



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Martin, J.A.

Citation

Martin, J. A. (2023, October 4). *We navel-string bury here: Landscape history, representation and identity in the Grenada islandscape*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3643183>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3643183>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

“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

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 4 Oktober 2023
klokke 16.15 uur

door

John Angus Martin

geboren te St. George's, Grenada
in 1964

Promotie commissie:

Promotores

Prof. dr. Corinne L. Hofman – Universiteit Leiden

Prof. dr. J.C.A. Kolen – Universiteit Leiden

Co-promotor: dr. Arie Boomert – KITLV

Overige leden:

Prof. dr. Merle Collins – University of Maryland, USA

Prof. dr. Patrick Degryse – Universiteit Leiden / KU Leuven

Prof. dr. Pieter ter Keurs – Universiteit Leiden

dr. Joseph Sony Jean – KITLV

dr. Winston F. Phulgence – Sir Arthur Lewis Community College, St. Lucia

Oppositie commissie:

Prof. dr. Gert J. Oostindie – Universiteit Leiden

dr. Jason E. Laffoon – Universiteit Leiden

The research leading to this dissertation received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ERC-Synergy project NEXUS1492, grant agreement nr. 319209.

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| List of Figures | vi |
| List of Tables | x |
| Acknowledgements | xi |
| Preface | xiv |
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 A Continuously Changing Islandscape | 2 |
| 1.2 Aims and Objectives of This Study | 4 |
| 1.3 An Island Rooted in an Aquapelago | 7 |
| 1.4 Once Upon a Time on an Island: The “Natural” Environment..... | 11 |
| 1.5 Scope and Structure of the Thesis | 16 |
| 2. Current State of Research and Historical Context | 18 |
| 2.1 Current State of Historical (and Archaeological) Research..... | 19 |
| 2.2 Introduction to Grenada’s Settlement History Since 1498 | 25 |
| 2.2.1 The Kali’nago and Kali’na of Camáhogne | 26 |
| 2.2.2 European Invasion and the Establishment of Plantation Slavery Under the French..... | 33 |
| 2.2.3 Expansion of Sugar and Slavery Under the British | 41 |
| 2.2.4 The Post-Emancipation Settlement Landscape and the Rise of a Peasantry ... | 52 |
| 2.2.5 The Changing Socio-Economic Landscape and the Remaking of Society..... | 59 |
| 2.2.6 Attempts to Remake the Political and Social Landscape from Below | 63 |
| 2.2.7 Small Island Developing State (SIDS) in a Global Landscape | 69 |
| 3. Conceptualizing Landscape in Creolizing Caribbean Islandsapes | 73 |
| 3.1 “An Island is a World”..... | 75 |
| 3.2 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Caribbean Societies..... | 79 |
| 3.3 Defining Landscape: From <i>Landschap</i> to Humanist Geography | 82 |
| 3.4 The Life Story of Islandsapes | 86 |
| 3.5 Creolization and Contestation of Caribbean Islandsapes..... | 88 |
| 3.6 Defining the Landscape of Identity Creation in Caribbean Islandsapes | 92 |
| 4. Analyzing Landscape Transformations in Grenada via the Lens of HGIS: A Methodological Approach | 101 |
| 4.1 HGIS: A Spatial Approach to Analyzing Land Use/Landscape Change..... | 102 |
| 4.2 Data Sources | 104 |
| 4.3 Digital Mapping and Data Processing | 108 |
| 5. Landscape Transformations in a Small Caribbean Islandscape, 1498-2022 | 113 |
| 5.1 Mapping the Kali’nago and Kali’na of Camáhogne (1498-1649)..... | 114 |
| 5.2 Mapping the Establishment of Plantation Slavery Under the French (1649-1762) | 126 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 5.3 | Mapping the Expansion of Sugar and Slavery Under the British (1762-1838) | 143 |
| | Mapping the Post-Emancipation Settlement Landscape and the Rise of a Peasantry (1838-1900)..... | 155 |
| 5.4 | Mapping the Socio-Cultural Landscape and the Remaking of Grenadian Society (1900-1950) | 163 |
| 5.5 | Mapping the Remaking of the Political and Social Landscape from the Bottom Up (1951-1983) | 169 |
| 5.6 | Mapping a Caribbean SIDS in a Global Landscape (post-1983)..... | 178 |
| 6. | Locating the Representations and <i>Memory-Traces</i> of the Authors of the Grenada Islandscape | 188 |
| 6.1 | “Carib Stones,” Cracked Pots and Postholes: Unearthing Kali’nago Beyond Caribs’ Leap | 190 |
| 6.2 | Plantations, Priests and Place Names: Situating the French at the Rupture of the Modern Grenadian Landscape | 203 |
| 6.3 | Anansi Stories, Nation Dance and Saraka: Uncovering the Representation and <i>Memory-Traces</i> of Western Africa in the Grenadian Landscape..... | 214 |
| 6.4 | King’s Honours, English, Cricket and a Spot of Tea: Reckoning with the Overwhelming Presence of Britishness in the Grenadian Landscape..... | 232 |
| 6.5 | Continuing Cultural Influences on the Grenadian Landscape | 241 |
| 7. | From Kali’nago to Creole: (Re)Creating and Contesting the Creolized Grenada Islandscape | 247 |
| 7.1 | Cooking Up the One-Pot Creolized Grenadian Landscape | 250 |
| 7.2 | Contesting Roots and Origins Along the Journeys of the Ancestors..... | 265 |
| 8. | Place Identities in the Grenada Islandscape | 270 |
| 8.1 | “We Navel-String Bury Here”: Affirming Identities in the Grenada Islandscape | 272 |
| 8.2 | Palimpsest Landscape: Connecting Stories Across Place and Time | 276 |
| 9. | Epilogue | 297 |
| | References | 301 |
| | Abstract | 364 |
| | Curriculum Vitae | 366 |

List of Figures

Figure A: James Casey’s “A plan of the town of St. George in the island of Grenada,” 1778, with Ravine Jardín insetxv

Figure 1.1 Map of the Caribbean & northern South America, with Grenada inset7

Figure 1.2 3-D Map of Grenada, showing its mountainous relief, c201912

Figure 1.3 Schematic elevation of Grenada, showing its biological plant and animal distribution (based on Beard 1946) 14

Figure 2.1 Map of Grenada showing Indigenous heritage sites, 2021.....23

Figure 2.2 Map of the modern circum-Caribbean region with presumed major precolonial migrations into the archipelago.....26

Figure 2.3 Spanish ships (A) approaching Kali’nago canoes (B) along Grenada’s northern coast, c161430

Figure 2.4 Historical map of the southern Caribbean and northern South America, c170732

Figure 2.5 “Carte de la rade et du port du Fort Royal...,” 1746 by Romain34

Figure 2.6 L’Isle de la Grenade (redrawn from Blondel, 1667)37

Figure 2.7 “Carte de l’Isle de la Grenade,” 1763.....44

Figure 2.8 Plan of Bacolet or Hope Estate, St. Andrew, 1875, showing an area along its northern boundary (left) sold to peasant farmers, illustrating how villages developed on the periphery of estates, subsequently taking on the names of the estates and eventually enveloping them.....56

Figure 3.1 Development of landscape research84

Figure 3.2: Identity chart showing the major influences on personal identity.....95

Figure 4.1 Different scales and actors involved in landscape change110

Figure 4.2 Schematic of the methodology sequence of input data and construction of HGIS maps (adopted from Etter et al. 2008).....112

Figure 5.1: HGIS model locating Kali’nago and Kali’na settlements in Grenada, 1649-67.....117

Figure 5.2: Reconstructed Kali’nago village at Argyle, St. Vincent, showing a large *tábouï* surrounded by several round houses, 2015.....122

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 5.3A: European wares encountered with Cayo materials at the sites of Argyle, St. Vincent and La Poterie, St. Andrew..... | 125 |
| Figure 5.3B: Bone artifacts from Kalinago archaeological assemblages from Grenada, sites of La Poterie and Telescope Point, St. Andrew | 125 |
| Figure 5.4: Conference Bay, with La Poterie archaeological site in the foreground, remains of the Conference coconut plantation and Pearls in the distance, 2017 | 125 |
| Figure 5.5A “Plan de l’avenue et du port de la Grenade,” 1670 | 129 |
| Figure 5.5B “Carte de l’isle de la Grenade,” 1749[1743] by Romain..... | 130 |
| Figure 5.6: HGIS model locating all plantations by size and crop types within parish boundaries and 1 km increments in from the coast, 1763..... | 134 |
| 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..... | 136 |
| Figure 5.8: HGIS model locating non-sugar plantations by size, crop types & number of enslaved within parish boundaries & 1 km increments in from the coast, 1763..... | 138 |
| Figure 5.9: HGIS model locating plantations by size & number of enslaved, 1763 | 140 |
| Figure 5.9A: HGIS model locating French-era build roads, ports, anchorages and towns, 1763 | 141 |
| Figure 5.9B: “A plan of George Town in the island of Grenada, 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 | 142 |
| Figure 5.10: Plantation ownership by nationality, 1766..... | 145 |
| Figure 5.11: Plantation ownership by nationality, 1772 | 145 |
| Figure 5.12: Plantations by type of crops grown, 1772 | 145 |
| Figure 5.13: HGIS model locating plantations by size and crop types within 1 km increments in from the coast, 1801/1824..... | 149 |
| Figure 5.14: HGIS model locating sugar plantations by size and number of enslaved within 1 km increments in from the coast, 1801/1824..... | 151 |
| Figure 5.15: HGIS model locating plantations by size and number of enslaved within 1 km increments from the coast, 1801/24..... | 153 |
| Figure 5.16: HGIS model locating British-era ports, anchorages and towns, within parish boundaries, 1801 | 154 |
| Figure 5.17: HGIS model locating plantations by crop types, 1897..... | 159 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 5.18: HGIS model locating infrastructural changes between 1801 and 1900 | 162 |
| Figure 5.19: Map showing distribution of plantations by size, 1940..... | 165 |
| Figure 5.20: Map showing Land Settlement Schemes, 1909-1939 | 165 |
| Figure 5.21: Land acquisitions under Land for the Landless Scheme, 1968-79..... | 173 |
| Figure 5.22: Map showing Grenada Farms Corporation under the PRG, 1983 | 173 |
| Figure 5.23: Map showing distribution of plantations over 100 acres, 1988 | 180 |
| Figure 5.24: Land cover/forest formation map of Grenada, 2001 | 183 |
| 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 | 185 |
| Figure 5.26: Land cover (BSG) map of Grenada, 2015..... | 187 |
| Figure 6.1: Indigenous-derived words in Grenada’s English Creole as a word cloud | 193 |
| Figure 6.2: “Wild Indian” masqueraders at annual Carnival celebrations..... | 198 |
| Figure 6.3: 17/18 th -century-built Fort George commandeering the town of St. George’s today as it did when it was built as Fort Royal by the French after 1668 | 204 |
| Figure 6.4A: French-era derived toponyms in Grenada today, including several Indigenous names..... | 208 |
| Figure 6.4B: Djab-Djab masqueraders on Jouvay morning, Carnival, 2018..... | 211 |
| Figure 6.5: African-derived words in Grenada’s English Creole as a word cloud | 218 |
| Figure 6.6: “Edna Jeremiah (with shack-shack/boli), drummers, and unidentified dancer at Shango ceremony in Levera, St. Patrick,” 1962..... | 226 |
| Figure 6.7: Map of British-era derived toponyms across Grenada today | 238 |
| Figure 7.1: Procession of the Maces into the new Houses of Parliament, with various officials wearing white wigs, since discontinued, 2018..... | 262 |
| Figure 8.1: Georeferenced images(from Gavin Smith’s 1801 map and 1985 DOS map of Grenada) of Duquesne village and surrounding areas | 278 |
| Figure 8.2: Model of a Kali’nago village at Argyle, St. Vincent, with <i>tábovi</i> and round houses by Eric Pelissier at the National Public Library, 2016..... | 280 |
| Figure 8.3: Prime Minister Mitchell and other officials and heritage advocates at the dedication of the Duquesne Petroglyphs in 2003..... | 281 |

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.....285

Figure 8.5: The coastal village of Waltham, St. Mark.....288

Figure 8.6: Idealized representation of Paraclete estate, St. Andrew believed capturing Ninian Penelope Home in the carriage by Adam Callender, 1789291

Figure 8.7: 18th century ruins of the canal or aqueduct, built by enslaved labor, that brought water across the estate and to power the waterwheel at Waltham Estate, St. Mark.....292

Figure 8.8: Lists of the enslaved on the sugar and coffee plantations bought by Ninian Home in 1764 to create Waltham293

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”/slave village, and “Negro Ground”/provision grounds are highlighted294

List of Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 4.1: List of types of data and sources used to generate HGIS models..... | 105 |
| Table 4.2: List of historical periods and driving forces identified for Grenada | 111 |
| Table 5.1: Kali'nago and Kali'na sites/settlements and their prominent features, 1649-67..... | 118 |
| Table 5.2: Population of Grenada, 1669 to 1763, by race (percentage) and annual rate of change..... | 131 |
| Table 5.3: Number of Indigo and sugar plantations in Grenada, 1678-1763 | 131 |
| Table 5.4: Number and types of animals on plantations in in Grenada, 1669-1761..... | 133 |
| Table 5.5 Land Settlement Schemes in Grenada, 1909-1939..... | 167 |

Acknowledgements

“The journey is the destination.”

My life and work are nothing if not for the people—family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances—around me who hold me to high standards and always seem to welcome me into their lives no matter how long ago or far away. To you all, I say thank you for your support, and I am so happy that you are there to brighten my day, lessen my burdens, listen to my ideas, question my beliefs, and make me a better researcher, writer and person. I cannot list all of your names in this bounded space, but if you read this know that your name is inscribed in my palimpsest, in the place that matters most to me. And when I see or communicate with you next, I will personally tell you thank you for being in my lifescape.

Completing this dissertation has been a long journey, not just in the time it took from start to finish (ten years?), as it really began many, many years ago, long before I even started researching this specific topic. This part of the journey has led me to many people I am so happy to have met along the way who took the time to laugh and dance with me, the many cool landscapes I got to not just learn about but experience, the numerous things I learned from so many people, and the shared moments that made me content to be in this space with these wonderful human beings. It was truly an amazing journey back to the place where it all began for me, this beautiful island called Grenada and to connect it to my expanding universe across the globe.

Several people have played outsized roles in completing this leg of my lifelong journey and I would be remiss not to mention them by name. Prof. dr. Corinne Hofman, who asked me to join the NEXUS1492 project after a chance encounter, provided the means and guidance for the subsequent experiences that changed my life in a most wonderful way. Thank you for recognizing what I was unable to see, and inspiring me. To dr. Arie Boomert for making me feel welcomed with my often unsure ideas, and sticking with me when I was not sure that I even wanted to continue. Thanks to Prof. dr. Jan Kolen for making me realize that there is no prescribed way to express my thoughts, memories and ideas of my island. To Roy Wroth for the many conversations that helped shape my thinking on landscape and identity; I hope I can repay you in some small way as you begin your own journey of exploration. And all of the members of my committee and the opposition who have agreed to be part of this journey, thank you for your guidance and support. The NEXUS family was truly the coolest

group of people I have worked with and learned so much from, especially Katarina Jacobson for a special friendship that survived the Atlantic crossing, and the collegial and friendly support along our similar journeys, Jana Pesoutova for a wonderful friendship, pep talks and great dinners, Sony Jean for his dialogs and guidance, especially at the French Archives, Tibisay Sankatsing Nava for her cool, supportive presence, and Finn van der Leden for his friendship.

A special thank you to Timothy Sandiford for the many maps that so beautifully enhance the story of the changing Grenadian landscape. Thank you to Jonathan Hanna for the maps and the continuous exchange of ideas, Malcolm Ferdinand for the engaging conversations and visits, dr. Oliver Benoit for his conversations on Grenadian identity, and Suelin Low Chew Tung and Craig Cochrane for allowing me to talk about my dissertation all the time. Thanks to the members of the board of the Saba Archaeological Center and my friends—Peter Johnson, dr. Jay Havisser, and especially Vito Charles—for their support, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. And my ‘brother’ Jason Burns and his wife Claire Shin for their continuous support. Thanks to all of the heritage advocates along the journey who have taught me the value of appreciating the past as it is so vital to our understanding of the present as we craft our identities.

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 adapts 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 Reeck (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 storiescape, 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!