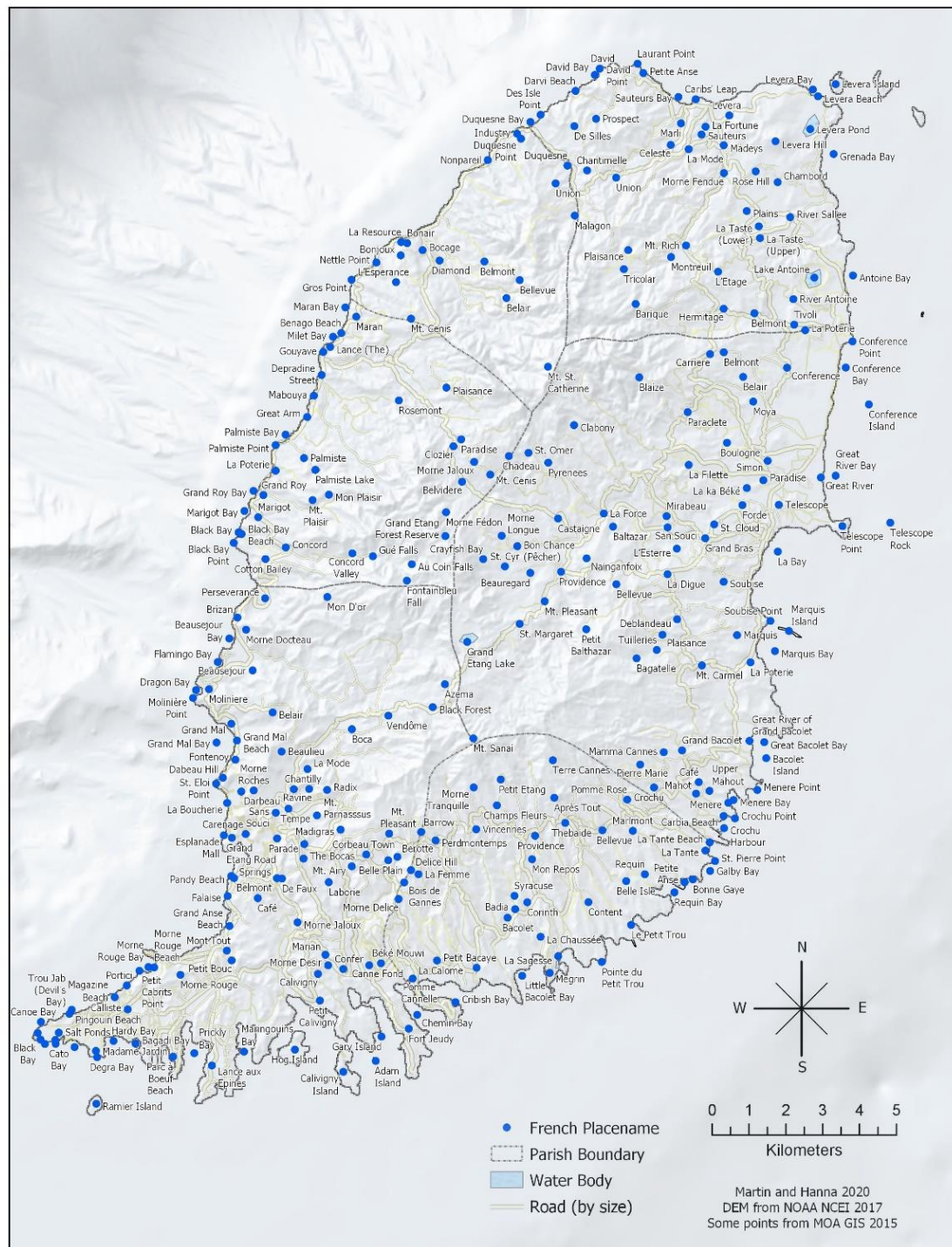


Figure 6.4A: French-era derived place names in Grenada today, including several Indigenous names (Martin and Hanna 2020)

French gradually disappeared from Grenada with the imposition of the British, the emigration of French residents from the island, and finally with their defeat following Fédon's Rebellion. Their influence slowly diminished after many were deported or departed from the island, and those who remained made efforts to assimilate by Anglicizing their names, some sending their children to school in the UK, and speaking English instead of French. Finally, they became proper "New Subjects" as the British had envisioned when they captured Grenada in 1762, though it took almost a century of contestation and violence to achieve (Brizan 1998; Gonzalez 1994; Steele 2003).

The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, built beginning in the early 19th century (to replace the chapel confiscated by the British on the site of the present Anglican Church) with additions in the 20th century and repairs in the 21st century following damage from Hurricane Ivan, sits at the center of Church Street and the top of St. John's Street in St. George's. It stands as a dominant symbol of the cultural triumph of French religious influences on the island centuries after their departure and despite the decades of persecution by the British. This imposing structure is the largest church on the island, and the most prominent of some 59 churches and chapels across the islands that cater to a plurality of the population who remain adherents to the island's first European-imposed Christian faith; estimated between 40-50 percent today (2017). The Catholic Church also administers 26 primary and five secondary schools, initially catering primarily to the children of its congregation, thus continuing its religious instruction and dominance. The island celebrates several annual Catholic (or Christian) festivals, having initiated many in the early years of occupation, some of which are national holy days/holidays today, including Good Friday, Easter Monday, Whit Monday, Fisherman's Birthday, Corpus Christy, All Saints' day, and of course Christmas.

Roman Catholicism, brought to Grenada by the French after 1649 and institutionalized among the majority enslaved population since the late 1600s with the *Code Noire* or Black Code (1685), remains the leading Christian faith (Brizan 1997, 2001; Cornelius 2020; Devas 1932, 1974; Martin 2013). Once embedded among the enslaved, it continued to be a primary part of their lives even after Emancipation, along with syncretic belief practices (where the enslaved and peasantry also found accommodation of their African-derived beliefs within Catholicism), remaining faithful despite its seemingly incongruence and persecution of the Church by the British protestant government (Cornelius 2020; Devas 1932; Polk 1993). It was the Grenadian peasantry, the descendants of the enslaved, and free coloureds who were most responsible for the strong survival of Catholicism and its dominance across the religious

landscape, despite the arrival of many other Christian denominations over the years that continue to slowly syphon off its faithful (Brizan 1997, 1998; Cornelius 2020; Steele 2003).

The annual carnival, Grenada's largest and most popular cultural festival, is a celebration of undeniable French Caribbean cultural and religious influences in the Creole landscape.²² Carnival, originating in the Catholic Church's annual calendar, was sanctioned as a way of ridding oneself of the "sins of the flesh," particularly preceding the holy period of Easter when personal sacrifices were expected of the faithful as they entered a period of penitence. Almost every event around (traditional) carnival derives from these French influences even though it was rudimentary at best during their occupation of the island. However, it were the embeddedness of Catholic beliefs, rituals and French *Patwa* among the peasantry that recreated itself annually in the masquerades. The street carnival, as we know it today, was developed primarily by the African-descent population (and free coloureds/blacks) in the post-Emancipation period, showing their agency in fashioning the Grenadian cultural landscape from their (French and British) colonial and African memories and cultural creativity exemplified by *Canboulay* (<FrCr *canne brûlées* "cane burning") celebrations.

The masquerade of *Djab-Molassie*,²³ evolving into today's popular *Djab-Djab*, is probably the most evocative of the connections between Catholicism and carnival.²⁴ The enslaved, indoctrinated in Catholicism as mandated by the *Code Noir* since the late 17th century, was instilled with the fear of the devil and hell as a means of psychological control. That traumatic indoctrination would later be reenacted, possibly to dispel the disconcerting fear,

²² The celebrations of carnival in the French islands (i.e. Guadeloupe and Martinique) and the former French colonies of Dominica, St. Domingue (Haiti), Grenada, St. Lucia, and the influence of French Creole settlers in Trinidad attest to these historical and ongoing connections between Catholicism and carnival in the Caribbean. Also pertains to the former Spanish (Catholic) colonies like Cuba, Santo Domingo and Mexico.

²³ *Djab-Molassie* (<FrCr: *diable*: "devil" + *Mélasse*: "molasses") or "Molasses Devil" was daubed in a gooey mix of molasses and "coals dust" (crushed charcoal), which stuck to the skin, thus creating the desired shiny blackened appearance. *Djab-Molassie*, believed transferred to Trinidad by the mid-1800s, is still celebrated there under its original name though it has adopted the vestments of the current Grenadian *Djab-Djab* (daubed in used/old oil, or grease and charcoal), and also morphed into its popular *Blue-Devils*. Its named *Djab-Djab*, however, is a mélange of Grenada's *Shakespeare Mas*' and *Shortknee* in both costume and characteristics. They are iterations of the "Devil Mas'" across the region, particularly Catholic-dominant countries, and clearly visible in all of their sometime accoutrements like horns, tail, trident/fork or whip, fire, chains, black-covered skin, and even wings. (see Riggio et al. 2015). Any connections between the *Djab-Djab* and African memories is nuanced, visible in its movements and rhythms, as well as the drumming associated with it.

²⁴ The other traditional masquerade that illustrates this connection is the *Veko* (<FrCr: ?*vieux croix*: "old cross"), historically interpreted as deriving from the battle between good (church) and evil (devil) that is personified in the "priest" with his crucifix forcing the "devil" into a coffin. Based on Winer (2009:931), however, the *Veko* (<FrCr: ?*veille croix*: "wake cross"/"cross wake") probably derives from the Catholic religious ceremony of the reenactment of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The maypole, another traditional mas', may have arrived in Grenada via the Anglican Church as part of its annual harvest celebrations and the crowning of the May Queen/Queen of May, the personification of May Day (and also associated with the Virgin Mary). But it became secular and found its place as a carnival masquerade, but is now fading away.

with a sense of mockery, joviality and even irony, in the grotesque personification of the fear-inducing blackened devil as it made its annual excursion from hell to remind Grenadians of its power to create fear and loathing; it would only “return to hell” if it was paid to do so, or it would threaten to daub you if you refused (Martin 2022). Though it has evolved from its religious origins, it nonetheless retains the core element of its original Christian manifestation of the devil through its horns and chains, blood-red lips and black, glistening body, but personified in its current popular expression of rebellion, freedom, resistance and black pride.



Figure 6.4B: Djab-Djab masqueraders on Jouvay morning, Carnival, 2018 (courtesy Arthur Daniel)

The traditional carnival celebrations began with *Canboulay* on Sunday night when celebrants gathered around bonfires to watch stick-fighting or *batonnier* (<FrCr *bâtonner*: “to beat with a stick”).²⁵ It would later adapt the *Dimanche Gras* show of fancy costumes and calypso monarch competitions that derived primarily from Trinidad where early French settlers and their enslaved from Grenada had migrated since the late 1700s, bringing their carnival celebrations with them to the fledgling Spanish colony (Gill 2014). From there, everyone joins the early morning street celebrations of *Jouvay* (<FrCr *J’ouvert*< Fr *le jour est ouvert*: “the beginning of the day”), with masquerades of *Djab-Djab*, and “old mas”, with

²⁵ Canboulay, a pre-Emancipation celebration, became a central part of the celebrations of freedom that occurred in August each year and would transfer to the carnival celebrations later on.

Shortknee, Veko, Shakespeare Mas‘ and the now defunct *Paywo Grenade* dancing to the musical accompaniment of the once-common *Tamboo-Bamboo* and animal-skin drums, now fading steel drums and the more popular, dominant, and booming DJ music (Carr 1956; Crowley 1956; Hill 1985; Martin 2022; Payne 1990). That is fete!

Genealogies are complex and oftentimes difficult to decipher and understand, especially so in the case of Grenada (and the Caribbean) with its Creole society that developed from diverse and multiethnic roots under often involuntary and harsh conditions of genocide, slavery, colonialism and indentureship (Brizan 1998; Grannum 2002). The French, despite their long departure from Grenada, continue to be represented on a very personal level centuries after their government was forced to leave and many of them gradually followed (Martin 2013, 2022). Nowhere is this more noticeable than in names, particularly family names of Grenadians, some of which date as far back as the 18th century (Martin 2020a). It is clear from a review of Grenadian surnames that a noticeable number are derived from French names, the most common being French male first names that were converted to surnames when the ex-enslaved needed to create family names in the post-Emancipation period (Forebears 2014; Martin 2020a). Despite the popular belief that most Grenadian surnames today are derived from white plantation/slave owners’ family names (like in America), it is evident that many enslaved used their given (and only) names to create their family names, in some cases French first names that they bore at the time of Emancipation (Martin 2020a).²⁶ The majority of French-derived family names (roughly 65 percent), however, existed before the end of slavery and were present since the mid- to late 18th century as family names and held by people of French and African ancestry, and also known as “free coloureds” or mixed race.²⁷ Most of these names did not appear on Slave Registers as enslaved names, but rather by owners of enslaved. Thus today, at least 13 percent of Grenadian surnames are derived from French names, with only a small percentage directly connected to French genealogy, but nonetheless, to French cultural legacy (Martin 2020a).

Grenadian folk culture is replete with a rich diversity of folkloric characters that roam the islandscape, especially at night, creating fear and causing mythical mayhem to those who

²⁶ This is not the case across the region as individual islands, even within the same colonial government, found different solutions to the problem of allocating names to hundreds of thousands of formerly enslaved. See also Burton (1999) and Handler (1996).

²⁷ The involuntary (i.e. rape) and voluntary mixing of enslaved/free black and coloured women with (“powerful”) white men resulted in a growing population and new class within the slave society that was connected to the white ruling class and the enslaved in complex and nuanced relationships that often defied classification (see Cox 1984; Handler 1974).

dare occupy their nocturnal spaces. Most of these characters bear French or *Patwa* names, either illustrating their long habitation of the landscape, and/or the depth of these languages among the majority enslaved and later peasantry. Though the exact origins of many of these characters are not always readily discernable, they appear to possess diverse origins and combine characteristics from African, French, British and Indigenous folk traditions, today creating a Creole amalgam or synergism that can only be recognized as Grenadian (or sometimes Caribbean). It is possible to find a folk character with a French or *Patwa* name, but with West African and Indigenous characteristics, or other unrecognizable influences. For example, the folk spirit called the *Dwenn* has a possible Spanish-derived name, but combines African-derived, specifically Akan characteristics of the *Mmoatia*, and Christian beliefs pertaining to unbaptized death as it roams across the Grenadian landscape (Martin 2022). Oftentimes, it is difficult to separate the individual components per origin, but it is clear that French culture, imposed during slavery, influenced the creation, naming and even characteristics of folk spirits like the *Lajablesse*, *Soucouyant*, *Mama Maladie*, *Mama Glo*, *Dwenn* and *Papa Bwa* that less and less roam Grenada's nocturnal spaces as their apparitions slowly disappear into the palimpsest landscape as Grenadian children create novel stories, heavily influenced by new technologies and visual arrivals across cyberspace (Martin 2022).

Like the folkloric landscape, the “natural” landscape still reflects French influences with a noticeable number of French names of plants and animals (Groome 1970; Hawthorne et al. 2004; Martin 2022). Though some of these names are derived or influenced by Indigenous names, many are either French or a combination of French and English. These French or *Patwa* names illustrate how long ago these were named as the Indigenous landscape was transformed by the French in the mid-17th and early 18th centuries and the survival of *Patwa* among the enslaved and peasantry. Again, this was due to the dominance of *Patwa* among the majority enslaved and peasant population who retained or reinforced the French influences in naming the physical landscape despite their policed and presumed absence of agency. It was their telling and retelling of the stories and experiences of their geography that created and perpetuated the French-era fashioned landscape that still resonates today.

The legacy of the French in Grenada remains a significant part of the Grenada islandscape 250 years after they were unceremoniously routed by the British as the dominant European colonizer (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013). But it is that fact of their initial colonization and destruction of the Indigenous population and subsequent institutionalization of chattel slavery that makes their legacy across Grenada so profound, painful, debated, despised by some, and

questioned by others, yet celebrated by many. Though that legacy has diminished with the disappearance of *Patwa* as recent generations have looked elsewhere for their cultural influences, there is, however, a nostalgia for things French or French Creole when Grenadians search for identity in their constantly changing cultural landscape (Joseph 2012, 2020; La Grenade-Lashley 2016). There is a certain pride that quite a few Grenadians take in affirming their real and imagined connections to French ancestry and heritage, especially by those who possess French-derived family names, and thus a cultural uniqueness in the Grenada islandscape. Because more of it is readily identifiable there is a tendency to reach out and embrace it without due diligence.²⁸ And no one even questioned the rational for or the incongruence of the French Tricolor that recently nervously fluttered in the wind above Fort George and its contested legacy centuries after French governances was displaced from Grenada.

6.3 Anansi Stories, Nation Dance and Saraka: Uncovering Representations and Memory-Traces of Western Africa in the Grenadian Landscape

*“There is more in the mortar than the pestle.”*²⁹

*“One day, One day, Congotay!”*³⁰

Sayings/proverbs derived from the African experiences in Grenada

The first (enslaved) Africans arrived in Grenada by at least the late 1500s, brought by the Kali’nago and Kali’na as captives along with Europeans they abducted from the Spanish and Portuguese in South America (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013; Moreau 1992).³¹

²⁸ A case in point is the monument in the Lagoon, St. George’s to the French in recognition of their successful settlement of Grenada in 1649 (which is incorrect in stating 1650), with no mention of the fact that their arrival led directly to the destruction of Camáhogne’s Indigenous population (see Martin 2013).

²⁹ A Grenadian (and Caribbean) proverb or saying, most likely derived from West Africa as the actual mortar and pestle that accompanied it, meaning “There is more to this than meets the eye.” Often used when it is believed that there is something deeper or hidden than what is said or seen on the surface, usually nefarious in nature. In this case, however, it is a reference to the many and diverse African cultural memories still embedded in the Grenadian landscape that are often overlooked or remain masked under the umbrella of folk or traditional culture and/or the overall Creole culture (Allsopp 1998).

³⁰ This expression, often voiced by someone who feels oppressed/taken advantage of, is a warning that their day will eventually come, they will have justice no matter how long it takes. *Congotay/congatay* has several meanings, including a porridge for infants made from pounded dried plantains/green bananas deriving from *kokonté* (Ga-Adanme for sun-dried cassava flour) (Allsopp 1998), and, as in this saying, “One day will be Congo’s day,” with reference to the African/black, from Congo, getting his due eventually (Winer 2009).

³¹ The relationship between enslaved Africans and the Indigenous population on Grenada has not received any attention to date, often conflated with similar relations in neighboring islands. There are, however, several

It is not until the 1660s, however, that the French brought appreciable numbers of Africans (and Creoles from Martinique) as enslaved laborers, thus initiating chattel slavery in Grenada. By the 1690s captive Africans and their Creole descendants accounted for over fifty percent and dominated the population thereafter (ANOM 1669-1755; Martin 2013; Pritchard 2004). At least 129,000 captives from across West and West-Central Africa were transported to Grenada in the period of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and African indenture³² (Eltis and Richardson 2010; Martin 2013; Steele 2003), and their impact on the Grenada islandscape was immense despite misrepresentations to the contrary. Because they were condemned as “hewers of wood and drawers of water,”³³ it was widely propagated that they made no contributions to the Grenadian landscape, this landscape they inhabited and bore the pain of their enslavement, this landscape they toiled for much of their lives and sustained them invariably for generations. Notwithstanding the determined efforts and continuous prohibitions (legal and otherwise) by the colonial state and established churches to destroy all forms of African cultural practices, beliefs and memories the enslaved and their descendants made their presence felt in the cultural landscape (Brizan 1998; Carney and Rosomoff 2009; Goucher 2014; Martin 2022). Captive Africans and their enslaved descendants transformed and altered the Grenada islandscape in diverse and multiple ways in the course of their heroic struggles to survive the deathtrap that was slavery and to make their lives bearable (see Carney and Rosomoff 2009; George 2018; Schiebinger 2017). Their legacy is probably no more visible than in the overwhelming numbers of their descendants who constitute the majority of Grenada’s thriving Creole population today, with their African *memory-traces* embedded in that Creole landscape. And for the two centuries that they were held as enslaved and indentured laborers, Africans’ impact on the Grenadian landscape shine through today in its Creole culture, beautifully embedded in its cuisine, folk traditions, dance, rhythms,

reports of Kali’nago enslaving Africans or engaging in trading captives since the late 1500s: in 1593 an African reportedly escaped from his captors (Moreau 1992); c1614 de Cardona (1974:36) reported that he “took out two black women that were their prisoners and had had their ears amputated and their nostrils perforated to mark them as slaves”; in 1657, after a raid on the Kali’nago village at Duquesne, the French reported that “We won there only four blacks” (i.e. enslaved) (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]:145); in 1658 the French reported abducting two blacks who they found in the forest escaping from their Kali’nago owners (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]:160); and in 1691 the French, despite a 1683 ordinance forbidding trade in slaves with the Kali’nago, “allowed a unique slave trade [to spring] up temporarily on Grenada between the French and Carib Indians, who brought slaves from South America” (Martin 2013; Pritchard 2005:219).

³² Several thousand captive Africans were transported from Grenada and sold elsewhere in the region, but thousands were also brought there in like fashion, neither of which were systemically recorded. So the actual numbers of total Africans brought to and remained in Grenada are unknown, but are still probably in the range of 130,000 to 150,000. (see Brizan 1998; Martin 2013).

³³ A Biblical reference often used to justify the enslavement of Africans. In full, “Now therefore, you are cursed, and you shall never cease being slaves, both hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God” (*New American Standard Bible*, Joshua 9:21).

language, proverbs and sayings, celebrations, spiritual beliefs, forms of association, agriculture, and of course, overwhelmingly, genealogies (Benitez-Rojo 2003; Brierley 1974; Brizan 1998; Collins 2010; George 2018, 2020; Hill 1977, 1980, 2002; Joseph 2015, 2021; McDaniel 1998; Martin 2016, 2021; Steele 2003; Warner-Lewis 1991, 2003).

The story of (captive) Africans and their descendants in Grenada remains at the core of the narrative of who we were and who we are as their descendants are the predominant heirs to the Grenada island landscape, having triumphantly risen from decimated Indigenous roots, forcibly grafted onto dominant European colonial foundations, yet sustained by their suppressed African memories to (re)assemble Grenadian society from “shattered histories” (Walcott 1992). They are the poets of (oral) languages birthed from many tongues to voice their harrowing stories of survival as resistance. They are the makers and cultivators of provision gardens that fed a nation of malnourished bodies and starved appetites. They are the artists of the cultural landscape where music, dance, tales, folk spirits and lore congregated in the moonlight to brighten, lift and mend brutalized bodies and spirits. They are the exploited builders of roads, harbors, buildings, and fortifications that earned no reparations for their sweat, blood and toil (hence the current demands for reparative justice by their descendants). They are the exploited laborers who manufactured incalculable wealth that created personal fortunes for many (still seen today across the British and French countryside), and built foreign cities (like London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Providence and Bordeaux), but left them and their descendants destitute in this paradisiacal island landscape that today caters to tourists from these same cities seeking the stereotypical sea, sand and sun. They are the maligned (Obeah) priests whose bush medicines, remedies and incantations quenched thirsting souls and ailing bodies. They are the rebellious few who roamed the forested interior defiantly while marooned on inaccessible mountaintops (like *Bwa Neg Mawon* in St. John). Theirs are the fragmented genealogies meticulously profiled for their DNA fingerprints that can connect to (re)imagined or long lost identities. But above all, they are the ones who survived through their sheer resilience and adaptability to inherit, to fashion, to contest, and to celebrate the Grenadian Creole landscape that abounds today, and which they continually (re)fashion in evolving their changing identities.

Unravelling the story of African representations and *memory-traces* in the Grenada island landscape is one that can be told through diverse narratives, but we must begin with words. These few words, as Warner-Lewis (2003:xxii) insists, are especially important as “the survival and/or continued use of even one lexical item in the West Atlantic location is

evidence of an integral link, at some point in time, between the particular ethnolinguistic group—or even one individual of this group—and the practice and belief to which the term relates.” Warner-Lewis (2003:xxii) adds that “even one word can become a doorway to a treasure trove of facts and emotions and histories....” The current Grenadian idiom retains several words and phrases that directly connect Grenada (and Carriacou) to West and West-Central Africa—Grenada to Ghana (former Gold Coast), Sierra Leone, Nigeria (with ports Bonny and Old Calaba), Congo and Angola, and to the Asanti, Ibo, Yoruba, Temne, Kongo and other peoples who were forcibly brought to these shores literally stripped bare (Martin 2022). Except for their words that kept stories of folk tales and lore, songs that kept melodies of music, feet that kept rhythms of dance, tongues that kept tastes of foods, hands that recalled farming and building practices, and memories that retained immense knowledge of beliefs and even the hope of return. Words and phrases repeated over and over that carried through generation after generation, almost unrecognizable today as part of Grenada’s Creole culture, through its faded *Patwa*, and as part of Grenada’s prevalent English Creole (Allsopp 1996; Chase and Chase 2011; Francis 2016; Joseph 2012, 2021; La Grenade-Lashley 2016; Martin 2022).

Like a multilingual word cloud of misspelled expressions handed down orally for generations (Figure 6.5), we instinctively repeat: A for *aki* (*akee*), *Ackee* (family name), *agadee*, *akara*, *Anansi*, *Arada*, *asham*, *assonoo*, B for *bakra*, *bam-bam*, *banana*, *béké*, *benne*, *boli*, *bongo* (*drum*); C for *cocobé*, *calalu*, *congatay*, *congo* (*drum*), *Congo* (*Town*) or (*Tous*) *Congo*, *Coromanti*, *cou-cou*, *Cudjoe*, *Cuffie*; *cutacoo*; D for *dada* (*hair*); E for *eddoe*, *Emanja*; F for *fu-fu*; G for *gang-gang*, *gungo-peas*, *gigiree*, *Guinea fowl*, *Guinea grass*, *Guinea-yam*; H for *Hausa*; I for *Ibo*; J for *jappa-jappa*, *jolla*, *jook*, *ju-ju*, *jumbi*; K for *kalinda*, *kata*, *kokoro*, *kongkongsa*, *Kongo*, *konkie*, *kunumunu*; M for *Majuba*, *moko*, *moko-jumbie*, *mumu*; N for *Nanci*-(*story*); O for *Obeah*, *obi* (*seed*), *okro*, *Ogun*, *Orisha*, *Oshun*; P for *pra-pra*; Q for *Quacko*, (*Mt.*) *QuaQua*, *Quamina*, *Quashie*; S for *salaka*, *seseme*, *Shango*, *shekere*, *sheshere*, *so-so*, *steups*, *susu*; T for *Tacoma*, *tote*, *toti*; W for *Wanga*, *were*; and Y for (*n*)*yampi*, *Yoruba*... as each is parsed in the hope of connecting to faded memories, histories and belonging (Figure 6.5) (Allsopp 1996; Avram 2014; Joseph 2021). These few words of foods, beliefs, personal names, and folk practices survived the dreadful journeys across the Middle Passage and the horrors of plantation slavery that set out to disconnect Africa from the Caribbean, Africans from their cultural landscape, people from their identities. These few words, however, provide faded links not just to Africa, but to connections to possible

ethnicities and the hope of a psychological, if not physical return to believed stolen origins (George 2018; Martin et al. 2016).

French Creole or *Patwa* (<Fr *patois*: “provincial dialect”) in Grenada, like the many Creoles across the region, was the creation of the enslaved as a means to communicate with each other across multiple African languages and dialects, and the French colonists who insisted on using their French language to converse with the multilingual enslaved population. According to Taylor (1963:812), the early enslaved may have brought with them an Afro-Portuguese pidgin popular across coastal West Africa that “provided the framework upon which subsequent West Indian pidgins and Creoles were built by a process of lexical replacement.” The importation of the initial enslaved to Grenada from the French Caribbean,



Figure 6.5: African-derived words in Grenada's English Creole as a word cloud

particularly Martinique, would have brought a French pidgin or *Patwa* with them, thus establishing it as the lingua franca across Grenada in the French period (Holbrook 2005). Despite its French *Patwa* name, however, and the overwhelming preponderance of French semantics and syntactic base, the enslaved utilized elements of their particular grammars, rhythms and inflections/tone, as well as words from their multiple African languages and dialects in creating an efficient means of communication over time (Allsopp 1996; Collins 1998; Warner-Lewis 1991, 2003). *Patwa*, a language born of necessity, became Grenada's first prevalent language spoken by the majority of its residents, including white French

colonists, especially after the beginning of the 18th century (Joseph 2012, 2021; La Grenade-Lashley 2016). Though the British would occupy Grenada after 1762, *Patwa* would remain the primary mode of communication for another century because it had become embedded in the cultural landscape.

Many British officials and commentators, quite biasedly, regarded *Patwa* in the most negative light, as if it was an evil unto itself. Regarding it as a barrier to their proselytizing, the Wesleyans would describe Grenadians as “almost entirely ignorant of the English language, having been so long accustomed to the barbarous Creole French” (“Constantine, Grenada” 1857). Bell (1889:46) insists that *Patwa* was “a most barbarous lingo and is formed of a jumble of French most vilely corrupted, mixed up with a few words of broken English” (see Mars [Passe] 1883 for an opposing view). Bell (1889:46) further implies that the *Patwa* popularly spoken across the island was the result of the deficiency of the enslaved, who despite being taught to speak French, could only render this vile form. As to its survival, even a century after British colonization, Bell (1889:46) concedes that the “negro and coloured population, however, remained much more French than English, and have stuck to the old ‘*patios*’ they had been taught on their importation into the island.” He nonetheless imputes French and Spanish Roman Catholic priests who upon arrival in Grenada learned *Patwa* in order to communicate with the majority Catholic population, despite concerted efforts by the British colonial government to eradicate it (Bell 1889). Though *Patwa* has disappeared from the cultural landscape as a form of communication (which would have pleased Bell and others), some of its vocabulary and structure have found their way into the English Creole that is Grenada’s prevalent lingua franca today as they both coexisted until the latter replaced the former (Ferreira and Holbrook 2011). Like the Kali’nago and Kali’na before them, locating traces of the enslaved in the Grenadian landscape can be explored through the labyrinth of *Patwa* (and French) and the widely spoken English Creole today, with some of their history and culture entombed in its words, phrases, intonations, and expressions still heard in Grenadian everyday speech (Chase and Chase 2012; Collins 1998; Joseph 2012, 2021; Martin 2022).

Plantation agriculture was the primary reason for the importation of tens of thousands of captive Africans and indentures to Grenada for almost two centuries. Despite the fact that they were overwhelmingly valued predominantly as field laborers, their contributions to the forced practice and production of export agriculture cannot be dismissed or devalued as it could not have happened/succeeded without their forced input of both skilled and unskilled

labor (Brizan 1998; Higman 1984). But it was their role in food production that was absolutely vital to the health and survival of the colony, and it is in agriculture—the plants they cultivated in provision gardens, in some of their garden practices, and even the tools used to produce the majority of food crops—where the imprint of captive Africans is still discernable in the agricultural landscape, but often goes unnoticed (Berleant-Schiller and Pulsipher 1986; Kopka 2013; Marshall 1993).

The “slave gardens” or “provision grounds” developed under the British from the earlier French plantation gardens that were required by law to ensure the availability of food for the enslaved who occasionally experienced severe food shortages and regular nutritional deficiencies (Brierley 1991; Sheridan 1985). By the time the British took over the island, the practice of providing a small portion of (marginal) land for the production of food was in widespread use and subsequently reinforced by legislation, thus practically absolving plantation owners of supplying substantial and consistent nutrition to the enslaved (Brierley 1985; Brizan 1998). The provision ground, referred to by Brathwaite (1975:6) as the “inner plantation,” proved more than just a place for the enslaved or a family to produce food to feed themselves and/or sell at the weekly Sunday markets. It was a unique space within the slave plantation complex, or rather on its outskirts, that represented a place of temporary reprieve where the enslaved enjoyed the most agency and exhibited control over what crops to grow, how much to cultivate, and how to dispose of the fruits of his/her labor (Henke 1996; Hauser 2021; Kopka 2013). Henke (1996:58) further asserts that “all Creole language and culture, and consequentially, all Caribbean discourse lie as much in the geographical and mental space in the provision grounds as they derive from the plantation system and ideology.” And as Parry (1955:1) unambiguously states, concerning Caribbean peoples, “...their history must explain primarily their own experiences. Their economic history, in particular, should be the story of yams, cassava and saltfish, no less than sugar and tobacco.” This, of course, was in contrast to their forced servitude on the plantations to produce export crops for the plantation owner over which they had absolutely little control and could not even grow these crops in their own gardens. Provision grounds during slavery, therefore, were a home away from home, the place of probably greatest familiarity and cultural stability for the enslaved. Henke (1996:59) adds that the “inner plantation” was a “special mental space... which contradicted the mental suppression of the plantation system and allowed the retention of African traditions and culture, as well as the development of new ones based thereon.”

Though some enslaved, exercising this small agency afforded them, chose to use the space to only feed themselves, their behavior was condemned as stemming “from natural idleness,” while those who wanted to produce beyond subsistence were viewed as “more enterprising, and strive to make as much as they can, frequently laying by, but oftener spending their earnings” (Bayley 1833:423). So, for many, the provision garden was a place where their labor could actually change their economic situation by allowing them to purchase additional material goods with the accrued savings from the sale of excess produce from their gardens, a fact often supported by archaeological excavations of slave dwellings (Kelly and Wallman 2014). Some may have even purchased their own freedom from the proceeds of their hard earned labor when allowed by their owners.

Directly from the provision gardens to the cooking pot, usually one-pot, via the mortar-pestle where almost every ingredient, including seasonings like hot and sweet peppers and spices, were processed much like they were/are in societies across western Africa (Carney 2009). The scene that Bayley (1833:92) describes in the 1820s could still be seen in the 1970s in Grenada, and a common scene across rural West African communities today: “The negroes cook their little messes before their doors, in stewpots, which by the way, are very commodious articles.” Many of the local cuisines consumed today are derived from food dishes that have their origins in the foods prepared by the enslaved for decades, the majority adaptations to the local (plantation) environment and the availability of diverse ingredients, both local and imported, including some from western Africa (Goucher 2014). Foods like *cou-cou* (<Twi *nkuku*: “a species of yam used to make cou-cou”), *akara* (<Yoruba *akara*: “an oily cake made from beans ground and fried”), and *conkie* (<Twi *nkankye*: “cake”) are directly related to West African foods that may have changed little over the centuries of preparations as their names attest, but their main ingredient of corn was probably yam, plantain, and/or cassava (Allsopp 1996).³⁴ As was also common in West Africa, the enslaved made leaf or spinach-type sauces and soups from green vegetables and *okra* (*okro* in Grenada) (<*Ibo* for the fruit) to complement their ground provisions or grains (like imported rice given as rations, and millet and Guinea corn or sorghum grown in their gardens) (Kelly and Wallman 2014).³⁵ One of the most popular leaf vegetables was *calalu* (<Malinke *kalalu*:

³⁴ *Conkie*, made of corn meal, sugar and raisins, is a good example of creolization where an African food, now made with the Indigenous corn and European raisins, remains a “traditional” food (see Martin 2022).

³⁵ Some grains, particularly rice (*Oryza glaberrima*), were imported from North America where it was produced by enslaved Africans in Georgia and the Carolinas from West African rice varieties. Together with proteins (meats), the enslaved received rice as part of their rations of foods to supplement the starches like ground provisions, and sometimes Guinea corn and sorghum they grew in their gardens. Rice remains the most popular

“many things,” or <Mandingo *colilu*: “an edible herb resembling spinach”) from the dasheen or taro plant (*Colocasia esculenta*), which also produced a tuber that is eaten; several other leaf vegetables like *zepina* (*Amaranthus* spp.) were also known as *calalu* (Vandebroek 2019). West African societies then and now consume a diversity of green leaves as spinach, including cassava and sweet potato leaves, neither of which, interestingly, are consumed in Grenada or the Caribbean (Vandebroek and Voeks 2019).³⁶ Sauces were also made from peas, among them pigeon/*gungo* peas and cowpeas, again African imports grown by the enslaved in their provision grounds. Most of these were “one-pot” dishes because they were cooked on a *coalpot* or three-stone fire, as the ease of cooking a complete meal at the end of a difficult and long working day made them appealing. Imported cured meats like salted codfish (*saltfish*), herring, mackerel, pig tails/feet and salted beef/pork were sometimes provided by the plantations to supplement the meager, but heavily starch diets of the enslaved (see Kurlansky 1998).³⁷ They often grew their own poultry and pigs (for sale), and some hunted locally available wild animals like the *manicou* (opossum), agouti, and *tatou* (armadillo, which they called *hog-in-armor*), or fish as accessible. At special occasions they made the red drink sorrel at Christmas time (known as *bisap* in Senegal), another West African import that they grew in their gardens (Vandebroek 2019). These foods maintained African *memory-traces* of both ingredients and preparation as they were passed down through the generations, yet incorporating much from the surrounding culinary environment as they became Grenadian or Caribbean, as the case may be.

European colonization of Grenada via the plantation slavery complex embodied the exploitation of the land through its division, clearing and cultivation, with enslaved Africans

grain eaten today in Grenada. There are assertions to rice having been grown in Grenada and Carriacou by the enslaved and even into the 20th century by Indo-Grenadians, but little evidence have surfaced to corroborate these anecdotes. There is, however, one reference in a brief article in the *St. George's Chronicle & Grenada Gazette* in 1849 that mentioned the cultivation of a “long-grain rice, grown by an African settler on the lands of Mount Parnassus Estate. We were very much gratified to find that this individual had turned his attention to this description of cultivation on his own account, and we have no doubt he will be encouraged in his exertions by the Agricultural Society...” (“Rice Cultivation in Grenada” 1849). The writer also intimates that the cultivation of rice was new to the island when he expressed the society’s “gratification that an effort has been made to introduce the rice cultivation in the Island, and we hope that the industrious African who has turned his attention to such a praiseworthy object may receive some reward....” Though the Grenada Agricultural Society had offered bounties for the cultivation of rice, there is no further mention of it as a crop grown in Grenada.

³⁶ It is most likely that both of these plants, native to the Americas, had not been well established as a food and not widely used as leaf vegetables when Africans were being transported out of West Africa, so Africans did not arrive with the memory, thus its absence today.

³⁷ The often reported belief that the meats consumed by the enslaved were the scraps from their masters’ table or the discarded parts of slaughtered animals meant for the master is highly exaggerated. As indicated, cured meats were imported and the master had the same access to these, including bad quality. As indicated by Kurlansky (1997) in regard to salted cod, the cheapest and thus lowest quality was called “West India” as it was the primary commercial grade exported to the islands for the enslaved. See also Higman (1995).

and their descendants forced to transform the landscape per that design; many would literally die in the process (Morgan et al. 2022). Thus, the enslaved became intimate with the Grenadian landscape—its Indigenous origins and French and British colonial transformations—however, taking every available opportunity to (re)fashion it, making it more familiar..., surreptitiously (re)creating it in their own image by incorporating the existing cultural and natural surroundings. This is nowhere more evident than in the creation of the island’s mythscape from the “natural,” Indigenous and European-influenced landscape, using their African motifs and memories of plants, animals, and bodies of water, reimagining them with their remembered beliefs and rituals. Elements and traces of western African folklore, mythology and spirituality were interwoven into the Grenadian landscape, becoming the place where their folk memories, mythologies and beliefs were transferred onto the plants, animals, hot springs, rivers and lakes around them as these integrated, mixed and syncretized with European and Indigenous folk expressions. Anthony (2006) describes this syncretism as the

“Intermarriage of mythologies so that aspects of European mythology, God and [the] devil, get mixed up with African myths and other kinds of mythologies; Amerindian mix might be in operation as well. So we create these [folk] figures as part of our adjustments to own our societies as our ancestors kind of accommodated themselves to the new conditions. They didn’t lose their myths, they merged them with other people’s mythologies.”

Thus, enslaved Africans and their descendants created new and evolving mythologies in the Grenada landscape, especially in and around their provision gardens where they had the most influence, the most agency. They surreptitiously reimagined their fading memories of home into this new landscape, imbuing the Grenada islandscape with concealed “monuments” that outlived them for generations, many, however, just barely discernable in the palimpsest landscape today (see Bell 1889; Henke 1996).

Rivers and streams, scattered across the Grenada islandscape, were probably the most familiar places that invoked memories of home as these played primary roles in diverse social functions in western African societies, and would in turn inhabit the Grenadian landscape. Rivers, though used primarily by the plantations as a source of water to power sugar mills and irrigation, served the enslaved as places of utility—drinking water, fishing (for crayfish and freshwater fish), bathing and laundering, recreation, spiritual spaces where folk spirits lived and ruled over, and, above all, a social space where families and neighbors gathered to converse, play and celebrate (Bell 1889; Paul 2022; Pesoutova 2019). These practices

associated with rivers and streams were passed down through the generations, leaving them as important spaces in the lives of Grenadians, especially in the rural areas where they remained useful far into the 20th century. Most, however, have disappeared except when needed like after Hurricane Ivan when Grenadians were forced back to the rivers and their ancestral memories.

Though many of the Grenadian flora were new to the enslaved, they were quite a few familiar plants from western Africa already established in the region and island (most via the Slave Trade), including the kola nut,³⁸ tamarind, ginger, *caraila*, sorrel, castor-oil plant, grasses like Angola and Guinea grass (grown as animal feed and for roofing), and many crops like Guinea yam, vegetables like *gungo peas* and okra, and various fruits (Carney 2009; Hawthorne et al. 2004). And with some knowledge from the Kali'nago they soon learned to utilize the many trees and bushes that would become part of their folkloric and medicinal landscape, infused with the medico-religious beliefs of *Obeah*.³⁹ These bush medicines, embedded in the Grenadian landscape, would provide needed solace and relief from psychological and physical ills (see Schiebinger 2017). Trees like the silk cotton (also present in West Africa), *sandbox* and *gru-gru* palm, and plants like *jumbie bead*, *caraila*, *calabash*, and *grudge-pea* found their way into the enslaved landscape as medicine or medico-religious ritual artifacts.

Among the trees, bushes and rivers prowled a menagerie of native and introduced folk spirits that roamed the landscape creating fear or appearing as characters in entertaining and instructional folktales. Among these are the mysterious *cribo* (snake) with its crown of jewels,⁴⁰ the mischievous mona monkey (imported from Central Africa),⁴¹ the *zandoli*, *zagada* and sticking lizards that always seemed to be “watching you,” the *jumbi bird* (owl or nightjar), *cobeau* or black bird and doctor bird that foretell ominous events, and insects like the mythical *god horse* or *walking stick*, and the playful Anansi spider. In time, the enslaved would remake the Grenadian folkloric mythscape in a new image, imbuing it with the memories of folk spirits like the mischievous *Dwenn*, the deadly *Baccou*, the vengeful *Mama Glo* that lives in the mountain at Grand Étang Lake or along rivers and streams forcing humans to do her bidding, the *Moko Jumbie* stilt-walker that stood tall above the fray

³⁸ Kola nut was brought to the Caribbean via slave ships as it was reportedly used to make drinking water more palatable (Carney 2009).

³⁹ Obeah is believed derived from either Twi (*o-bayi-fo*: “sorcerer”; *<bayi*: “witchcraft”), or Mbundu (*Wanga* <UMBundu *wanga*: “witchcraft”), or maybe a combination of both in its Grenadian (and Caribbean) expression.

⁴⁰ See Rochefort (1666,3:27) for the origin of the *cribo* tale among the Kali'nago of Dominica.

⁴¹ Glenn and Bensen (2013) and Horsburgh et al. (2001) for the study of the mona monkey that was transported from Central Africa to Grenada during the Slave Trade.

watching and protecting, the *Mama Maladie* that roamed in the dead of night crying out for help, but beware!, the flying *Lougarou* and *Soucuyant* that enter your home in the dead of night to suck your blood to stay forever young, and the beautiful and sultry but vengeful enchantress *Lajablesse* that leads smitten men to their deaths over a precipice without a bone in their bodies being broken (Gugolati 2018; Martin 2022). All of these ruled the nocturnal sphere that wives and girlfriends hoped would dissuade their wayward spouses and lovers to not go galivanting into the night, or parents and elders created to scare *drevaring* children with these malevolent spirits. Many of these displaced forest spirits would later wander into the streets as creative carnival masquerades and “old mas,” but many would just disappear into the dark night forever (Martin 2022; Nicholls 2012).

When the moon shined bright at night folktales, music, songs and dances were performed under the stars to relieve the tedium and pain or relive fond memories in the course of creating new cultural expressions. The enslaved created an assortment of celebrations as balm to treat their suffering and pain, but also to celebrate their lives and memories, and pass on an emerging culture, a new culture, a syncretic culture. Echoing their diverse African cultures, they performed elements of African ritual and celebrations across the Grenadian landscape, most becoming entangled with dominant European cultural representations illustrated in expressions like the *bélé* dance and numerous carnival masquerades. Animal-skin drums bearing names like *congo* and *bongo*, were at the center of almost all celebrations and commemorations of the captive Africans and their enslaved descendants. It was sounded at the beginning, middle and ending of secular and spiritual expressions that constantly beat out the rhythms of their sorrows and joys to the revulsion of their European handlers who often attempted to silence these ancestral stirrings (Gomez and Nelson 2014). Either beaten with bare hands or crooked sticks like the *kokoro* (in Shango and *Djab-Djab* drumming), drums were at the center of the musical ensemble, accompanied by a few instruments like the *coco-lute* or *mouth-bow*, the percussions of the *old-hoe* and *shekere* or *shack-shack* (calabash/*bouli* or African gourd covered with a net of job’s tears seeds or buttons) (Figure 6.6) (Bilby and Marks 2001). This ensemble would be joined by voices, in the call and response fashion after the West African custom, in signing aloud to silence the pain and longing, and celebrate a new life emerging out of the depths of deep suffering (Traditional 2001). The community would gather for modified Nation dances (of their specific African ethnic origins), or religious-themed dances like “Shango” of the Yoruba, or the popular Stick-fighting or *Kalenda*. The drums and songs, as McDaniel (2005) suggests, “serve as depositories of

information on Caribbean societies and their way of life, as records of histories, beliefs, and values” (see also McDaniel 1998). These songs and dances would eventually find their way into calypso and carnival celebrations, retaining faded ancestral memories long since silenced in their original configurations as they now danced to modern rhythms of *tambu bamboo* and newly invented drums of steel, and still later booming DJ sets.



Figure 6.6 Edna Jeremiah (with shack-shack/boli), drummers and unidentified dancer at Shango ceremony in Levert, St. Patrick, 1962 (courtesy Association for Cultural Equity)

Also, on moonlight nights were played children’s games and storytelling, with the dominance of the Akan with their popular animal tales that featured the spider hero/anti-hero *Anansi* (<Twi *anànsi*: “spider”; and the mythical sky god Kwaku Anansi).⁴² This ensemble of characters are diverse and include Anansi’s son *Tacooma* (<Twi *ntikûma*: Anansi’s firstborn son), *Asonoo* (<Twi *e-sóno*: “elephant”) the elephant, *Compere Tig* (<Fr *tigre*: “tiger”), *Compere Mapepire* (after a type of snake), *Compere Macoucou* (possibly his wife), and Dog. The practiced storytellers used songs and a repertoire of voices and sounds to enliven the

⁴² Anansi was also known as Compere Zayen after the French for spider (*les-arignes*). See Allsopp (1996).

tales, reflecting West African storytelling in both form and content. Only one children's game appear to have survived into the 20th century, derived from the Akan game *obwisana*.⁴³

The majority of captive Africans were forcibly brought to Grenada between the early 1700s and 1807 when the British Atlantic Slave Trade was finally abolished. The over one hundred thousand plus Africans wove elements of their diverse cultural memories into the entangled and ever evolving Grenadian Creole landscape. But it was the much smaller group of indentured Africans that would have a lasting impact on the Grenadian cultural landscape because of their more recent arrival and under less stringent social conditions. In the 1830s, but especially between 1849 and 1865, over three thousand Liberated Africans entered Grenada as contracted indentured laborers. They were meant to supplement the plantation labor force that was experiencing perceived labor shortages following Emancipation when the ex-enslaved exercised their newly won agency in utilizing other available opportunities like sharecropping and small-land ownership (Brizan 1998; Marshall 1996). The indentured Africans, like the (East) Indians, Maltese and Madeiran indentured laborers, did little to slow the decline in the sugar industry, but their impact on the cultural landscape was noticeable, with some still evident today.

One of the largest groups to have a profound impact were the indentured laborers identified as Yoruba-Fon and coming from the area of present-day Nigeria and eastern Ghana, West Africa (George 2016; Warner-Lewis 1991); a smaller number would come from the region of Congo/Angola, but their impact would be less significant in Grenada (see Warner-Lewis 2003). Several hundred Yoruba-Fon Liberated Africans entered Grenada in 1849 and 1850 via the resettlement station of Freetown, Sierra Leone where they were freed from captured slave ships still engaged in the Atlantic Slave Trade to places like Cuba and Brazil (George 2016; Smith 1965; Steele 2003). The majority of these Liberated Africans were indentured to the large sugar plantations, especially in the parishes of St. Patrick and St. Andrew (George 2016). After their short indenture many congregated in a few villages where they formed close-knit communities because of their shared African/ethnic heritage and trans-Atlantic

⁴³ *Obisana* translates as “the rock has crushed my hand, grandma,” and known in Grenada as *pound-stone*. It is a stone-passing game where children (kneeling or sitting) in a circle pass stones from one person to the next, making sure to maintain the rhythm with the song being sung. The player who breaks the rhythm leaves the game, with the final player the winner (Bilby and Marks 2001). Players also had to be careful not to get their hands pounded by the moving stones. It was one of many games played at funerary wakes into the early 1900s, but disappeared by the mid-1900s. It's interesting to note that the West African game of *Warri* (<Twi *Oware*) has not been recorded for Grenada where the Asanti have had a significant cultural impact; it has been popular in Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica and the US Virgin Islands.

experiences, viewing themselves as different from the majority Creole population of African descent long since established in Grenada (George 2016). This concentration of newly arrived Africans would have a lasting impact on the culture of these communities, but also across the island, especially the surrounding rural areas.

Villages in the northern/north-eastern part of the island, the furthest away from the urban center of St. George's and its strong colonial influences, maintained African-derived cultural memories into the late 20th century, evident in cultural and religious practices like "African Work" (*Shango/Orisha*), *Saraka*, *Nation Dance*, (African) drumming, and *Kalenda* or Stick-fighting that were passed down several generations (George 2016; Gomez and Nelson 2012; Traditional 2001; Smith 1953).⁴⁴ Though most of these have faded away or are in states of performance revival, they have, nonetheless, influenced the cultural expressions of the specific villages and played outsized roles in creating cultural expressions well known in Grenada, especially at carnival. Villages like La Fillette, La Poterie, Munich and Tivoli in St. Andrew, and Chantimelle, Hermitage, La Mode, River Sallée and Rose Hill in St. Patrick, are well known for their historical portrayal of some of the traditional masquerades, as well as spiritual practices like Shango that have now morphed into Spiritual Baptist and other expressions (George 2016; Payne 1990; Polk 1993; Pollak-Eltz 1993). Thus, these villages retain faded memories of the last of the Africans to have arrived in Grenada in the mid-19th century.

Though many see Grenada's annual carnival as a celebration of African memories or survivals, the enslaved and their descendants were not responsible for its introduction nor establishment. Carnival is rooted in the island's French heritage of masquerade balls dating to the 1700s and linked to the Catholic Church calendar, particularly Lent and Easter. The enslaved participated in these early celebrations as musicians and secondary entertainment, but the post-Emancipation development of carnival, particularly since the late 1800s, have been heavily influenced by the ex-enslaved and their descendants. With their numerous cultural dances, musical forms, costuming and *Canboulay* celebrations dating to slavery, they transformed carnival by taking over the street festivities with their creativity, competition and merry making. This resulted in the middle class and elite abandoning the street celebrations altogether, but their involvement continued in the official celebrations until the 1960s when

⁴⁴ *Africa Work*, *Shango* or *Orisha* is/was a religious practice derived from Yoruba beliefs brought to Grenada by indentured Africans in the mid-19th century. *Saraka* (<Housa *sadaka*: "charity/arms") is an offering to placate and honor the ancestors and entreat for their protection. *Nation Dance* is an ancestor worship that also incorporates the *Saraka*. See Traditional (1999, 2001, 2015) and Collins (2010).

the festivities became more democratic (Payne 1990). The ex-enslaved and their descendants would remake carnival in their own image by creating masquerades and musical accompaniment (of animal-skin drums, *Tambu-Bambu* and later steelpan) that reflected their rural folk culture, including the addition of a competitive environment between villages and communities that often devolved into street violence (see Fenger 1916; Payne 1990). That aspect would dominate carnival into the 1970s until the government banned/restricted these encounters. This Creole celebration is embodied in what are today termed “traditional” or “historical” masquerades like the now disappeared *Paywo Grenade*, *Whipmen*, *Stickmen*, and *Cha-Cha-O*, and still extant *Moko-Jumbie*, *Djab-Djab*, *Shortknee*, *Shakespeare Mas*, *Wild Indian* and *Veko* (Martin 2022; Payne 1990; Steele 1996).

Grenada’s official toponyms illustrate the power imbalances that are evident in its monumental landscape, particularly seen in its cartography. As such, the majority enslaved Africans and descendants are not represented in the official place names across Grenada. As a matter of fact, only one place name on Grenada’s official map is probably African derived, its notoriety coming from its connection to Fédon’s Rebellion.⁴⁵ Mount Qua Qua, situated in the hills overlooking the Grand Étang Lake, may have derived from the *Quaqua* tribe/nation of West Africa or the Twi name *Kwaku*, members of which were brought to Grenada during slavery, and may have been first rendered by maroons who lived there.⁴⁶ There are several local place names, however, that may have African-derived origins or connections like Congo Town or Tous Congo, St. Andrew, Majuba in Mt. Moritz, St. George, and Bwa Neg Mawon, St. John, but none are on official maps; there are also many (unrecorded) place names that have been rendered by the former enslaved and their descendants, especially of villages or areas of villages that they established. The enslaved, however, were inadvertently responsible for maintaining the French and *Patwa* toponyms long after the departure of the French government and many French residents from Grenada, with almost 60 percent French-derived place names retained today. This can be seen as a protest or maintaining dominance by the enslaved and black peasantry in resisting the imposition of GSE and English Creole and

⁴⁵ On 18th century maps of Grenada (Jeffreys 1775; Romain 1743; Scott 1779), Morne Cambala/Cambale, overlooking Grand Bacolet Point, St. Andrew possibly derives from *Cambala/Kambalala* (<Kongo), which, according to Hill (2007:54), means “to pass a hill along its base in order to avoid climbing.” Norie (1828) records it as Cambale Hill, but it disappears thereafter.

⁴⁶ It would also appear that the name was attached to the mountain in error when referencing the primary camp where the 1795-96 Fédon’s Rebellion had taken place. That mountain was called Morne Quaquo (today Fédon’s Camp or Morne Fédon) during the rebellion and situated behind (from Grand Étang) the current Mount QuaQua (then Mount St. George), but the name was switched in the confusion of identifying the rebel-held mountain stronghold.

British place names like Charlotte Town (for Gouyave) and Grenville (for LaBaye), thus maintaining a familiar landscape that they had inherited and perpetuated if not named themselves.

Other elements of African *memory-traces* can be found in hair braiding or plaiting, and the use of beads and seeds (like *jumbi bead/gwen l'eglise*) as part of bracelets or strings of beads once worn around the waist or neck for protection against *maljoe* or evil spirits, especially by children (Warner-Lewis 1991). Several seeds (like job's tears and jumbie eye) are still used mostly as craft decorations (as worn by Wild Indian mas'), and are probably the only artifact of African-derived "clothing" that persists in Grenada today. Cowrie shells (*Monetaria moneta*), once used as a form of currency in the exchange for captive Africans and later incorporated in West African art and religion, have taken on decorative and spiritual significance in the African diaspora though only few would have made it to the region during the Slave Trade.

One noticeable characteristic of Grenadian (and Caribbean) speech is the non-verbal or tonal gestures uttered in the course of conversation to signal agreement, or to express surprise or incredulity that resemble mannerisms of speech in cultures across West and West-central Africa (Warner-Lewis 2014). And of course, there is *Steups!* or "suck teeth" to show disapproval, annoyance or outright disrespect, which may or may not be accompanied by the "cut-eye" to show dislike or defiance (Warner-Lewis 2014). Several practices or forms of association like *maroon* (cooperative or community self-help derived from the name of escaped slaves), and *susu* (<Yoruba *esusu*: "rotating fund") are still practiced today in some form, but have diminished dramatically as new forms like banks and credit unions provide more efficient and secure services (Fletcher 1972; Hossein 2021; Maynard 1996).⁴⁷ Countless other rituals and practices surrounding birth, marriage and death are also expressed, particularly the pouring of libations to honor the ancestors, illustrating the strong western African belief in and veneration of ancestors and the continuous part they play in the lives of the living (Collins 2010; George 2016).

Though enslaved Africans were forced to construct private houses and public building projects like great houses, fortifications, churches and roads, their contributions were never recognized, but their labors are today reflected in these enduring structures across the island.

⁴⁷ The *susu* was derived from the later Yoruba-Fon immigrants of the mid-19th century who arrived as indentured Africans.

They were also the builders of their own simple houses, usually of sticks and thatch or wattle and daub, none of which survive today, but the design retained in the one-room board or chattel houses prevalent up until the 1960s, with a few still extant today (Martin 2022; Saunders 2016). A more thorough excavation of the cultural landscape will likely yield additional *memory-traces* to illustrate the tremendous impact enslaved Africans and their descendants have had and continue to exhibit on the Grenadian cultural landscape, primarily through their memories now incorporated into the Grenada Creole islandscape.

The analyses of data from the *Slave Voyages Database* in the last two decades have resulted in a better accounting of the numbers and places of origin of the enslaved peoples brought to Grenada during the Transatlantic Slave Trade. George (2018:15) shows that a majority of enslaved came “from just a few ports within a specific region.” Though ethnic groups were identified and perpetuated to some degree as illustrated in the (diasporic) Nation dances in northern Grenada and Carriacou, these categories coalesced or changed altogether over time and became entangled in the Creole cultural landscape as did the genealogies, with most ethnic identities fading altogether in the immediate post-Emancipation period or by the mid-20th century in the case of Carriacou (Ashie-Nikoi 2007; Collins 2010; George 2018; Hill 1998, 2002; Martin et al. 2016). George (2018), however, suggests, that despite the limitations of this and other available data like newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves and plantation lists recorded in land deeds, additional insight into the ethno-linguistic identities of Grenada’s enslaved can be explored through the *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies* that recorded basic biographical data of the enslaved population between 1817 and 1834, including African personal names and “Country marks” (Ancestry.com 2007; Higman 1995). But because these lack specificity they remain limited in providing the data that many desire to connect themselves and their families directly to African-derived identities. The recent advances in consumer DNA tests, however, provide probably the greatest possibility through its ethnicity estimates and ancestry of connecting Grenadians (via their convoluted genealogies) to a recreated or reimagined African identity, though not actual West African families as would be desired (Ben Torres et al. 2013; Benn Torres and Torres Colon 2020).

That a plurality of Grenadians insists on expressing a strong connection to Africa is understandable and a direct result of their uncontested African ancestry. Despite the impossibility of tracing their entangled genealogies directly to regions, countries, ethnic groups and/or families in western Africa (due to the absence of records, but now partially

possibly through home DNA testing), many Grenadians have nonetheless come to embrace and celebrate an ancestry that was once despised and rejected, yet hidden in plain sight like within the few African surnames like Ackee, Cudjoe, Cuffie, Quamina, and Quashie that directly connect to the Akan of present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast and others.⁴⁸

With the tens of thousands of captive Africans forcibly brought to Grenada for over a century of the Atlantic Slave Trade, and particularly during the period of African indenture, it was inevitable that they would have an enduring impact on the island's cultural landscape, despite their subjugation, relative absence of power, and policed agency. While many cultural practices of western Africa and the enslaved, like African names, tooth mutilation or facial/body scarification for example, have disappeared from the cultural landscape (except when literally unearthed or discovered in archives), many other *memory-traces* are still expressed across Grenada today, especially in dance movements, drumming, folklore and cuisine (see, for example, Stewart and Groome 1968). For some, these represent connections to a lost, but cherished (re)imagined identity. The incorporation of these diverse African memories into Grenada's Creole culture gives pride to many who see this as a way to celebrate the cultural elements that their ancestors fought to preserve/create and in some cases struggled to ensure would survive to pass on, thus enabling Grenadians to one day, hopefully, develop a cultural confidence and identity in their diverse past, but especially embracing their once maligned African ancestry now embedded in and an essential part of Grenada's Creole cultural landscape (Collins 2010; Martin et al. 2016).

6.4 King's Honours, English, Cricket and a Spot of Tea: Reckoning with the Overwhelming Presence of Britishness in the Grenadian Landscape⁴⁹

"If Grenada belonged to the English, who knew how to turn to profit natural advantages, it would be a rich and powerful colony. In itself it was all that man could desire. To live there was to live in paradise!"

⁴⁸ These names were quite common during slavery and held by enslaved most likely from the areas of present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast, and correspond to the Akan (Twi) male day-names Kojo (Monday), Kofi (Friday), Kwame (Saturday), and Kwesi (Sunday). They may not, however, link directly to a genetic identity.

⁴⁹ Grenadians have received British honors like the BEM, OBE and MBE from the British Monarch Queen Elizabeth II (succeeded by King Charles III in 2022), though Grenada has a less-regarded or known national honors award that's usually given at the annual Independence celebrations. The well-known game of cricket was introduced to Grenada by the British by the mid-19th century and it is still a popular game across the region (see Worme 1999). The culture of tea drinking was introduced by the British though Grenadians have and continue to drink an assortment of "bush teas" as regular teas and/or traditional medicine.

After two centuries of colonial dominance of Grenada—its people, government, administration, economy, agriculture, and almost every aspect of its society through slavery, Fédon’s Rebellion, Emancipation and Apprenticeship, post-Emancipation, Crown Colony rule, and internal self-government—the British, with a particular nod to the Scots, have had the most profound impact on the modern Grenadian landscape as the longest and last European colonizer (Benoit 2020; Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Lewis et al. 2022; Martin 2022). That legacy, defined by the centuries-long experiences of slavery and colonialism, is rightly perceived by many as having lingering, negative impacts despite many aspects providing utility and continuity to the present Grenadian state (Sutton 1986). Some historical British influences have been waning in the past half century following Grenada gaining its (political) independence from the UK in 1974, and especially after the 1983 US invasion redirected an American focus due to its close proximity (in the “US backyard”) and the growing influence of the Grenadian diaspora there (Frakes 2017; Williams 2001). But its persistent presence, however, continues to be felt most intensely in its everyday bureaucracy and administration of governance and the Standard English and/or English Creole spoken by all Grenadians.

Like the French whom they displaced (on two occasions) to colonize Grenada, the British remain central to the narrative of who we were and who we are as they are the originators and instigators of the institutional foundations of the modern Grenadian state. And unlike the French, their presence is still overwhelmingly present, readily accessible in the living Creole landscape. They are the ones who transported tens of thousands of tortured, captive souls that beached upon this alien shore in overcrowded, stinking prison ships across the horrific Middle Passage to banishment, enslavement and cultural genocide. They are the ones who grudgingly ended the dehumanizing traffic in captive Africans to and slavery in Grenada by paying reparations to the slave owners, but acknowledged no wrongdoing or compensated the enslaved to rise above their miserable conditions. Theirs are the two centuries of colonialism that have transformed the Grenadian landscape to continuous contestations. Theirs is the language through which the multilingual landscape speaks in idiosyncratically accented Grenadian Standard English and English Creole voices. Theirs are the institutions of governance, politics and law that still govern, and readily performed with antiquated pomp

and ceremony.⁵⁰ Theirs are the folk songs, children's games, children's toys, nursery rhymes and proverbs that instigate our folk narrative and folk celebrations. Theirs are the hymns, songs and prayers that soothe the bereaved soul at funerary wakes, prayer meetings and funerals to celebrate and send the dead on their journeys to ancestral lands. Theirs are the poetry, plays and prose we read in books like the *Royal Readers* and *Lamb Tales from Shakespeare* as children that sparked our imaginations for far-flung places and wonderment, and echoes in our masquerades that stomp through the streets at carnival reciting verses from Shakespeare and other British historical texts. Theirs are the wars we fought in far-off lands for King and country to prove our loyalty and the ability to one day rule our own affairs of state. Theirs is the motherland that shunned generations since Windrush, forcing the diaspora to fight for their Empire citizenship even as we annually receive British Honours. Theirs is the religion that christened three new Christian denominations but were initially hesitant in welcoming enslaved souls. Theirs are the traditions that still set a table for tea and biscuits at fundraising fairs at churches and schools. Theirs is the (derived) black or fruit cake that goes so well with sorrel and ginger beer at Christmas time. Theirs are the illegitimate genealogies that make family histories convoluted, nonetheless connecting to an entangled and difficult past. And theirs is the undeniable Britishness that characterizes a great deal of Grenadian institutional life today, with much of it celebrated or at least tolerated for its utility. But as the last and longest European colonizer they also bear the brunt of anger and protests for the many ills of colonialism and its negative lingering effects on Grenadian society today.⁵¹

The current political, economic and social landscape is undeniably a direct reflection of two centuries of British colonialism in Grenada. Though the French laid the foundations of the island's slave plantation complex, it was British colonialism that created the modern state of Grenada that we see reflected across the islandscape today. And like the French before them, and the Kali'nago and the enslaved Africans, we must begin with language. In this case, the English language as all Grenadians speak a form of Caribbean Standard English and English Creole, both of which are not accidental, but directly related to Grenada's historical

⁵⁰ The use of white wigs, worn in Parliament in the British tradition, was discontinued in Grenada in 2018, removing one of the most glaring symbols of British colonialism. Though the British and many former colonies have abandoned the regular practice, several still adhere to the outdated tradition. The black robes, with Grenada's colors recently added, are still used, as are the traditional maces of the House of Representatives (dating to the 1780s with its anachronistic slave emblem) and the Senate. There are many other practices directly related to or derived from British procedures and traditions still part of current Parliamentary proceedings and governmental administration.

⁵¹ In 2022, following advice from the governor general and the GOG, the Queen "postponed" a planned visit to Grenada by Prince Edward in celebration of her Platinum Jubilee because the local Reparations Committee had sought an audience with the royal couple and others had planned to protest the visit (Trevelyan 2022).

chronology. That current image, though not self-evident in the late 18th century, was in the making since 1762 when the British captured the island from the French, and permanently regained it in 1783, renaming its streets, parishes and whatever they deemed necessary to transform the landscape in their own images (Hutchinson 2021). They finally expunged French political influences with the defeat of the rebellious French in Fédon's Rebellion, but it would take over a century and a half to claim victory when *Patwa*, once spoken by the majority of Grenadians as part of their French colonial identity, began its inevitable demise in the 1930s under the intense tutelage of the British colonial educational system.⁵²

With no precedence for public or mass education in Grenada, the British imposed a formal colonial educational system with the sole use of the English language beginning in the 1830s when it was forced to do so as part of the 1833 Emancipation Act to engage the enslaved for freedom and citizenship (Brizan 1998; Lewis et al. 2021; Smith 1993). This policy was to have the most profound impact on the cultural landscape in multiple ways, but particularly in the replacement of the fading French colonial identity (with its *Patwa*) among the enslaved and later freedmen with that of a growing British colonial identity (Benoit 2012, 2020; Brizan 1998). As continued control of the freedmen was seen as essential to the smooth functioning and development of the post-slavery society, religion and thus religious education were viewed as the basis of the educational system to ensure societal compliance and harmony (Cornelius 2020). As the Christian churches (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist) were the only other established institution on the island, they played a primary role in the facilitation of education of the former enslaved as the majority of schools were administered by them, with religious instruction the primary pedagogy (Brizan 1998; Devas 1932; Smith 1993). Thus, the current prevalence of denominational and singled-sexed schools across the islands; some primary co-educational schools were established in the early 1900s, and secondary after the mid-1900s due primarily to limited resources and a changed societal acceptance of co-gendered education.

⁵² The disappearance of *Patwa* from Grenada as the most prevalent form of communication is not as simple as many Grenadians believe, that it was simply the result of their great/grand/parents' choosing to use it only as a "secret language" among themselves, and thus not passing it on to the next generations. The British colonial administration, together with education and religious officials, had always protested the prevalence of that "vile language" and saw it as a hindrance to their full control of the population, thus fervently working towards its eradication, even banning its use in schools. Eventually, *Patwa's* orality and low social status, the overall changing society, particularly the growth of colonial education with instruction in English, and parents wanting their children to succeed in the dominant "English" society would work against the survival of *Patwa* in Grenada unlike those of Dominica and St. Lucia (both closer to French territories and the latter occupied until 1814 by France) that have survived into the 21st century, but are today both threatened by Standard English and English Creole. See also Joseph (2012).

After a century of rudimentary colonial education often described as the three Rs and provided via religious institutions (but bolstered by the government's grant-in-aid system after 1875), British history, culture and language found their way into the deepest confines of Grenadian society, even in the rural areas (Devas 1932; Lewis et al. 2021; Smith 1993). Collins (1985:52), in her poem "The Lesson," illustrates the penetration of the educational system as she talks about her grandmother, who lived in the countryside and spoke *Patwa*, retelling the European history she had memorized as a child, concluding that "Granny didn't remember no Carib chief/ No Ashanti king/ Her heroes were in Europe/Not in the Caribbean/ Not in Africa."

By the early 1900s *Patwa* had lessened due to concerted efforts by the churches and state to replace it with English and/or its derivative. The generation born in the 1930s would be the last to learn *Patwa* if they grew up with their grandparents and predominantly in the countryside (see Lashley-La Grenada 2016). Otherwise, *Patwa* slowly disappeared, gradually replaced by English Creole, but nonetheless incorporating many of its fading elements. Also, in that period, Grenadian folk culture became infused with influences from British folk culture that is today illustrated through children's games like hopscotch, jacks, marbles, kite flying and ring games, nursery rhymes, celebrations like maypole, and (bursting of bamboo-bombs and the burning in effigy of) Guy Fawkes Day, carnival masquerades like *Shakespeare Mas'*, and children's songs, most of which were furnished via colonial instruction and texts like the *Royal Readers* that were primary to educational instruction from the mid-19th to mid-20th centuries (Joseph 2012; Lewis et al. 2021).⁵³

The extensive reach of Catholicism and Protestantism (under English religious tutelage) also impacted the lives of the peasantry in multiple ways, including their birth ceremonies, family events like christenings and weddings, death practices like wakes and burials, and almost every cultural ritual illustrated by All Saints' Day, Corpus Christi, Easter, Fisherman's Birthday and Christmas. This resulted in situations where two ceremonies were often celebrated, one African derived and the other European derived; today they have all somehow melded to furnish the Creole religious and social landscape.⁵⁴ By the mid-1900s, almost 200

⁵³ See Joseph (2012) for a critique of the *Royal Readers*. The rudimentary colonial education that many received instilled in them a realization that education was important and aspirational in changing their lives for the better in the colonial society.

⁵⁴ These include dual wedding ceremonies at churches and in the community (dancing the flags and cakes in Carriacou and Petite Martinique), and dual ceremonies at new boat/schooner launches in Carriacou (see Hill 1977). Or Shango worship in the communities and attendance at Sunday religious services in both the Catholic and Anglican Churches in Grenada.

years after the invasion of the British, the Grenadian cultural landscape truly reflected a colonial British cultural dominance, exemplified by the widespread use of GSE and English Creole, with almost all Grenadian children schooled in an educational setting that was the foundation of a British colonial identity (Benoit 2020).

The fraught legacy of the British in Grenada is both celebrated and contested, but its continued role is undeniable across its political, economic and social spheres. This is most illustrated by its Westminster system of governance, with the British monarch as its head of state, judicial system, police, educational system, the continued use of the Imperial System of measurements, the prevalence of English and Scottish place, personal and family names, the remains of a uniquely Georgian-era architecture that defines its capital city St. George's, the presence of Protestantism, the very English game of cricket, trade and transportation networks, and the periodic visits by members of the British royal family (most recently Prince Charles in 2019 and Prince Harry in 2016) to warm welcome and celebration.⁵⁵

Though the British culinary influences in Grenada may not be readily evident due to their late arrival, they have played a defining role by their long rule that are most evident in the processing of foods and mealtimes. The current schedule of meals and their content are a result of British influences, illustrated especially with breakfast and supper meals. The idea of tea, coffee, or cocoa as a hot beverage with bread and possibly proteins like eggs, saltfish/fishcake or blood pudding are most likely British influenced, replacing the traditional breakfast of (cornmeal and cassava/farine) porridge that had a western African origin. The midday meal was a heavy lunch with provisions and meat (reinforced during slavery), and the day ended with supper, a light version of breakfast in the early evening. The most prominent culinary influence of the British is as part of Christmas celebrations that are noted across the region as the season was very popular among them. Of particular note is the British "figgy pudding" that was remade as black or rum cake, taking on a very Caribbean flavor with its brown coloring (burnt sugar), spices and local rum (Ross 2021). One other major influence by the British was the importation of slave-produced rice from the British North American Colonies that would become a staple component of Grenadian meals exemplified by *Rice and Peas* and *Pelau/Cook-Up*, having replaced African staples like sorghum and millet, and today

⁵⁵ Queen Elizabeth II visited Grenada on two occasions, in February 1966 and October 1985, becoming the only sitting British monarch to visit Grenada as such, and the only one to open Parliament on her latter visit. The planned visit by Prince Edward in April 2022 was "postponed" on the advice of the Governor General and GOG after the local Grenada National Reparations Committee requested a meeting to discuss reparations. Prince Charles, now King Charles III, visited Grenada in 2022.

relegating once primary ground provisions to “side dishes” (Berleant 2013).⁵⁶ There are still other smaller British influences that are part of the Creole culinary landscape that today defines Grenada’s cuisine, and thus Grenadian identity.

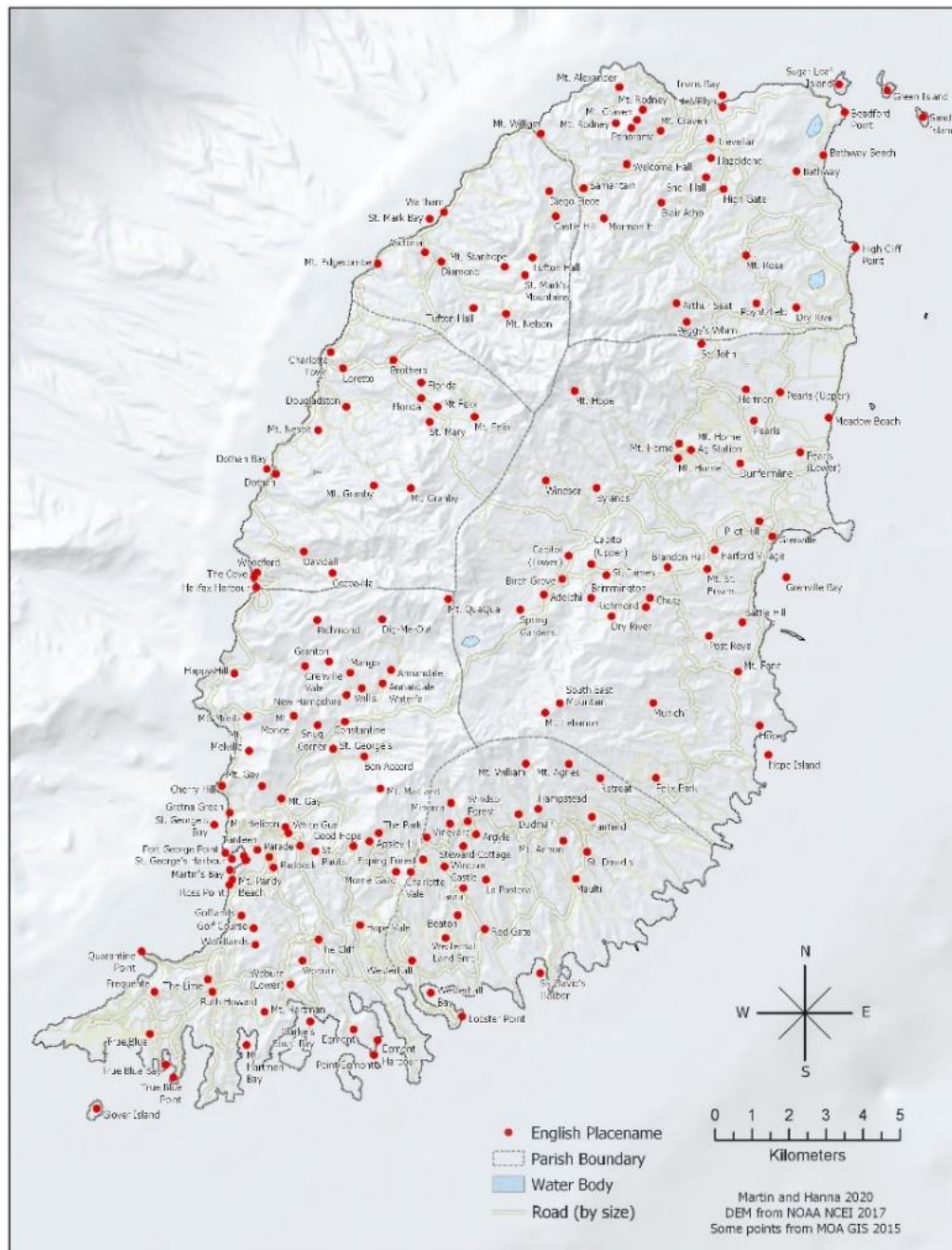


Figure 6.7: British-era derived place names in Grenada today (Martin and Hanna 2020)

⁵⁶ It is important to note that rice was a part of several West African ethnic groups' diets (with popular dishes like Jollof and Waakye), particularly Senegal, Sierra Leone and along the Windward Coast, so rice was not a new staple to the enslaved upon their arrival in Grenada. It, however, reestablished African traditions that are today illustrated in the use of "rolled rice" in Saraka ceremonies in both Grenada and Carriacou (Collins 2010). See Bearleant (2012) for a detailed treatment of rice in the region.

The British, following their invasion in 1762, quickly placed their stamp on the landscape by altering its predominantly French toponyms. It was done so quickly that many of the French names of the streets in St. George's have vanished without a trace. Today, you drive on the left side of traffic through streets named after 18th-century British personalities—Granby, Grenville, Halifax, Hillsborough, Melville, Moncton, Scott and Young (Casey 1778; d'Imbert 1765; Martin 2022). These names established the appearance of the British and their takeover of the colony from the French and the renaming of its political landscape. This is repeated across the island in the names of the parishes—St. George, St. John, St. Patrick, St. Andrew and St. David—towns like Grenville, and numerous villages (Figure 6.7). Today, forty percent of Grenada's toponyms are British-era derived, and reflect their dominance after 1762, with a high percentage of Scottish-derived names, as the Scotts were heavily represented among the British (Figure 6.11) (Gonzalez 1994; Wesche 1961). These name changes are reflected in various maps rendered by the British, particularly the plantation map by local (British) surveyor Gavin Smith (1801) that captures the climax of British plantation agriculture in Grenada, and the later DOS (1965, 1985) maps, but French-era derived toponyms still dominate because of their initial embedding in the physical landscape and the island's geography (Wesche 1961).

English, Scottish, and other personal names of the British Isles dominate as both first and last names of Grenadians as the British were the last and longest colonial rulers of Grenada. Many were adopted following Emancipation when the former enslaved were required to choose family names. Although male first names dominate the English-derived (including British, Scottish, Irish) Grenadian names, some British surnames that come directly from British families are quite evident as well (Martin 2020). Most of these indicate some form of blood connections, as in the offspring of white men and black/mixed women (free and enslaved), who thus carried their names, often identified in last wills and testaments. However, these are only a small fraction of the family names as most surnames in Grenada are derived from English and Scottish first names that were then held by male enslaved as their only names (Martin 2020). Thus, many of the male enslaved, in the post-Emancipation period, gave their first (and only) names to their wives and children, creating Grenada's unique naming process and disproving the widespread belief that the majority of Grenadian surnames were derived from white plantation managers and/or slave owners' family names (Martin 2020).

Though the British were slow in establishing religion on the island and converting the large enslaved and later peasant populations, it did set up Anglicanism as the island's official religion that challenged the dominance of Catholicism for decades as it literally fought to destroy the latter's influences (Cornelius 2020; Devas 1932; Ragatz 1928). In the end, it had to concede defeat as it was unable to displace Catholicism so entrenched among the majority population despite viewing that religion's influence on the enslaved and later peasantry negatively (Coke 1810; Cornelius 2020). The Methodist denomination began in the 1790s particularly among the free coloured and free black populations, building one of the oldest churches on the island (Coke 1810; Parker 1959). The Scots also established Presbyterianism in Grenada, building their Kirk in the 1830s and later converting a section of the East Indian indentured immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Steele 1976, 2003). The emergence of the Protestant denominations challenged the dominant Catholic faith, but were unable to displace it mainly because it was slow to accept the former enslaved into their fold as equals.

The relic Grenadian landscape is littered with the ruins of bygone British governance and production, illustrated by the hurricane-damaged York House (formerly the Houses of Parliament and Judiciary), the crumbling former governor-general's residence, broken aqueducts, rusted and decaying waterwheels stamped with Scottish cities and manufacturers' names stuck in time, discarded windmill towers with tress growing from them, and derelict smokestacks towering over the rural landscape (Martin and Thompson 2020; tWRF 2019). Two centuries on, the impact of what the British created and passed on are quite discernable as plantations morphed into villages and communities, eventually enveloping them, and *Patwa* was creolized by its more powerful English equivalent. Despite the continued presence of many French and French *Patwa* names for plants and animals, English came to dominate and soon replaced many of these, with some plants and animals having two names or a mix of both *Patwa* and English (Chase and Chase 2011; Groome 1970; Hawthorne et al. 2004; Martin 2022). Though the British were never able to totally erase the "French colonial landscape" as the French were also unable to completely erase the "Indigenous landscape," they did transform many aspects of it with the imposition of British institutions, language and culture into the entangled Grenadian cultural palimpsest. This is readily evident today in the many British-derived names of villages and towns (Figure 6.7) (Martin 2022; Martin and Thompson 2020). Not only the physical landscape, but the social and economic spheres are plagued by the legacy of the plantation system that still informs Grenada's export agriculture,

its economic dependency, its labor regime, trade linkages, and even the tourism industry that succeeded it and dominates the economy today (Brizan 1998; Weaver 2008).

6.5 Continuing Cultural Influences on the Grenadian Landscape

“If you in London, Toronto, or New York, Miami, calling everybody all over to pack everything and come; it doesn’t matter, wherever you are, ah just want everybody to pack everything and come...Leh we go back home.”

Berbice, “Leh We Go Back Home” (2011)

The Grenadian landscape has been impacted primarily by Indigenous, French, African and British influences since 1498 (as illustrated above), but smaller groups have also left imprints due to the continued (in, out and return) migration, especially after Emancipation (Steele 2003). Most noticeably have been the immigration of indentured laborers in the 19th century, and though their numbers were relatively small compared to previous inflows, their impacts, nonetheless, have oftentimes appeared above their visibility. Between 1839 and 1893 Grenada welcomed close to four thousand indentured laborers from far away as (British) India, (British) Malta and (Portuguese) Madeira (Steele 2003). Hundreds of immigrants have also arrived as settlers since the mid-1800s from within the region like Barbados and St. Vincent and The Grenadines, Grenada’s two closest neighbors to the north, and as far away as Syria and Lebanon. These regional immigrants, particularly, have left considerable influences on the landscape, but the impact of Grenadians returning from places like Trinidad and Tobago, Aruba and the Panama Canal, and even North America and Europe in the mid to late 20th and early 21st centuries have and continue to express significant influences on the island’s changing landscape (Cox 1999b; Sookram 2009; Steele 2003). And today, due to new and evolving technologies, influences arrive via the airwaves/television/Internet from many places, including Jamaica, Trinidad, the US, and beyond, continuing to impact the Grenadian cultural landscape, often in unimaginable ways.

Indentured immigration was initiated in Grenada at the end of slavery following the success of similar schemes in Trinidad and British Guiana (now Guyana), stemming primarily from the perceived lack of an adequate labor force at the time (Brizan 1998). The reluctance and/or refusal by some of the former enslaved to work fulltime for perceived low wages on sugar

estates created a panic among planters who incorrectly blamed the hesitant labor force for the continued depression in the sugar industry and advocated for such a scheme. There was debate on the scheme's moral position, with some characterizing it as "slavery under a new guise." Yet, between 1839-93, some 3,900 indentured laborers entered Grenada from Malta, Madeira, and India. In 1839 Grenada received the first indentured immigrants, 164 Maltese who were indentured to sugar estates along the eastern coast for five years. It was also hoped that they "would have a civilizing effect on the ex-slaves" and increase the small white population. In 1841, however, their contracts were dissolved because they had proved a failure. The majority reportedly emigrated to Trinidad, with the few remaining in Grenada finding employment as porters and petty traders (Steele 2003). Their most significant footprint on the Grenadian landscape appears to be the place names Malti in St. David, reportedly after their settlement there, and Morne Gazo, St. David after Gozo, an island in the Maltese archipelago where some originated. The British colonial government then took on the task of indentured immigration, and between 1846-47, 601 migrants from Madeira arrived, and they too proved unsuccessful at agricultural work and soon abandoned their assigned estates for more desirable employment. Many subsequently migrated to Trinidad, but a small number remained, their descendants identifiable by Portuguese-derived names like Franco, DeSouza and DaSilva.

The greatest impact of the indentured laborers were the 3,205 (East) Indians who arrived between 1857 and 1893 to work on sugar and cocoa estates in the rural districts, primarily St. Andrew and St. Patrick. Fewer than 400 returned to India and some emigrated to Trinidad and British Guiana, but about 85% remained in Grenada after their indentures, with many settling in the rural parishes (not far from the estates where they labored) in villages like Samaritan, Red Mud and Diego Piece, St. Patrick; and St. James, Morne Longue and Belmont, St. Andrew; many would also migrate to villages in St. John and St. Mark like Forde, Cumma (?<Hin Kumar, a personal Indian name), Clozier and Florida, St. John (Adams 2017; Sookram 2006, 2007). By 1871 there were 1,344 East Indian-born residents in Grenada, declining to 181 by 1921, and within the next three decades the population became almost exclusively native-born; in 1921 the population was 2,672 in total. At the 100th anniversary Indian Arrival Day celebrations on 1 May 1957, Indo-Grenadians gathered "to honor the surviving ex-indentured immigrants" (Singh 1987:387).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Indian Arrival Day, celebrated each May 1st, is a national holiday in Grenada since 2017.

Today, Indo-Grenadians are integrated in communities across the island though they are majorities in several rural villages in the northwest (Adams 2017). The Indo-Grenadian population has never risen above five percent of the total population, recording 2,500 (3 percent) in 2001. Unlike Trinidad and Guyana with larger (East) Indian populations, the small number in Grenada has been absorbed into the larger Creole society, resulting in the loss of much of their “Indian” culture or the invisibility of a distinct Indian cultural identity (Mahabir 1987; Sookram 2006, 2009). Some aspects of East Indian culture, however, have survived, especially in the few rural villages where their numbers have been relatively large, and are embedded in the Grenadian Creole landscape. East Indian memories, possibly influenced more through contact with Trinidad’s larger Indian population and the out and return migration with that island, are quite noticeable. These include mainly foods like channa (<Hin *chanaa*: “grain, chickpea”), the popular rice dish *pelau*, *bhaji* (<Hin *bhaajii*: “vegetable leaves”) or spinach, and *Caraila* (<Hin *karela*: “bitter gourd”) or “Collie pawpaw,” *achar* (<Hin *achaar*: “pickles”) or pickled mango, the overall use of curry in popular foods like curry goat, *roti* (<Hin *rotii*: “bread”) and *doubles*, and several words like *jagabat* (<Hin *dagabaj*: “bad woman or one of questionable character”), and *dougla* (<Hin *dogalaa*: “hybrid, mongrel”), the offspring of Indian and black (see Allsopp 1998). “Indian powers” and dance are identified in Grenada’s Spiritual Baptists practices, which again might have been influenced more from Trinidad (George 2017; Smith 1963). Despite their small numbers, Indo-Grenadians are identifiable across Grenada, owning successful businesses and estates, and in their respective communities.⁵⁸ East Indian family names like Bhola, Japal, Laldee, Nyack, Ragbersingh, De Allie and Ramdhanny are common (see Adams 2017; Martin 2022).

Of the regional immigrants who have settled in Grenada since the mid to late 1800s, Barbadians have probably been the most numerous and influential, particularly because of their own demographics on the heavily populated island.⁵⁹ In 1872 the *Grenada Chronicle* reported that “Of late years, the number of Barbadian laborers who have come here would surprise many. A regular colony has been formed by them about the Mount Parnassus lands, and others are scattered over the country—everywhere happy and prosperous” (“From the *Grenada Chronicle* July 10” 1872; “From the *St. George’s Chronicle* August 5, ’71” 1871).

⁵⁸ The majority of the Indian entrepreneurs in St. George’s, however, are recent immigrants from India and the Indian Diaspora.

⁵⁹ Between 1861 and 1921 at least 8,000 Barbadians immigrated to Grenada, the majority settling there (see Johnson 1891, Paterson 1901, Smith 1911, and Garraway 1921).

Others would settle in the capital and surrounding communities and integrated into the larger Creole community since the late 1800s, but several Barbadian family names still stand out. The dynamic community of St. Paul's, St. George, that derived from the large Mount Parnassus estate, retains several known Barbadian-descendant families after a century and a half.⁶⁰ It is possible that these Barbadian immigrants brought with them their *Tea-meetings* of speechifying that would spread across Grenada by the early 1900s, but has since disappeared (see Mark 1978).

Another small Barbadian group, predominantly white, settled on the outskirts of St. George's and worked on plantations primarily in Grand Mal and Mount Moritz. They later established the village of Mount Moritz, tucked away on a hill about 2 km (1.25 mi) inland from Molinière Point and about 5 km (3 mi) from the town of St. George's where they were known as the "Mount Moritz Bajans."⁶¹ For just over a century the rural agricultural settlement of Mount Moritz was semi-isolated from the larger surrounding Grenadian society, with only a small number of blacks and mixed-race individuals/families gaining access to the "closed" community. In the early 1970s, the predominantly white/mixed community of Mount Moritz began to change, with many migrating to the Trinidad, US, UK, Canada and Australia, especially the latter due to exclusive racial immigration policies at the time, and today there is a sizeable Grenadian-descent community there.⁶² Some long-time residents moved into the wider Grenadian community, and slowly the surrounding black population migrated into

⁶⁰ These include the Bullen, Gittens, Lord, Nurse and Wilkinson families.

⁶¹ In 1859 Governor Hicks of Barbados, hoping to resettle some of the poor whites of that island, outlined a scheme for their resettlement to other islands in the Caribbean. The Grenada government welcomed the scheme, acknowledging that it "might prove advantageous to the island" by increasing the white population. It added that an area in Grand Étang was ideal for the community because it was more "suitable to the European constitution." The scheme was not officially followed up—hence there are no records of the eventual settlement of the "Mount Moritz Bajans." In the late 1860s, though, a small number of whites migrated to Grenada along with hundreds of others from Barbados, probably aided by the Anglican Church. The poor whites settled predominantly in the Hermitage and Grand Mal areas in St. George and worked on the Grand Mal estate and the cocoa estate in Mount Moritz. It was reported that "small groups of 15 and 20 whites on schooners destined for Grenada, [left Barbados in the 1870s] to work there as labourers on the cocoa plantations" (Watson 2000). Probably a dozen or so families arrived during that period, and by the 1880s a sizeable community, made up almost exclusively of white Barbadian immigrants, were inhabiting villages surrounding the Grand Mal and Mount Moritz estates. In the early 1900s many began to work and live on the Mount Moritz estate as tenant farmers. The community became practically self-sufficient agriculturally and self-contained socially, interacting with the outside community mainly through the exchange of agricultural produce at Saturday markets. The Mt. Moritz Bajans were either disregarded by the white elite or scorned by the blacks because of their defiant pride (in their "whiteness") and independence. They were taunted and called derogatory names like "poor Backra," "poor Johnny" and "Mong Mong," the latter from Grenadians' Creole pronunciation of the village's name which derived from one of its owners' names, Moritz Hardman (Martin 2022). The Grenada government acquired the estate and in 1957 it became a Land Settlement Scheme, with many of the residents given deeds to plots. See also Sheppard (1977).

⁶² This has led to the common, but incorrect assumption/belief that the original Mt. Moritz Bajans came from Australia as some probably shared a similar past with the convicts who were sent to the penal colony there.

Mount Moritz through marriage, residence, etc. By the end of the 1970s the community was virtually integrated and today it would be difficult for someone without a knowledge of the area's history to account for the present racial mixture, which a recent census recorded as 52 percent mixed, 10 percent white, and 36 percent black. Some family names of the original settlers of Mount Moritz are still readily identifiable, including Chandler, Dowden, Edwards, Greaves, Hinds, Medford, Seales, and Searles. Mount Moritz remains a rather unique and interesting community because of its history, and is well known today for the Mount Moritz Breakfast, a monthly West Indian breakfast offering for Grenadians and visitors, especially returnees and their children.

The settlers from St. Vincent and The Grenadines did not congregate in a specific village like the Mount Moritz Bajans or the settlers in the Mt. Parnassus plantation, with the majority African-descent group blending in more easily with the larger Grenadian population because of their similarities. As there has been little research into the influences of immigrants from St. Vincent to Grenada, their impact is speculative based on anecdotal evidence, but they may have brought with them unique cultural attributes that remain in the Grenadian landscape today (George 2017). Like Grenada, the people of St. Vincent have a diverse background and may be partly responsible for the current belief/knowledge among a small number of Grenadians acknowledging Indigenous ancestry. St. Vincent remained one of the few Caribbean islands to retain an Indigenous-derived population throughout colonialism, and immigrants coming from there have acknowledged that fact. Thus, several Grenadian families, with ancestry from St. Vincent proudly acknowledge their Kali'nago and/or Garifuna heritage (i.e., "Last True Carib Descendant Dies" 2013). It is also believed that the Spiritual Baptist faith in Grenada was influenced by the Shakers from St. Vincent which was brought to the island by Vincentian settlers to Grenada between the late 1800s and early 1900s, but may have also been influenced by Grenadians returning from Trinidad where it had earlier become established, also by Vincentians (George 2017; Jacobs 1996; Pollak-Eltz 1993).⁶³ And though it was most likely that Barbadian immigrants introduced *Tea-meetings* to Grenada, Vincentian immigrants could have also played a role as they too practiced this speechifying ceremony.

⁶³ The passage of the Public Meetings ("Shakerism") Prohibition Ordinance by the Grenada colonial government in March 1927 may be an indication of the advent/popularity of the religious practice as it sought to ban the public gathering of "two or more persons at which obscene or immoral behavior or practices are indulged in," with a fine of £50 or up to five months in prison (George 2017).

The twin-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago, located 97-145 km (60-90 mi) south of Grenada, has been its closest Caribbean neighbor. The three islands form the gateway to the Lesser Antilles from South America and their histories have been entangled for quite some time, dating back to the precolonial period (Candlin 2022; Hanna 2019). As such, they have had centuries-old economic, political and social/cultural ties with each other that have resulted in ongoing connections and identities (Martin 2022). Since the late 18th century, Grenadians have been migrating to Trinidad, and though the majority have settled there permanently many maintained close ties with families in Grenada that endure even today. Because of this constant stream of Grenadian migrants there, their (along with Vincentians, Barbadians and others) impacts have been tremendous on the Trinidadian cultural landscape, today identified in parts of its Creole identity and, of course, its cultural expressions like its French *Patwa*, religious practices and its world-renowned carnival (Gill 2014; Jacobs 1996). But the relationship between the two islands has not been one directional as is quite evident in the impacts of Trinidad on the Grenadian landscape, especially by Grenadians returning from that island, illustrated especially in its modern celebration of carnival and folk religions (George 2017; Martin 2022). Many Trinidadians and Tobagonians today can trace their ancestry to Grenada and Carriacou because of this historical migration and enduring ties.

Since 1498, Grenada's Indigenous landscape has undergone tremendous transformations by regional and island migration of diverse peoples from across the world, particularly West and West-Central Africans and Europeans. These transformations have reverberated across its cultural landscape, creating an entangled Creole culture that is constantly changing due to ongoing in and out, and return migration. But probably more so now from the overwhelming presence of attractive cultural aspects via television and the Internet from across the globe as brought about by the unprecedented globalization taking place that ironically has its roots in the Caribbean archipelago since 1492.

**From Kali'nago to Creole:
(Re)Creating and Contesting the Creolized Grenada Islandscape¹**

"Our people are becoming in a manner like yours, since they came to be acquainted with you; and we find it some difficulty to know ourselves, so different are we grown from what we were here-to-fore."

Kali'nago man to Father Montel, Dominica
John Davies translation of Rochefort, *The History of the Caribby-Islands* (1666:250)

In the dim evening light, a voice bellowed, "Tim, Tim!" and all responded in unison, "Papa welcome!"² It is the usual greeting from the storyteller and response from the audience, as we anxiously awaited the night's event to unfold. You could hear a pin drop in the hushed silence in the roomful of children as we awaited Papa or Uncle Nadley to begin the evening of scary tall tales and exciting Anansi stories (that featured the Akan-derived trickster spider and other folk characters) (Martin 2022). The kids, all cousins, gathered in the small *board-house* belonging to Aunty Maude, our grandmother, for a few weeks during the rainy season when school was out. The house sat in the middle of a clearing on a hill called *Bwaden* surrounded by towering fruit trees and a cocoa orchard, and with no electric lights around (except inside the house) it got dark even before the sun set. The voice of Uncle Nadley was the only one audible as he weaved his scary tall tales of malevolent folk spirits that roamed the night battling hapless humans who do not appear likely to win out in the end, but somehow do. In one tale, he breaks into song, ominously crooning, "*Come along me boy, come along, come along, come along...*," as the evil father lures his son in for the final battle in the immortal oedipal struggle of sons against fathers, the future against the past, the new generation against the old, and the dying raging against the living. Before you know it Uncle Nadley uttered the words, "The story end and the wire bend," bringing the night of

¹ The title is a nod to Lennox Honychurch's (2000) *Carib to Creole: A History of Contact and Cultural Exchange in Dominica*.

² "Tim, Tim!" is possibly derived from the French Creole expression *Tiens, Tiens!* meaning "Hello, Look!" Sometimes it is the greeting "Cric?" or *Bwa Sèch!* (<Fr "dry wood"), with the audience responding "Crac!" (see Allsopp 1996).

storytelling to an end. All hushed in the surrounding darkness, we scurried off to our beds in fear and dread of the spirits now on the prowl, unleashed by Papa's incantations.

A few minutes later there was a commotion at the door as two of the older cousins returned to the house breathless from a shortened trip to the road to drop off a friend who had visited. Scared and frightened, they relayed a haunting tale right out of Papa's repertoire of scary stories, of being accosted by a *Lajablesse* that had suddenly appeared to them out of the darkness from under the trees as they walked past. Papa, without waiting to hear more, grabbed his cutlass and hurriedly ran to the place where they had spotted the "spirit." Unfortunately, it had already vanished into the dark night as Papa cursed it "*Pa malèwèz!*", hoping that it would be enough to scare it off for good.³

Imagine that night of storytelling being played out across the centuries, across the generations, across the Grenadian landscape. How different would it have been in style, content, setting, delivery, and/or language? In mid-1970s Grenada, Uncle Nadley told his stories to us in the English Creole of the rural peasantry where folk culture remained prominent in their everyday expressions, even though he knew the disappearing French *Patwa* (that I had never heard spoken by him or my grandmother). How would that night have played out fifty years before that when there was no electricity in the countryside and people gathered around *masanto* or kerosene lamps and many spoke *Patwa*? Or maybe one hundred years before that when all rural residents spoke *Patwa*, and stories were told under moonlit skies? Or even one hundred and seventy-five years earlier when captive Africans, arriving from West Africa with their memories more readily accessible, lived in the "slave yard" or villages on the plantations and shared their remembered stories of their respective homes? How would these stories have been told all the way back to the Kali'nago? Like the landscape around them, these stories have continuously changed, but nonetheless retained the multiple voices and memories of the countless storytellers like Papa who rendered them, passing on these tales to another generation, and another in slightly altered telling, until they get trapped in the pages of a book for all times (see Viechweg 2013, 2017).

Imagine once again, that among the children gathered in the small *board-house* to hear Papa's stories were teenage children like us from West Africa, England, Scotland and France,

³ Derived from the French Creole/*Patwa* via the French *pauvre malheureuse* meaning "poor/wretched person," but used here as a curse often accompanied by spitting to show intense disapproval. It was intended to curse the "evil" person or thing to hell, encouraging them to go away or disappear for good or forever. (Allsopp 1998:364; Winer 2009:816).

or even a young Kali'nago boy from Camáhogne. How would each of them experience these stories? What elements would they recognize, or would they recognize anything at all? Would the West African boy, maybe if he was Akan (from present-day Ghana or Ivory Coast), recognize the style and even the names of characters like *Anansi* and *Tacooma*? Would he also recognize the *Mami Wata* in the *Mama Glo*, the *Mmotia* in the *Douen*, or the *Sasabonsam* in the *Papa Bwa* (Pradel 1998, 2000; Warner-Lewis 1991)? Would the English boy recognize anything in the tall tales, or had they changed so much that there was no resemblance at all? Would he recognize English in the "Patoisi-fied," heavily accented English Creole that Papa rendered his Grenadian tales? Would he connect the imagery of Grenadian children dancing the maypole with the ancient spring festival of Europe, or recognize the European mermaid in the *Mama Glo*, the Old-Hag in the *Ligaroo* and *Sukuyant*, or the Jack o' Lantern in the *Lajablesse* (Beck 1975)? Would the French boy at least recognize words like *Lajablesse*, *Lougarou*, and *Mama Maladie* in the lingering French *Patwa* now embedded within English Creole, or some of their characteristics now transformed into these New World wandering spirits? Would the Kali'nago boy recognize the altered landscape where the malevolent spirits roamed? And would he recognize his many water spirits in the *Mama Glo*, or see glimpses of the shadows of the *Master of the Forest* in the *Papa Bwa* as it ran through familiar woods to escape its extinction? Maybe the universality of folktales would excite them all despite not knowing the nuances of these tales adapted to the Grenadian landscape—its forests, mangroves, streams and mountains, history and culture, and its diverse voices camouflaged in new renditions, new languages and dialects, new accents, new tales altogether that arose from the emerging Grenadian cultural landscape. For Grenadians, particularly of a certain era, however, this Creole cultural landscape of folktales and folklore are immediately recognizable and relatable because it is theirs, passed on to them from their ancestors, even as they continue to change, with many of the wandering folk spirits slowly disappearing into the night forever. "*Pa malèwèz!*"

7.1 Cooking Up the *One-Pot* Creolized Grenada Islandscape⁴

“Our culture is who we are! How we eat, how we speak, how we think, so we gotta preserve that... you know. So, it’s important for us to keep our identity of who we are. To preserve and maintain our rich cultural traditions. We are unique. There is no one else in the world like us, and we have to maintain, we have to keep our uniqueness, and, you know, we do that through our culture.”

(Sirek 2013:113)

The Grenadian cultural landscape, in incorporating as many as two millennia of human habitation from multiple and diverse cultures and peoples and continues to do so, remains uniquely Grenadian in its creolization. This is due to the numerous yet specific interactions and historical chronologies of these diverse peoples, their cultures and the Grenadian environment reacting to centuries of Indigenous and European invasions, genocide, plantation slavery, colonialism, indentureship, adoptability and resilience across the Grenada islandscape. This is reflected in its entangled palimpsest landscape that has been fashioned by the often forced interactions of these peoples and their ideas, experiences and memories. In the last five centuries it has been Indigenous, French, British, African, Caribbean, South and Central American, (East) Indian, and more recently North American, in varying degrees and times. All of these, however, have contributed to the Creole cultural space that is particularly Grenadian as it continually incorporates the foreign, the new, the other to create an evolving cultural landscape. This is the Grenadian landscape, a Creole landscape!

Despite the fact that this study is restricted to the period after 1498 and European invasion of the region, it argues that the process of creolization is not a new phenomenon to the Grenadian landscape, dating as far back to multiple Indigenous interactions in the precolonial era as the island has been at the crossroads of the southern Caribbean and its varied exchanges of peoples, materials and ideas (see Hofman et al. 2022; Jacobson 2023). In Grenada, since 1498, the process has been better documented, and thus illustrated, as in this study (see also Murphy 2021). Creolization produces changing outcomes depending on the multiple variables at any given time, exemplified in the last five centuries by the invasion of Europeans and enslaved Africans into an Indigenous-occupied and created space that has thus produced a contested cultural landscape today.

⁴ “A one-pot” is the efficient method of preparing foods like *Cook-up*, *Oildown* and *Calalu Soup* in one pot, historically over a three-stone fire. They are popular culinary dishes across Grenada and derived primarily among the poor rural and urban residents because of their simplicity and ease of preparation. They have also come to illustrate the mix of diverse ingredients, and thus a representation of Grenada’s Creole society, particularly the *mash-up* dish *Calalu*, often used as a metaphor for Caribbean Creole society (see Allsopp 1996).

Creolization of the Grenada island landscape, operating under the power dominance of invasions, slavery and colonialism, resulted in uneven contributions to the cultural landscape by these various groups. And despite the multiple and varied interactions that produced hybrid and new cultures, Abrahams (1967:456) argues that the resulting cultural life of islands like Grenada “is based on the institutions, values and expressions by these seekers of empire,” i.e. France and Great Britain in the case of Grenada. However, it has been and continues to be modified by conditions and cultures like the initial Indigenous peoples encountered and overwhelming numbers of Africans that were brought to this new and existing Indigenous space. Though it has been historically interpreted that two cultures—enslaved African laborers and European colonizers—were primary to this process, especially influenced by the power imbalances between them, this study posits that the Indigenous influences need to be fully acknowledged as an integral part of this process, particularly in the initial stages and the fact that the landscape was initially an indigenized one (see Murphy 2021; Newton 2013).

The initial process of creolization in Grenada operated under several changing conditions that included the interactions with 1) Indigenous peoples in their created cultural landscape, 2) multiple, diverse and numerically large groups of captive Africans from across western Africa, and 3) dominant, but minority French and British colonizers and settlers. Despite their initial control of the landscape, the Indigenous residents were unable to defend against the more powerful European invaders, which led to their gradual physical extermination from the Grenada island landscape (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1769]; Martin 2013). Despite their overwhelming numerical superiority since the late 1600s, captive Africans were “divested of their African heritage” through the process of deculturation through “seasoning”⁵ that attempted to sever all ties with their cultural past and their “roots” (Abrahams 1967). The continuous influx of new (captive) Africans until the end of the Slave Trade in 1808⁶ and African indenture (1849-63), however, served to replenish African cultural memories into the cultural landscape despite the multiple attempts by the colonial state and churches to destroy them (see Burton 1993).

The French and later British were able to exercise outsized power dominance over all others, and imposed their institutions, values and expressions across the colonial cultural landscape

⁵ “Seasoning” was the process the newly arrived captives underwent in order to acclimate them to the slave environment that would define the rest of their lives. It included receiving a “slave name,” learning the language/Creole, and adjusting to the new diet, etc. This was done primarily by Creole enslaved.

⁶ Though the British Slave Trade was abolished in 1807 the last two slave ships arrived in Grenada in 1808, with the *Commerce* from Sierra Leone the last ship to arrive in February 1808.

of Grenada (Abrahams 1967). Because of that power differential between the groups, Abrahams (1967:458,460) contends that even though European and African cultures came together in a world alien to them both, they, however, “found a certain amount of common ground, and built upon this commonality, developing new modes of expression as the sense of the peasant community developed” via syncretism, eventually creating new cultures, Creole cultures. The cultural expression of the emerging Grenadian peasantry (and thus Grenadian society), however, was primarily European derived as is evident, but Abrahams (1967:459) qualifies,

“This suppressive process accounts for the elimination or modification of African traits on most levels of organization—religion, government, family and so forth. But habits of expression were almost impossible to control except by undermining their functional value. The most public forms of traditional expression, such as rituals and festivals, could be discouraged, but most of the more private modes of performance, such as storytelling, divining and healing, even singing, could hardly be policed out of existence.”

What survived of African cultural memories in the emerging Caribbean (and Grenadian) Creole landscape, Abrahams (1967) contends, were primarily the practices and beliefs that the Europeans allowed and/or tolerated, or what they could not police out of existence. Collins (1990:29-30) adds that “European oppression and domination of socio-economic life did not succeed in complete subjugation of the African consciousness.” And, of course, the extent and direction of creolization would depend on the overall numbers of enslaved Africans versus enslaved Creoles that changed over time, especially after the ending of the Slave Trade when enslaved Creoles dominated (Burton 1997). So together with the European-imposed institutions, values and expressions (that were promoted by the emerging mixed-race and white urban elite that would replace the British colonial hierarchy), the Africans and their descendants combined their limited tolerated African memories and imitated/imposed European cultural expressions into Grenada’s emerging folk culture that would become a major part of the Creole cultural landscape, becoming less and less “Afro-Creole” and more “Grenadian Creole” as the contact with Africa through the importation of new captive Africans lessened and later ended (Burton 1997). That Grenada’s Creole landscape is visible across its cultural space and identifiable in almost every aspect of its society, illustrated most profoundly in its folk traditions, cuisine, agriculture (particularly its provision gardens), institutions (education, judiciary, politics, etc.), and even its personal names.

Though folk or traditional culture, practiced especially in the rural areas where it is part of everyday lived experiences, is often defined as (West-)African derived, it is in fact more accurately described as Creole, resulting from various folk practices that have syncretized over the centuries from multiple origins, but primarily African and European since the 17th century (see Abrahams 1967; Beck 1975). The term folk culture is used to group all of the traditional knowledge and customs that are not specifically identified as European or “Euro-Creole” (which is usually viewed as the domain of the urban elite and middle class) in origin though often heavily influenced by it in many ways, sometimes even incorporating large portions of bygone European folk traditions like funerary rites, annual celebrations, children’s games, sports, official holidays, and nursery rhymes (Abrahams 1967; Martin 2007, 2022). Though defining elements of Grenada’s culture are traceable to West and West-Central Africa, western Europe and even Indigenous peoples of the Americas, Grenadian (and Caribbean) folk culture is an adaptation to the local landscape by enslaved Africans and their descendants, and the urban elites to create new cultures from the broken fragments and memories of these diverse cultures (Burton 1997; Paterson 1975; Walcott 1993; Warner-Lewis 1991, 1996).

This rural folk culture, which could be termed “Afro-Creole” in its early stages after Burton (1997) because of its greater influence from fading African memories, is often viewed in direct opposition to the perceived refined culture of the urban elite. Burton defines the latter as “Euro-Creole,” being more heavily derived from European cultural influences which have dominated the island since colonization (Burton 1997; Paterson 1975; Smith 1965a,b). The rural or folk culture is often perceived as more heavily influenced by African memories, and in some cases that is clearly evident, hence Burton’s (1997) “Afro-Creole” designation. Yet, they both, however, continually take from each other in various exchanges, sometimes involuntarily (like imposed educational instruction), other times through mimicry, and/or even intentionally when identified as beneficial. Though folk-derived culture is the lifeblood of the island in many ways as it is the dominant cultural expressions of the majority of its people, it is often rejected or shunned by the urban elite as inferior and backward or usually sanitized if utilized because of its perceived connections to Africa and African memories, but also because it is seen as rural and unrefined. Many of these fading folk memories can (just barely still) be recognized across the Grenadian cultural landscape in its disappearing folk-spiritual practices, superstitious beliefs, storytelling, folk dances, folk music, folklore, and forms of association like *Maroon* and *Susu*, but still vibrantly celebrated in Grenada’s

traditional carnival masquerades, dance, rhythms, the increasing use of bush medicines, idiomatic expressions, and popular cuisine (see Kopka 2013; Martin 2022; Sirek 2013).

Like its folk traditions and much of its culture, Grenadian food dishes are readily associated with West Africa, Europe, and the Americas, but, like much of its culture, the island's cuisine is Creole, locally and/or regionally (Goucher 2014). This creolization is exemplified in many of its popular dishes like *Rice and Peas*, *Curry Goat*, *Calalu Soup*, *Oildown*, and *Cook-Up/Pelau*, with their diverse mix of ingredients from multiple sources, various preparation styles, cooking techniques, and even utensils used to prepare them. Enslaved Africans and their descendants, forced to provide most of their daily sustenance, forged much of Grenada's culinary tradition out of Indigenous, European, and African plants, animals, styles and practices within the Grenadian historical landscape to create a variety of food dishes, many one-pot creations cooked on three-stone fires or the ubiquitous coalpot (Martin 2022). Over the years, these have gradually changed as new ingredients and styles are added to cater to evolving local tastes and experiences, thus creating the current Grenadian Creole cuisine. Today, many of these food dishes, having changed over time and still continue to change, remain popular and are promoted as Grenada's "traditional cuisine" available at restaurants and hotels, having come to define Grenadian cuisine, and more importantly Grenadian identity.

One food dish that probably reflects that process the most, or rather can be seen as a metaphor for it is Grenada's popular national dish *Oildown* (GTA 2021; Neuman 2016).⁷ By the early 1970s *Oildown* was christened the island's national dish and thereafter celebrated (Kay 1971).⁸ As Grenada was beginning to consider its almost impossible route to independence as a SIDS in the late 1960s and early 1970s under political leader Eric Gairy, national symbols began to emerge and promoted across the country and region (Benoit 2020; UWI 1974). Grenada was beginning to be recognized for its traditional cuisine in travel magazines as it was promoted as an emerging tourist destination, but little was recorded of this cuisine, however.⁹ Popular local food dishes included *Rice and Peas*, *Fish-Broff* (broth),

⁷ It's interesting to note that *Oildown* as we know it was not a common food dish across Grenada before the 1970s. It appears that it was popular in the northeast, particularly eastern St. Patrick, and eaten in several parts of the island. Around 1970 it was chosen and promoted as the national dish when the tourism industry in Grenada was expanding, and also when Grenada was about to achieve political independence from the UK.

⁸ Though *Oildown* is recognized as Grenada's national dish by the Grenada Tourism Authority and across the Government of Grenada, the designation is not official as it has never been gazetted in the official *Grenada Government Gazette*.

⁹ In 2021 Grenada was certified a "Culinary Capital" by the World Food Travel Association in its inaugural program to help market destinations to renew tourism following the Covid pandemic.

Cou-Cou and Fish, Crab and Calalu, and even *Fish and Oil*, but *Oildown* was not on the national menu, suddenly usurping that role from its rural origins. If any dish deserved that appellation, it probably was the popular *Rice and Peas* and *Stew(ed)-Chicken* that were eaten across the islands, especially on Sundays.

At present, *Oildown* lacks historical antecedent except that it was once known as “steam down” and probably dates to the mid to late 1800s when it was simply a tasty way to cook the recently accepted breadfruit and other vegetables.¹⁰ The dish developed in the countryside, particularly in the northeast of Grenada—northern St. Andrew and eastern St. Patrick where it was one of several foods made by residents in the surrounding communities.¹¹ Over the years it has changed, but like *Cook-up* and several other popular dishes, it is a one-pot that combined an array of (historical) ground provisions, especially breadfruit, and meats in a unique mix of local spices particularly turmeric (confusedly called saffron in Grenada), coconut milk and dasheen leaves (*Calalu*) to create an appetizing and visually appealing colorful dish. Eric Gairy and his government were responsible for promoting it as a national dish as he was aware of its origins among the rural peasantry from whom he derived his most ardent support. Like its diverse ingredients and style, *Oildown* gradually brought Grenadians together around the idea of a national dish that could be celebrated as one-hundred percent Grenadian despite its obscure origin and tourism promotion.¹²

Though only a few crops and fruits are readily attributed to Indigenous derivation like cassava, sweet potato, corn and papaya, there were many contributions, including an array of plants like peppers and pumpkin, meats from local animals like the agouti, *tatu* and *manicou*,

¹⁰ The introduction of the breadfruit to the Eastern Caribbean has been much celebrated when it was brought to the St. Vincent Botanical Gardens in 1793 by the infamous Captain Bligh aboard the *HMS Providence* as a staple food to feed the enslaved. It arrived in Grenada by the early 1800s, but the enslaved and later peasantry were slow to use it as was intended, preferring instead to continue with their ground provisions (see Martin 2022).

¹¹ “Steam down” was probably the initial process for cooking breadfruit which was introduced to Grenada when seedlings arrived from the St. Vincent Botanical Gardens under Dr. Anderson in the early 1800s, but did not become a popular food item until around the mid-1800s, and a common food dish by the late 1800s and early 1900s. A quite similar dish is popular in Trinidad and may have derived from a Grenadian introduction, possibly as early as the late 1800s. It is interesting to note that the northern part of the island has been identified as a dynamic cultural region because of the settlement of indentured Africans in the mid to late 1800s. See also Franklyn (2007).

¹² Some form of Grenada *Oildown* was probably taken to Trinidad and Tobago by Grenadians moving there, sometime in the late 1800s/early 1900s where it was recorded in 1907 in a recipe for “Oiled Down” in a local cookbook. There are subtle differences in the recipes from Trinidad, however, and some would add that even the preparations distinguish them from each other. Trinidad *Oildown* lacks provisions, sometimes dumplings, and the all-important turmeric that gives it its distinct color and flavor; they use annatto/*rocou* for coloring. It is also likened to *Metamgee* in Guyana because ground provisions are cooked in coconut milk, and *Run-Down* in Jamaica because fish/seafood is cooked in coconut milk and often served with boiled provisions and dumplings (Jamaican “food”).

and seafoods like *lambi*/conch, crabs, *brigo*/whelks and fin fishes (see Pagán-Jiménez and Mickleburgh 2022). Not only were the methods to procure these foods Indigenous, but so too were their preparations for and even cooking methods. With her mortar and pestle, some West African crops and cooking practices, enslaved Africans (re)created from memories foods influenced by their own traditions, but using local ingredients and/or some of their own imports that were already established in their provision gardens (Pulsipher 1990). Adding European and Asian spices, North Atlantic salted cod or saltfish, European salted meats and cooking utensils, completing the initial triumvirate that would form the basis of Grenada's culinary fare for centuries. Indian and other culinary traditions were subsequently added, with significant regional influences. But Grenada's Creole cuisine was forged when these one-pot dishes, popular in the rural areas among the peasantry and working class as a matter of expediency and affordability, mixed with the food dishes of the poor urban dwellers and middle class who had more blended dishes of European-derived flavors, etc., thus creating Grenada's ever evolving Creole cuisine (Martin 2022). Though *Oildown*, Roti, *Doubles*, various soups and broths are very popular, a typical Sunday meal for many Grenadians today, especially in the urban areas, is illustrative of this celebrated Grenadian Creole cuisine: macaroni and/or (Irish/white) potato pie, white rice, or rice and (pigeon) peas, boiled ground provisions as "side dishes" like yams, sweet potato, green *fig*/banana, dasheen, plantain, and/or eddoes, fried plantains, stew chicken/goat or boiled/fried fish, pumpkin or *Calalu*, stewed peas, and cold slaw and/or green salad.¹³ This can be had with sorrel, ginger beer, *seamoss* or lime/passion-fruit/golden-apple juice, and cake, sweet-potato pudding/pone, buns/coconut drops or local ice cream like soursop for dessert. It is a potpourri of diverse tastes and flavors from across the historical cultural landscape that identifies Grenadian cuisine as Creole, as uniquely Grenadian, but oftentimes as Caribbean.

Grenadians today speak Grenadian Standard English (GSE) and English Creole as their only forms of communication, and most do so interchangeably and effortlessly, despite a nostalgia for an earlier French Creole/*Patwa*, and still earlier lost African tongues (Allsopp 1996; Holbrook 2005; Joseph 2021). English Creole is, however, a 20th century creation as the lingua franca of Grenada was *Patwa* and spoken by the majority of Grenadians until the last decades of the 1800s when it began its demise by the early 1900s, but not before loaning much of its vocabulary and sometimes structure to its replacement English Creole (Collins

¹³ *Oildown* is enjoyed across the island on Fridays, while soups like pigeon-pea and calalu soup are usually reserved for Saturdays. A Sunday breakfast, often described as West Indian, can be extensive as it incorporates a mix of traditional and modern fare.

1998; Holbrook 2005; Joseph 2021). By 1887, Hearn (1890:91) observed that “In the mixed English and Creole speech of the black population one can discern evidence of a linguistic transition. The original French patois is being rapidly forgotten or transformed irreducibly (sic).” Though GSE is taught in schools across the islands and maintained in government administration and businesses, especially in urban areas, English Creole dominates in most environments. A simple stroll through the bustling urban center of St. George’s takes you on a roller-coaster ride through the island’s Creole language landscape. At a brief stop in the central Market Square you will hear a cacophony of voices, echoes or flavors of Grenada’s various vocal renditions. You are more apt to hear a strongly accented “Patois-ified” English Creole in the Market Square, but if you listen carefully you will discern the elements of GSE that is more prevalent as you travel from the Square to surrounding government offices or businesses like commercial banks, and then the schools on the hill above as the latter institutions reinforce the official language. The dominance of English Creole in places like the Market Square or rural areas across Grenada is a direct influence of *Patwa* as both were used parallelly, with the latter being replaced by the former in due course, but leaving its trace of its deep past embedded within (Holbrook 2005).

Grenada’s language history has thus created a bilingualism, though the transition for some is not always easy (Collins 1998; Kephart 1992, 2000). Some, like Kephart (1983), contend that “although English always has been assumed to be the native language of the population... this is in fact not the case. Failure to take this into account has been, and continues to be, a major obstacle to realistic education in the West Indies.” Proponents of the dual language scenario suggest that GSE be taught as a second language to better provide realistic and efficient educational instruction to the majority of the island’s children who are more proficient in English Creole, their first language (Kephart 1992).

Despite its current widespread use, (Grenada’s) English Creole is threatened by other seemingly attractive Creoles arriving in popular mediums from places like Jamaica and the US, but this can also be seen as the continuation of the process of creolization in small island spaces, constantly taking in new ideas and recreating itself each time. Thus, the widespread use of English Creole is the epitome of creolization of the Grenadian cultural landscape as it has incorporated words, phrases, styles, grammar, expressions and intonations from the *Kali’nago*, French, multiple West African languages and dialects, English and the languages and Creoles of the surrounding islands, countries and continents (Allsopp 1996; Chase and Chase 2011; Collins 1998; Francis 2016; Holbrook 2005; Kephart 2000; La Grenade-Lashley

2016). For now, Grenada's English Creole continues to be the gateway through which the voices of the Grenadian Creole cultural landscape can be heard and read, despite its continuous changes, or maybe, because of them.

The Grenada educational system is a direct product of the British colonial model that it derived from, dating to the late 1830s when the colonial government began promoting education in its former slave societies that had deliberately denied education to the majority of the population (Brizan 1998; Lewis et al. 2021). It was an educational system designed to provide the basics in reading, writing, arithmetic and ethics through religious-based instructions as it was widely held that more was not needed for the majority who would be laborers and agricultural workers (Brizan 1998). As it reflected the British model, it was based on rote learning, discipline or rather fear via corporal punishment, a top-down approach, and strict enforcement of uniforms and a prescribed sense of decency all within a Church-State system that exemplified acquiescence and obedience to succeed (Baldacchino 2018; Brizan 1998; Devas 1932, 1974; Lewis et al. 2021). Though there have been many attempts to indigenize and upgrade the educational system, particularly during the period of the Grenada Revolution, much remains to be done (see Hickling-Hudson 2006; Jules 1992; 2013). It has, however, experienced several important changes over the years that define it more as a creolized system, having taken from other countries in the region and North America where many teachers have been educated and continually interact professionally.

On any given Saturday, a visit to the markets in the towns across Grenada will reveal an array of “provisions” like sweet potato, yams, tannia, dasheen, plantain, breadfruit, *bluggoe* and *fig*; vegetables like tomato, cabbage, cucumber, pigeon peas, peppers, corn, okra and carrot; fruits like banana, mangoes, coconut, sorrel, soursop, watermelon, citrus and papaya; and spices like cinnamon, ginger and turmeric, depending on which are in season (Martin 2022). Mostly women, sitting under umbrellas to shade from the blistering sun, exhibit their produce on trays for sale. It is a rather lively affair as the open market takes on its own life with the constant chatter of voices and trading exchanges. So accustomed we have become to the current agricultural landscape that the history of the crops, of the practices of production, of the tools used, and even the market display are almost forgotten or taken for granted.¹⁴ But all

¹⁴ The artifacts of the agricultural landscape are but few, with the (short-handle) hoe the primary tool used during slavery and derived from West African origins; the traditional digging stick has been replaced by the garden fork. An improved version (i.e. long handle) of the hoe is still used in farming today. The *kata* (<Congo *nkata*: “a pad for the shoulder or head,” <Twi *nkata*: “a covering”), a pad made of dry banana leaves but more often of cloth for the head when carrying heavy loads, is still used as such, but also incorporated into the attire

of these provisions, vegetables and fruits are grown primarily by small farmers in their provision and home gardens across the island in plots of land around their homes in the valleys or on hillsides much as they were grown by their fathers, grandmothers, and great grandfathers (Brierley 1974, 1984, 1991; Kopka 2013; Pulsipher 1990). It is a practice that has been handed down for generations, as each family strove to be self-sufficient in food production as a matter of necessity, with the surplus going to weekly markets for sale. For many poor families, the weekly sales are necessary in order to procure additional foods, especially meats.

The provision garden is at the heart of Grenadian society, especially in rural communities where, based on oral tradition, some of these mountain lands that were provided by plantations to the enslaved have remained in families even though many lack deeds to these continuously farmed areas for generations (Mills 2002, 2007; Olwig 199; Pulsipher 1990; Williams 2003). It is at the root of survival, the beginning of self-sufficiency, the production from which the peasantry grew and survived. It is a direct descendant of the “slave gardens” or “provision grounds” that developed under the British from the earlier French plantation gardens that were required by law to ensure the availability of food for the enslaved who occasionally experienced severe food shortages and regular nutritional deficiencies (Brierley 1991; Sheridan 1985). Many of the crops produced in provision gardens today are not different from those grown in “slave gardens” hundreds of years ago, though several minor ones have disappeared altogether (Berleant-Schiller and Pulsipher 1986; Brierley 1985). As Bayley (1833:422) illustrates, “In his provision ground he [the enslaved] plants Guinea grass [to sell as animal feed], Indian corn, yams, taniers, okros, peppers, etc. He also procures fruit, growing in his own garden, or in other parts on or in the neighborhood of the estate.” The diversity of plants grown in the provision gardens provides a history lesson on so many aspects of the slave trade, slavery and plantation society. The enslaved grew an assortment of African crops that s/he was quite familiar with from West Africa that were brought to the Caribbean and Grenada. These included plants like yam, dasheen, banana, plantain, watermelon, okra, sesame, sorrel, and kola nut (Carney 2009; Martin 2022; Pulishper 1990; Watts 1987). Even the Caribbean crops that dominated the gardens like cassava, sweet potato and corn were familiar to most West Africans because these were quite common and incorporated into African agriculture and diets since their introductions by Europeans

of the Shakespeare masquerade of Carriacou where it supports the crown (Martin 2022). The ubiquitous Saturday market displays are reminiscent of any West African market scene then and now.

beginning in the 16th century (Carney 2009). Today, provision gardens litter the Grenadian landscape, a legacy of the vital role they played in the lives of the enslaved and the importance they held as a cultural space that has been handed down through the generations, providing a sense of pride in producing one's own food, a security that is threatened today because less and less are being produced in these gardens as the cultural landscape continues to change (Kopka 2013).

Names—of people, places and things—are very important in forging and maintaining personal and social identity, and the process in a creolized landscape like Grenada's is illustrative. Captive Africans were not allowed to keep their personal names as part of the process of deculturation even though several African names survived slavery (Martin 2020, 2022).¹⁵ The majority of the enslaved were given either French, English or Scottish-derived first (and only) names as a way to sever their African identity and connections, hence the reference to current family names of their descendants as “slave names” made popular by activists like Malcolm X in rejecting his European-derived surname of Little or more the absence of his African name. Today, the majority of Grenadians bear these names as personal and family names, with some feeling a sense of loss as their desire to know their “stolen” African names, and thus African identities, as specific names connected to geographic spaces and nations. Though many believe that their family name is that of a slave owner or other whites, many family names in Grenada are in fact not directly derived from white slave owners' names (Martin 2020). There is little on slave names and naming practices, which makes it rather difficult to trace ancestry beyond the limited official records like the Civil List that began in 1866 for most Grenadians or limited earlier baptismal records. But it is clear from a review of Grenadian surnames that a majority are derived from French and English names (Forebears 2014). Many of these surnames, however, are mostly French and English male first names that were converted to surnames when the ex-enslaved needed to create family names in the post-Emancipation period (Martin 2020). Despite the common belief that most surnames today are derived from white plantation/slave owners and managers, it is quite evident that many ex-enslaved used their given (and only) names to create their family names, a practice supported by the few surviving African male first names now used exclusively as surnames (i.e., Ackee, Cudjoe, Cuffy, Quamina and Quashie); though there were several African female first names used among the enslaved, none survived as family names as might be

¹⁵ Day names of the Asanti were the most commonly used African names among enslaved people and these were passed on to Creole enslaved born in Grenada, ensuring their survival. The use of these few African names for Creole enslaved also possibly illustrate the naming of enslaved by their parents, grandparents or godparents.

expected.¹⁶ Slave owners/managers/overseers' last names held by Grenadians as family names most likely imply a blood connection.

Like personal and family names, the Grenadian landscape was named by the French, English and Scots as they exercised the authority to name the landscape due to their political power dominance and desire to recreate or familiarize this Indigenous landscape to their own back home (Hutchinson 2021). The enslaved and their descendants, however, were responsible for maintaining these names, and at times insisting that a certain name remains even when officially removed as in the case of Gouyave in St. John and Labay in St. Andrew. The majority of street and place names have been rendered by the French and British and thus reflect European themes, but nonetheless capture a mix of both colonizers, hence the recent call for changes to these colonial monuments to more reflect current Grenadian society (Straker 2021; see also Wesche 1961). It should be noted that when the British captured the island they replaced many of the French street names with their own, just as the French had replaced the Kali'nago names with their own.

A short walk up Lucas Street in St. George's to the new Houses of Parliament building on one of the few openings of Parliament provides a scene almost out of the history books or a display in the survival of British colonialism, heritage or legacy.¹⁷ The panoply is directly out of the colonial playbook as the pomp and ceremony are reminiscent of scenes across the former British Empire. The dress, colors and artifacts reinforce symbols of the British Parliamentary model transferred to Grenada during colonialism and adopted almost fully attired after Grenadian Independence. At the opening of the new Parliament the display, including the arrival of the governor general (as the representative of the British Monarch), the inspection of the Royal Grenada Police Force, and the procession of the Maces into the chamber harken back centuries. Though there have been changes over the last five decades, these have been few, superficial and gradual, like the abandonment of the wearing of the white wigs by several officials, including the Speaker of the House of Representatives and

¹⁶ The view that current family names are inherited from slave owners is primarily derived from the North American custom where it was common to give enslaved names based on their owners' names. Slave naming practices in the Caribbean were quite diverse and dependent on local conditions, varying even within a single colonial realm as is evident in the former British Caribbean.

¹⁷ Lucas Street is after William Lucas (d1785), prominent resident, plantation owner and legislator who owned the general area along much of the street that was purchased by the colonial government to extend the town and create the residence of the governor at Government House.

President of the Senate, but the reigning British monarch still sits incongruously as Grenada's ceremonial, but highest official of state (Figure 7.1).¹⁸



Figure 7.1: Procession of the Maces into the new Houses of Parliament, with various officials wearing white wigs, since discontinued, 2018 (courtesy Government of Grenada)

Grenada's entire Parliamentary democracy is modeled on that of the Westminster system, inherited upon its independence via its constitution granted in 1974 from the UK, but derived from its 1968 Statehood Constitution, with minor adjustments (Alexis 1991, 1997; Thorndike 1979; UWI 1974). Connected to its Parliamentary democracy is its electoral political structure, again a direct inheritance from the British model and in existence since 1951 with the advent of universal adult suffrage and the emergence of political parties (Grenade 2010, 2013). The deficiencies in its two-party system and first past the post model have resulted in unequal electoral representation, especially in the past few elections where one party garnered total control of the lower chamber of the Parliament, oftentimes with only narrow

¹⁸ Though some question the continued relevance of the British monarch as Grenada's head of state, the idea of removing this colonial anachronism has never really gained much traction as it has in some of the other states in the region like Guyana (1970), Trinidad (1976), Dominica (1978), and Barbados (2021) which chose to relinquish this status to become Parliamentary republics. The fanfare over Barbados' decision and the call for reparative justice and apology for slavery have reignited the discourse and may promote the idea in a new light (Yang 2022).

majorities (Grenade 2013).¹⁹ Multiple attempts to change the Grenada constitution have met with disapproval, particularly the failure of two referenda in 2016 and 2018, leaving the issue of constitutional reform undone (Grenade 2018, 2020).

Continuing through the capital St. George's from Lucas Street to the Financial Complex on the Carenage or the government complex on the grounds of the former Botanical Gardens at Tanteen (since 2017 the Sir Eric Matthew Gairy Botanical Gardens), will reveal more of the British influences. Here, the everyday functions of the government bureaucracy are on full display, modeled on that of the colonial administration inherited from the British, much of it functioning as it did before Independence, except now incompatibly computerized. There have been superficial changes due more to new technologies grafted onto antiquated and inefficient administrative and hierarchical systems. Its civil service, again, little removed from its colonial counterpart, has seen little substantial changes in the past half century, burdened with antiquated inefficiencies and a lack of desire for change.

Like its political system, the judiciary and policing structures were also inherited from the British colonial model, not much altered since. As you walk across the city you will see black robed lawyers or rather barristers walk from their offices on Church and Lucas Streets to the various courts scattered across the town, following the destruction of the main court building by Hurricane Ivan in 2004. Its judicial system, with the Privy Council in the UK as its final court of appeal, despite a Caribbean Court of Justice, is based on English Common Law.²⁰ These various institutions are presided over by the Royal Grenada Police Force still occupying the bastion of French and British colonialism on the island, Fort George.²¹

The Grenada Creole landscape of today is not the Creole landscape of my parents, nor that of my grandparents, nor of my great grandparents as it has continuously changed across time. Though each generation often bemoans the disappearance of various elements of its culture not being passed on to the next generation, it is a part of the process embedded in creolization, a process that instigates change across cultures, across the world. Our cultural landscape constantly changes as we travel from one generation to the next, leaving behind things that are no longer needed for the next phase of the journey. Technology makes some

¹⁹ A similar situation has emerged in Barbados where one party won all seats in Parliament in two consecutive elections in 2018 and 2021.

²⁰ Grenadians voted on two occasions (2016 and 2018) to reject constitutional changes that would have replaced the final appeal to the Privy Council with that of the Caribbean Court of Justice, among others.

²¹ A World Bank project will make Fort George solely a visitor attraction with the removal of the RGPF Headquarters though a new site for the RGPF has not been identified to date, but expected to happen by December 2023.

cultural elements irrelevant, as education and knowledge allow us to discard old and unusable parts, as social advancement makes anachronistic practices and beliefs outdated, and as new ideas and practices, not necessarily advantageous, continually wash onto our island shores from other islands, other peoples, other countries, and other continents.

The idea of Caribbean creolization as hybridity of its diverse peoples has been extolled by Caribbean intellectuals, academics, artists and many others as captured in the words of Barnabé et al. (1990:75) who insist that we are “Neither Europeans, nor Africans, nor Asians, we proclaim ourselves Creoles.” Carnival artist Peter Minshall beautifully sums up his culturally layered Trinidadian society and its cultural hybridity (Minshall 2019) thus:

*I am not a European / I am not an African / I am not an Indian
I am not a Chinese or a Syrian / I am not Amerindian
I am not American / North or south
I am none of these / I am all of these
I am a rare hybrid / I am a richly textured, multi-layered creature
Precious as a pearl / The world is my oyster
I see the world clearly from my island vantage
I do not harbor the vanities of a big city dweller
or someone from a large, vast continent
I am the tip of the spear that leads into the future
I am a Caribbean....*

Despite the almost two millennia of Indigenous habitation from South America and the region that are still identifiable in artifacts and *memory-traces*, the Grenadian landscape is not Indigenous, nor Arawak, nor “Taino,” nor Kali’nago, nor Kali’na. In spite of the forced integration of a century of French colonialism that is discernable in numerous ways across the Grenadian plantation and monumental landscape, it is not French, nor French Creole. Notwithstanding integrating almost two centuries of habitation of numerous and diverse peoples from western Africa, and embodying their and their descendants’ resilience, and the continued presence of African *memory-traces*, it is not African, nor Yoruba, nor Ibo, nor Asante.... Despite imposing and merging two centuries of British colonialism into the modern Grenadian state apparatus, it is not British, nor English, nor Scottish. Even with the incorporation of thousands of indentured immigrants from British India, Malta and Madeira, with the noticeable presence of their *memory-traces* in the Grenadian landscape, it is not Indian, nor Maltese, nor Madeiran. Grenada is its own cultural landscape created by the processes of creolization over centuries of these diverse interactions—oftentimes under violent

and involuntary instigation, imitation and/or sheer survival—to create the Grenada Creole islandscape that is celebrated today, even as it continues to change, and constantly contested.

7.2 Contesting Roots and Origins Along the Journeys of the Ancestors

“In colonial times Grenadians found it socially advantageous to de-emphasize their cultural roots because those roots suggested connections with slavery. For the last two decades, the upsurge of the Black Power movement and other contemporary events have generated a search for those cultural roots. It is significant, however, that the members of these movements do not look for their roots in the land of their birth. For some Grenadians, as in colonial times, the ‘center of the universe’ is still elsewhere. In this instance, it is in Africa.”

CCA (1991:34)

Grenada, like its Caribbean neighbors, experienced a traumatic history in the over 500 years since European invasion of the region, including genocide, slavery and colonialism. These have birthed a complicated settlement landscape, a convoluted and tortured history, a complex society, and contested cultural landscapes. Thomas (2004:2), commenting on the French Caribbean but also applicable to Grenada, regards the European colonial domination of Martinique and Guadeloupe as resulting in the suffering of “deep alienation regarding their cultural identities,” with “a conflicted sense of their own unique history and identity. This feeling of emptiness and rootlessness has given way to an impassioned and, at times, haunting search for origins.” Brathwaite (1975) also identifies the Caribbean’s “sense of rootlessness, of not belonging to the landscape; dissociation, in fact, of art from act of living,” or “the absence of a sense of ‘wholeness’” (Kamugisha 2019:78). This disassociation appears to stem from the continuous rejection by Europeans to access to the Creole landscape, resulting in a resentment of that landscape and a seeking to a mythological past that appear more welcoming (Benoit 2020). But as Kamugisha (2019:78) adds, “the issue of ‘roots’ and ‘origins’ as one of the primary means to affirm cultural identity” is complicated because of the region’s complex history of genocide and African slavery.

Despised and rejected for their African ancestry and cultural memories (by European colonials and their descendants, including the mix-race elite), the descendants of enslaved Africans in Grenada, like across the African or Black Diaspora, have sought to reclaim and own their shunned ‘blackness’ by affirming its beauty and pride, along with symbolically

rejoining the severed links to Africa as the land of their “origins,” of “mama Africa” (Césaire 2013; Garvey 2004; Thomas 2004). This attempt to forge a self-ascribed identity, an African identity from the broken pieces of Caribbean history and imposed European colonial identities was/is a sincere effort to create dignity from disparagement and degradation, celebration from amnesia, acceptance from rejection, and confidence from contempt. It is meant to create cultural empowerment for a dejected people. This rediscovered African identity, exemplified in Pan-Africanism and later Black Power (with the adoption of African names, wear, etc.), dominates the discourse from the beginning of the 20th century. It had sought to reconnect the rupture caused by the Atlantic Slave Trade and plantation slavery that severed the connections between African peoples and their descendants and their biological and cultural origins, and the feeling of rejection in these exiled landscapes. This discourse would be expounded on by the Jamaican National Hero Marcus Garvey (2004) and others. Césaire (2013), under the banner of *Négritude*, saw it as the most viable agency “to give contemporary Caribbean society a tangible history and motherland,” affording “the rediscovery of an African identity because of the degradation of black people in the Caribbean” (Thomas 2004). Césaire (2013) and others envisioned that *Négritude* would raise the consciousness of blacks, especially in the Caribbean, gaining much from their identity with the African homeland of their ancestors. Africa thus became the “roots” meant to ground disparate blacks in the Diaspora who had been searching for an identity and an ancestral home that had seemingly alluded them in the colonized lands of the Caribbean archipelago where many felt rejected, resented and abandoned.

Négritude, in connecting directly to the ancestral African homeland, appeared to reject the multiple journeys of the African diaspora and thus cultural assimilation within colonial cultural boundaries like the Caribbean, in favor of Africa as a single-root tree “which produces the blossoms that are the Caribbean islands” (Thomas 2004). Its quest for purity, despite its defense of it, remained one of the criticisms, while others questioned its romanticizing of long lost African origins. And as Zargarzadeh (2017:718) insists, “The quest for ‘single roots’ in and for the Caribbean is bound to fail.” That many, specifically within the African Diaspora, have leveled strong criticisms against *Négritude* as an approach to creating cultural identity within the region has resulted in the creation of new approaches even as it has influenced them.

An illustration of the impact of the acceptance of an African identity is the rejection of multiple aspects of the Caribbean Creole identity. Some Grenadians regard the only language

that they speak, GSE and/or its derivative English Creole, as a foreign tongue, not their ‘true’ language because it derived from the language of the colonizer (i.e., the British) of their African ancestors who were kidnapped from western Africa and forced to relinquish their languages, and thus connections to African cultures and identities. This has led to an identity crisis for some who, in rejecting GSE, in turn reject Grenadian Creole culture and identity, opting instead for an imagined, reassembled African identity as a way of reclaiming African ‘roots’ and ‘origins.’ Oftentimes, African *memory-traces* are overemphasized or reimagined to enhance their connections to Africa and thus a desired identity. To many, it is not the issue of their being born, or not born in Africa that determines their African identity, but rather the origin of their ancestors (no matter how many generations ago, or the journey since), reinforcing the belief that Africa is reborn and alive in them because of their (displaced) African ancestry and heritage, readily evident in their ‘blackness’ that was often at the heart of their rejection. For these, descendants of enslaved Africans, Africa remains the ‘roots’ of their African cultural memories or identifiable traces around them, and an integral part of their identity, despite the loss of African languages, and thus connections to specific African nations, cultures and identities. This is illustrated by Iturriaga’s (2022) comment:

“How societies reckon with their past is *always* complicated. Collective memory does not reflect any ‘objective representations’ of history. Instead, it is a messy combination of the present moment’s hierarchies, identities, and moral and emotional relationships to the past. Collective memory is like layers of sediment shaped by countless variables including emotions, power relations, culture, storytelling, and the passing of time.”

This search for origins, particularly African origins (of their enslaved ancestors), oftentimes leads to the rejection of the multiple journeys that they and their immediate ancestors have taken in the last few centuries that created diverse current but contested cultural landscapes. These origins have been debated by Caribbean intellectuals, poets and academics in the past century, with most people left to create identities from the tortured landscape around them. In rejecting *Négritude*’s Africa-centric focus, some like Wynter (1971), have privileged “experience and struggle rather than origins or cultural traces” (Kamugisha 2019:17). Echoing Brathwaite, again from the French Caribbean, Glissant (1981) proposed the idea of *Antillanité* that “looks to the Caribbean for their origins and specificity of French Caribbean identity,” describing them “as not a simple derivation from Africa, but rather a complex creation” (Thomas 2013:[4]). And the centuries-long journeys incorporate the roots of Africa, Europe, the Americas and elsewhere, while the single roots of Africa do not incorporate the

complicated and long journeys since. Glissant (1981) thus employs the symbol of “rhizomic roots” to illustrate the chaotic nature or entanglements of Caribbean cultural interactions rather than the single-rooted tree of *Négritude* that derived directly or solely from Africa. Many Caribbean peoples describe their cultures as “*calalu* cultures,” similar to the cuisine, illustrating its mixed-up quality, its Creole nature, but the idea of personal and national identity remains complicated and contested for most.

Thus, these two alternatives of “origins” have been at the forefront of how history, race and ancestry affect personal identity in Grenada (and the African Diaspora). The idea of African identity rooted solely in African cultural memories disregards or diminishes the multiple journeys of the millions of enslaved Africans and their descendants who established themselves in Grenada (and the Americas), thus (re)creating new “origins” as illustrated by the symbolism of burying of the *navel-strings* of newborns in these newly occupied lands. As recognized above, some like Wynter have privileged the journey over ancestral origins, though she described creolization as “fraudulent multiculturalism” (Kamugisha 2019:99). Nonetheless, these diasporic journeys can be recognized as essential to the process of creolization and thus constitute important components of identity. In fact, the journey is the foundation of Caribbean “roots” as illustrated by Glissant (2008) and others, with Glissant (1989:25) insisting that “We must return to the point from which we started—not a return to the longing for origins, to some immutable state of Being, but a return to the point of entanglement, from which we were forcefully turned away.”

The Big Drum or African Nation Dance of Carriacou offers an interesting exploration of identity and belonging in a creolized space still exhibiting strong “Afro-Creole” or African *memory-traces*. In discussing the idea of belonging and identity in the sister island of Carriacou, Ashie-Nikoi (2007:131) conveys how the Big Drum, with its repertoire of songs and dances, is both reflective as it carries with it memories of past experiences, but also, through reenactment of rituals, one can come to know oneself. She continues, “By participating in the Big Drum, the populace learned not only of their historical past, but also who they were as a people individually and collectively.” Many, through the beat of the Big Drum when called to the dance circle, could identify which “African nation” they belonged to or that of their parents, and thus “learned of one’s self” (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:132; see Martin et al. 2016).

Others, however, were not able to join the circle per the specific beat of the drum, that exclusive calling to their ancestral belonging as they had lost that knowledge and connection like most other Grenadians, despite a few called to the “nation dance” that is still practiced in villages like Munich and La Poterie, St. Andrew and River Sallée, St. Patrick (Collins 2010). Pearse (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:132), adds that for those who “were uncertain of their nation they would use the Creole Juba dance to wet the ring,” thus connecting to people around them, and creating relationships to the cultural landscape. Ashie-Nikoi (2007:132) continues, “In a sense, if their African origin was unknown or lost, some would open with what they knew with certainty that they also were – Creole. Although mostly considered a Creole dance, culture bearers Maud George and her sister insisted the Juba was a nation dance,” a Carriacou Nation, a Creole Nation, a Grenada Nation (see Martin et al. 2016).²²

²² Juba is identified as a “Creole Dance,” one of the three classifications within the Big Drum Dance: Nation, Creole, and Frivolous dances; it is also referred to as a secular dance. (see also Marshall 1983)

8

Place Identities in the Grenada Islandscape

“Grenada is a space that I can navigate with a certain amount of ease by virtue of the fact that I am part of the vibes and I understand it. I reflect it and it reflects me. I don’t suppose I’d have that ease of navigation in other spaces.”

Richie Maitland (2014), *Caribbean Constructions of Identity and Belonging* (Grenada40.com)

I was almost fifteen years old when my family (and I) emigrated to the United States to live like countless other Grenadians since the early 20th century, including many in my extended family. It is often joked that there are more Grenadians in New York alone than there are in Grenada because so many migrated there in the past century to live (with their descendants), with Tobias (1975) adding, “How you gonna keep ’em down in the tropics once they’ve dreamed New York?” (Bouvier 1984; Hill 1977; Tobias 1975, 1976, 1980). Growing up in Grenada I think I had always believed that leaving the island for the United States or United Kingdom was a strong possibility because so many of my family and friends had left permanently for those places. Grenadians, like many across the region, are in fact a primary export of the islands. Even as they had arrived in droves from other places they also left in droves for still other places, mostly, they believed, for better opportunities. And we were, in many respects, migration oriented as Caribbean peoples have moved within and beyond these islands for centuries, beginning with our Indiegenous ancestors (Hill 1977; Tobias 1975). I grew up believing that our turn to emigrate would come, and despite my parents’ advanced age (in their 50s) at the time, they nonetheless decided to uproot the family from the place we had known all our lives to a new, far-away place because they believed that it would provide more opportunities for their children and grandchildren.

And that it did! However, one of the most profound experiences, despite being with my family in our new home in North America, was that I continued to dream in the place I had known all my life (of fifteen years). My dreamscape was the place where I was born and

grew up, the place I knew best and most intimately, where I was most comfortable and at ease—a small street community overlooking the main town, itself overlooking the Caribbean Sea that encompassed my childhood playscape and emerging worldview. And as I traveled the world, my dreamscape continued to reflect the first fifteen years of my life in the Grenada islandscape. I found it quite unsettling that the place of my dreams had not incorporated the new places I had come to know and some that I even liked. I kept returning to Grenada over and over again (in my dreams, in my intellect, and in person), to the landscape of my birth and formative years. Back to my island home, that “place of greatest joy and the engendering of dizzying dreams” (Martin, L. 2016:1). And on these many journeys back to Grenada, I would jokingly tell those who quipped why I was visiting yet again that it was because I came in search of something I must have left behind since I had departed the island at such a young age compared to my siblings, I being the youngest. What was there in this landscape, buried deep in this islandscape that keeps pulling me back to its shores? Is it its sandy beaches and warm seas, lofty mountains, populated lush valleys, familiar vegetation, narrow winding streets, accustomed people, or its many trails into the past, into my past, into my childhood memories, and into the fading memories of my mother and grandmothers? Why, after so many years of travel to and living in different places around the world—Africa, Europe and Asia—did I continue to identify with this islandscape of my birth and youth, the landscape of my beginning, and of my parents’ and grandparents’ beginning?

This chapter discusses the latter part of the main research question identified in Chapter 2: *(What can the life history of a SIDS like Grenada (i.e. its landscape biography) tell us about how people convey value to the landscape through their various representation and memory-traces, and) **how sense of place and identities are (re)created in this creolizing islandscape?***

This chapter brings together the questions and ideas generated in the previous chapters and discusses the larger issue of place identities and contestation across time and space in the Grenada islandscape. With the detailed examination of how various groups, as authors of the landscape, are represented or represented themselves in the Grenadian landscape in Chapter 6 to provide the basis to explore the idea of landscape identity as discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter focuses on how individual “Grenadians” created and are creating or seeking to create identities and a sense of place in this culturally evolving yet contested islandscape. It will examine identity formation in the context of Grenadian history by using the metaphor of the buried umbilical cord or *navel-string* to narrate the creation of “origins” and “roots,” and thus

connectedness of the Grenadian storyscape across time to arrive at how we create a sense of place within and around this islandscape.

8.1 “We Navel-String Bury Here”: Affirming Identities in the Grenada Islandscape

*“We navel string bury here, she say,
and we mother and we father and everybody before them.”*

Dionne Brand, *Another Place, Not Here* (1996:14)

Echoing across the Grenadian historical landscape are the continuous claims to the land and its authorship, and by extension belonging and identity (Berberich et al. 2012). From the Kali’nago to the invading French and British, and the transported captive Africans and their descendants, the claim to land ownership/authorship is most loudly heard when that tenure appears threatened or questioned. It was loudly heard in March 1649, voiced by the Kali’nago and Kali’na when the invading French settlers insinuated themselves into their Indigenous space with their “fishing expedition” that lasted just over a century (Martin 2013). It would violently displace them to the periphery, and eventually, figuratively pushing them off the island into the sea, into mythological oblivion from atop Leapers’ Hill, Sauteurs. It was again voiced by the French after March 1762 following the British capture of the island, despite the French being allowed to remain on the island and in possession of their lands now under lease, but subjugating many of their civil rights that made them feel less as owners of the (is)land that they had birthed into modernity (Gonzalez 1994; Martin 2013). It was voiced by the British between 1779 and 1783 after the French recaptured the island, and despite them retaining ownership of their plantations but lacking political control (Devas 1974). With the British regaining control of the island in 1783, the French again contested the land and their restricted rights, culminating in civil war with Fédon’s Rebellion that ruined the island and the relationship between the French and British (Brizan 1998; Martin 2017). It was heard once again when the last remaining white British (and their descendant, including mixed race) proprietors and managers felt displaced by the violent protest of Grenadians during the labor unrest in 1951 under Eric Gairy (Brizan 1998). And it has been continuously voiced when “foreigners” lay claim to lands not accessible to Grenadians who lack the resources,

particularly financial, to own what they claim as their lands, authored by their ancestors, their inheritance, and thus their identity (see Ferdinand 2017).¹

These claims to ownership, belonging and identity are variously predicated on certain rights: birthright, possession, conquest, inheritance, and/or authorship. The enforcement of each new claim results in a denial of ownership to others, and thus a denial of belonging and identity of predecessors and their progeny. For the Indigenous population who were met here by the invading French and resident for at least four centuries it was a claim to origin, though how and when they had actually taken possession and from whom remain unknown, but they are probably the only legitimate claimant to rights of origin or at least long-term possession (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013).² For the invading French and British the claims rest in their powers of conquest, which they maintained with their colonial military forces, even as the more powerful British displaced the French (Brizan 1998; Martin 2013). For the descendants of the enslaved Africans the claim would be based on the fact that their ancestors toiled, with their sweat and blood, literally planting and cultivating the land, and thus owning it as a result of inherited authorship, so eloquently voiced by Harry Belafonte (Lord Burgess and Belafonte 1957) “Oh, island in the sun/Willed to me by my father’s hand.” Premdas (1996:15), in writing about Haiti in the aftermath of the Haitian Revolution, illustrates that ownership to the (is)land thus:

“The descendants of the emancipated slaves, however, advanced a reason for their sole ownership of Haiti in the fact that they were the ones whose labor built the country. It was their sweat and tears in slavery mixed in with the soil in the construction of the plantations that conferred entitlement to the land as a whole. The emancipated slaves no longer saw Haiti as a place of exile, holding out the hope for freedom in repatriation, but as a new cradle of a revitalized existence with roots in the history of slavery and rebellion. It seemed only right that those who labored and built the land should become the new inheritors.”

With minimal contestation from other groups in Grenada, especially since the mid-20th century and shaped by “Skyred” and the Grenada Revolution, it would become the ultimate claim to a homeland where roots are established and passed on through the journeys of

¹ See, for example, the controversy over access by Grenadians to the beach at the privately owned Calivigny Island by foreign investor Georges Cohen (Ferguson 2009).

² The historical view of invading “Caribs” capturing the island from the resident “Arawak,” killing the men and taking their women as slave wives (Bullen 1969), though strongly debated, weakens the claim of origin and would be no different from the later French and British conquest of Grenada. How long after invasion can one claim possession, if ever?

thousands of Africans and their New-World descendants into the Grenada islandscape, though many still emphasize Africa as the preeminent motherland.

Land has been at the center of Grenadian (and Caribbean) society, especially beginning with the invasion of Europeans following colonization and the establishment of plantation agriculture with its proportioned, boundaried plots. The communal Indigenous space was transformed into privatized plantation plots and later subsistence gardens, yet retaining the strong connections between land and identity that has always been a facet across cultures, across the globe. To tell the story of land and place in Grenada (and the Caribbean) is the key to understanding identity and belonging in these changing landscapes of diverse relations. And as Montgomery (2007:27) so beautifully puts it, “The history of life is inextricably related to the history of soil,” the land, the landscape, the place where “*we navel-string bury*.”

To illustrate the claim to the land by dispossessed peoples and their resulting identities I use the metaphor of burying the *navel-string* of newborns in the land, in the Grenadian landscape. To bury one’s navel-string is a Grenadian (and Caribbean) folk tradition that derived from multiple western African ethnic groups like the Ibo (of present-day Nigeria) who buried the umbilical cords of newborns in a special or symbolic place like the base of a thriving or bearing tree to “ground” children in the world of their parents to prepare them for success, or to bear fruit, so to speak (Allsopp 1996). The practice of burying the *navel-string* of a newborn, however, is common among many cultures that recognize the importance of the connections between the mother and the child in the womb and the newborns’ connection to the place where they were/are born, connected to their life-womb (see Allsopp 1996; Nwaubani 2018). It was meant to bind or “spiritually bound” infants in the culture and traditions of their parents, and implant a sense of belonging, cultural confidence and loyalty to family, land(scape) and place. In Grenada, it is often used to confirm birthright, “*Me navel-string bury here!*”, insisting to those who would dare question your belonging to a place like a parent’s village or the place where you were born, affirming your claim of belonging to that space, owing your place identity. This tradition, like many others, however, is rarely practiced today, and forgotten or discarded by most, but some still recognize its meaning beautifully embedded in the expression that connects the past to the future via the land(scape).

The deep sense of connection to the landscape and ways of owning it have been imagined in diverse ways, with Pogue Harrison (2002:254) suggesting that “The surest way to take

possession of a place and secure it as one's own is to bury one's dead in it." Yet, the act of burying the *navel-strings* of one's children goes even further as it is the remains of the living, not the dead; it is of the future not the past.³ Burying of the navel-string in the Grenadian land or ground is a way of symbolically owning it, owning the landscape, owning the tree that grows from it, owning the fruits that the tree bears, nourished by the life force of the *navel-string*, from the newborn. It is about (re)birth and growth, and thus the future. The humble, yet conscious act of enslaved Africans burying their (enslaved) children's *navel-string* in the Grenada landscape in continuation of an age-old western African cultural practice was probably their most revolutionary, affirming, and forward looking despite their dire predicament. That simple act laid claim to a policed landscape that they did not own nor dare publicly claim, but only in their secret practice of traditional identity. This ancient rite, instigated in this 'foreign' land, was the beginning of their authorship of the Grenada island landscape with the birth of their progeny into this new land. That simple act established and recognized "origins" and laid "roots" in the depth of exiled soils that would later connect them in death to their children. It is the place from where their new journeys and that of their children, their Creole children, unlike them, born into this 'New World,' would begin and grow, and maybe even flourish because they "*navel-string* bury here." Ironically, it would be a land their descendants would eventually claim and own in their own right as freed men and women.

Metaphorically, the *navel-string* can be imagined as the act of creating origins in the land of one's birth by all of the people born into the Grenadian landscape, from the Kali'nago and Kali'na to the Africans, the French and British, and all others before and since. This was the ultimate act of becoming and belonging in this contested island landscape, this landscape that was once foreign to all of its residents, including the various Indigenous peoples. It was the beginning of authorship that would continue the rest of their lives in the Grenada island landscape. For them, they literally planted pieces of themselves in the landscape with the umbilical cords of their children, claiming the rights by virtue of the newfound origins that began in Kali'nago *carbets*, behind European plantation great houses and in churchyards, and in

³ As the burying of the dead is a necessary act it may not have afforded the believed possession of the landscape as implied. Also, enslaved Africans saw death as an opportunity to return to ancestral lands/origins as illustrated in the belief in the "flying Africans" (see McDaniel 1998). And the absence of headstones in enslaved burial grounds, that would have afforded some semblance of permanence, have meant the disappearance of their burial sites altogether. However, the laying of the headstone in the Tombstone Feast of Carriacou can be seen as an indication of creating that permanence by the Creole descendants of the enslaved Africans in the land of their birth (see David 2004; Traditional 2001). McDaniel (1985) contends that the Carriacou practice of the Tombstone Feast is also derived from West Africa.

African provision gardens, where each exercised the most agency, the most intense feelings of ownership and identity, and thus belonging.⁴

Buried in the Grenada landscape is an intricate, rhizomic web of umbilical cords (*navel-strings*) of all of the people who have been born in Grenada, metaphorically connecting them and binding them to this islandscape and to each other. This place, like the rhizomic roots of the black, red and white mangrove trees that bind the Grenadian coast, nourishing its fisheries, protecting its coral reefs, protecting its coast, protecting this islandscape, is so too entangled and connected via these umbilical relations. The deliberate act of burying the *navel-string* of newborns in the Grenadian soil is the recognition by parents that their children are now part of a new journey of the ancestors, beginning in this new land, cementing them in this new place, but incorporating each of their ancestral roots from far off places, sometimes lost places, with this imported tradition. The Grenada islandscape is now the origin, with the creolization process creating that journey of authorship, identity, of self, and across place and time in the Grenada landscape.

Thus, the reason for burying newborns' *navel-strings* in the ground, in the landscape, is because "landscape has meaning." Spirn (1998:16-18) adds that "landscape associates people and place... landscape is not a mere visible surface, static composition, or passive backdrop to human theatre.... Landscape connotes a sense of the purposefully shaped, the sensual and aesthetic, the embeddedness in culture." These individual actions shape the landscape, embedding places with cultural and other meanings that in turn shape who inhabit these particular spaces (Lyle 2020). Through individual biographies and their relations, the story of the entangled Grenada landscape unfolds, even today.

8.2 Palimpsest Landscape: Connecting Stories Across Place and Time

"Stories matter. Many stories matter.... That when we reject the single story, when we realize that there is never a single story about any place, we regain a kind of paradise."

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "The Danger of a Single Story" (TEDGlobal 2009)

⁴ The burying of people next to their homes continued for generations, with the government passing legislation to stop the widespread practice, even though it still continues, especially in rural areas. It is interesting to note that the Kali'nago buried their dead within their house posts.

The Grenada storyscape is littered with the narratives of the hundreds of thousands of beings who have trodden across this islandscape in the last half millennium or so, even though we are unable to imagine the majority of those voices. Each have left in their faded footprints impressions of lived lives rooted in the landscape (Ingold 1993). Their experiences of births, celebrations, creativity, production, wars, survival, enslavement, resilience and death across centuries have left an entangled web embedded in a cultural palimpsest that defined them yesterday, and us today. These narratives of identity and belonging, from the Kali'nago to the Creole, have shaped the way we see ourselves and the world around us, the way we regard the past and recognize its continuing influences on our present, and even on our future. These stories connect us all to the Grenadian landscape and shape our identities and create our sense of place, even as they connect to diverse identities that have, in their turn, impacted this changing and contested islandscape. What follows is a telling of stories of identity and belonging in the Grenada islandscape as told through the lives of several individuals who helped fashion or authored this changing landscape and continue to have an impact on the people who experience it today, and into the future. These are our stories, ancestral stories of belonging to the Grenada islandscape.

On the northwestern coast of Grenada sits a small, quiet fishing village in the bend of the Western Main Road, skirting the borders of St. Mark and St. Patrick parishes (Figure 8.1). It is one of the oldest historically occupied villages on the island, from a Kali'nago village then to a fishing community today, via two centuries of slave plantations.⁵ Duquesne village begins at the water's edge of Duquesne Bay, following the Duquesne River and main road going east towards Union, passing the junction to Diego Piece on the hill above to the right, and on the left over a narrow bridge towards Fond Duquesne just west of Chantimelle.⁶ Though the village takes its name from that of a Kali'nago "chief" known as "Captain Du Quesne," whose village, in the 1650s, was situated just inside the bay, it occupies lands that were formerly part of several plantations, primarily those of Industry and Resource in St. Mark and Duquesne in St. Patrick (Figure 8.2).⁷ The village of Duquesne and its surroundings thus have a layered history, reflected as in a palimpsest, that upon examination reveals the stories of identity in the Grenada islandscape. These deeply connected stories—through place,

⁵ Indigenous ceramics recovered from the Duquesne area to date and possibly the petroglyphs, however, place the site in the Suazan Troumassoid period between AD 1150 and 1450 (Hanna 2017).

⁶ Fond Duquesne, described by Holdren as "a narrow ridge, past the Chantimelle junction... [with] a perfect, long-distance view of Duquesne Bay," as "Behind Duquesne," which Holdren believes is possibly derived from the French "Fond du Quesne"/"Bottom of du Quesne," the furthest part from the bay (Holdren 1998:59).

⁷ Duquesne is first recorded as a place name in the pages of Anonyme[Bresson] (1975[1659]), and on François Blondel's (1667) map of Grenada.

Captain Du Quesne's goodwill by retaliating against his village, burning it and destroying its gardens. A few months later, in May 1650, a personal incident involving Captain Du Quesne's family and another Kali'nago named Thomas from Oüáitoucoubouli (Dominica) led to a full-scale ambush by the French, aided by Thomas, of the Kali'na and Kali'nago at what became known as Leapers' Hill, Sauteurs, resulting in the deaths of many and their symbolic demise (Hanna 2023; Honychurch 2002; Martin 2013; Newton 2014).⁸ In another retaliatory attack on Du Quesne's village in May 1657, the French, attempted to ambush the villagers in a nighttime raid, but failed to do so when the Kali'nago became aware and deserted the village. The French reported that the residents of Du Quesne's village "left all without having time to carry anything with them, but still happy to save their lives.... We set fires everywhere and carried all that we found that was any good to us like beds and *canaries*. We broke up all the rest as well as a boat and two canoes and we feigned to withdraw" (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]:145).

Despite these continuous and incessant devastating attacks, murders, and the destruction of their *tabouï*, *mánna*, gardens and canoes, and theft of their resources, the Kali'nago returned each time to rebuild their villages as these were the places they had lived and called home, long before the French invaded and threatened their very existence. Though the Kali'nago had strong ties across the islands and the continent where they traded and raided, and even had wives and families on other islands, they nonetheless had a strong sense of belonging to their island communities. They were even known to name themselves after the islands where they were born or permanently resided. In the beginning, the Kali'nago admonished the French for their invasion of their homeland, questioning why the French were taking their lands, declaring their strong identity with this place, insisting: "We do not go in your home, so why do you come in ours? We would not take your land and why are you taking ours? We are satisfied with ours, why can't you be satisfied with yours?" (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]:55).

⁸ Thomas had hoped to marry a daughter of Captain Du Quesne, but he was refused by her brother whom Thomas reportedly killed as a result. Fearing reprisal, Thomas ran off to Martinique and informed Governor Du Parquet that he can deliver the Kali'nago on Grenada, with intentions to destroy them. Thomas' traitorous action led to the now infamous massacre at Morne des Sauteurs on 30 May 1650 (Anonymous[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013).



Figure 8.2 Model of a Kali'nago village at Argyle, St. Vincent with tabouï and mánna round houses at the National Public Library, Kingston, St. Vincent by Eric Pelissier/Leiden University, 2016

The bloody struggle by the Kali'nago for survival against the invading French continued for half a century, with the conflicts in the *Capesterre* or windward side of the island, particularly Sauteurs (St. Patrick) and villages like Duquesne, proving the fiercest and longest.⁹ The last conflicts occurred between 1705 and 1707, with the Kali'nago and Kali'na retaliating against the French for incursions into their dwindling space as French settlements advanced across the north and east of the island, slowly displacing them (ANOM 1705b; ANOM 1706; ANOM 1707). An incident in August 1705 involving the Kali'nago Ollivier is illustrative of the final conflicts as the two communities collided. Ollivier attacked and killed a French settler and an enslaved laborer because he believed that a settler had kidnapped a female relative; he was also accused by a settler of stealing a pig that he insisted was “stray” (Beaumont 1992[1705]; ANOM 1705). Lejeune, one of the French colonists, when informed of the attack, “put himself at the head of some inhabitants of the *Basse-Terre* settlement who resolved, like him, to settle there. And they went out to fight them; He [Lejeune] himself killed ‘the Carib named Ollivier,’ which discouraged the other savages ‘and finally conquered the district after several years and much trouble, himself having received three

⁹ Reiterating, it did not end with the 1650 genocidal ambush at Leapers' Hill as is often claimed even on the controversial monument at Leapers' Hill, Sauteurs, St. Patrick.

bullet wounds”” (Clifford et al. 2011:7; see also Beaumont 1992[1705], ANOM 1705; Hume and Whitehead 1992).¹⁰

The narrative of Captain Du Quesne (Captains Antoine, Du Buisson, and Grand Pauvre) had ended long before these final battles when his voice had disappeared from the ongoing conflict, silenced most likely by his death at the hands of the French, or less likely departure from the island. But the remaining Kali’nago and Kali’na clung to the periphery of their conquered villages as they became plantations like Duquesne, Sauteurs, Levera, River Antoine, Meneré, Savanne Suazey and Marquis in much reduced circumstances into the mid-1700s as recorded on French censuses until 1735 (Martin 2013; see also Labat 2005[1722]). Though some abandoned the island to the French invaders and hundreds were massacred, scores remained because it was their home, where they belonged, symbolically, where their *navel-string* laid buried just inside the bay and on the banks of the river that anchored them to the Grenada islandscape.



Figure 8.3 Prime Minister Mitchell (in red shirt) and other officials and heritage advocates at the dedication of the Duquesne Petroglyphs in 2003 (courtesy Michael Jessamy)

¹⁰ Though Lejeune boasted that he had killed Ollivier, an official report mentioned that “We were told only that it was believed the fellow [Ollivier] was coming. Whereupon this murderer was put in prison.” The same report also insisted that it was another “savage” who had abducted Ollivier’s female relative, not a French settler. (See Beaumont 1992[1705]; ANOM 1705)

If it was not for the name of the village that is inscribed in the landscape with their blood, the memory of Captain Du Quesne and his Kali'nago village would have faded away like so many others, especially as no archaeological evidence have been recovered in the area to date to connect to their historical occupation (Hanna 2017; Holdren 1998). However, the power of the memory of what happened here became embedded in the landscape, preserving the memory, generation after generation, over three hundred years since, and inscribed in stone. Along Duquesne Bay, at the southern edge, sits a large standing rock with faded faces and symbols etched into it, mysteriously looking back at us as in a mirror, reflecting our past (Dubelaar 1995; Hanna 2017). The locals call it a *Carib-stone*, as they believe it was fashioned by the Kali'nago like Captain Du Quesne and others of the village, representing the island's Indigenous heritage, but also their own ancient past. Grenadians, in celebrating the Indigenous petroglyphs as part of their heritage and identity, as an important monument of the cultural landscape, continue to honor the sacrifices of Captain Du Quesne and the Kali'nago of this island, of this village, in this bay and along this river that bears his name, and retains his identity in this hallowed place called Duquesne (Figure 8.3).

After the violent subjugation of Captain Du Quesne and the Kali'nago communities across the *Capesterre* by the first decade of the 18th century, the French quickly apportioned the Indigenous lands to their eager colonists' desirous for more plantations. Men like Louis Lejeune who led the fight against the Kali'nago, La Burguriere, Rochard and L'Olive received concessions where they suitably established cocoa, coffee and sugar plantations in the newly conquered lands. They utilized the Duquesne River to power their watermills and irrigate their crops across extensive canal systems, with no less than five by the mid-1700s (Figure 8.4). The Quartier des Sauteurs was established soon thereafter, with the Rivière Duquesne its western boundary, and on its east the Rivière Antoine, also named after a vanquished Kali'nago captain; it was the second district/parish established on the island. In 1718 they consecrated the Notre Dame du Bon Secours Chapel at Sauteurs on the site of the massacre of the Kali'nago and Kali'na on 30 May 1650, memorializing their victory over them, but ironically preserving the Indigenous landscape in their attempt to erase it (Martin 2013).¹¹

¹¹ There is debate as to the correct location of this hallowed site, but based on the historical evidence it is clear that the current site where a controversial monument was erected, behind the Roman Catholic Church, is not the 1650 site. The historical site is in the vicinity of the Anglican Church and Primary School where the first Catholic Church was built and the invading British would build their church (on the site of the Catholic Church ruins) to erase the French as the French had attempted to do of the Kali'nago landscape, neither accomplishing

One of the early French families settling in the northwest of the island (i.e., at Grand Pauvre and Sauteurs parishes) were the Cloziers, dating to the turn of the 18th century. François Clozier is recorded on a French document in 1702, and François Clozier de Beaulieu recorded as an official in the colonial government by 1714.¹² By the mid-1700s, Grenadian-born Cloziers, particularly Charles Philip Clozier (d1785), Clozier D’Arcueil (c1716-96), Clozier Decotteaux (d1788) and Clozier Chantemelle had become prominent residents, especially because of their large plantations, and extended families of whites and mixed-race descendants of Cloziers, Decoteaus and Chantemelles.¹³ By 1763 the Cloziers possessed several coffee, cocoa and sugar plantations, and unlike many of the wealthy French sugar planters who sold their properties, packed up and left Grenada in the wake of the invading British, several of them remained most probably because they had well-established roots on the island, and their extensive families would have been difficult to uproot and relocate across the French Caribbean like others did (Bonney 2019; Jefferys 1760[1765]). They were Grenadians!

The Clozier brothers were born in Grenada and thus identified as French Creoles, and the island was their only home, with limited, if any lingering connections to France. And though, like the Kali’nago before them, they traded with the French islands and were part of their extended social sphere, particularly Martinique, Grenada was the family’s base for over half a century (see Murphy 2021). This all changed following the British capture of Grenada and its cession in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris, cutting off official connections to the rest of the French Caribbean. Though the Cloziers appeared to have integrated well with the incoming British administration, with a few of its members serving in official capacities as New British Subjects, they remained French Creole still identifying with the “Creole Archipelago” that they had been a part of all their lives (see Murphy 2021). The political and religious situation between the British Old and New Subjects slowly deteriorated, with the French gradually losing more and more of their civil rights in an island they had literally built from the ground up (Murphy 2018). Also, many of the family members, being mixed race, suffered deprivations and humiliating attacks on their liberty, having to prove that they were in fact

their desired erasures entombed in the palimpsest landscape (Devas 1974; *Grenada Free Press* 30 June 1830; Martin 2013).

¹² There remains much research to be done to unravel the genealogy of the Clozier family in Grenada, which is not at all clear at present. Is the François Clozier of 1702 the same as François Clozier de Beaulieu of 1714 who had now adopted an honorific based on his identity with the Grenada landscape when he incorporated the place Beaulieu, or was that of his French origins? (Thanks to Peter Redhead for sharing his research on the family).

¹³ McMahon (1823:26) characterizes D’Arcueil and Decotteau as “both had a numerous progeny of coloured children,” but this also applied to their brother Clozier Chantimelle.

free, including long-established Grenadians like the Fédon's (Jacobs 2002). In 1779 the French recaptured Grenada but lost it in the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 when it was returned to the British, despite the protests of longtime residents like the Cloziers (ANOM 1782). The French Grenadians subsequently were more restricted in their civil and religious rights as the British retaliated against what they deemed disloyalty of their “New Subjects” during the brief French (re)occupation (Anderson 2010; Devas 1974; Freund 2021; Muller 2017; Polson 2011).

The brothers, Clozier D’Arcueil and Clozier Decotteaux, owned several plantations, including the 120 hectares (296 acres) sugar estate straddling the neighboring parishes of St. Mark and St. Patrick, which by 1763 had eighty enslaved laborers, with the Duquesne River powering its watermill (Figure 8.4). The property that became widely known as Duquesne estate was (probably) initially known as Bisaitre.¹⁴ Following the death of Clozier Decotteaux in 1788, Clozier D’Arcueil became the sole owner of the sugar estate that would later be known as Duquesne, and the most senior member of the extended family.

With the deteriorating relations between the French and British and the volatile political situation in the region as a result of the French and St. Domingue (Haitian) Revolutions, the French in Grenada, an alliance of free coloureds/blacks and whites, staged a rebellion against the British on 2-3 March 1795 to return to the French political, social and economic spheres (Friedland 2018; Murphy 2018, 2021; Polson 2002). Prominent white French Grenadians like Clozier D’Arceuil, aged about 79 years old at the time, was willing to risk everything to change the political situation, and return Grenada to the French. D’Arcueil became one of the leaders of Fédon’s Rebellion and was involved in its planning at least 18 months prior. As a member of Fédon’s inner circle, he was on the “Committee of 24” that managed the rebellion, which Victor Hugues condemned as exclusionary (Martin 2017). According to Hay (1824:43), D’Arceuil “seemed to take a very active part, had a uniform, blue coat turned up with red, was always consulted on every emergency; but his particular department was as commissary of stores and provisions.” D’Arceuil managed the feeding and provisioning of

¹⁴ It is not clear why the Clozier’s appropriated the name Duquesne as it was continually owned by them since at least the early 1760s. In fact, the plantation in St. Mark that was bounded by the Duquesne River, much of Duquesne Bay and Duquesne Point, to its southwest, had earlier held the name Duquesne as would be evident, but it changed to “Industry” under British ownership (of Alexander Stewart) by 1772. Several properties appear to have had similar names as they derived from the same area or *etage*, which were often defined by a significant landmark like rivers or streams, or other prominent physical or cultural feature.



Figure 8.4 Possible ruins of the canal for the Duquesne estate along the banks of the Duquesne River, Duquesne, St. Patrick built with enslaved labor, c18th century

the thousands of rebels that flocked to the camp at its height.¹⁵ He is recorded as saying that “We Republicans dislike equivocation” when Lieutenant Governor Home failed to demand the surrender of the government per the rebels’ demand (Hay 1823:37). Father McMahon (1823:26), however, was unsparing in his denunciation of D’Arceuil as “a low, ignorant, weak man and not exceeded by any rebel in atrocious acts of cruelty...” for the killing in a most inhuman manner a group of British soldiers taken prisoners by the rebels.

As the patriarch of the Clozier family he most likely encouraged or at least inspired members of the extended family to join the fight against the British to restore Grenada to the French,

¹⁵ The size of the rebel forces remain unknown as it fluctuated during the rebellion and there are no records available; towards the end it would have waned as the rebellion faltered. A Grenada Planter (1796:97), on Julien Lussan’s information as assistant to Clozier D’Arcueil as commissary of stores, provides an estimate of around 7,000 total people in the camps in the first weeks of the revolt based on those who had to be fed each day. He estimated that the fighting force was around 4-5000 by mid-April 1795. There is no basis for the 14,000 (about 50 percent of the total enslaved population at the time) figure that is popularly quoted today, but it might include renegade former enslaved who seemed to have taken up the call to affirm their freedom just not in league with Fédon and his group. Many of the enslaved seemed to have tried their best to not get involved on either side as they were fully aware of their vulnerability at the hands of either the French rebels or the British colonial government; in effect, their condition and agency had not changed drastically that much due to the rebellion.

and return their homeland to its ‘rightful owners,’ thus restoring their French Creole identity. About twenty-five members of the extended family actively participated, with many killed during the rebellion, or executed at the end of the revolt, including Clozier D’Arceuil himself, nephews Clozier St. Marie, Medard and Clovis Chantimelle, and Jacob Dumont Gerbet, with several others captured and deported, thus destroying the once prominent French-Grenadian family. The family was severely impacted by the failure of their efforts to recapture their sense of ownership and belonging in Grenada, and they suffered greatly as a result. All of their properties were forfeited due to their participation in the rebellion, and D’Arceuil’s several estates, including Grosse Point and Duquesne, were embroiled in legal limbo for decades before finally being returned to his family by 1830 (Kesselring 2011).¹⁶

Clozier D’Arceuil, ironically like Captain Du Quesne before him whom his French compatriots had eliminated from the Grenadian landscape, was himself removed in similar fashion defending his birthright, authorship and identity, paying the ultimate price with his death at the hands of whom he considered invaders. Like the retaliatory war against the French by the Kali’nago and Kali’na that resulted in their defeat, Fédon’s Rebellion brought about the destruction of many of the French and the embedded French Creole society in Grenada. It would instigate the process by the British to finally remake the French Creole landscape in their image. However, continuing the palimpsest, Clozier D’Arcueil and his family have left their bloodied imprints in the Grenadian landscape in the place names of two villages Clozier, St. John and Chantimelle, St. Patrick, the former after a property Clozier D’Arcueil had owned there, and in the family name of Decoteau that is quite common among Grenadians at home and in the diaspora.¹⁷ Like Captain Du Quesne, he is not often remembered despite his name being attached to a village that today is known more for its (East) Indian descent residents than its French legacy. But in any discussion of Fédon’s Rebellion and its impact on the Grenadian landscape, Clozier D’Arceuil and his extended family must figure prominently in it because of their major contributions (Martin 2017). I have often joked that Fédon’s Rebellion should be renamed the Clozier Rebellion for the

¹⁶ It is worth mentioning that only the properties of white rebels, even those executed, were returned to their families, even after long periods; none of the free coloureds or blacks were even considered as their families were banished from the island following the crushing of the rebellion; several of the white French families remained in Grenada (Kesselring 2011).

¹⁷ The Chantimelle last name disappeared from Grenada as most of the males carrying it were killed during the rebellion, executed at the end, or banished from the island. In the 1820s there were five female (free coloured) Chantimels listed on Slave Registers as owners of enslaved, and one in Trinidad. The Clozier name survived among several white Cloziers and some were listed on the Slave Registers and as property owners into the 1830s, but the name has since disappeared; it does show up in Trinidad in the late 1800s. The Clozier name never figures in the discussion of the village of Duquesne.

sheer numbers of the extended family who actively participated in prominent roles, died, and lost so much as a result of their enthusiastic support for a rebellion that aimed to return Grenada to its French-Creole roots and their return to a French Creole identity in the place they *navel-string* laid buried in the soil at Duquesne and surrounding areas.

Only 5 km (3.1 mi) south of Duquesne along the Western Main Road is the village of Waltham, just north of the main town of Victoria, St. Mark (Figure 8.5). Though the village occupies the former 255 hectares (631 acres) Waltham sugar estate from which it derives its name, the residents live on a long, narrow strip, hugging the coastline between the Great Crayfish and Little St. Mark's Rivers, with their gardens occupying the hillsides. The name Waltham most likely derived from that of Waltham, Lincolnshire, England, while its French name was probably *Écrevises* ("Crayfish") as it was part of the "Quartier des Écrevises" and bounded to the north by the Grande Rivière des Écrevises from which its waterwheel was powered. If Waltham was casually named, it may be after its original meaning of "forest" or "homestead," but there is a tale that it was named as such by Penelope Payne, wife of Ninian Home, because of her connection to its namesake in the UK. It is linked to the village of Duquesne via the presence of Indigenous petroglyphs, indicating habitation for at least a millennium, and the possible historical Kali'nago occupation as identified by Labat (2005[1722]) to circa 1700 despite being attacked and destroyed by the French as well (Anonymous[Breton] 1975[1659]).

Between 1764 and 1840 the Waltham sugar estate was owned by the Home family of Scotland, established by Ninian Home (1732-95), prominent longtime resident (1764-95), government official, including judge and assistant justice of the Supreme Court, speaker of the General Assembly, and lieutenant governor of Grenada (1793-95) (see NRS GD267/5,7). Home arrived in Grenada on the heels of the British takeover in 1763, before the ink signing the Treaty of Paris had dried as he was already in the region, having lived first in Virginia, US then St. Kitts. He was just over 30 years old, and Grenada probably represented a lucrative opportunity for him as the promise of new lands and plantations appealed to British investors (Gonzalez 1994). Home quickly inserted himself into the administration of the colony as an elected member of the Legislature and rapidly rose to the highest ranks in government, becoming one of the island's most prominent residents (Hamilton 2005; Mullen 2022; Renwick 2015). He also invested in plantations, owning Waltham and significant shares in Paraclete sugar estate in St. Andrew with his longtime friend and fellow Scott Alexander Campbell (Quintanilla 2003; Renwick 2015). As a Protestant, Home was among

the group of British residents, particularly Scotts, who opposed any “special rights” for Roman Catholics beyond what were allowed those in the UK, thus advocating for a restrictive role for the majority French Grenadians, now styled New Subjects (Gonzalez 1994; Polson 2011). Home, like some of the Old British Subjects, probably desired the French to leave the island and its opportunities to the British, advocating an opposing policy to the British colonial government (Gonzalez 1994). During the Anglo-French conflict, Home led verbal attacks against the French inhabitants, continuing his campaign against them after becoming lieutenant governor in 1793.



Figure 8.5 The coastal village of Waltham, St. Mark (courtesy Google Earth)

Though Home had spent most of his adult life in Grenada and probably considered it his home and felt a deep connection with it, he had all intentions of returning to his estate in Scotland where he had bought and furnished his home at Paxton in Berwick-on-Tweed, where his navel-string was buried (Home Robertson 2007). But his brother George Home, as far back as 1781, “saw plainly it would be difficult to prevail upon him to come home while he flattered himself with the hopes of procuring some publick employment” (Edinburgh, NAS, GD267/1/3). It would appear that financial difficulties, primarily with Waltham, forced Home to remain in Grenada (Hamilton 2005; Polson 2011). Despite reaching the highest ranks of the government in Grenada and actually retiring to Scotland, he returned when his brother and others successfully advocated for him to be named its lieutenant governor. His desire to hold the highest office, and return to the place he strongly identified with, brought

him back to the island despite the ill health of his wife who would die in Grenada in September 1794, and buried at Paraclete, St. Andrew.

Home assumed the leadership of Grenada at a most difficult time as the entire region was consumed by political instability, and he may not have had the necessary skills to manage a complex society like Grenada's in these difficult times; his management of Waltham had not been the most successful either (Renwick 2015). The deteriorating situation in Grenada between the French and British, of which he had been an instigator, would occupy his entire governorship. At his Waltham estate, he was surrounded by neighbors who had become his enemies because of his staunch political position against them for much of his time in Grenada. His first communication with London announcing his arrival in Grenada in January 1793 and assuming office read like a complaint, writing that he was "sorry to find that a great number of Emigrants from the French West India Islands have been admitted here, but [I] shall take the earliest and most effectual measures in my power to remove them from the Colony..." (TNAUK 1793). Unbeknownst to Home and the British residents, however, the French free coloureds/blacks and whites, including Clozier D'Arceuil and Julien Fédon, were already planning a rebellion to whist the island from them, under his watch. On the night of 2-3 March 1795, the bloody rebellion against his rule began.

In a surprise coup for the rebels, Ninian Home was captured on the first day of the rebellion and taken hostage with tens of other British residents, including his close friend Alexander Campbell (Hay 1823). According to Hay (1823:16), "...to my great sorrow, I saw Mr. Home..., led like prisoners, with great shouts (of "*Vive la république*") and rejoicings on the part of the rebels, and treating Mr. Home with all the insult they could offer him." To the French, Home represented all that was wrong with the British occupation of Grenada, with La Riche, a rebel leader, insisting that Home should not be allowed to escape for the sufferings he caused the French during his "tyrannical rule" (Hay 1823). Julien Fédon, leader of the rebellion, in echoing the views of his fellow rebel leaders like Clozier D'Arcueil, remarked to Home and Campbell that "This island was theirs [French] by right; and you, are only intruders; you come from England, that is your country, where you ought to have remained" (Hay 1823:47).

Home's demeanor at the camp left observers like Dr. Hay little doubt that he was resigned to his impending death as he saw no other way this situation could be resolved, especially as he would "never sign any order which would disgrace his memory" when asked to use his

position as lieutenant governor “to deliver up the island” to the rebels (Hay 1823:36). According to Hay (1823:69), “The Governor never assumed any authority [in the Camp], but sometimes rebuked them with mildness, and recommended union and tenderness as the only solace for accumulating misery.” Following the unsuccessful bloody attack by British forces on the rebel camps on 8 April 1795 Fédon carried out his threat that if attacked he would execute the hostages, with Home and Campbell among the forty-eight British executed that day on “Second Camp,” way up the mountainside overlooking his Belvidere estate (Hay 1823; McMahon 1823). Clozier D’Arceuil, when asked to intercede on behalf of the prisoners, especially the lieutenant governor, replied that he, and the other white leaders who had exhibited some level of authority, “had no influence whatever over him [Fédon],” thus letting Home and the others die, except for three of them whose lives Fédon spared (Hay 1823:76).

Lieutenant Governor Home was reported to have faced his death quietly as he exited the makeshift prison on the mountaintop after witnessing the executions of his compatriots, including his longtime friend and business partner Alexander Campbell. He was reportedly shot by Baptiste Stanislaus, the (free-black) cook of Clozier D’Arceuil who, following the rebellion, had hid among the enslaved on Duquesne estate but his whereabouts was divulged by fellow rebel leader Stanislaus Besson in a bid to save his own life; he was subsequently captured and hung (Hay 1823; McMahon 1823). Like Captain Du Quesne and Clozier D’Arceuil, Ninian Home firmly believed that he was fighting to preserve his identity as a British Subject by defending his adopted island which he had called home for over three decades. Leaving his retirement on his Scottish estate, Home returned to Grenada to protect his property at Waltham, but also for the island to remain a British colony and society he had fought to create (Figure 8.6). Though Ninian Home is probably the best remembered among the three so far, he is not regarded positively because of his colonial role as lieutenant governor and slave owner. There once was a sign at the entrance to Paraclete village that said “Welcome to Paraclete. Home of Ninian Home,” but his name is not included on the current sign.¹⁸

The current relic landscape, particularly of the former plantations, reveals little to nothing of its enslaved workers and the slave past unless one is knowledgeable of what took place here

¹⁸ Ninian Home had only owned a $\frac{1}{3}$ share in Paraclete that he sold to Alexander Campbell in 1770, but remained attached to it as the various paintings illustrate (see Figure 8.6) and the fact that his wife was buried there and not at his Waltham estate. It was there where both he and Campbell were when the rebellion broke out on the night of 2 March 1795.

beyond the cocoa and coffee trees and sugar-cane fields. The decaying windmill towers, copper pots, rusted waterwheels and crumbling aqueducts that fueled over a century of sugar production seem almost out of place today and little connected to their dark histories (Figures 8.7). That brutal, dehumanizing system of forced and torturous servitude that ended almost two centuries ago. There were little in the way of family heirlooms to pass down, no artifacts like shackles or whips that remind of the brutality, no memory of tears that tell of the suffering, no ruins of thatched houses that reveal the hearth of everyday (enslaved) lives, no drums beating out rhythms of melancholy melodies, no cultural objects that linger in museums, no genealogies or memoires to trace old and proud ancestries, and no monuments that sing praises to heroic ancestors. It is a landscape and heritage barren of slavery except in the enduring trauma and nightmare of it all (see Nelson 2015).



Figure 8.6 Idealized representation of Paraclete estate, St. Andrew, with Ninian and Penelope Home believed to be in the carriage by Adam Callender, 1789 (courtesy Paxton House, Scotland)

The stories of Clozier D’Arcueil and Ninian Home are easier to tell because they have left adequate records, and despite the incomplete nature of these, we can still piece together credible stories of their identity in Grenada and personal connections to the landscape, oftentimes in their own voices. Though the story of Captain Du Quesne was limited we could

still tell it adequately. But for the tens of thousands of enslaved who labored on these plantations building aqueduct systems (like in Figures 8.4 and 8.7), and in the towns across Grenada there are very few options available to tell their stories in the plantation landscape, particularly from their own perspectives. We have to use proxies we hope would tell adequate and compelling stories that lift their already silenced voices, not further distort them. Thus, to locate the stories of the enslaved in the landscape one has to dig deep to uncover mere echoes of their stifled, subjugated, exploited, and hidden experiences.



Figure 8.7 18th century ruins of the massive canal/aqueduct system, built by the enslaved like Louison, that brought water across the estate and to power the waterwheel at Waltham estate, St. Mark (courtesy Michael Jessamy)

When Ninian Home established Waltham sugar estate from two separate, but contiguous properties (sugar and coffee estates) purchased (with a £17,000 mortgage) from the heirs of Pierre Dominique Ronzier, he set out, like many of the British who had come to Grenada to create large sugar estates to rival the ones in the old British colonies (Gonzalez 1994; Hamilton 2005; Ragatz 1928).¹⁹ In purchasing these properties in 1764 Home acquired 145 enslaved workers on the two properties, the names of whom were meticulously copied into

¹⁹ It is interesting to note that Julien Fédon may have had a personal connection to Waltham Estate as his mother Bridgette was an enslaved on an estate owned by Ronzier in Grand Pauvre/St. Mark from where his father Pierre Fédon purchased her in 1758 upon their marriage. It is also possibly the place of his birth, where his *navel-string* was buried and where his mother remained connected to many of the enslaved listed in Figure 8.8.

the deed of sale: first, the more valuable men: “Alexander, Francois, Paul, Caligula, Dominique... Louison...” to the number of 59, then the women, primarily field laborers: “Françoise, Rose, Therese... Veronique...” to the number of 44, then the boys: “Petit Jean, Barnabe, David (Mulatto)...” to the number of 26, and finally the least valuable girls: “Pelagie, Escolastique, Veronique...” to the number of 15 (Figure 8.8) (Indenture, 16 Oct 1764:137-41). Their mostly French-derived names reflect the fact that they all spoke French Creole and were predominantly Creole enslaved, born on the estate or brought from Martinique as the majority of enslaved entering Grenada at that time.

Ninian Home was the quintessential paternalistic slave plantation owner, seeing himself as the protector of his enslaved, whom he insisted (in a letter to one of his overseers) that “They are human beings as well as ourselves and very capable of distinguishing between what is right and what is wrong” (Renwick 2015; RH4/64, 22.10.1789). But they were akin to children and could not take care of themselves, hence he made sure that invalid enslaved were taken care of in old age, and pregnant women were given “special treatment” though it did not seem to improve their health to be more productive as he had hoped (Renwick 2015). Home also tried to protect his enslaved from abuse, especially from his white male workers,

N. 1. Or the first Schedule referred to by the annexed Indenture
Containing the names of the Persons from the Sugar Plantation

48. Alexander	49. Francois	50. Paul	51. Caligula	52. Dominique	53. Louison
54. Françoise	55. Rose	56. Therese	57. Veronique	58. Petit Jean	59. Barnabe
60. David	61. Pelagie	62. Escolastique	63. Veronique	64. ...	65. ...

N. 2. Or the second Schedule referred to by the annexed Indenture
Containing the names of the Persons from the Coffee Plantation

14. ...	15. ...	16. ...	17. ...	18. ...	19. ...
20. ...	21. ...	22. ...	23. ...	24. ...	25. ...
26. ...	27. ...	28. ...	29. ...	30. ...	31. ...

Ninian Home

Figure 8.8 Lists of the enslaved on the sugar (left) and coffee (right) plantations bought by Ninian Home in 1764 to create Waltham (courtesy Paxton House, Scotland)

having to dismiss two overseers for “raping” enslaved women (Renwick 2015). One of the other important things Home fully promoted was the availability of gardens for the enslaved as he believed that they promoted self-sufficiency and a sense of community, but it also absolved him of providing adequate rations. Home believed that his paternalistic caring would endear him to his enslaved and they would thus be loyal to him (Polson 2011).

By 1772, the 178 hectares (440 acres) estate—65 ha (160 acres) in sugar cane, 40 ha (100 acres) in coffee and 73 ha (180 acres) in woods—was one of the largest on the island, and definitely in St. Mark parish, and worked by 230 enslaved laborers. By 1794 the enslaved population had grown to 267. The expansion was facilitated by the increased enslaved labor, extensive canal system, and new technologies like the windmill and later watermill that augmented the less efficient cattle mill they replaced (Figures 8.7 and 8.9).



Figure 8.9 “A Plan of the Estate Called Waltham Situated in the Parish of St. Mark Belonging to Ninian Home, Esq.” by Daniel Phillips, 1772. The “Negro Huts” or Slave Village, and “Negro Ground” or Provision Grounds are highlighted (courtesy Paxton House, Scotland)

On the 1764 list of enslaved the name Louison was recorded as number 18 (Figure 8.8). Later data showed that he was about 27 years old at the time. In 1771, at the age of 34 years and valued at £330, he was listed as a “[slave] driver,” one of four to hold that highest enslaved position of authority on the plantation, often given to the most experienced, trusted and obedient.²⁰ Serving as the assistant to the white overseer, Louison was tasked with maintaining discipline (with the whip, if needed) and directing activities assigned to the enslaved laborers. But in March 1795, the 58 year-old “driver” left his prized position on Ninian Home’s sugar plantation and marched south with dozens of self-emancipated from Waltham into the rebel camp in the hills of Belvidere (Polson 2011).²¹ They joined thousands of other self-emancipated who heeded Julien Fédon’s and his French compatriots’ call to rebel against their British enslavers and claim their freedom. Turnbull (1795:11) was most likely referring to enslaved as Louison when he castigated the “favourite,” “most trusted,” “best treated” and Creole enslaved as ungrateful for being among the first to join the rebellion and taking the most active part against their owners.

Louison and his rebel brothers would fight against some of their own friends and maybe even family when at least 11 “trusted” enslaved from Waltham fought on the side of the British as part of the Loyal Black Rangers, exemplified by Harigay, an African who arrived at Waltham as a “new Negro” in 1788, then only 18 years old. For fifteen months Louison was a free man, a rebel, a soldier, fighting on the side of French Republicanism against his British enslaver. Then, at the end of 1796 after the suppression of the rebellion Waltham estate listed Louison, valued now at £200, as having been hung for his active participation in Fédon’s Rebellion, thus ending his short-lived attempt to be free. He was among hundreds of self-emancipated enslaved rebels who were captured at the end of the rebellion and either executed or sold off the island as punishment for their impromptu rebellious participation.

Other than the few details listed above, we know nothing else of the life of the almost 60-year-old Louison: where he was born, did he have a wife and children, other relatives? What about his exploits as a rebel?—what was he fighting for?, how did he survive to the end of the

²⁰ Louison was the most valued enslaved on the estate. The term “slave driver,” derived from its association with slavery and the forcing of enslaved to work on the plantations by other enslaved, has a disapproving meaning in popular usage as a result.

²¹ Among them were Calais, Jean Pierre (“Fisherman”), Cupidon (c51 years, “head boiler”), Puqua (c33 years, “driver in the mill”), Aaron (c25 years, “large gang”), Haliho (c17 years, African), McSween (c30 years), Bartholomew (18 years), Thoulous, Gulian, Alexander (“Boiler”), Nottingha, Ettiene and Macisnum. At the end of the rebellion 57 enslaved on the Waltham estate had died: 17 killed in the camp, 38 died of various causes, 1 hanged, and 1 missing. Seven others were in the Black Rangers, including Edward (c30 years, “Boiler”), Pierre, St. John, Hanigay, Hilaire, Polidore, Pompey (“Mason”), and Fido (c43 years, “Carpenter”).

rebellion when many of his friends were killed?, and what he thought of the rebellion and his pending death following capture? Though some self-emancipated enslaved operated in bands roaming the island looting and burning plantations, Louison and some of his neighbors chose to join the rebel camp (Brizan 1998; Polson 2011). While in the camp atop Mount Vauclin did they see their former enslaver in the stocks, miserably imprisoned, and later dying a most humiliating death? Did Louison join the rebellion because he was French Creole, felt connected to Julien Fédon because he possibly knew his mother, or he just saw this as an opportunity to be free? We can only speculate, but like Clozier D'Arceuil, Julien Fédon and the many others, he had everything to lose, including his life. Louison, the highly valued "driver" of Waltham estate for over two decades, is only remembered as single-line entries in the list of enslaved in the archives of his former owners' Scottish estate at Paxton House, Berwick-on-Tweed. But because of new technologies the few facts of his life are accessible to many and maybe now he can take his (redeemed) place as a fighter against enslavement in Grenada, a named rebel in a sea of nameless self-emancipated freedom fighters. And maybe the village of Waltham can claim him as one of their own who died fighting for their freedom, including possibly unknown descendants in the small coastal village today where the memory of slavery is only seen in the (crumbling) ruins of the massive slave-built canal overshadowing the St. Mark's Secondary School.

9

Epilogue

“In the World through which I travel, I am endlessly creating myself.”

Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967:229)

In my lifelong journeys across this islandcape I have climbed the heights of its hills and mountains and peered through the mist-covered canopy to see into its past that I might better understand the multiple and diverse journeys that have brought me here. I have hiked into its valleys and trekked alongside its streams and rivers listening to the memories of my father, of my mother, of her mother and grandmother before her, all of whom have fashioned this changing islandcape that I have in turn shaped and shaped me in creating my unique sense of place, and my identities. I continuously walked along its hidden paths into the past that lead me back to the place of identity and belonging, across place and time in the Grenada islandcape where my *navel-string* lay buried, forever connecting me to this island, its people, its society and its ancient history in an intricate web of relations, some of which I am still discovering, and others still left to be uncovered by those yet to be born into this Creole islandcape.

And along this lifelong journey I have watched entranced as the layers of the earth gently peeled away like the pages of a faded book to reveal years, decades, centuries, and millennia concealed within discarded shells, bones, and broken pottery that help rewrite buried stories of those who came long before me and with whom I have a faint, but ancient connection to this Indigenous islandcape. I have hid among the rhizomic roots of black and red mangrove trees peering out to sea, imagining with Kali’nago eyes the ominous arrival of alien mast ghost ships approaching Camáhogne. I felt the unsettling excitement of exploration and the exhilaration of conquest as the French planted their merciless crosses on these shores, proclaiming “*Vive Le Roi*” to the exalting chant of *Te Deum* and cannons blasting as the Indigenous landscape began its violent transformation. In the fading light, I read

determination on the faces of Captains Kairoüane, Duquesne, Marquis, Levera and Antoine armed with their bloodied *butu* (warclubs) and defiant cries as they were hunted into the bushes by armed French settlers, hot on the heels of genocide. And I stood alone on Caribs' Leap, Sauteurs and felt the trepidation of the Kali'nago and Kali'na as they halted in the dark, animated above the precipice before being brutally pushed into mythological oblivion.

I have sat gazing out across the Carenage lamenting the fate of the tens of thousands of tortured, captive souls that beached upon this alien shore in hundreds of overcrowded, stinking prison ships with nothing but anguish and melancholy memories that would somehow nurture this brutalized landscape, yet still never losing a deep desire for a faded memory of distant origins. I have walked across plantations littered with discarded crops, crumbling bricks, and rusted relics of centuries of production, which tell nothing of enslavement, coerced and underpaid labor, exploitation and suffering, but ironically tell a heroic tale of human survival at its best, at its greatest. I have read passionate letters scribbled on fading parchment to loved mothers, wives, daughters and sons in cold climes by men who were cold-hearted and utterly cruel toward their African brothers and sisters smarting in the searing tropical heat. I have hid beneath the bushes in the forest-covered *Bwa-Nèg-Mawon* (Bois-Nègre-Marron) and felt the jubilation and triumph of Pompey, Petit-Jean, Augustine and others as they seized their freedom by taking to the cloude-covered forested hills in the distance. I have walked through tilled gardens clinging to steep slopes covered with hardy ground provisions, vegetables and fruits, imagining the bodies that toiled here for generations, beginning with those shackled hands and feet that fed insatiable appetites. I have held torches in commemoration of that August 1st day when tens of thousands quietly cheered the breaking of their multi-generational shackles that had cruelly bounded their bodies to another.

I stood on the deck of the *Vanguard* commanding Governor de Bonvoust to surrender as *l'isle de la Grenade* was forcibly amended from French to English, creating dual colonial legacies that today linger in the tangled cultural landscape of my body and mind. I have stood on the ruins of the fortified walls of the "Old Fort" imagining the Comte commanding French forces bombarding the retreating British at Fort George into surrendering, a brief victory that would be reversed three years hence for the next 200 years. I have climbed the heights of Fédon's Camp and caught fading shadows of armed rebels disappearing into the trees as they dredged through the mud and rain shouting "*Liberté, égalité ou la mort!*", as British troops, among them (enslaved) "Loyal Black Rangers," followed murderously on their heels.

I listened to the heart-wrenching stories of those laboring men and women who lit the sky red with *Flambeaux* (torches) that burned the pillars of colonialism and ushered in universal adult suffrage, and ultimately statehood and independence, but still, oddly, celebrate the royal visits of (British) queen, princesses and princes. I have witnessed those weary bodies bathing in the warm sulfur springs at River Sallee and Clabony in the hope of washing away the shame and stench of enslavement and colonialism that still linger in the moist tropical air almost two centuries on, though visitors innocently insist that all they smell is a whiff of spices wafting through the midday air. I have beheld entranced bodies move to the pulsing beat of the African nation dance, rhythmically circling the drums and embracing the songs and dances of Coromanti (Akan), Ibo, Kongo and Temne ancestors caught in this never-ending dance circle. I sat transfixed as Uncle Nadley narrated tall tales of *Compere Zayeh* (Anansi the trickster spider), and supernatural stories of *Lajabliesse*, *Sukuyant*, *Papa Bwa*, *Dwenn* and *Mama Maladie* as they fought over dominance of the mythical nocturnal landscape, making sure wayward husbands and boyfriends were scared enough to not go galivanting into the night. I have trailed disguised masquerades of *Djab-Djab*, *Shortknee*, *Shakespeare Mas* and *Veko* as they paraded through the streets rehearsing diverse narratives of culture, beliefs, memory and artistry shrouded deep within glistening blackened bodies, colorful baggy costumes, and stylized movements.

Too young to fully grasp, I watched as my sister, brother and father marched through the streets of St. George's singing "We Shall Overcome," with my father carrying a cross declaring "WE ARE BURDENED BY GAIRYISM," and demanding an end to police brutality and "NO" to independence under the GULP government of Eric Gairy, as the state disintegrated into blood, chaos, and looting on that "Bloody Monday." Sleepy-eyed, I stood on the slave-built bastions of Fort George in the imposed darkness that February 6th anxiously awaiting the lowering of the Union Jack at the stroke of midnight as the red, green and gold nutmeg-emblazoned flag was hoisted, proclaiming "...liberty, justice and equality for all." I cheered the armed revolutionaries descending Freedom Hill with the hopes and dreams of so many Grenadians that March 13th (1979) would birth a new nation, a free nation, a nation moving "Forward Ever, Backward Never!" and in "Nobody's Backyard." Yet the memory of the bloody, bullet-riddled wall at Fort Rupert overwhelms, and the anguished cries and searing pain of betrayal on that "Bloody Wednesday" still engulfs the tropical air trapped within its 18th-century walled courtyard. I heard harrowing stories of bombs and bullets shattering the pre-dawn quiet on that 25th October (1983) morn as swarms of helicopters

buzzed overhead in an “Urgent Fury,” as the US Intervasion¹ blasted away the decaying remains of a revolutionary experiment gone awry.

I stood perplexed at the panoply of ceremony at the new Houses of Parliament with its 18th-century Mace branded with its anachronistic imagery of slavery and colonialism proudly carried aloft by a white-wigged clad Grenadian as a symbol of Grenada’s parliamentary democracy.² I watched heartbroken as the library’s doors shuttered, its broken sign barely held up by a rusted nail, this lone symbol of learning and knowledge of my youth now the refuge of bats. I screamed silently as the shredded pages of centuries-old documents, the records of who we are, disintergrates before my eyes, taking with it the genealogies of my mother and father, and their fathers before them. And like a recurring nightmare, I hear the faint echoes of the vanquished French *Patwa* of my grandmother Aunty Maud crying out *bon djé!* (good god!) in a desperate plea to be heard before the stories of so many fading voices disappear into the darkness, into the past, deeper and deeper into the palimpsest landscape... forever lost... if we do not bear witness to and safeguard our changing cultural landscape for the future identities of this Grenada islandscape and its heirs!

¹ *Intervasion* is a contraction of “invasion” and “intervention,” and coined by a Grenadian (journalist Alister Hughes according to Tung 2013) in the aftermath of the 1983 US Invasion. Its use became popular in the 1990s to reflect its ironic perspective by different segments of the Grenadian population and how this complex event is remembered. There is also “rescuvasion” after “Rescue Mission,” reflecting the linguistic gymnastics to find an appropriate name to best understand and explain this controversial event officially termed “Operation Urgent Fury” by the US military.

² The white wigs once worn by the President of the Senate, Speaker of the House of Representatives and others were discontinued in 2018.

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Abstract

“We Navel-String Bury Here”: Landscape History, Representation and Identities in the Grenada Islandscape.

Identities are by their nature restless, complicated by our unique historical chronologies and cultures that often either support or hinder our search to become ourselves. This study explores the process of identity creation in the Caribbean archipelagic space by examining the last five centuries of Grenada’s layered history through detailing and analyzing the major human-environment interactions that have transformed its landscape, particularly following the invasion of Europeans since the 17th century and the establishment of plantation agriculture and slavery (utilizing enslaved Africans and their descendants), village settlements and subsistence agriculture, and much later tourism. It will analyze its landscape transformations by examining land use and settlement patterns of its human occupants from the Indigenous Kali’nago to its current inhabitants via the concept of creolization. Centuries of interactions between and among these various groups of people and the Grenadian environment have created a landscape best described as a palimpsest where layer upon layer of interactions intertwine, overwrite and blend with each other through time. Yet leaving glimpses or blurred pictures of impacts in various and discernable ways, thus creating a long-term biography of this islandscape. By examining the Grenadian palimpsest and analyzing the concept of landscape identity through historical representations and *memory-traces* embedded in the Creole cultural landscape this study explores the relationship between people and the landscape over time.

This dissertation takes a multidisciplinary approach because of its far-reaching objectives of exploring land use, landscape biography, landscape identity and sense of place in the Grenada islandscape by analyzing the thesis question: What can the life history or landscape biography of a Small Island Developing State (SIDS) like Grenada tell us about how people convey value to the landscape through their various representations and *memory-traces*, and how sense of place and identities are created in this creolizing islandscape? By bringing together extensive local knowledge and experiences, this study will utilize a diversity of disciplines, including landscape studies, anthropology, heritage studies, archaeology, historical research, economic history, and humanistic geography to examine multiple data

sets via Historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS) mapping and spatial analysis to generate outcomes on land use/land cover over multiple historical periods. This study of land use and landscape change will produce a comprehensive biography of Grenada's historical landscape that will also inform agriculture, heritage, and the environment. These are needed as Grenada enters a new phase in its development while confronted by difficult and increasing environmental or rather societal concerns like climate change and coastal degradation, and how to achieve sustainable economic development for its ever-growing population within this seemingly bounded island landscape.

Curriculum Vitae

John Angus Martin was born and grew-up in St. George's, Grenada. He attended primary and secondary schools before migrating to Brooklyn, NY. In 1986 he graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Biological Sciences from the State University of New York, Stonybrook, Long Island. He spent the next three years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Sierra Leone, West Africa as an agricultural sciences teacher, and as an agricultural extension agent to rural subsistence farmers. He later earned postgraduate degrees in Agricultural and Applied Economics (MS, 1995) with a thesis titled "Consumption of Dairy Products in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for US Exporters," and History (MA, 1999) titled "L'Isle de la Grenade: French Settlement and Development, 1649-1762" from Clemson University, South Carolina.

With a multidisciplinary academic background and diverse life experiences Mr. Martin held professional positions as Reference Archivist at the Cushing Memorial Library, Texas A&M University (1998-2001), Country Desk Officer in the US Peace Corps (2002-2010), Director/Curator at the Grenada National Museum, St. George's (1912-15), part-time lecturer in the School of Arts and Sciences, St George's University, Grenada (2013-15) in Caribbean Studies, and Director of the Saba Archaeological Center, Saba, Dutch Caribbean (2019-22). He is a historian, archivist and museum curator specializing in Grenada's history and culture in its research and interpretative spaces, and explores identity and historical relationships across the archipelagic space as in his doctoral research as part of the *NEXUS1492* project in the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. He is an affiliated fellow of CaribTRAILS under Prof. dr. Corinne Hofman, KITLV, Leiden, The Netherlands, member of the Cypher Art Collective of Grenada for the Grenada National Pavilion at La Biennale di Venezia (aka Venice Biennale) in 2022, member of the Grenada National Reparations Committee, and a Vice-President of the UNESCO Memory of the World for Latin America and the Caribbean committee. He recently served as the Executive Director of the Grenada National Museum.

Mr. Martin is the author of books and articles, including: *A to Z of Grenada Heritage* (2022), *Island Caribs and French Settlers in Grenada, 1498-1763* (2013), co-authored (with Joseph Opala and Dr. Cynthia Schmidt) *The Temne Nation of Carriacou: Sierra Leone's Lost Family in the Caribbean* (2016), co-edited (with Dr. Nicole Phillip-Dowe) *Perspectives on the Grenada Revolution, 1979-1983* (2017), with photographer Angus Thompson, *Grenada Heritage: A Pictorial Journey Through Space and Time* (2019), and co-edited/wrote with Peter Johnson the pictorial *Saba: From Sea to Scenery* (2022).

