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

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## **Landscape Transformations in a Small Caribbean Islandscape, 1498-2022**

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

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

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

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

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

## 5.1 Mapping the Kali’nago and Kali’na of Camáhogne (1498-1649)<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

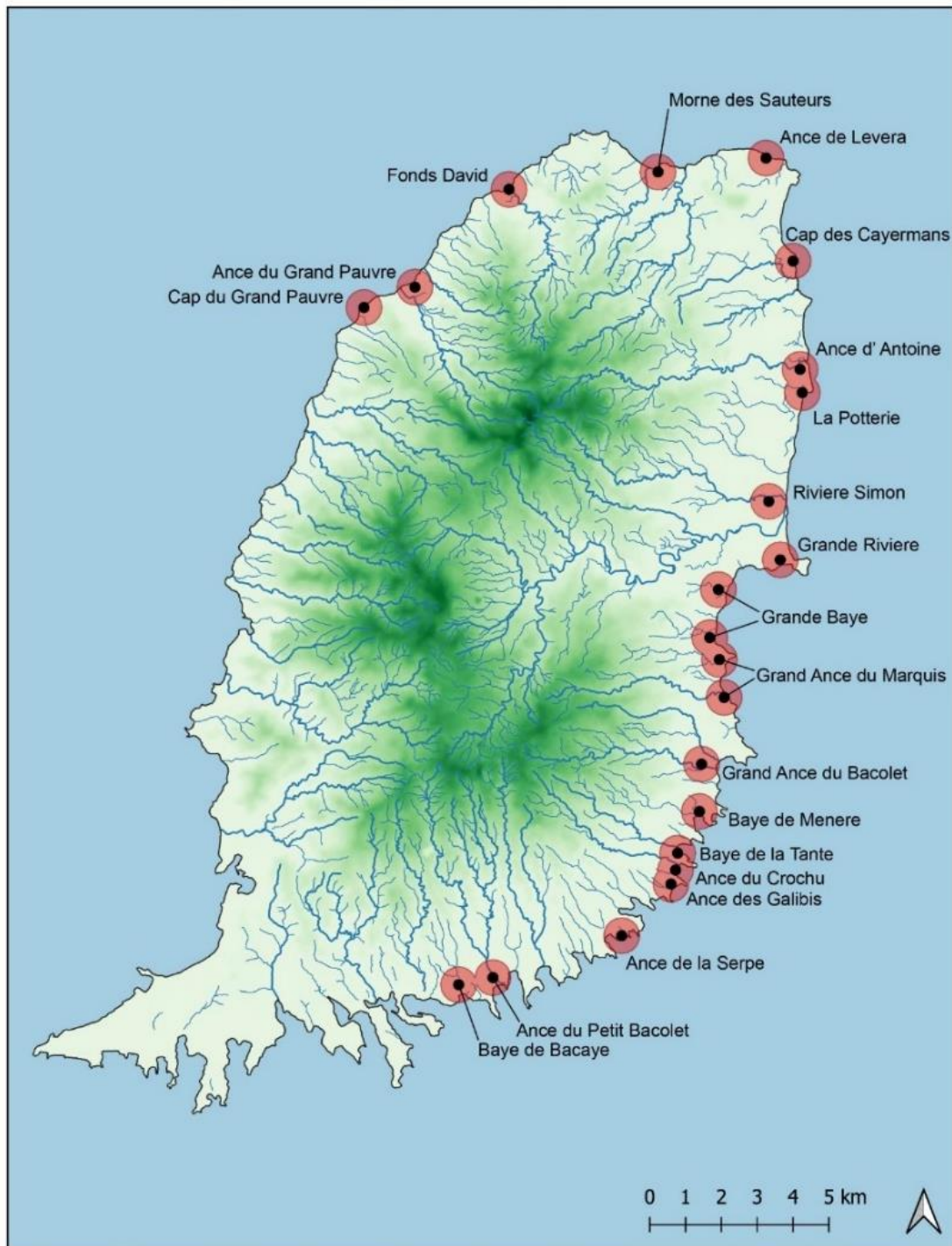


*Figure 5.1: HGIS model locating Kali'nago and Kali'na settlements/sites in Grenada, 1649-67 (Martin and Sandiford, 2020)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> According to Espinosa (1942[1622]:57), "There will be on those islands, and on that of Grenada, over 18,000 Indians, who go naked, belong to the Carib tribe, and call themselves *Camajuyas*."

The debate over population numbers for Indigenous groups in the Americas is very problematic. Historic data are either biased or guesses. The case of the Taíno in the Greater Antilles is illustrative of this problem (Anderson-Córdova 2017; Henige 1978; Cook 1998; Denevan 1992; Fernandes et al. 2021). Yet, despite inherent difficulties, it is important to have an idea of the extent of Grenada's Indigenous population as it helps in the analysis of their impact on the landscape and their subsequent interactions with Europeans.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

approximately 1,300.<sup>7</sup> Though it still appears high based solely on the reading of the information of interactions between the Kali'nago and the French settlers in the mid-1600s, the population estimate helps create a picture of the Indigenous peoples at the rupture of colonization, and enhances the understanding of Kali'nago and Kali'na settlement patterns on Grenada and their subsequent response to French invasion.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

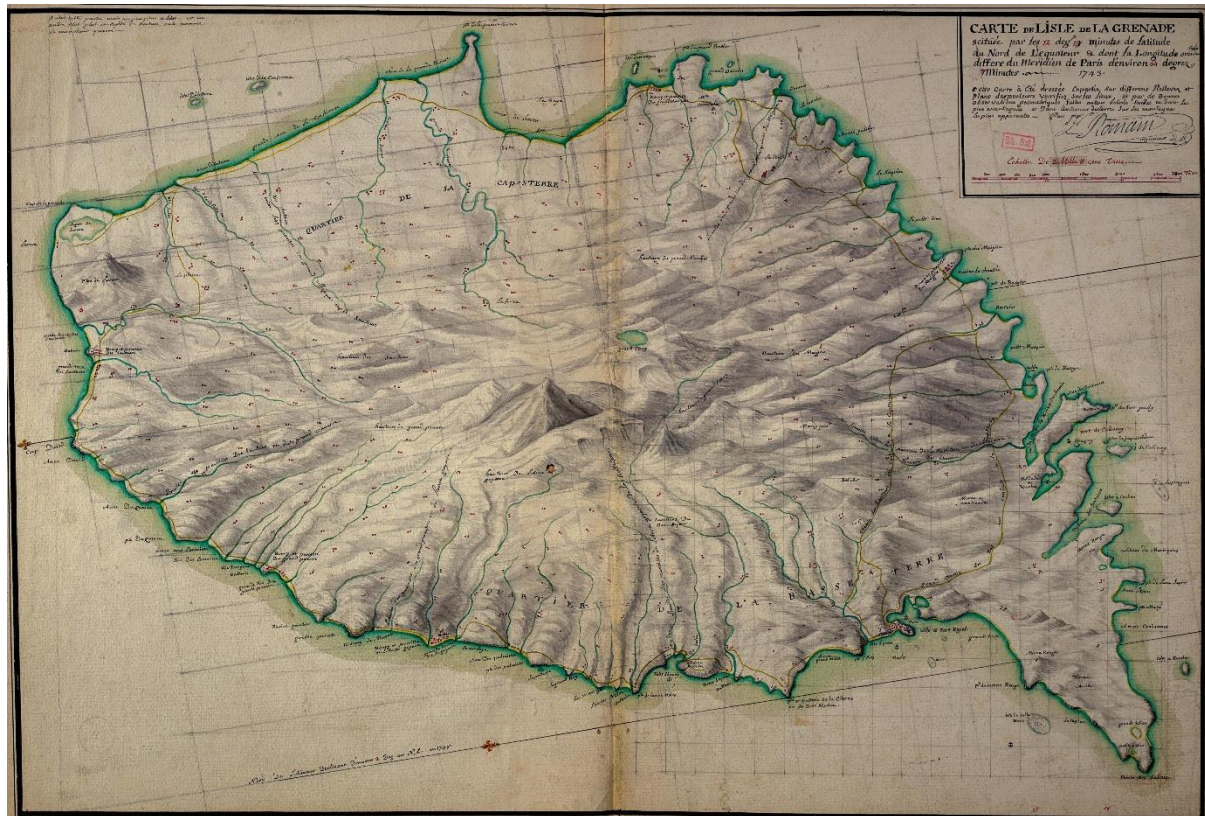


Figure 5.5B “Carte de l’isle de la Grenada,” 1749[1743] by Romain (courtesy BnF)

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

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

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

Source: FR ANOM DPPC G<sup>1</sup> 498, Recensements, la Grenade, 1669-1755.

<sup>1</sup> FNW – Free Non-Whites.

<sup>2</sup> Figures for 1707 are only overall numbers of people taken from a correspondence by the governor; see FR ANOM COL C<sup>18</sup> 2 N<sup>o</sup> 8.

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

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

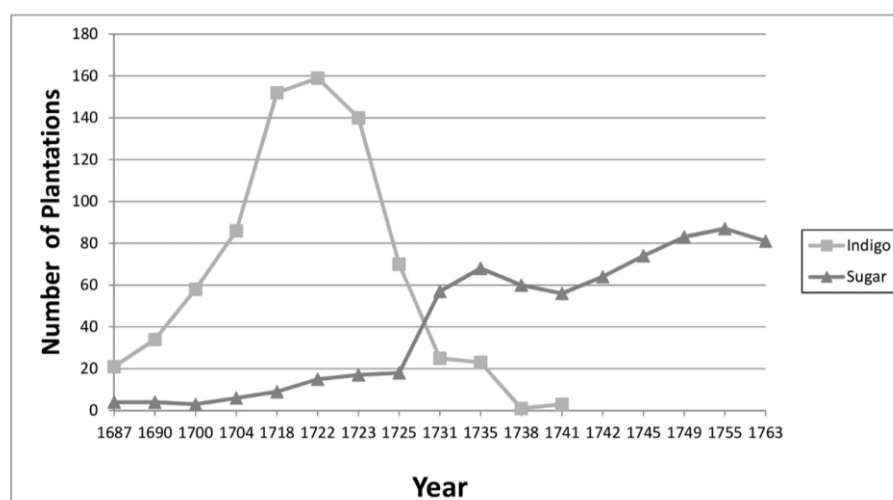


Table 5.3: Number of indigo and sugar plantations in Grenada, 1687 to 1763 (Martin 2013)

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

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

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

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

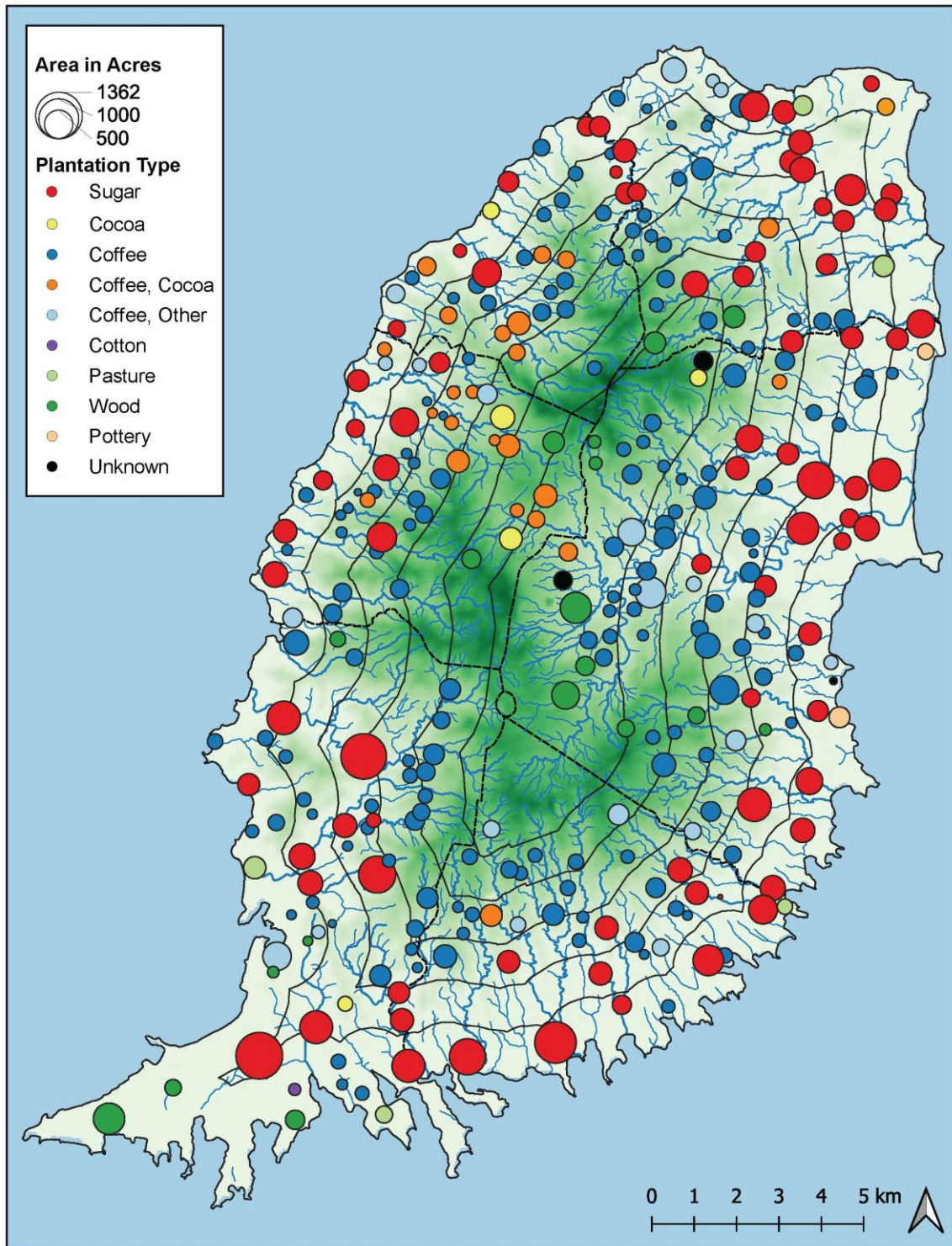


Figure 5.6: HGIS model locating all plantations by size and crop types within parish boundaries and 1 km increments from the coast, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

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

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

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

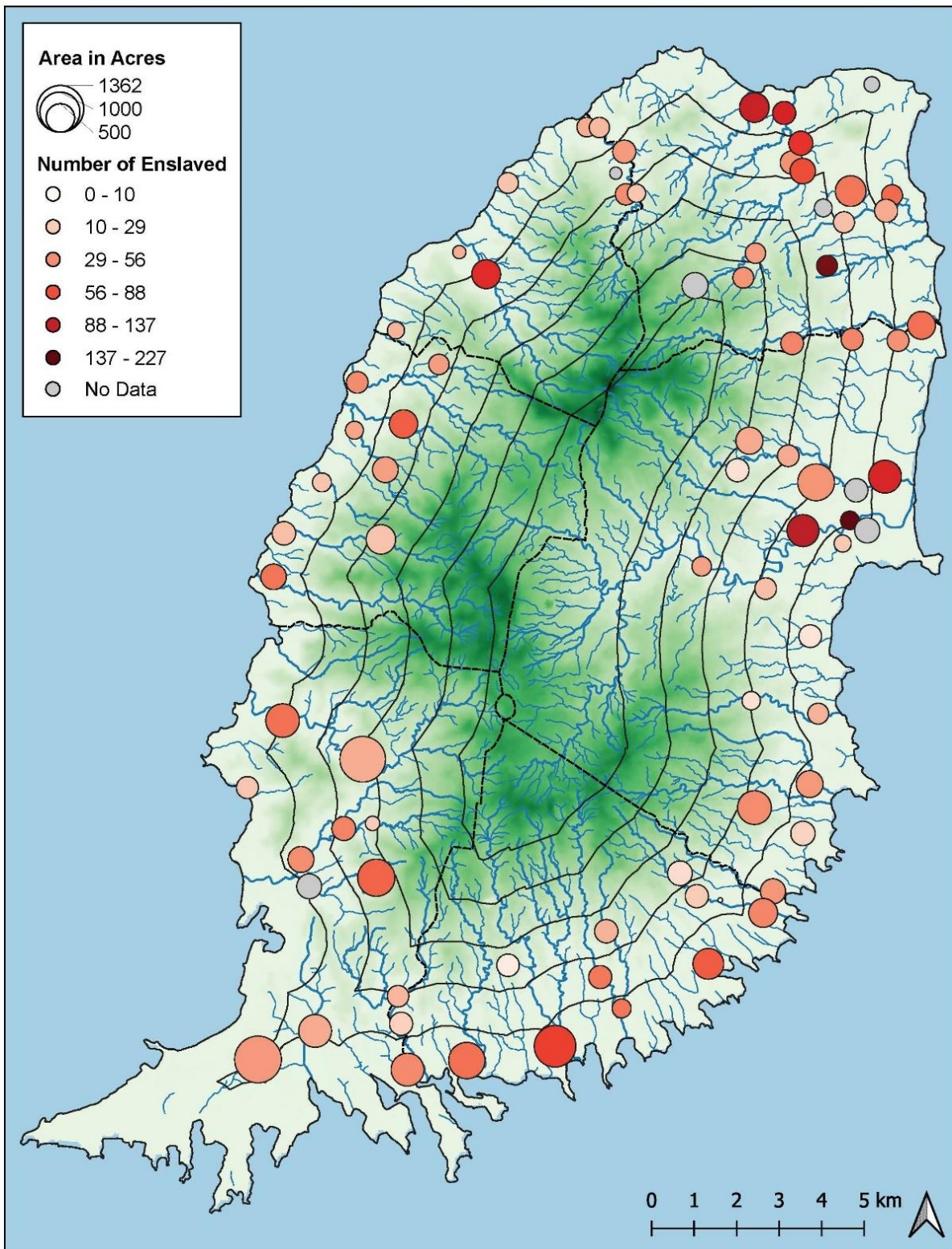


Figure 5.7: HGIS model locating sugar plantations by size and number of enslaved, within parish boundaries and 1 km increments in from the coast, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

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

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

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

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

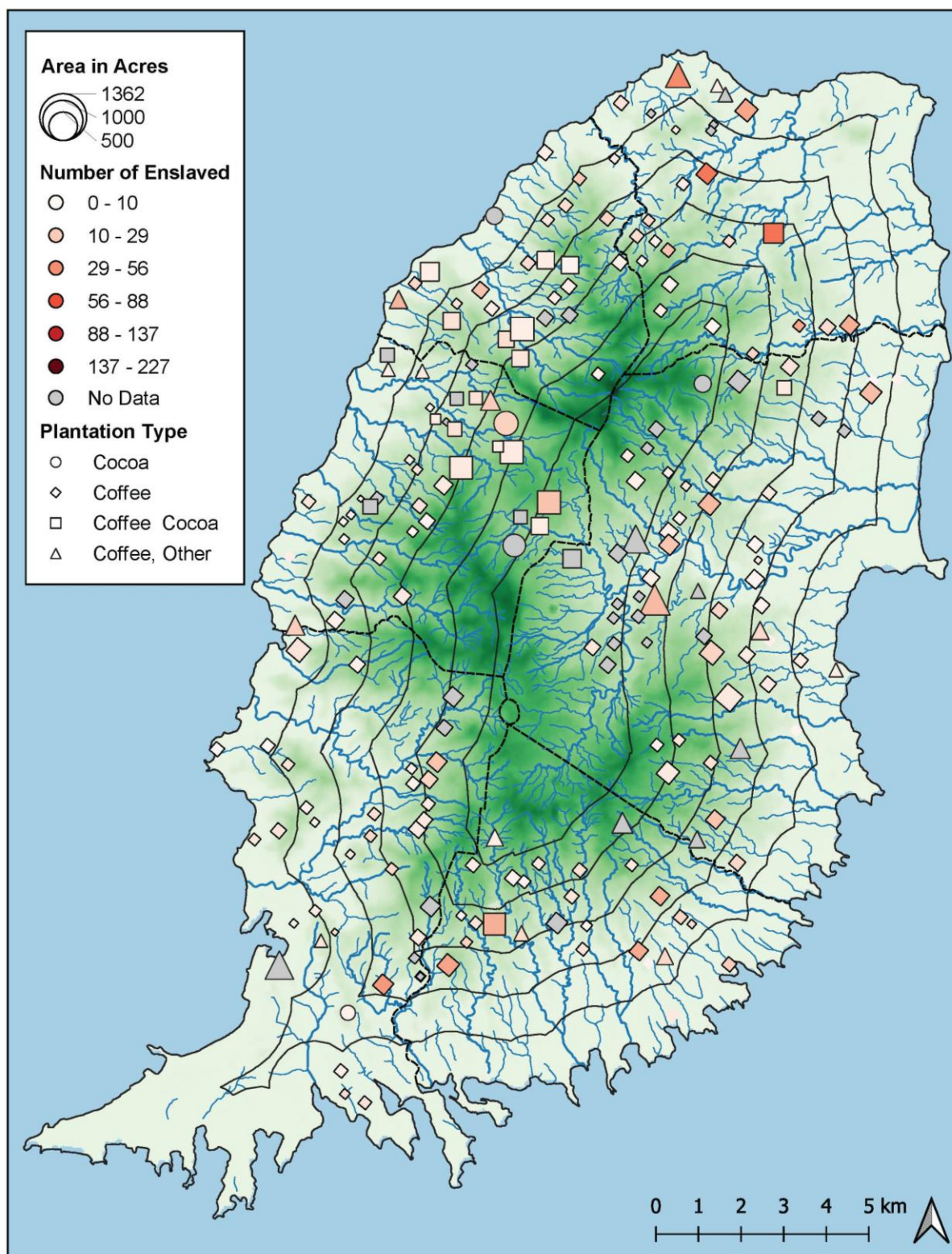


Figure 5.8: HGIS model locating none-sugar plantations by size, types of crops and number of enslaved within parish boundaries and 1 km increments in from the coast, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

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

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

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

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

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

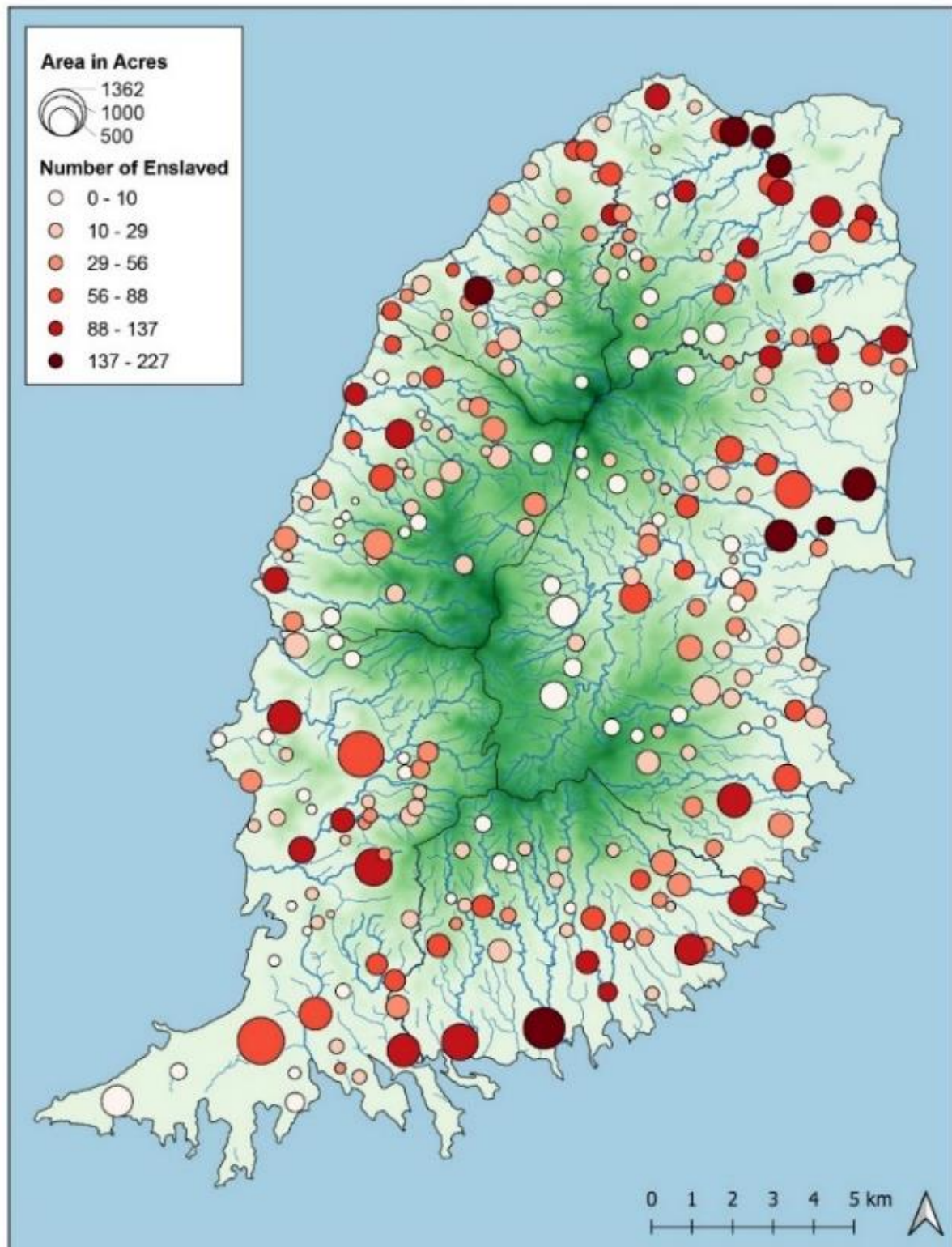


Figure 5.9: HGIS model locating plantations by size and number of enslaved, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

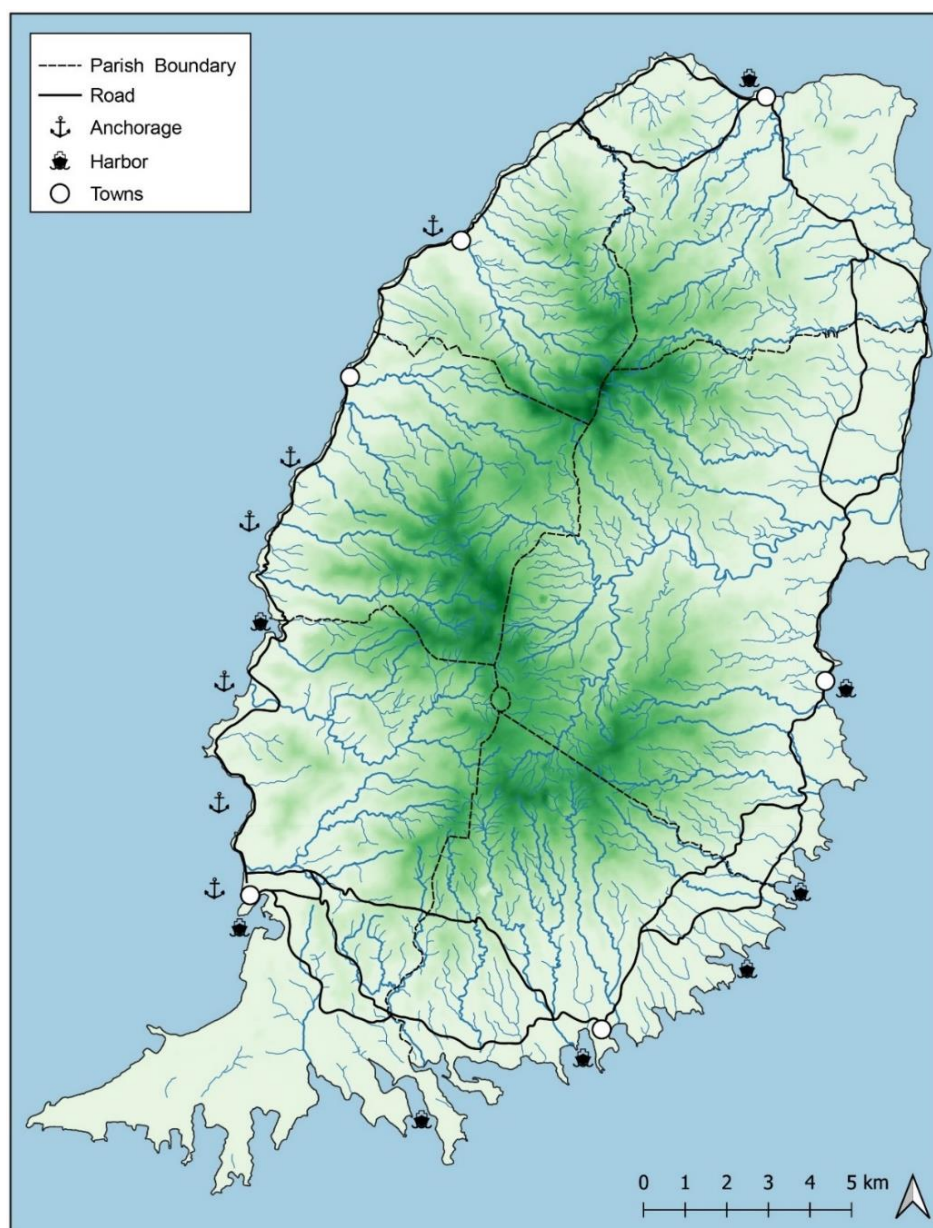


Figure 5.9A: HGIS model locating French-era built roads, ports, anchorages and towns, 1763 (Martin and Sandiford, 2021)

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

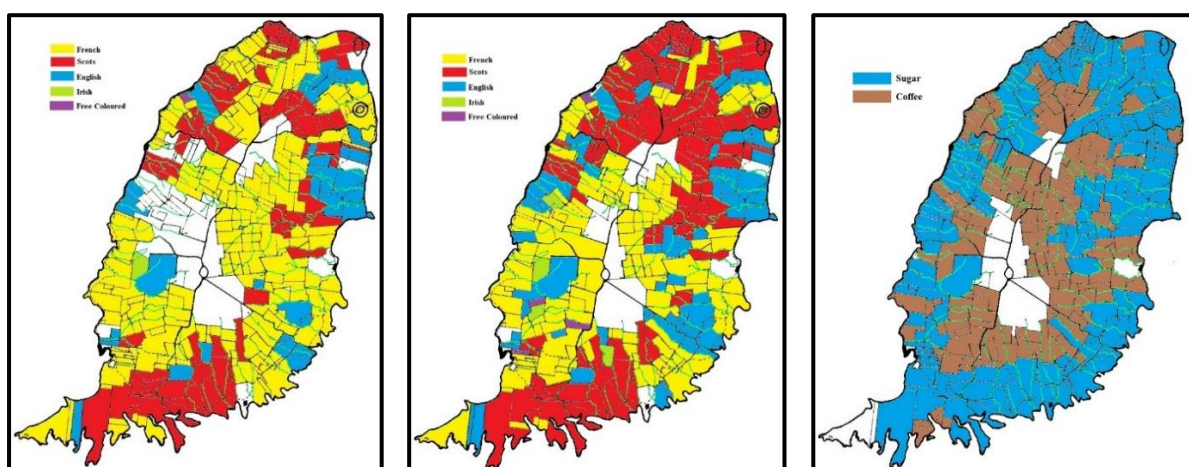
The British occupation of Grenada brought about profound changes to the island's cultural landscape, including the migration of diverse peoples into and out of the island, dramatic increases in its enslaved population, social conflicts, and the expansion of monocrop cultivation with the widespread adaption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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

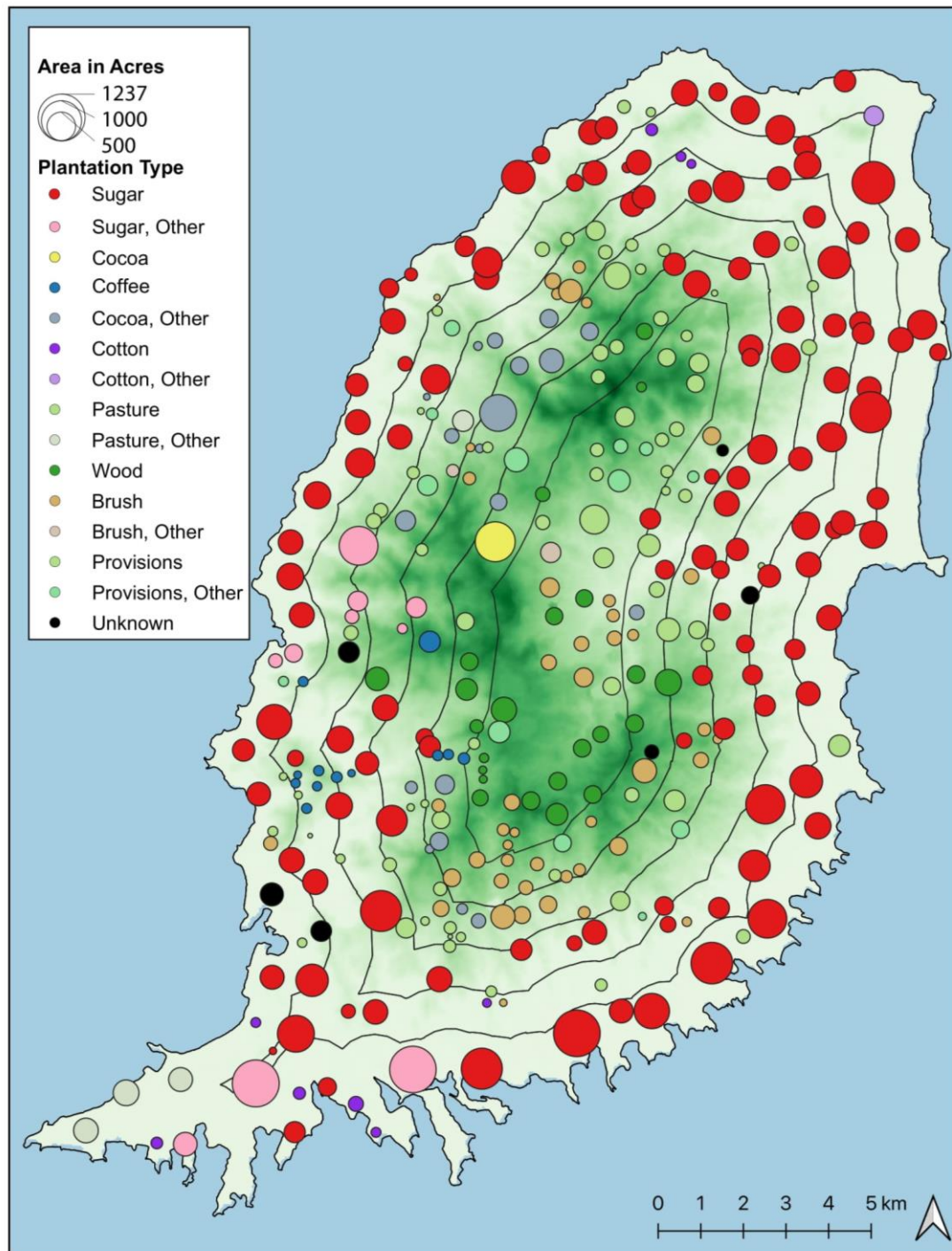


Figure 5.13: HGIS model locating plantations by size and crop types, within 1 km increments in from the coast, 1801/1824 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

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

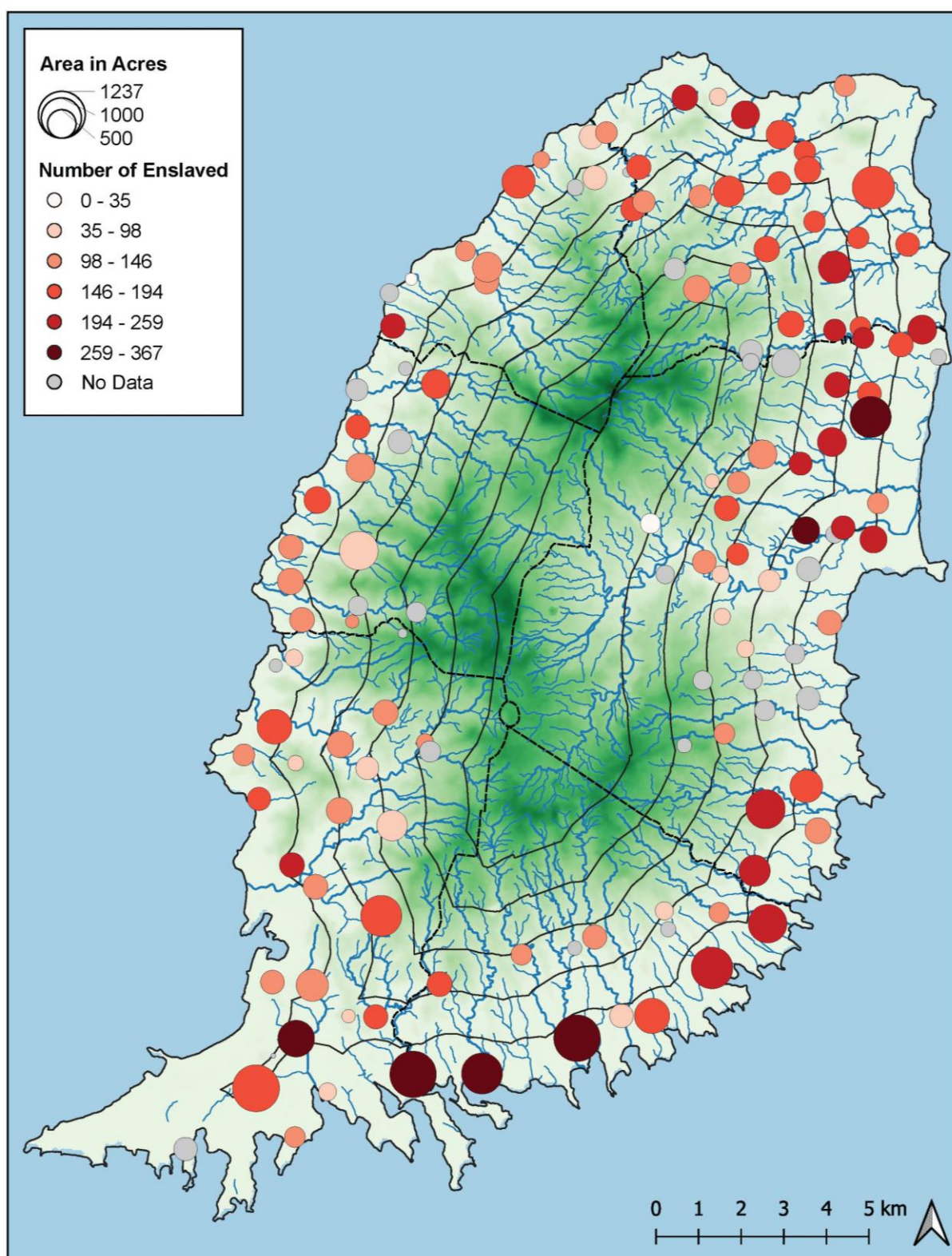


Figure 5.14: HGIS model locating sugar plantations by size and number of enslaved, within 1 km increments in from the coast, 1801/1824 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

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

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

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

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

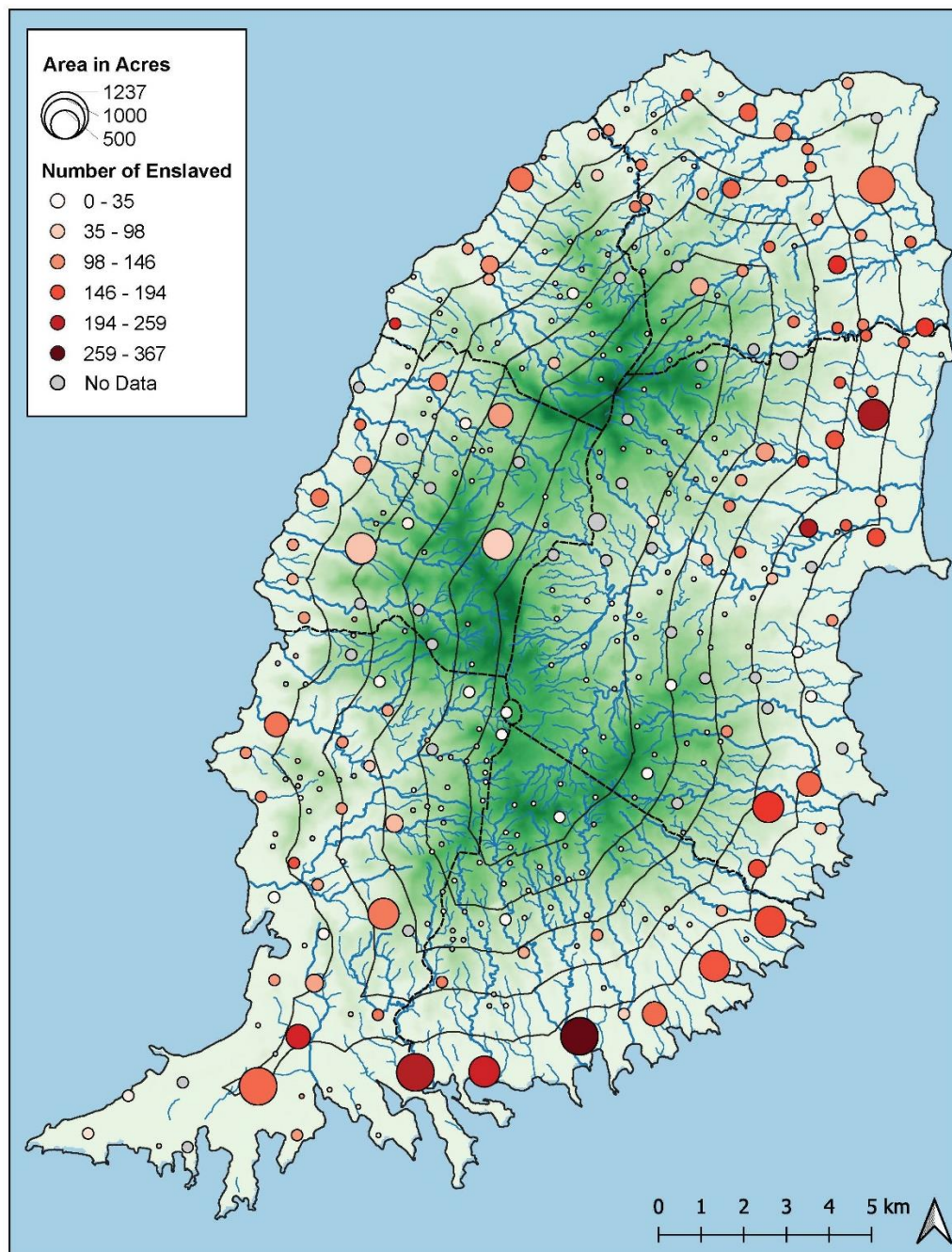


Figure 5.15: HGIS model locating plantations by size and number of enslaved, within 1 km increments from the coast, 1801/24 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

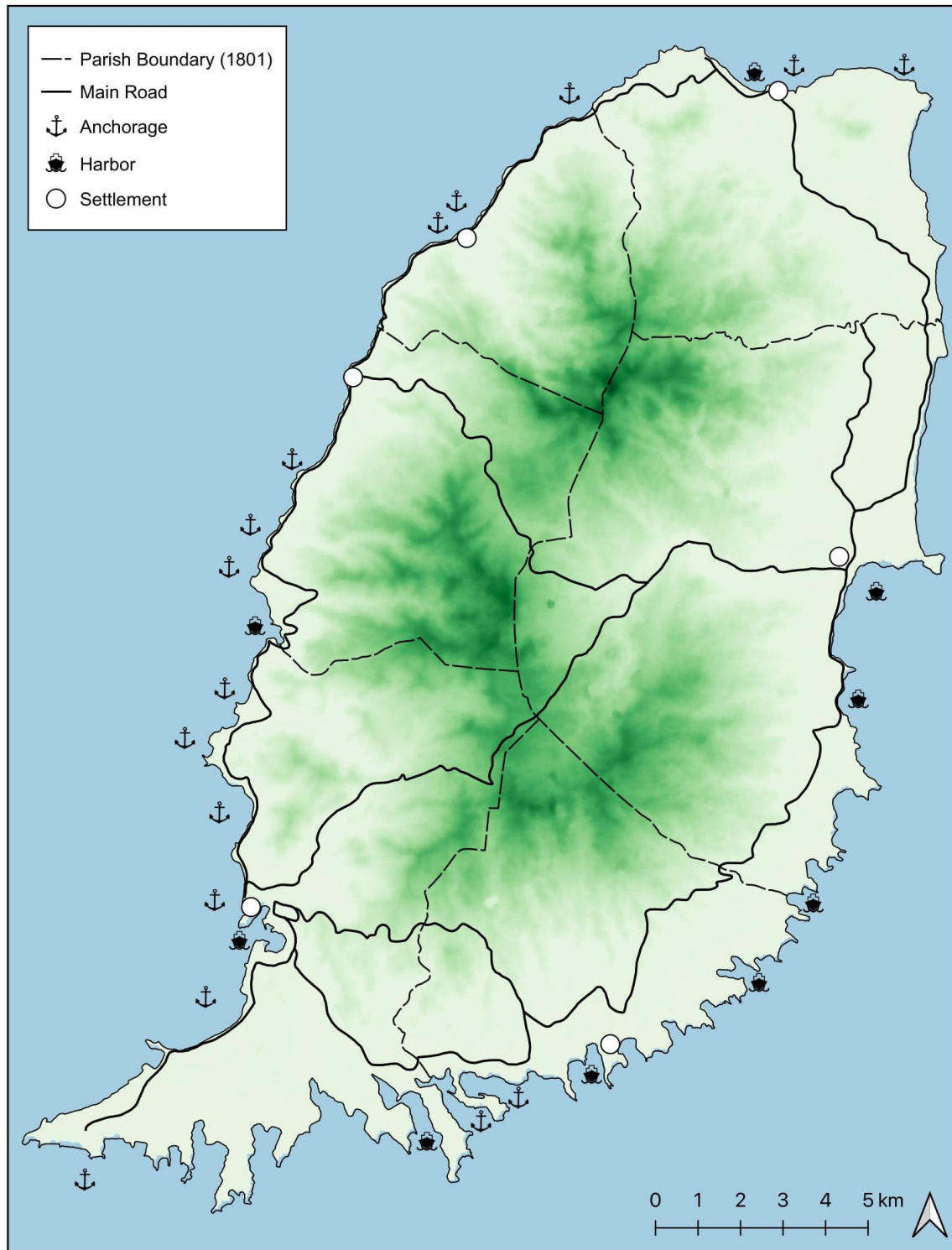


*Figure 5.16: HGIS model locating British-era ports, anchorages and towns, within parish boundaries, 1801 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

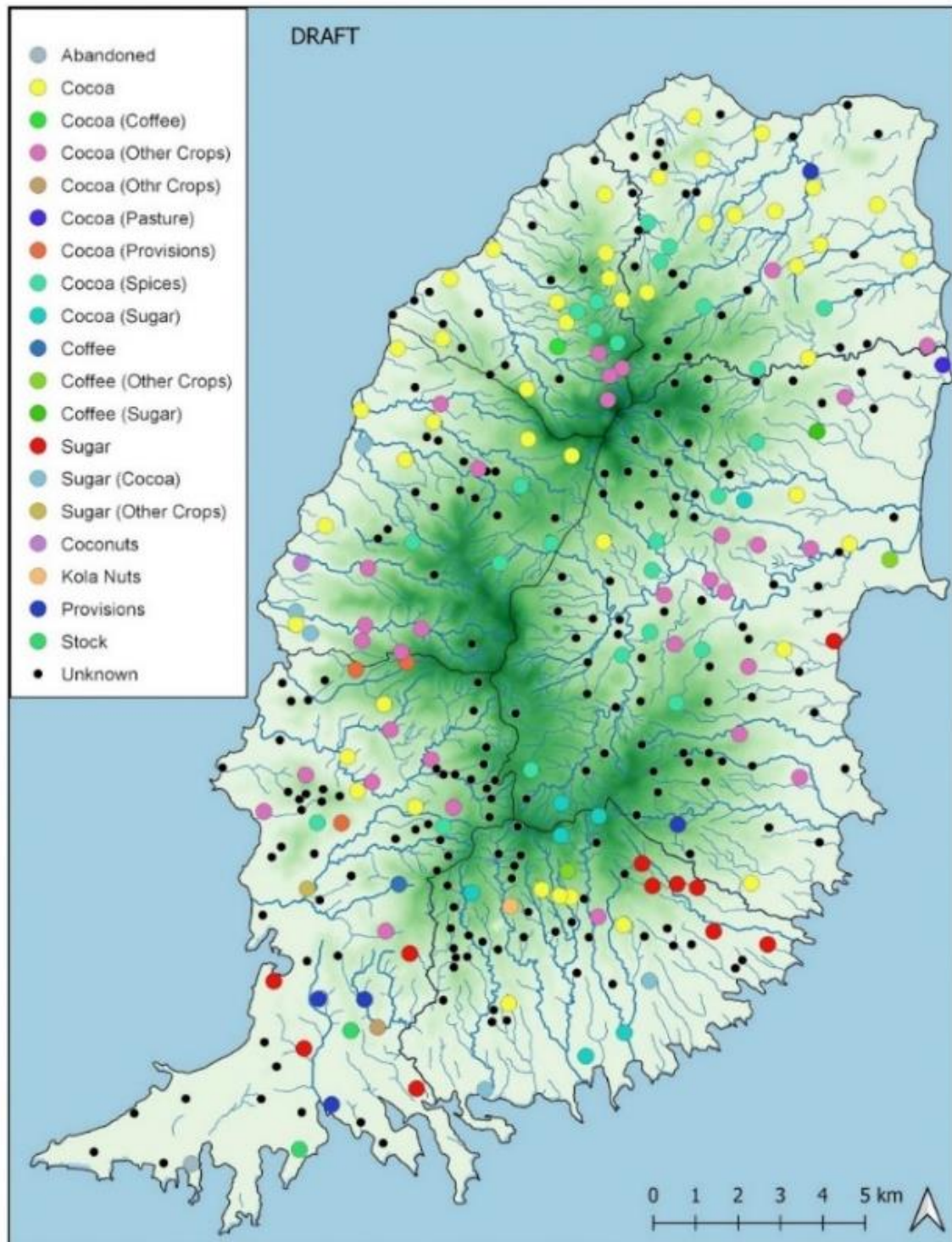


Figure 5.17: HGIS model locating plantations by crop types, 1897 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

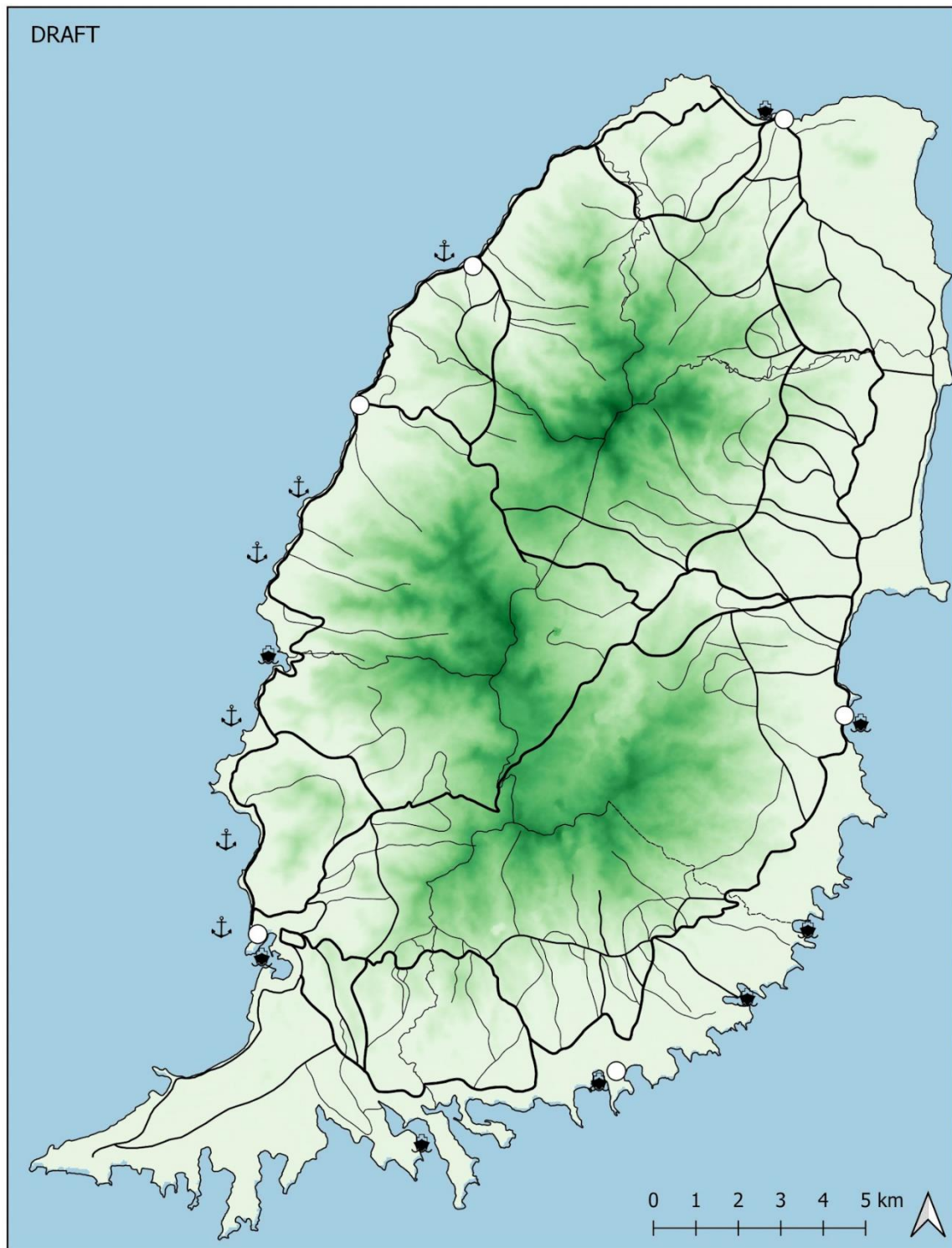


*Figure 5.18: HGIS model locating infrastructural changes between 1801 and 1900 (Martin and Sandiford 2021)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

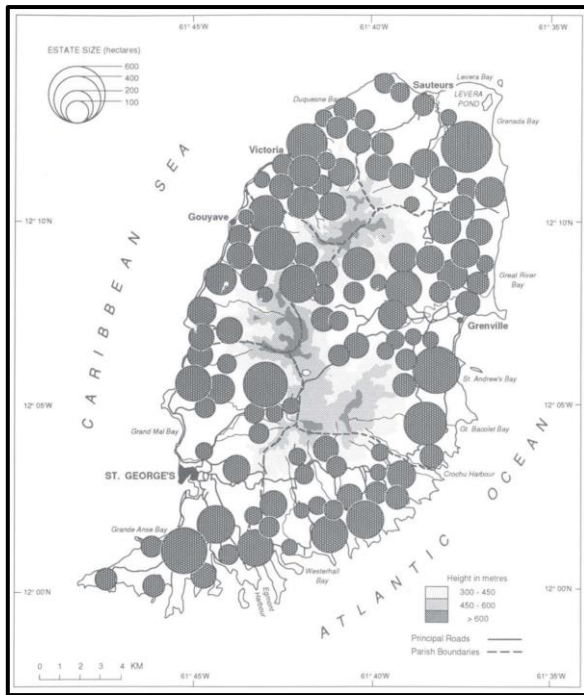


Figure 5.19: Map showing distribution of plantations by size, 1940 (Brierley 1992)

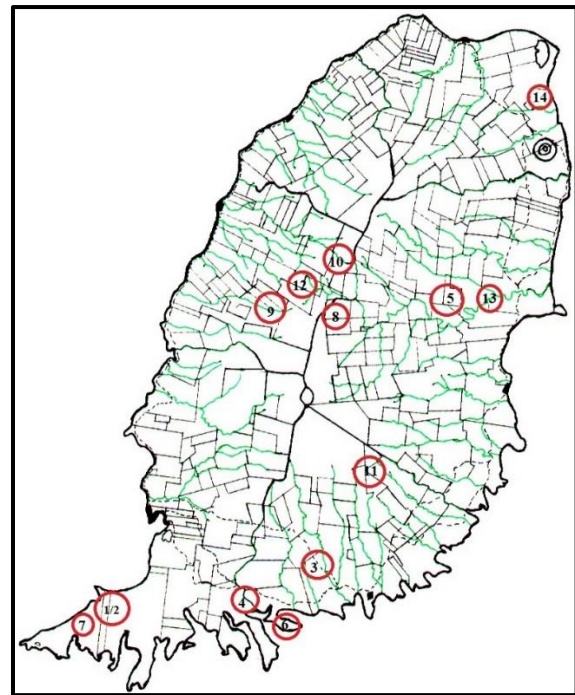


Figure 5.20: Map showing Land Settlement Schemes, 1909-1939 (see also Table 5.5)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

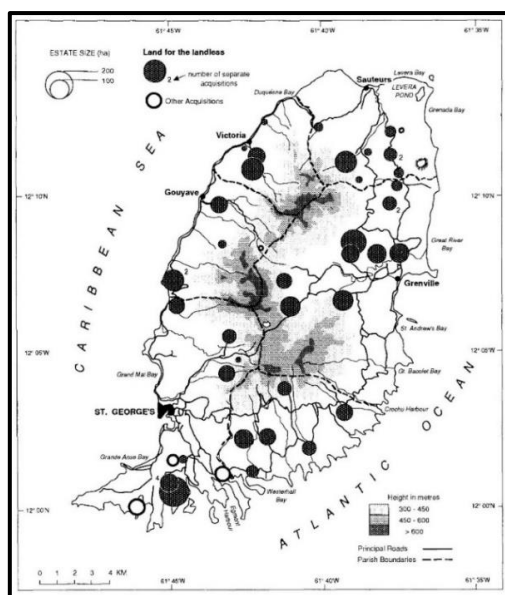


Figure 5.21: Land acquisitions under Land for the Landless Scheme, 1968-79 (Brierley 1992)

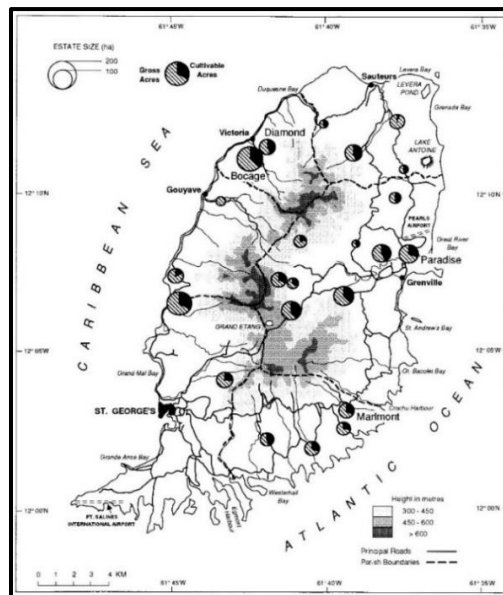


Figure 5.22: Map showing Farms Corporation under the PRG, 1983 (Brierley 1992)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

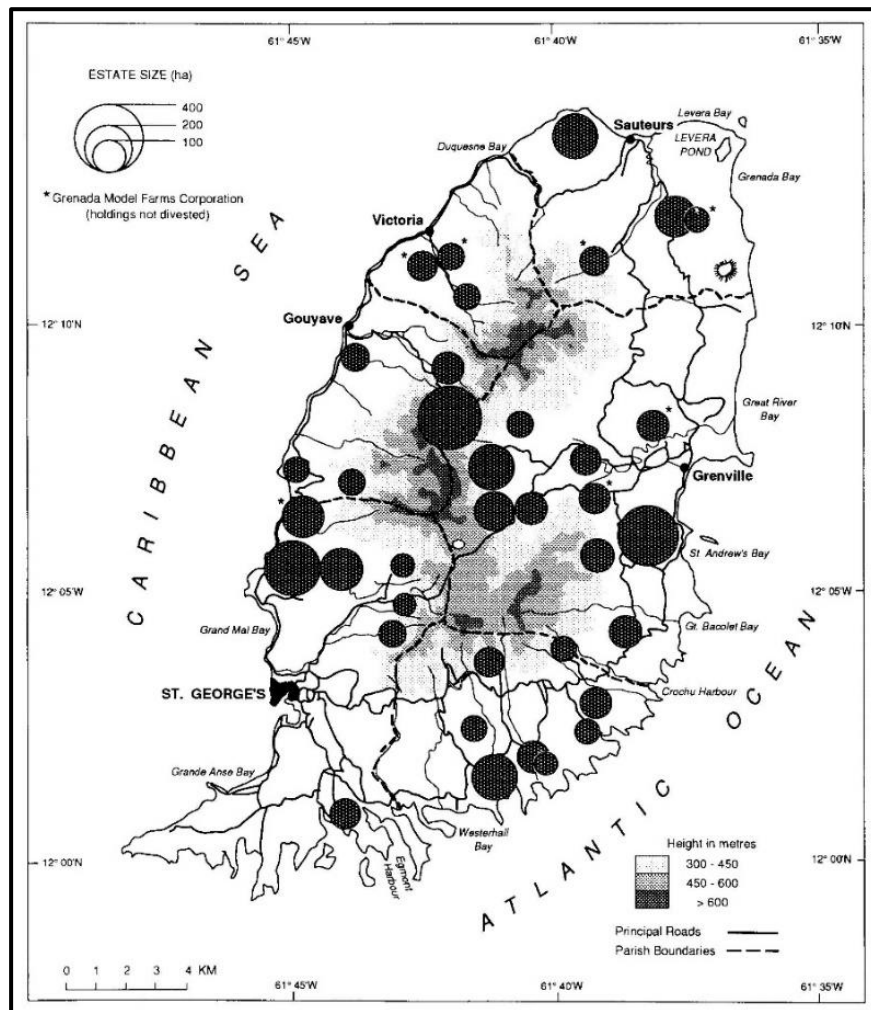


Figure 5.23: Map showing distribution of plantations over 100 acres, 1988 (Brierley 1992)

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

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

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

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

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

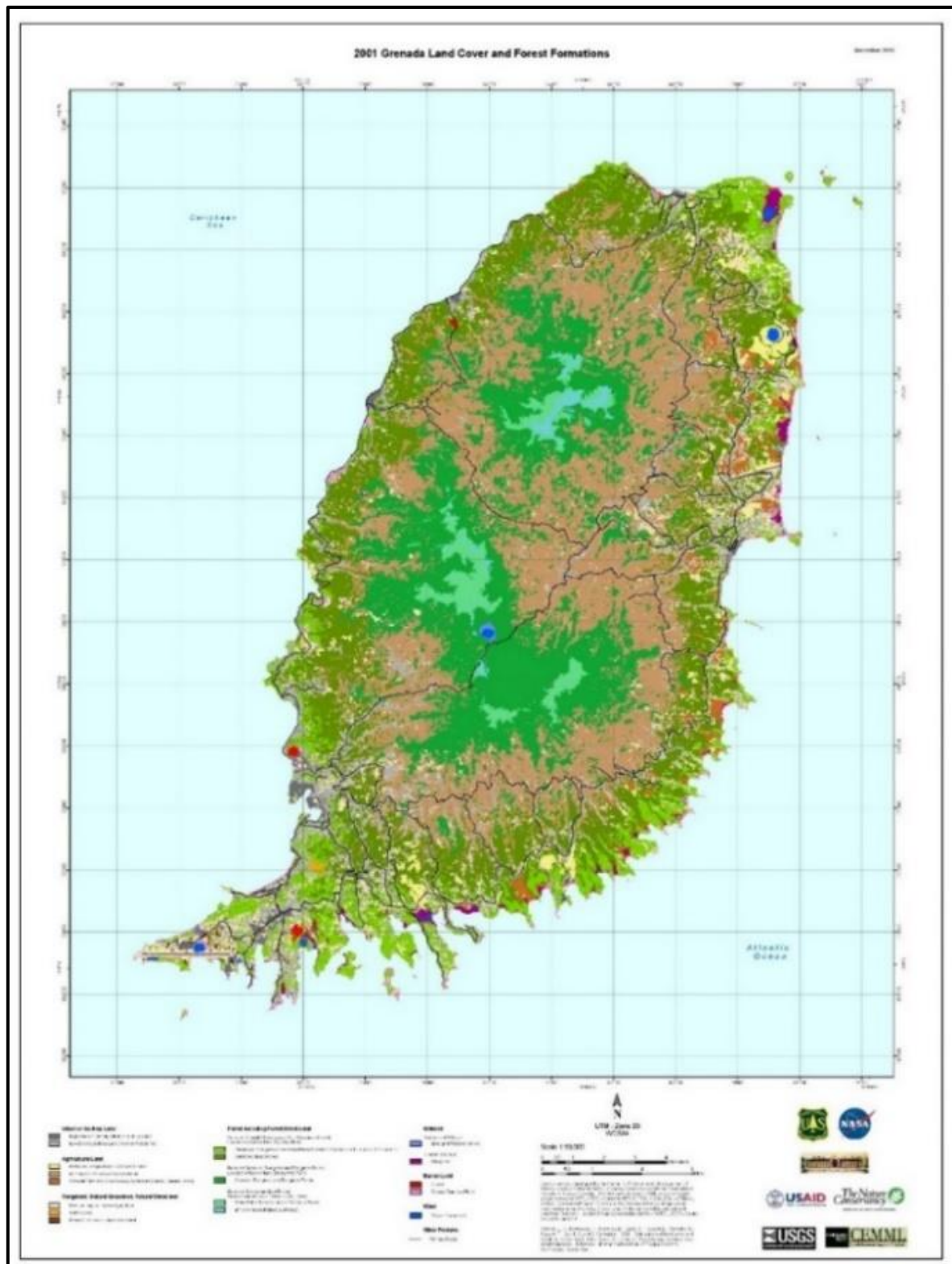


Figure 5.24: Land cover/forest formation map of Grenada, 2001 (Helmer et al. 2008)

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

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

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



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

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

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



Figure 5.26: Land cover (BSG) map of Grenada, 2015 (Jordan et al. 2015)