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

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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 duel 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 viewscapes), 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

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[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

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[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

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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 Sutty (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

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[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/Camáhogne[10] 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;

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[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

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[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).
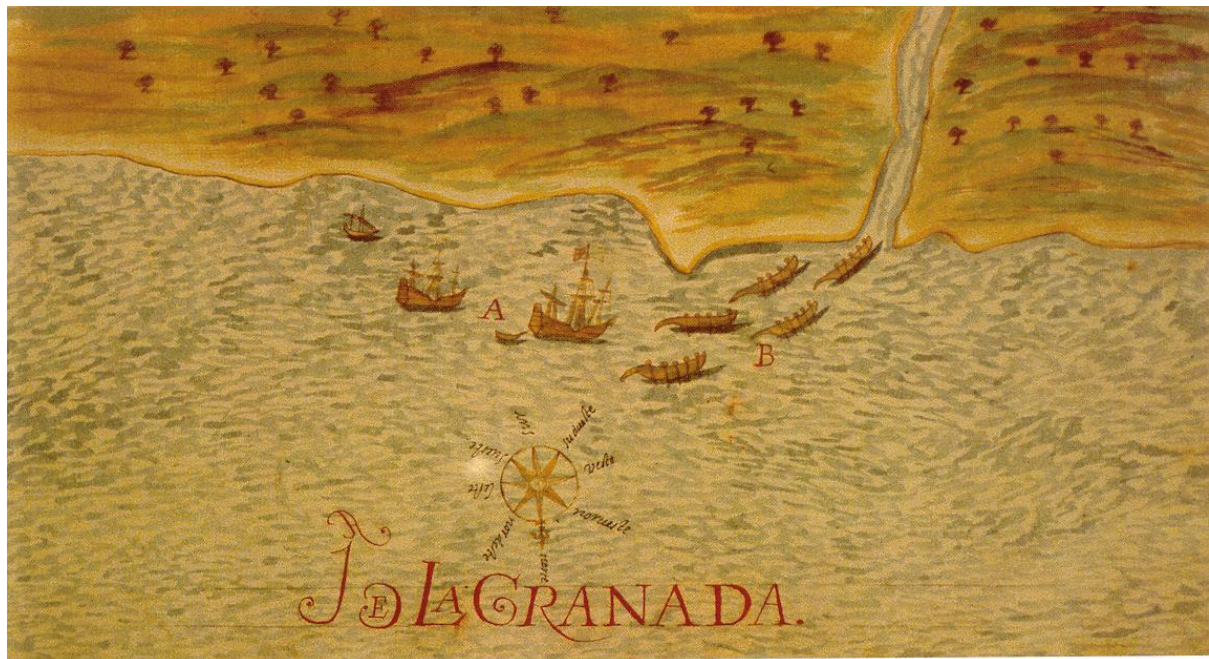

Figure 2.3 Spanish ships (A) approaching Kali'nago canoes (B) along Grenada's northern coast, c1614 (de Cardona 1632) (courtesy Library of Congress)

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 doe the same for the canybals, who fought with him very desperatly 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
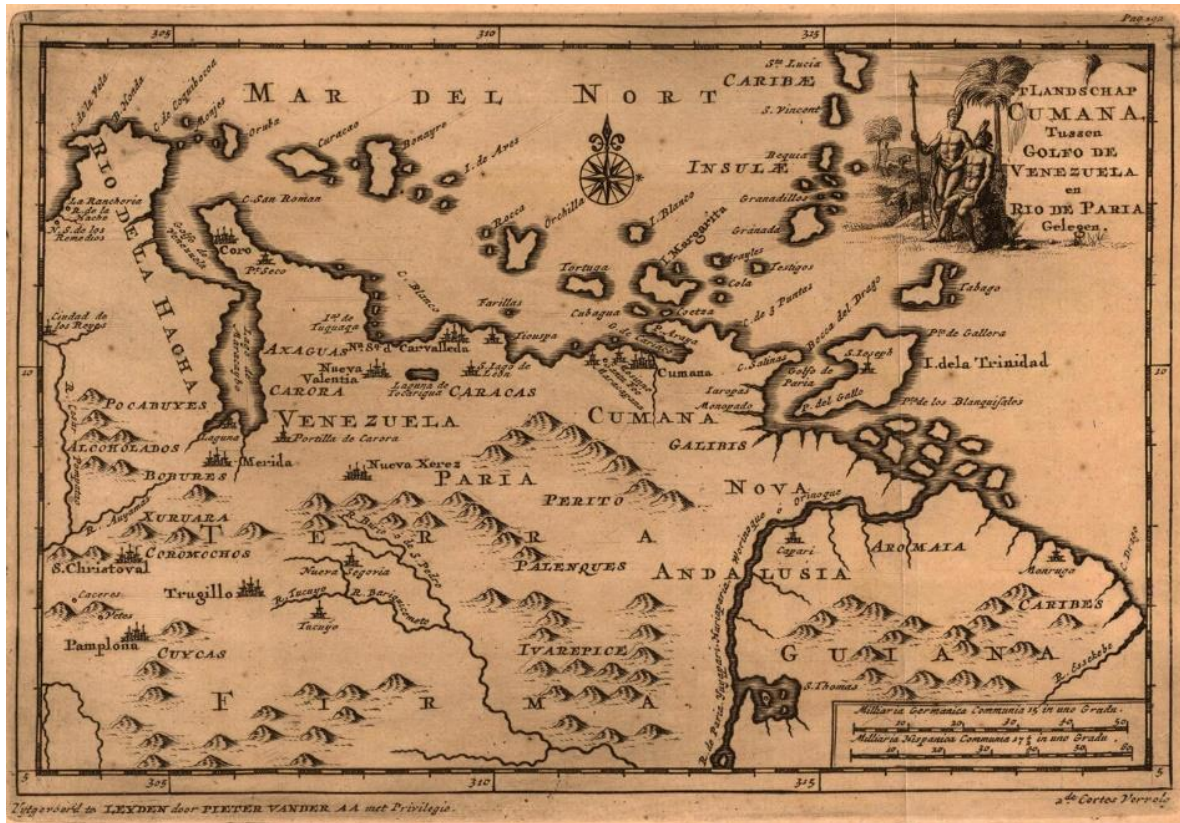
Figure 2.4 Historical map of the southern Caribbean and northern South America, c1707

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 Trinidada 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 supressed, 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

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[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
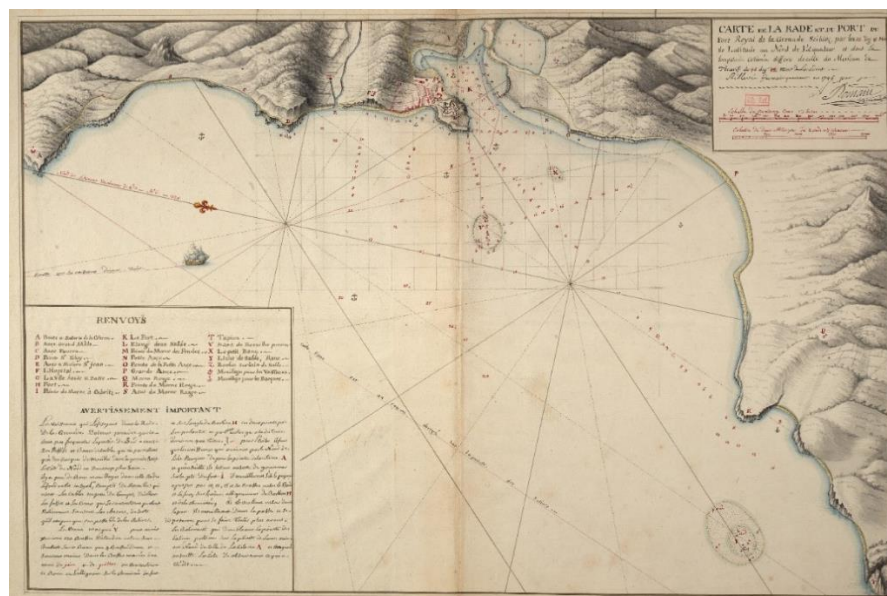

Figure 2.5 "Carte de la rade et du port du Fort Royal…," 1746 by Romain, showing the "grand bay" where European settlers first landed in 1609 and 1649 (courtesy Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer/CAOM)

[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–Oüáitoucoubouli, Ioüànalao, Iouloúmain, 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

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[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.

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[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!

For the first two decades and a half Grenada was colonised by private owners or *seigneurs proprietaires*, experiencing little development because of conflicts with the Indigenous residents and internal political disagreements. The years under Governor Du Parquet were consumed with conflicts between the French and the Kali'nago and Kali'na for control of the island, as well as internal squabbles among the colonists (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Boucher 1992; Martin 2013; Pritchard 2005; Wenzel 2020). When approached to sell Grenada, Du Parquet readily agreed as it had drained resources and produced little in the eight years under his control. The Comte de Sérillac had even less success as the small colony was again consumed with internal conflicts. The struggles between de Sérillac's lieutenant Jean François Du Buc and many of the colonists who were opposed to his rule resulted in his execution and the departure of some of the prominent colonists, leaving the colony in chaos at the end of the 1650s (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1659]; Martin 2013; Wenzel 2020).

Figure 2.6 L'Isle de la Grenade (redrawn from Blondel, 1667) (Martin 2013)

The worsening state of Grenada and the other French colonies in the region led to the French Crown establishing a new administration under a trading company. The Compagnie française des Indes occidentales (hereafter French West India Company/FWIC) took over and

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 difficille 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

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[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

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[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).
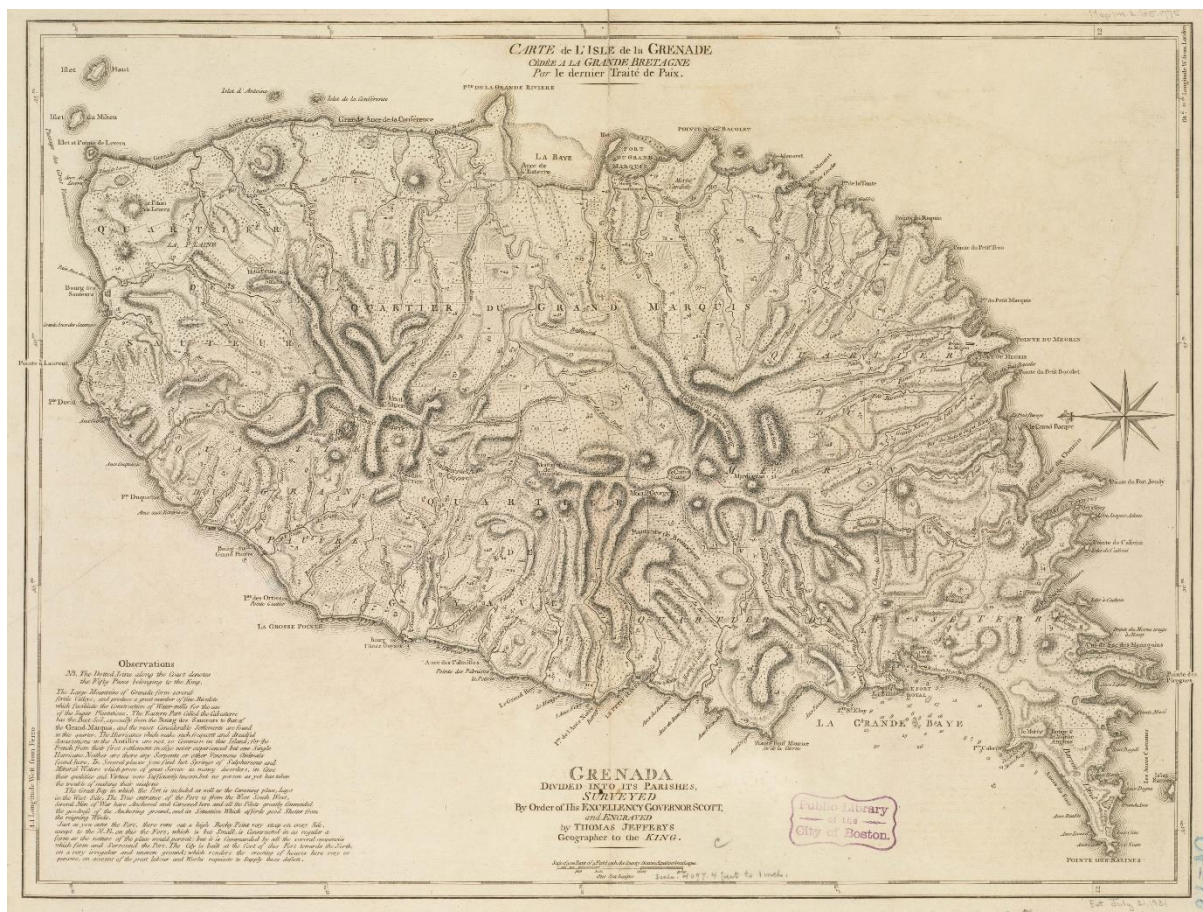

Figure 2.7 "Carte de l'isle de la Grenade," 1763 (courtesy the Public Library of Boston)

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 dissention 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

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[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

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[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 steeling 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

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[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

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[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 Cugoano 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).

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[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.

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[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,

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[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).

some 22 percent (7,127 people) of the population were now living in free villages, many set up on the periphery of estates on marginal lands either sold or given by the estates for that purpose (Figure 2.8) (Brizan 1998). The creation of free villages would be the most profound change to the Grenadian dwelling landscape since the establishment of the plantation system that had appropriated the majority of lands across the Grenada islandscape.

To remedy the deteriorating relationship between the laborers and estates as the latter was experiencing economic pressures as a result, several alternative arrangements were explored for new ways to benefit from the changing labor regime. In this atmosphere of the changing labor relationships the Grenadian landscape gradually began to be transformed, especially when laborers became sharecroppers or *metayers*. Thus creating the most prevalent part of the new labor regime, bringing about drastic changes to the Grenadian labor landscape and changing the face of its agriculture from the mid to late-1800s, and subsequently its settlement landscape (Brizan 1998; Euwema 1993; Marshall 1996, 2005; Ross 1842).
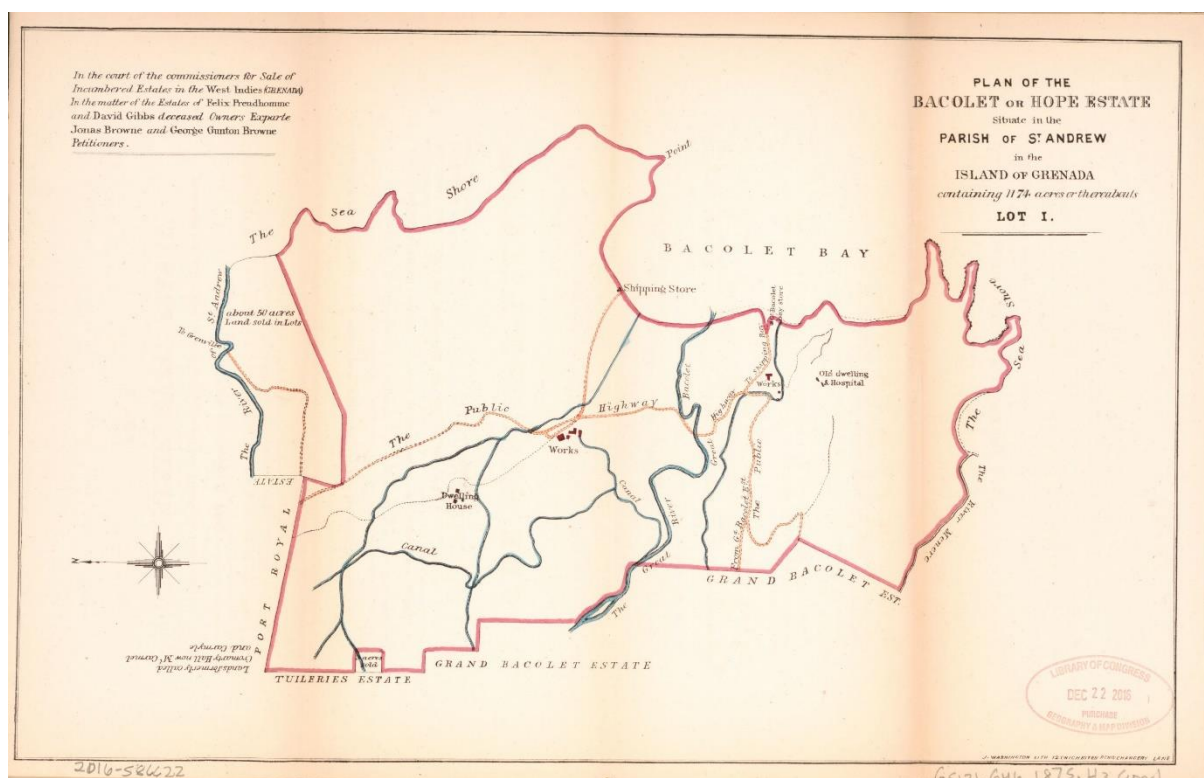

Figure 2.8 Plan of Bacolet or Hope Estate, St. Andrew, 1875, showing an area along its northern boundary (left) sold to peasant farmers, illustrating how villages developed on the periphery of estates, subsequently taking on the names of the estates and eventually enveloping them (courtesy Library of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

The reluctance and/or refusal by some of the formerly enslaved to work for low wages on sugar estates created a panic among planters who blamed the perceived reluctant labor force

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).

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[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.