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

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6

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

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

Édouard Glissant in Patrick Chamoiseau's "Weaving a Creole Patrimony" (2019:55)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

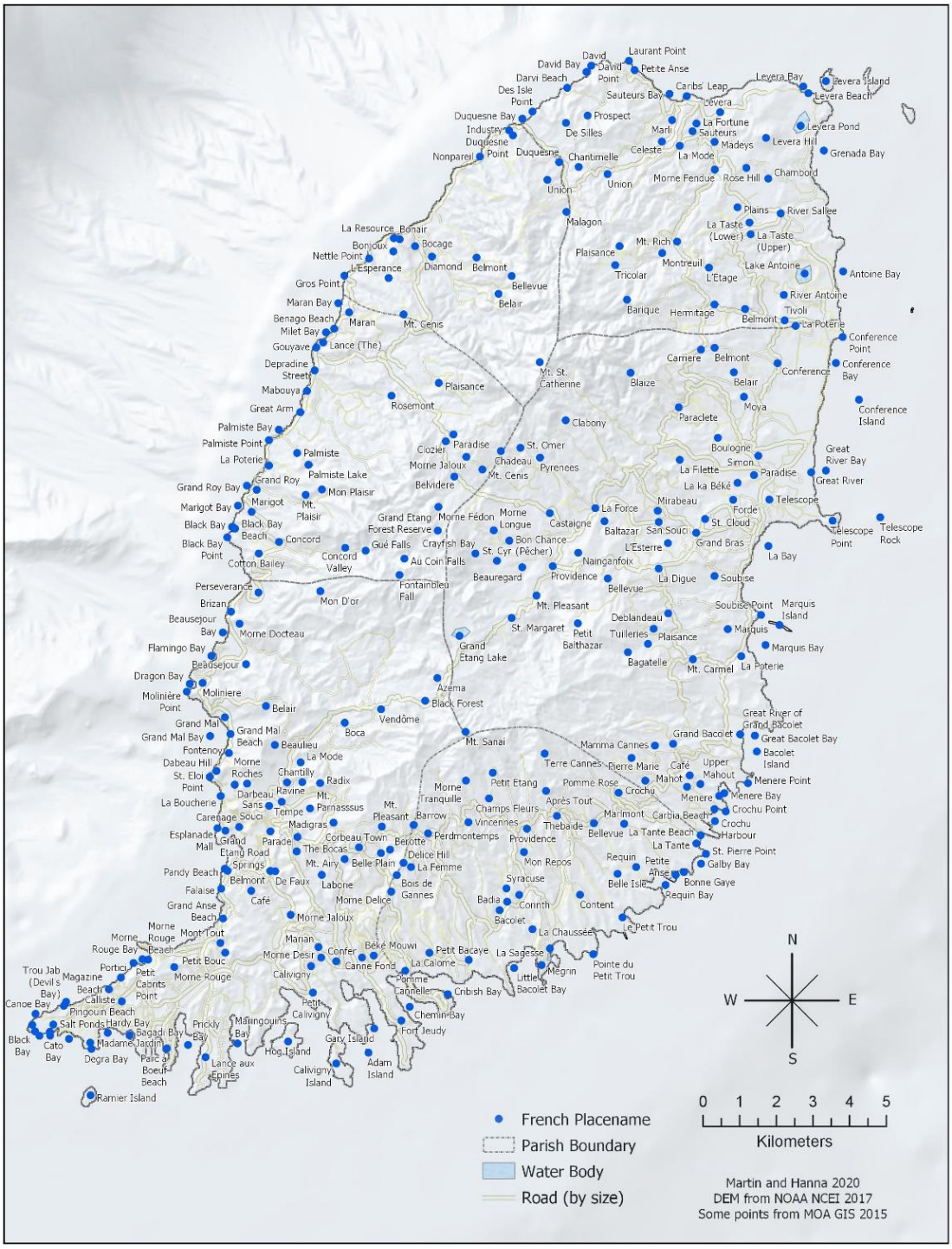

Figure 6.4A: French-era derived place names in Grenada today, including several Indigenous names (Martin and Hanna 2020)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"There is more in the mortar than the pestle."[29]

"One day, One day, Congotay!"[30]

Sayings/proverbs derived from the African experiences in Grenada

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

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

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

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

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

It is not until the 1660s, however, that the French brought appreciable numbers of Africans (and Creoles from Martinique) as enslaved laborers, thus initiating chattel slavery in Grenada. By the 1690s captive Africans and their Creole descendants accounted for over fifty percent and dominated the population thereafter (ANOM 1669-1755; Martin 2013; Pritchard 2004). At least 129,000 captives from across West and West-Central Africa were transported to Grenada in the period of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and African indenture[32] (Eltis and Richardson 2010; Martin 2013; Steele 2003), and their impact on the Grenada islandscape was immense despite misrepresentations to the contrary. Because they were condemned as "hewers of wood and drawers of water,"[33] it was widely propagated that they made no contributions to the Grenadian landscape, this landscape they inhabited and bore the pain of their enslavement, this landscape they toiled for much of their lives and sustained them invariably for generations. Notwithstanding the determined efforts and continuous prohibitions (legal and otherwise) by the colonial state and established churches to destroy all forms of African cultural practices, beliefs and memories the enslaved and their descendants made their presence felt in the cultural landscape (Brizan 1998; Carney and Rosomoff 2009; Goucher 2014; Martin 2022). Captive Africans and their enslaved descendants transformed and altered the Grenada islandscape in diverse and multiple ways in the course of their heroic struggles to survive the deathtrap that was slavery and to make their lives bearable (see Carney and Rosomoff 2009; George 2018; Schiebinger 2017). Their legacy is probably no more visible than in the overwhelming numbers of their descendants who constitute the majority of Grenada's thriving Creole population today, with their African *memory-traces* embedded in that Creole landscape. And for the two centuries that they were held as enslaved and indentured laborers, Africans' impact on the Grenadian landscape shine through today in its Creole culture, beautifully embedded in its cuisine, folk traditions, dance, rhythms,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "slave gardens" or "provision grounds" developed under the British from the earlier French plantation gardens that were required by law to ensure the availability of food for the enslaved who occasionally experienced severe food shortages and regular nutritional deficiencies (Brierley 1991; Sheridan 1985). By the time the British took over the island, the practice of providing a small portion of (marginal) land for the production of food was in widespread use and subsequently reinforced by legislation, thus practically absolving plantation owners of supplying substantial and consistent nutrition to the enslaved (Brierley 1985; Brizan 1998). The provision ground, referred to by Brathwaite (1975:6) as the "inner plantation," proved more than just a place for the enslaved or a family to produce food to feed themselves and/or sell at the weekly Sunday markets. It was a unique space within the slave plantation complex, or rather on its outskirts, that represented a place of temporary reprieve where the enslaved enjoyed the most agency and exhibited control over what crops to grow, how much to cultivate, and how to dispose of the fruits of his/her labor (Henke 1996; Hauser 2021; Kopka 2013). Henke (1996:58) further asserts that "all Creole language and culture, and consequentially, all Caribbean discourse lie as much in the geographical and mental space in the provision grounds as they derive from the plantation system and ideology." And as Parry (1955:1) unambiguously states, concerning Caribbean peoples, "…their history must explain primarily their own experiences. Their economic history, in particular, should be the story of yams, cassava and saltfish, no less than sugar and tobacco." This, of course, was in contrast to their forced servitude on the plantations to produce export crops for the plantation owner over which they had absolutely little control and could not even grow these crops in their own gardens. Provision grounds during slavery, therefore, were a home away from home, the place of probably greatest familiarity and cultural stability for the enslaved. Henke (1996:59) adds that the "inner plantation" was a "special mental space... which contradicted the mental suppression of the plantation system and allowed the retention of African traditions and culture, as well as the development of new ones based thereon."

Though some enslaved, exercising this small agency afforded them, chose to use the space to only feed themselves, their behavior was condemned as stemming "from natural idleness," while those who wanted to produce beyond subsistence were viewed as "more enterprising, and strive to make as much as they can, frequently laying by, but oftener spending their earnings" (Bayley 1833:423). So, for many, the provision garden was a place where their labor could actually change their economic situation by allowing them to purchase additional material goods with the accrued savings from the sale of excess produce from their gardens, a fact often supported by archaeological excavations of slave dwellings (Kelly and Wallman 2014). Some may have even purchased their own freedom from the proceeds of their hard earned labor when allowed by their owners.

Directly from the provision gardens to the cooking pot, usually one-pot, via the mortar-pestle where almost every ingredient, including seasonings like hot and sweet peppers and spices, were processed much like they were/are in societies across western Africa (Carney 2009). The scene that Bayley (1833:92) describes in the 1820s could still be seen in the 1970s in Grenada, and a common scene across rural West African communities today: "The negroes cook their little messes before their doors, in stewpots, which by the way, are very commodious articles." Many of the local cuisines consumed today are derived from food dishes that have their origins in the foods prepared by the enslaved for decades, the majority adaptations to the local (plantation) environment and the availability of diverse ingredients, both local and imported, including some from western Africa (Goucher 2014). Foods like *cou-cou* (<Twi *nkuku*: "a species of yam used to make cou-cou"), *akara* (<Yoruba *akara*: "an oily cake made from beans ground and fried"), and *conkie* (<Twi *nkankye*: "cake") are directly related to West African foods that may have changed little over the centuries of preparations as their names attest, but their main ingredient of corn was probably yam, plantain, and/or cassava (Allsopp 1996).[34] As was also common in West Africa, the enslaved made leaf or spinach-type sauces and soups from green vegetables and *okra* (*okro* in Grenada) (<*Ibo* for the fruit) to complement their ground provisions or grains (like imported rice given as rations, and millet and Guinea corn or sorghum grown in their gardens) (Kelly and Wallman 2014).[35] One of the most popular leaf vegetables was *calalu* (<Malinke *kalalu*:

[34] *Conkie*, made of corn meal, sugar and raisons, is a good example of creolization where an African food, now made with the Indigenous corn and European raisons, remains a "traditional" food (see Martin 2022).

[35] Some grains, particularly rice (*Oryza glaberrima*), were imported from North America where it was produced by enslaved Africans in Georgia and the Carolinas from West African rice varieties. Together with proteins (meats), the enslaved received rice as part of their rations of foods to supplement the starches like ground provisions, and sometimes Guinea corn and sorghum they grew in their gardens. Rice remains the most popular

"many things," or <Mandingo *colilu*: "an edible herb resembling spinach") from the dasheen or taro plant (*Colocasia esculenta*), which also produced a tuber that is eaten; several other leaf vegetables like *zepina* (*Amaranthus* spp.) were also known as *calalu* (Vandebroek 2019). West African societies then and now consume a diversity of green leaves as spinach, including cassava and sweet potato leaves, neither of which, interestingly, are consumed in Grenada or the Caribbean (Vandebroek and Voeks 2019).[36] Sauces were also made from peas, among them pigeon/*gungo peas* and cowpeas, again African imports grown by the enslaved in their provision grounds. Most of these were "one-pot" dishes because they were cooked on a *coalpot* or three-stone fire, as the ease of cooking a complete meal at the end of a difficult and long working day made them appealing. Imported cured meats like salted codfish (*saltfish*), herring, mackerel, pig tails/feet and salted beef/pork were sometimes provided by the plantations to supplement the meager, but heavily starch diets of the enslaved (see Kurlansky 1998).[37] They often grew their own poultry and pigs (for sale), and some hunted locally available wild animals like the *manicou* (opossum), agouti, and *tatou* (armadillo, which they called *hog-in-armor*), or fish as accessible. At special occasions they made the red drink sorrel at Christmas time (known as *bisap* in Senegal), another West African import that they grew in their gardens (Vandebroek 2019). These foods maintained African *memory-traces* of both ingredients and preparation as they were passed down through the generations, yet incorporating much from the surrounding culinary environment as they became Grenadian or Caribbean, as the case may be.

European colonization of Grenada via the plantation slavery complex embodied the exploitation of the land through its division, clearing and cultivation, with enslaved Africans

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grain eaten today in Grenada. There are assertions to rice having been grown in Grenada and Carriacou by the enslaved and even into the 20th century by Indo-Grenadians, but little evidence have surfaced to corroborate these anecdotes. There is, however, one reference in a brief article in the *St. George's Chronicle & Grenada Gazette* in 1849 that mentioned the cultivation of a "long-grain rice, grown by an African settler on the lands of Mount Parnassus Estate. We were very much gratified to find that this individual had turned his attention to this description of cultivation on his own account, and we have no doubt he will be encouraged in his exertions by the Agricultural Society..." ("Rice Cultivation in Grenada" 1849). The writer also intimates that the cultivation of rice was new to the island when he expressed the society's "gratification that an effort has been made to introduce the rice cultivation in the Island, and we hope that the industrious African who has turned his attention to such a praiseworthy object may receive some reward...." Though the Grenada Agricultural Society had offered bounties for the cultivation of rice, there is no further mention of it as a crop grown in Grenada.

[36] It is most likely that both of these plants, native to the Americas, had not been well established as a food and not widely used as leaf vegetables when Africans were being transported out of West Africa, so Africans did not arrive with the memory, thus its absence today.

[37] The often reported belief that the meats consumed by the enslaved were the scraps from their masters' table or the discarded parts of slaughtered animals meant for the master is highly exaggerated. As indicated, cured meats were imported and the master had the same access to these, including bad quality. As indicated by Kurlansky (1997) in regard to salted cod, the cheapest and thus lowest quality was called "West India" as it was the primary commercial grade exported to the islands for the enslaved. See also Higman (1995).

and their descendants forced to transform the landscape per that design; many would literally die in the process (Morgan et al. 2022). Thus, the enslaved became intimate with the Grenadian landscape–its Indigenous origins and French and British colonial transformations–however, taking every available opportunity to (re)fashion it, making it more familiar…, surreptitiously (re)creating it in their own image by incorporating the existing cultural and natural surroundings. This is nowhere more evident than in the creation of the island's mythscape from the "natural," Indigenous and European-influenced landscape, using their African motifs and memories of plants, animals, and bodies of water, reimagining them with their remembered beliefs and rituals. Elements and traces of western African folklore, mythology and spirituality were interwoven into the Grenadian landscape, becoming the place where their folk memories, mythologies and beliefs were transferred onto the plants, animals, hot springs, rivers and lakes around them as these integrated, mixed and syncretized with European and Indigenous folk expressions. Anthony (2006) describes this syncretism as the

> "Intermarriage of mythologies so that aspects of European mythology, God and [the] devil, get mixed up with African myths and other kinds of mythologies; Amerindian mix might be in operation as well. So we create these [folk] figures as part of our adjustments to own our societies as our ancestors kind of accommodated themselves to the new conditions. They didn't lose their myths, they merged them with other people's mythologies."

Thus, enslaved Africans and their descendants created new and evolving mythologies in the Grenada landscape, especially in and around their provision gardens where they had the most influence, the most agency. They surreptitiously reimagined their fading memories of home into this new landscape, imbuing the Grenada islandscape with concealed "monuments" that outlived them for generations, many, however, just barely discernable in the palimpsest landscape today (see Bell 1889; Henke 1996).

Rivers and streams, scattered across the Grenada islandscape, were probably the most familiar places that invoked memories of home as these played primary roles in diverse social functions in western African societies, and would in turn inhabit the Grenadian landscape. Rivers, though used primarily by the plantations as a source of water to power sugar mills and irrigation, served the enslaved as places of utility–drinking water, fishing (for crayfish and freshwater fish), bathing and laundering, recreation, spiritual spaces where folk spirits lived and ruled over, and, above all, a social space where families and neighbors gathered to converse, play and celebrate (Bell 1889; Paul 2022; Pesoutova 2019). These practices

associated with rivers and streams were passed down through the generations, leaving them as important spaces in the lives of Grenadians, especially in the rural areas where they remained useful far into the 20th century. Most, however, have disappeared except when needed like after Hurricane Ivan when Grenadians were forced back to the rivers and their ancestral memories.

Though many of the Grenadian flora were new to the enslaved, they were quite a few familiar plants from western Africa already established in the region and island (most via the Slave Trade), including the kola nut,[38] tamarind, ginger, *caraila*, sorrel, castor-oil plant, grasses like Angola and Guinea grass (grown as animal feed and for roofing), and many crops like Guinea yam, vegetables like *gungo peas* and okra, and various fruits (Carney 2009; Hawthorne et al. 2004). And with some knowledge from the Kali'nago they soon learned to utilize the many trees and bushes that would become part of their folkloric and medicinal landscape, infused with the medico-religious beliefs of *Obeah*.[39] These bush medicines, embedded in the Grenadian landscape, would provide needed solace and relief from psychological and physical ills (see Schiebinger 2017). Trees like the silk cotton (also present in West Africa), *sandbox* and *gru-gru* palm, and plants like *jumbie bead*, *caraila*, *calabash*, and *grudge-pea* found their way into the enslaved landscape as medicine or medico-religious ritual artifacts.

Among the trees, bushes and rivers prowled a menagerie of native and introduced folk spirits that roamed the landscape creating fear or appearing as characters in entertaining and instructional folktales. Among these are the mysterious *cribo* (snake) with its crown of jewels,[40] the mischievous mona monkey (imported from Central Africa),[41] the *zandoli*, *zagada* and sticking lizards that always seemed to be "watching you," the *jumbi bird* (owl or nightjar), *cobeau* or black bird and doctor bird that foretell ominous events, and insects like the mythical *god horse* or *walking stick*, and the playful Anansi spider. In time, the enslaved would remake the Grenadian folkloric mythscape in a new image, imbuing it with the memories of folk spirits like the mischievous *Dwenn*, the deadly *Baccou*, the vengeful *Mama Glo* that lives in the mountain at Grand Étang Lake or along rivers and streams forcing humans to do her bidding, the *Moko Jumbie* stilt-walker that stood tall above the fray

[38] Kola nut was brought to the Caribbean via slave ships as it was reportedly used to make drinking water more palatable (Carney 2009).
[39] Obeah is believed derived from either Twi (*o-bayi-fo*: "sorcerer"; <*bayi*: "witchcraft"), or Mbundu (*Wanga* <UMbundu *wanga*: "witchcraft"), or maybe a combination of both in its Grenadian (and Caribbean) expression.
[40] See Rochefort (1666,3:27) for the origin of the *cribo* tale among the Kali'nago of Dominica.
[41] Glenn and Bensen (2013) and Horsburgh et al. (2001) for the study of the mona monkey that was transported from Central Africa to Grenada during the Slave Trade.

watching and protecting, the *Mama Maladie* that roamed in the dead of night crying out for help, but beware!, the flying *Lougarou* and *Soucuyant* that enter your home in the dead of night to suck your blood to stay forever young, and the beautiful and sultry but vengeful enchantress *Lajablesse* that leads smitten men to their deaths over a precipice without a bone in their bodies being broken (Gugolati 2018; Martin 2022). All of these ruled the nocturnal sphere that wives and girlfriends hoped would dissuade their wayward spouses and lovers to not go galivanting into the night, or parents and elders created to scare *drevaring* children with these malevolent spirits. Many of these displaced forest spirits would later wander into the streets as creative carnival masquerades and "old mas," but many would just disappear into the dark night forever (Martin 2022; Nicholls 2012).

When the moon shined bright at night folktales, music, songs and dances were performed under the stars to relieve the tedium and pain or relive fond memories in the course of creating new cultural expressions. The enslaved created an assortment of celebrations as balm to treat their suffering and pain, but also to celebrate their lives and memories, and pass on an emerging culture, a new culture, a syncretic culture. Echoing their diverse African cultures, they performed elements of African ritual and celebrations across the Grenadian landscape, most becoming entangled with dominant European cultural representations illustrated in expressions like the *bélé* dance and numerous carnival masquerades. Animal-skin drums bearing names like *congo* and *bongo*, were at the center of almost all celebrations and commemorations of the captive Africans and their enslaved descendants. It was sounded at the beginning, middle and ending of secular and spiritual expressions that constantly beat out the rhythms of their sorrows and joys to the revulsion of their European handlers who often attempted to silence these ancestral stirrings (Gomez and Nelson 2014). Either beaten with bare hands or crooked sticks like the *kokoro* (in Shango and *Djab-Djab* drumming), drums were at the center of the musical ensemble, accompanied by a few instruments like the *coco-lute* or *mouth-bow*, the percussions of the *old-hoe* and *shekere* or *shack-shack* (calabash/*bouli* or African gourd covered with a net of job's tears seeds or buttons) (Figure 6.6) (Bilby and Marks 2001). This ensemble would be joined by voices, in the call and response fashion after the West African custom, in signing aloud to silence the pain and longing, and celebrate a new life emerging out of the depths of deep suffering (Traditional 2001). The community would gather for modified Nation dances (of their specific African ethnic origins), or religious-themed dances like "Shango" of the Yoruba, or the popular Stick-fighting or *Kalenda*. The drums and songs, as McDaniel (2005) suggests, "serve as depositories of

information on Caribbean societies and their way of life, as records of histories, beliefs, and values" (see also McDaniel 1998). These songs and dances would eventually find their way into calypso and carnival celebrations, retaining faded ancestral memories long since silenced in their original configurations as they now danced to modern rhythms of *tambu bamboo* and newly invented drums of steel, and still later booming DJ sets.

Figure 6.6 Edna Jeremiah (with shack-shack/boli), drummers and unidentified dancer at Shango ceremony in Levera, St. Patrick, 1962 (courtesy Association for Cultural Equity)

Also, on moonlight nights were played children's games and storytelling, with the dominance of the Akan with their popular animal tales that featured the spider hero/anti-hero *Anansi* (<Twi *anànsi*: "spider"; and the mythical sky god Kwaku Anansi).[42] This ensemble of characters are diverse and include Anansi's son *Tacooma* (<Twi *ntikûma*: Anansi's firstborn son), *Asonoo* (<Twi *e-sóno*: "elephant") the elephant, *Compere Tig* (<Fr *tigre*: "tiger"), *Compere Mapepire* (after a type of snake), *Compere Macoucou* (possibly his wife), and Dog. The practiced storytellers used songs and a repertoire of voices and sounds to enliven the

[42] Anansi was also known as Compere Zayen after the French for spider (*les-arignes*). See Allsopp (1996).

tales, reflecting West African storytelling in both form and content. Only one children's game appear to have survived into the 20th century, derived from the Akan game *obwisana*.[43]

The majority of captive Africans were forcibly brought to Grenada between the early 1700s and 1807 when the British Atlantic Slave Trade was finally abolished. The over one hundred thousand plus Africans wove elements of their diverse cultural memories into the entangled and ever evolving Grenadian Creole landscape. But it was the much smaller group of indentured Africans that would have a lasting impact on the Grenadian cultural landscape because of their more recent arrival and under less stringent social conditions. In the 1830s, but especially between 1849 and 1865, over three thousand Liberated Africans entered Grenada as contracted indentured laborers. They were meant to supplement the plantation labor force that was experiencing perceived labor shortages following Emancipation when the ex-enslaved exercised their newly won agency in utilizing other available opportunities like sharecropping and small-land ownership (Brizan 1998; Marshall 1996). The indentured Africans, like the (East) Indians, Maltese and Madeiran indentured laborers, did little to slow the decline in the sugar industry, but their impact on the cultural landscape was noticeable, with some still evident today.

One of the largest groups to have a profound impact were the indentured laborers identified as Yoruba-Fon and coming from the area of present-day Nigeria and eastern Ghana, West Africa (George 2016; Warner-Lewis 1991); a smaller number would come from the region of Congo/Angola, but their impact would be less significant in Grenada (see Warner-Lewis 2003). Several hundred Yoruba-Fon Liberated Africans entered Grenada in 1849 and 1850 via the resettlement station of Freetown, Sierra Leone where they were freed from captured slave ships still engaged in the Atlantic Slave Trade to places like Cuba and Brazil (George 2016; Smith 1965; Steele 2003). The majority of these Liberated Africans were indentured to the large sugar plantations, especially in the parishes of St. Patrick and St. Andrew (George 2016). After their short indenture many congregated in a few villages where they formed close-knit communities because of their shared African/ethnic heritage and trans-Atlantic

[43] *Obisana* translates as "the rock has crushed my hand, grandma," and known in Grenada as *pound-stone*. It is a stone-passing game where children (kneeling or sitting) in a circle pass stones from one person to the next, making sure to maintain the rhythm with the song being sung. The player who breaks the rhythm leaves the game, with the final player the winner (Bilby and Marks 2001). Players also had to be careful not to get their hands pounded by the moving stones. It was one of many games played at funerary wakes into the early 1900s, but disappeared by the mid-1900s. It's interesting to note that the West African game of *Warri* (<Twi *Oware*) has not been recorded for Grenada where the Asanti have had a significant cultural impact; it has been popular in Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica and the US Virgin Islands.

experiences, viewing themselves as different from the majority Creole population of African descent long since established in Grenada (George 2016). This concentration of newly arrived Africans would have a lasting impact on the culture of these communities, but also across the island, especially the surrounding rural areas.

Villages in the northern/north-eastern part of the island, the furthest away from the urban center of St. George's and its strong colonial influences, maintained African-derived cultural memories into the late 20th century, evident in cultural and religious practices like "African Work" (*Shango/Orisha)*, *Saraka*, *Nation Dance*, (African) drumming, and *Kalenda* or Stick-fighting that were passed down several generations (George 2016; Gomez and Nelson 2012; Traditional 2001; Smith 1953).[44] Though most of these have faded away or are in states of performance revival, they have, nonetheless, influenced the cultural expressions of the specific villages and played outsized roles in creating cultural expressions well known in Grenada, especially at carnival. Villages like La Fillette, La Poterie, Munich and Tivoli in St. Andrew, and Chantimelle, Hermitage, La Mode, River Sallée and Rose Hill in St. Patrick, are well known for their historical portrayal of some of the traditional masquerades, as well as spiritual practices like Shango that have now morphed into Spiritual Baptist and other expressions (George 2016; Payne 1990; Polk 1993; Pollak-Eltz 1993). Thus, these villages retain faded memories of the last of the Africans to have arrived in Grenada in the mid-19th century.

Though many see Grenada's annual carnival as a celebration of African memories or survivals, the enslaved and their descendants were not responsible for its introduction nor establishment. Carnival is rooted in the island's French heritage of masquerade balls dating to the 1700s and linked to the Catholic Church calendar, particularly Lent and Easter. The enslaved participated in these early celebrations as musicians and secondary entertainment, but the post-Emancipation development of carnival, particularly since the late 1800s, have been heavily influenced by the ex-enslaved and their descendants. With their numerous cultural dances, musical forms, costuming and *Canboulay* celebrations dating to slavery, they transformed carnival by taking over the street festivities with their creativity, competition and merry making. This resulted in the middle class and elite abandoning the street celebrations altogether, but their involvement continued in the official celebrations until the 1960s when

[44] *Africa Work*, *Shango* or *Orisha* is/was a religious practice derived from Yoruba beliefs brought to Grenada by indentured Africans in the mid-19th century. *Saraka* (<Housa *sadaka*: "charity/arms") is an offering to placate and honor the ancestors and entreat for their protection. *Nation Dance* is an ancestor worship that also incorporates the *Saraka*. See Traditional (1999, 2001, 2015) and Collins (2010).

the festivities became more democratic (Payne 1990). The ex-enslaved and their descendants would remake carnival in their own image by creating masquerades and musical accompaniment (of animal-skin drums, *Tambu-Bambu* and later steelpan) that reflected their rural folk culture, including the addition of a competitive environment between villages and communities that often devolved into street violence (see Fenger 1916; Payne 1990). That aspect would dominate carnival into the 1970s until the government banned/restricted these encounters. This Creole celebration is embodied in what are today termed "traditional" or "historical" masquerades like the now disappeared *Paywo Grenade*, *Whipmen*, *Stickmen*, and *Cha-Cha-O*, and still extant *Moko-Jumbie*, *Djab-Djab*, *Shortknee*, *Shakespeare Mas'*, *Wild Indian* and *Veko* (Martin 2022; Payne 1990; Steele 1996).

Grenada's official toponyms illustrate the power imbalances that are evident in its monumental landscape, particularly seen in its cartography. As such, the majority enslaved Africans and descendants are not represented in the official place names across Grenada. As a matter of fact, only one place name on Grenada's official map is probably African derived, its notoriety coming from its connection to Fédon's Rebellion.[45] Mount Qua Qua, situated in the hills overlooking the Grand Étang Lake, may have derived from the *Quaqua* tribe/nation of West Africa or the Twi name *Kwaku*, members of which were brought to Grenada during slavery, and may have been first rendered by maroons who lived there.[46] There are several local place names, however, that may have African-derived origins or connections like Congo Town or Tous Congo, St. Andrew, Majuba in Mt. Moritz, St. George, and Bwa Neg Mawon, St. John, but none are on official maps; there are also many (unrecorded) place names that have been rendered by the former enslaved and their descendants, especially of villages or areas of villages that they established. The enslaved, however, were inadvertently responsible for maintaining the French and *Patwa* toponyms long after the departure of the French government and many French residents from Grenada, with almost 60 percent French-derived place names retained today. This can be seen as a protest or maintaining dominance by the enslaved and black peasantry in resisting the imposition of GSE and English Creole and

[45] On 18th century maps of Grenada (Jeffreys 1775; Romain 1743; Scott 1779), Morne Cambala/Cambale, overlooking Grand Bacolet Point, St. Andrew possibly derives from *Cambala/Kambalala* (<Kongo), which, according to Hill (2007:54), means "to pass a hill along its base in order to avoid climbing." Norie (1828) records it as Cambale Hill, but it disappears thereafter.

[46] It would also appear that the name was attached to the mountain in error when referencing the primary camp where the 1795-96 Fédon's Rebellion had taken place. That mountain was called Morne Quaquo (today Fédon's Camp or Morne Fédon) during the rebellion and situated behind (from Grand Étang) the current Mount QuaQua (then Mount St. George), but the name was switched in the confusion of identifying the rebel-held mountain stronghold.

British place names like Charlotte Town (for Gouyave) and Grenville (for LaBaye), thus maintaining a familiar landscape that they had inherited and perpetuated if not named themselves.

Other elements of African *memory-traces* can be found in hair braiding or plaiting, and the use of beads and seeds (like *jumbi bead*/*gwen l'eglise*) as part of bracelets or strings of beads once worn around the waist or neck for protection against *maljoe* or evil spirits, especially by children (Warner-Lewis 1991). Several seeds (like job's tears and jumbie eye) are still used mostly as craft decorations (as worn by Wild Indian mas'), and are probably the only artifact of African-derived "clothing" that persists in Grenada today. Cowrie shells (*Monetaria moneta*), once used as a form of currency in the exchange for captive Africans and later incorporated in West African art and religion, have taken on decorative and spiritual significance in the African diaspora though only few would have made it to the region during the Slave Trade.

One noticeable characteristic of Grenadian (and Caribbean) speech is the non-verbal or tonal gestures uttered in the course of conversation to signal agreement, or to express surprise or incredulity that resemble mannerisms of speech in cultures across West and West-central Africa (Warner-Lewis 2014). And of course, there is *Steups*! or "suck teeth" to show disapproval, annoyance or outright disrespect, which may or may not be accompanied by the "cut-eye" to show dislike or defiance (Warner-Lewis 2014). Several practices or forms of association like *maroon* (cooperative or community self-help derived from the name of escaped slaves), and *susu* (<Yoruba *esusu*: "rotating fund") are still practiced today in some form, but have diminished dramatically as new forms like banks and credit unions provide more efficient and secure services (Fletcher 1972; Hossein 2021; Maynard 1996).[47] Countless other rituals and practices surrounding birth, marriage and death are also expressed, particularly the pouring of libations to honor the ancestors, illustrating the strong western African belief in and veneration of ancestors and the continuous part they play in the lives of the living (Collins 2010; George 2016).

Though enslaved Africans were forced to construct private houses and public building projects like great houses, fortifications, churches and roads, their contributions were never recognized, but their labors are today reflected in these enduring structures across the island.

[47] The *susu* was derived from the later Yoruba-Fon immigrants of the mid-19th century who arrived as indentured Africans.

They were also the builders of their own simple houses, usually of sticks and thatch or wattle and daub, none of which survive today, but the design retained in the one-room board or chattel houses prevalent up until the 1960s, with a few still extant today (Martin 2022; Saunders 2016). A more thorough excavation of the cultural landscape will likely yield additional *memory-traces* to illustrate the tremendous impact enslaved Africans and their descendants have had and continue to exhibit on the Grenadian cultural landscape, primarily through their memories now incorporated into the Grenada Creole islandscape.

The analyses of data from the *Slave Voyages Database* in the last two decades have resulted in a better accounting of the numbers and places of origin of the enslaved peoples brought to Grenada during the Transatlantic Slave Trade. George (2018:15) shows that a majority of enslaved came "from just a few ports within a specific region." Though ethnic groups were identified and perpetuated to some degree as illustrated in the (diasporic) Nation dances in northern Grenada and Carriacou, these categories coalesced or changed altogether over time and became entangled in the Creole cultural landscape as did the genealogies, with most ethnic identities fading altogether in the immediate post-Emancipation period or by the mid-20th century in the case of Carriacou (Ashie-Nikoi 2007; Collins 2010; George 2018; Hill 1998, 2002; Martin et al. 2016). George (2018), however, suggests, that despite the limitations of this and other available data like newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves and plantation lists recorded in land deeds, additional insight into the ethno-linguistic identities of Grenada's enslaved can be explored through the *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies* that recorded basic biographical data of the enslaved population between 1817 and 1834, including African personal names and "Country marks" (Ancestry.com 2007; Higman 1995). But because these lack specificity they remain limited in providing the data that many desire to connect themselves and their families directly to African-derived identities. The recent advances in consumer DNA tests, however, provide probably the greatest possibility through its ethnicity estimates and ancestry of connecting Grenadians (via their convoluted genealogies) to a recreated or reimagined African identity, though not actual West African families as would be desired (Ben Torres et al. 2013; Benn Torres and Torres Colon 2020).

That a plurality of Grenadians insists on expressing a strong connection to Africa is understandable and a direct result of their uncontested African ancestry. Despite the impossibility of tracing their entangled genealogies directly to regions, countries, ethnic groups and/or families in western Africa (due to the absence of records, but now partially

possibly through home DNA testing), many Grenadians have nonetheless come to embrace and celebrate an ancestry that was once despised and rejected, yet hidden in plain sight like within the few African surnames like Ackee, Cudjoe, Cuffie, Quamina, and Quashie that directly connect to the Akan of present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast and others.[48]

With the tens of thousands of captive Africans forcibly brought to Grenada for over a century of the Atlantic Slave Trade, and particularly during the period of African indenture, it was inevitable that they would have an enduring impact on the island's cultural landscape, despite their subjugation, relative absence of power, and policed agency. While many cultural practices of western Africa and the enslaved, like African names, tooth mutilation or facial/ body scarification for example, have disappeared from the cultural landscape (except when literally unearthed or discovered in archives), many other *memory-traces* are still expressed across Grenada today, especially in dance movements, drumming, folklore and cuisine (see, for example, Stewart and Groome 1968). For some, these represent connections to a lost, but cherished (re)imagined identity. The incorporation of these diverse African memories into Grenada's Creole culture gives pride to many who see this as a way to celebrate the cultural elements that their ancestors fought to preserve/create and in some cases struggled to ensure would survive to pass on, thus enabling Grenadians to one day, hopefully, develop a cultural confidence and identity in their diverse past, but especially embracing their once maligned African ancestry now embedded in and an essential part of Grenada's Creole cultural landscape (Collins 2010; Martin et al. 2016).

6.4 King's Honours, English, Cricket and a Spot of Tea: Reckoning with the Overwhelming Presence of Britishness in the Grenadian Landscape[49]

"If Grenada belonged to the English, who knew how to turn to profit natural advantages, it would be a rich and powerful colony. In itself it was all that man could desire. To live there was to live in paradise!"

[48] These names were quite common during slavery and held by enslaved most likely from the areas of present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast, and correspond to the Akan (Twi) male day-names Kojo (Monday), Kofi (Friday), Kwami (Saturday), and Kwesi (Sunday). They may not, however, link directly to a genetic identity.

[49] Grenadians have received British honors like the BEM, OBE and MBE from the British Monarch Queen Elizabeth II (succeeded by King Charles III in 2022), though Grenada has a less-regarded or known national honors award that's usually given at the annual Independence celebrations. The well-known game of cricket was introduced to Grenada by the British by the mid-19th century and it is still a popular game across the region (see Worme 1999). The culture of tea drinking was introduced by the British though Grenadians have and continue to drink an assortment of "bush teas" as regular teas and/or traditional medicine.

Jean Baptiste Labat quoted in James Froude, *The English in the West Indies* (1888:52)

After two centuries of colonial dominance of Grenada–its people, government, administration, economy, agriculture, and almost every aspect of its society through slavery, Fédon's Rebellion, Emancipation and Apprenticeship, post-Emancipation, Crown Colony rule, and internal self-government–the British, with a particular nod to the Scots, have had the most profound impact on the modern Grenadian landscape as the longest and last European colonizer (Benoit 2020; Brizan 1998; Devas 1974; Lewis et al. 2022; Martin 2022). That legacy, defined by the centuries-long experiences of slavery and colonialism, is rightly perceived by many as having lingering, negative impacts despite many aspects providing utility and continuity to the present Grenadian state (Sutton 1986). Some historical British influences have been waning in the past half century following Grenada gaining its (political) independence from the UK in 1974, and especially after the 1983 US invasion redirected an American focus due to its close proximity (in the "US backyard") and the growing influence of the Grenadian diaspora there (Frakes 2017; Williams 2001). But its persistent presence, however, continues to be felt most intensely in its everyday bureaucracy and administration of governance and the Standard English and/or English Creole spoken by all Grenadians.

Like the French whom they displaced (on two occasions) to colonize Grenada, the British remain central to the narrative of who we were and who we are as they are the originators and instigators of the institutional foundations of the modern Grenadian state. And unlike the French, their presence is still overwhelmingly present, readily accessible in the living Creole landscape. They are the ones who transported tens of thousands of tortured, captive souls that beached upon this alien shore in overcrowded, stinking prison ships across the horrific Middle Passage to banishment, enslavement and cultural genocide. They are the ones who grudgingly ended the dehumanizing traffic in captive Africans to and slavery in Grenada by paying reparations to the slave owners, but acknowledged no wrongdoing or compensated the enslaved to rise above their miserable conditions. Theirs are the two centuries of colonialism that have transformed the Grenadian landscape to continuous contestations. Theirs is the language through which the multilingual landscape speaks in idiosyncratically accented Grenadian Standard English and English Creole voices. Theirs are the institutions of governance, politics and law that still govern, and readily performed with antiquated pomp

and ceremony.[50] Theirs are the folk songs, children's games, children's toys, nursery rhymes and proverbs that instigate our folk narrative and folk celebrations. Theirs are the hymns, songs and prayers that soothe the bereaved soul at funerary wakes, prayer meetings and funerals to celebrate and send the dead on their journeys to ancestral lands. Theirs are the poetry, plays and prose we read in books like the *Royal Readers* and *Lamb Tales from Shakespeare* as children that sparked our imaginations for far-flung places and wonderment, and echoes in our masquerades that stomp through the streets at carnival reciting verses from Shakespeare and other British historical texts. Theirs are the wars we fought in far-off lands for King and country to prove our loyalty and the ability to one day rule our own affairs of state. Theirs is the motherland that shunned generations since Windrush, forcing the diaspora to fight for their Empire citizenship even as we annually receive British Honours. Theirs is the religion that christened three new Christian denominations but were initially hesitant in welcoming enslaved souls. Theirs are the traditions that still set a table for tea and biscuits at fundraising fairs at churches and schools. Theirs is the (derived) black or fruit cake that goes so well with sorrel and ginger beer at Christmas time. Theirs are the illegitimate genealogies that make family histories convoluted, nonetheless connecting to an entangled and difficult past. And theirs is the undeniable Britishness that characterizes a great deal of Grenadian institutional life today, with much of it celebrated or at least tolerated for its utility. But as the last and longest European colonizer they also bear the brunt of anger and protests for the many ills of colonialism and its negative lingering effects on Grenadian society today.[51]

The current political, economic and social landscape is undeniably a direct reflection of two centuries of British colonialism in Grenada. Though the French laid the foundations of the island's slave plantation complex, it was British colonialism that created the modern state of Grenada that we see reflected across the islandscape today. And like the French before them, and the Kali'nago and the enslaved Africans, we must begin with language. In this case, the English language as all Grenadians speak a form of Caribbean Standard English and English Creole, both of which are not accidental, but directly related to Grenada's historical

[50] The use of white wigs, worn in Parliament in the British tradition, was discontinued in Grenada in 2018, removing one of the most glaring symbols of British colonialism. Though the British and many former colonies have abandoned the regular practice, several still adhere to the outdated tradition. The black robes, with Grenada's colors recently added, are still used, as are the traditional maces of the House of Representatives (dating to the 1780s with its anachronistic slave emblem) and the Senate. There are many other practices directly related to or derived from British procedures and traditions still part of current Parliamentary proceedings and governmental administration.

[51] In 2022, following advice from the governor general and the GOG, the Queen "postponed" a planned visit to Grenada by Prince Edward in celebration of her Platinum Jubilee because the local Reparations Committee had sought an audience with the royal couple and others had planned to protest the visit (Trevelyan 2022).

chronology. That current image, though not self-evident in the late 18th century, was in the making since 1762 when the British captured the island from the French, and permanently regained it in 1783, renaming its streets, parishes and whatever they deemed necessary to transform the landscape in their own images (Hutchinson 2021). They finally expunged French political influences with the defeat of the rebellious French in Fédon's Rebellion, but it would take over a century and a half to claim victory when *Patwa*, once spoken by the majority of Grenadians as part of their French colonial identity, began its inevitable demise in the 1930s under the intense tutelage of the British colonial educational system.[52]

With no precedence for public or mass education in Grenada, the British imposed a formal colonial educational system with the sole use of the English language beginning in the 1830s when it was forced to do so as part of the 1833 Emancipation Act to engage the enslaved for freedom and citizenship (Brizan 1998; Lewis et al. 2021; Smith 1993). This policy was to have the most profound impact on the cultural landscape in multiple ways, but particularly in the replacement of the fading French colonial identity (with its *Patwa*) among the enslaved and later freedmen with that of a growing British colonial identity (Benoit 2012, 2020; Brizan 1998). As continued control of the freedmen was seen as essential to the smooth functioning and development of the post-slavery society, religion and thus religious education were viewed as the basis of the educational system to ensure societal compliance and harmony (Cornelius 2020). As the Christian churches (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist) were the only other established institution on the island, they played a primary role in the facilitation of education of the former enslaved as the majority of schools were administered by them, with religious instruction the primary pedagogy (Brizan 1998; Devas 1932; Smith 1993). Thus, the current prevalence of denominational and singled-sexed schools across the islands; some primary co-educational schools were established in the early 1900s, and secondary after the mid-1900s due primarily to limited resources and a changed societal acceptance of co-gendered education.

[52] The disappearance of *Patwa* from Grenada as the most prevalent form of communication is not as simple as many Grenadians believe, that it was simply the result of their great/grand/parents' choosing to use it only as a "secret language" among themselves, and thus not passing it on to the next generations. The British colonial administration, together with education and religious officials, had always protested the prevalence of that "vile language" and saw it as a hindrance to their full control of the population, thus fervently working towards its eradication, even banning its use in schools. Eventually, *Patwa's* orality and low social status, the overall changing society, particularly the growth of colonial education with instruction in English, and parents wanting their children to succeed in the dominant "English" society would work against the survival of *Patwa* in Grenada unlike those of Dominica and St. Lucia (both closer to French territories and the latter occupied until 1814 by France) that have survived into the 21st century, but are today both threatened by Standard English and English Creole. See also Joseph (2012).

After a century of rudimentary colonial education often described as the three Rs and provided via religious institutions (but bolstered by the government's grant-in-aid system after 1875), British history, culture and language found their way into the deepest confines of Grenadian society, even in the rural areas (Devas 1932; Lewis et al. 2021; Smith 1993). Collins (1985:52), in her poem "The Lesson," illustrates the penetration of the educational system as she talks about her grandmother, who lived in the countryside and spoke *Patwa*, retelling the European history she had memorized as a child, concluding that "Granny didn remember no Carib chief/ No Ashanti king/ Her heroes were in Europe/Not in the Caribbean/ Not in Africa."

By the early 1900s *Patwa* had lessened due to concerted efforts by the churches and state to replace it with English and/or its derivative. The generation born in the 1930s would be the last to learn *Patwa* if they grew up with their grandparents and predominantly in the countryside (see Lashley-La Grenada 2016). Otherwise, *Patwa* slowly disappeared, gradually replaced by English Creole, but nonetheless incorporating many of its fading elements. Also, in that period, Grenadian folk culture became infused with influences from British folk culture that is today illustrated through children's games like hopscotch, jacks, moral, marbles, kite flying and ring games, nursery rhymes, celebrations like maypole, and (bursting of bamboo-bombs and the burning in effigy of) Guy Fawkes Day, carnival masquerades like *Shakespeare Mas'*, and children's songs, most of which were furnished via colonial instruction and texts like the *Royal Readers* that were primary to educational instruction from the mid-19th to mid-20th centuries (Joseph 2012; Lewis et al. 2021).[53]

The extensive reach of Catholicism and Protestantism (under English religious tutelage) also impacted the lives of the peasantry in multiple ways, including their birth ceremonies, family events like christenings and weddings, death practices like wakes and burials, and almost every cultural ritual illustrated by All Saints' Day, Corpus Christi, Easter, Fisherman's Birthday and Christmas. This resulted in situations where two ceremonies were often celebrated, one African derived and the other European derived; today they have all somehow melded to furnish the Creole religious and social landscape.[54] By the mid-1900s, almost 200

[53] See Joseph (2012) for a critique of the *Royal Readers*. The rudimentary colonial education that many received instilled in them a realization that education was important and aspirational in changing their lives for the better in the colonial society.

[54] These include dual wedding ceremonies at churches and in the community (dancing the flags and cakes in Carriacou and Petite Martinique), and dual ceremonies at new boat/schooner launches in Carriacou (see Hill 1977). Or Shango worship in the communities and attendance at Sunday religious services in both the Catholic and Anglican Churches in Grenada.

years after the invasion of the British, the Grenadian cultural landscape truly reflected a colonial British cultural dominance, exemplified by the widespread use of GSE and English Creole, with almost all Grenadian children schooled in an educational setting that was the foundation of a British colonial identity (Benoit 2020).

The fraught legacy of the British in Grenada is both celebrated and contested, but its continued role is undeniable across its political, economic and social spheres. This is most illustrated by its Westminster system of governance, with the British monarch as its head of state, judicial system, police, educational system, the continued use of the Imperial System of measurements, the prevalence of English and Scottish place, personal and family names, the remains of a uniquely Georgian-era architecture that defines its capital city St. George's, the presence of Protestantism, the very English game of cricket, trade and transportation networks, and the periodic visits by members of the British royal family (most recently Prince Charles in 2019 and Prince Harry in 2016) to warm welcome and celebration.[55]

Though the British culinary influences in Grenada may not be readily evident due to their late arrival, they have played a defining role by their long rule that are most evident in the processing of foods and mealtimes. The current schedule of meals and their content are a result of British influences, illustrated especially with breakfast and supper meals. The idea of tea, coffee, or cocoa as a hot beverage with bread and possibly proteins like eggs, saltfish/fishcake or blood pudding are most likely British influenced, replacing the traditional breakfast of (cornmeal and cassava/farine) porridge that had a western African origin. The midday meal was a heavy lunch with provisions and meat (reinforced during slavery), and the day ended with supper, a light version of breakfast in the early evening. The most prominent culinary influence of the British is as part of Christmas celebrations that are noted across the region as the season was very popular among them. Of particular note is the British "figgy pudding" that was remade as black or rum cake, taking on a very Caribbean flavor with its brown coloring (burnt sugar), spices and local rum (Ross 2021). One other major influence by the British was the importation of slave-produced rice from the British North American Colonies that would become a staple component of Grenadian meals exemplified by *Rice and Peas* and *Pelau*/*Cook-Up*, having replaced African staples like sorghum and millet, and today

[55] Queen Elizabeth II visited Grenada on two occasions, in February 1966 and October 1985, becoming the only sitting British monarch to visit Grenada as such, and the only one to open Parliament on her latter visit. The planned visit by Prince Edward in April 2022 was "postponed" on the advice of the Governor General and GOG after the local Grenada National Reparations Committee requested a meeting to discuss reparations. Prince Charles, now King Charles III, visited Grenada in 2022.

relegating once primary ground provisions to "side dishes" (Berleant 2013).[56] There are still other smaller British influences that are part of the Creole culinary landscape that today defines Grenada's cuisine, and thus Grenadian identity.

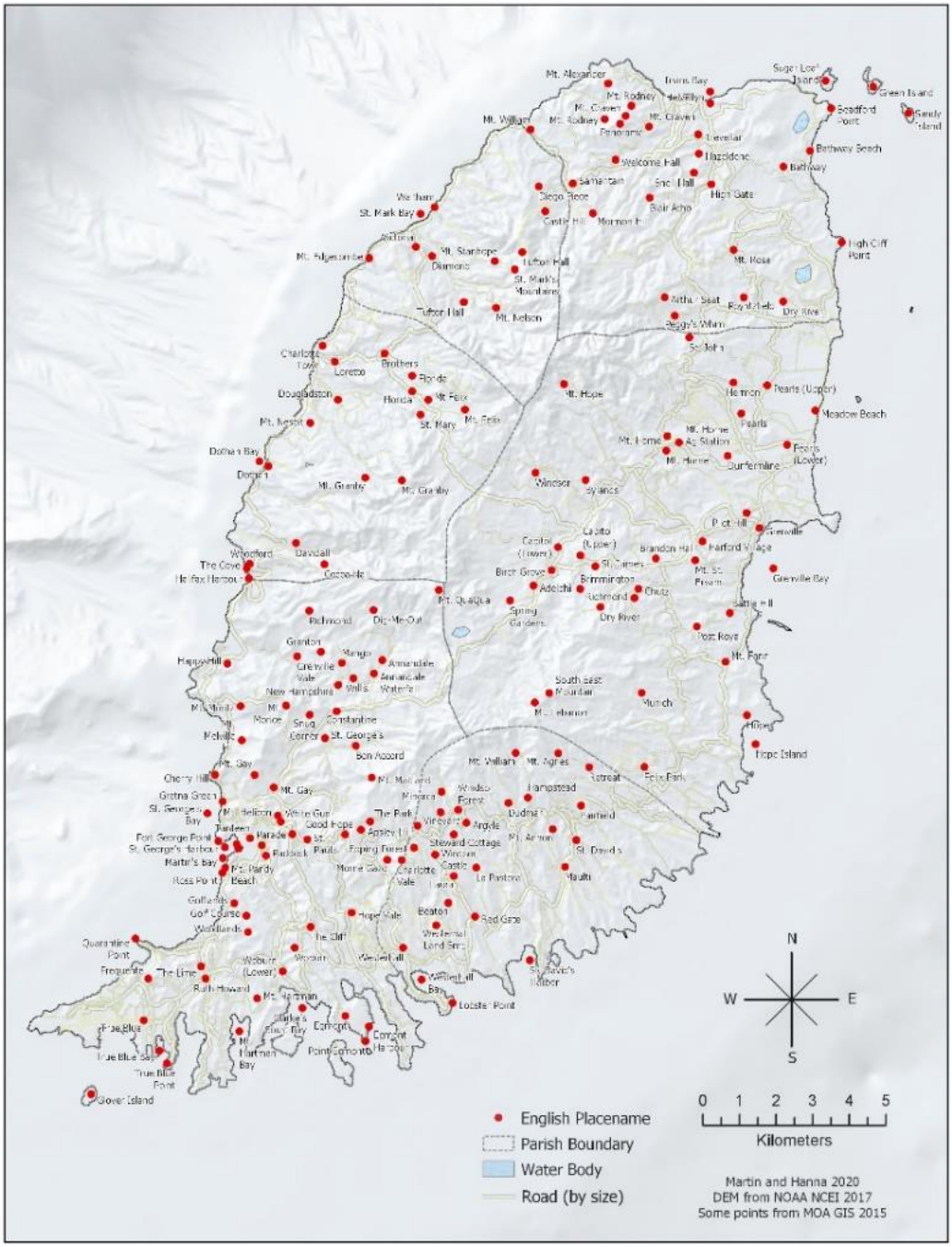

Figure 6.7: British-era derived place names in Grenada today (Martin and Hanna 2020)

[56] It is important to note that rice was a part of several West African ethnic groups' diets (with popular dishes like Jollof and Waakye), particularly Senegal, Sierra Leone and along the Windward Coast, so rice was not a new staple to the enslaved upon their arrival in Grenada. It, however, reestablished African traditions that are today illustrated in the use of "rolled rice" in Saraka ceremonies in both Grenada and Carriacou (Collins 2010). See Bearleant (2012) for a detailed treatment of rice in the region.

The British, following their invasion in 1762, quickly placed their stamp on the landscape by altering its predominantly French toponyms. It was done so quickly that many of the French names of the streets in St. George's have vanished without a trace. Today, you drive on the left side of traffic through streets named after 18th-century British personalities–Granby, Grenville, Halifax, Hillsborough, Melville, Moncton, Scott and Young (Casey 1778; d'Imbert 1765; Martin 2022). These names established the appearance of the British and their takeover of the colony from the French and the renaming of its political landscape. This is repeated across the island in the names of the parishes–St. George, St. John, St. Patrick, St. Andrew and St. David–towns like Grenville, and numerous villages (Figure 6.7). Today, forty percent of Grenada's toponyms are British-era derived, and reflect their dominance after 1762, with a high percentage of Scottish-derived names, as the Scotts were heavily represented among the British (Figure 6.11) (Gonzalez 1994; Wesche 1961). These name changes are reflected in various maps rendered by the British, particularly the plantation map by local (British) surveyor Gavin Smith (1801) that captures the climax of British plantation agriculture in Grenada, and the later DOS (1965, 1985) maps, but French-era derived toponyms still dominate because of their initial embedding in the physical landscape and the island's geography (Wesche 1961).

English, Scottish, and other personal names of the British Isles dominate as both first and last names of Grenadians as the British were the last and longest colonial rulers of Grenada. Many were adopted following Emancipation when the former enslaved were required to choose family names. Although male first names dominate the English-derived (including British, Scottish, Irish) Grenadian names, some British surnames that come directly from British families are quite evident as well (Martin 2020). Most of these indicate some form of blood connections, as in the offspring of white men and black/mixed women (free and enslaved), who thus carried their names, often identified in last wills and testaments. However, these are only a small fraction of the family names as most surnames in Grenada are derived from English and Scottish first names that were then held by male enslaved as their only names (Martin 2020). Thus, many of the male enslaved, in the post-Emancipation period, gave their first (and only) names to their wives and children, creating Grenada's unique naming process and disproving the widespread belief that the majority of Grenadian surnames were derived from white plantation managers and/or slave owners' family names (Martin 2020).

Though the British were slow in establishing religion on the island and converting the large enslaved and later peasant populations, it did set up Anglicanism as the island's official religion that challenged the dominance of Catholicism for decades as it literally fought to destroy the latter's influences (Cornelius 2020; Devas 1932; Ragatz 1928). In the end, it had to concede defeat as it was unable to displace Catholicism so entrenched among the majority population despite viewing that religion's influence on the enslaved and later peasantry negatively (Coke 1810; Cornelius 2020). The Methodist denomination began in the 1790s particularly among the free coloured and free black populations, building one of the oldest churches on the island (Coke 1810; Parker 1959). The Scots also established Presbyterianism in Grenada, building their Kirk in the 1830s and later converting a section of the East Indian indentured immigrants in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Steele 1976, 2003). The emergence of the Protestant denominations challenged the dominant Catholic faith, but were unable to displace it mainly because it was slow to accept the former enslaved into their fold as equals.

The relic Grenadian landscape is littered with the ruins of bygone British governance and production, illustrated by the hurricane-damaged York House (formerly the Houses of Parliament and Judiciary), the crumbling former governor-general's residence, broken aqueducts, rusted and decaying waterwheels stamped with Scottish cities and manufacturers' names stuck in time, discarded windmill towers with tress growing from them, and derelict smokestacks towering over the rural landscape (Martin and Thompson 2020; tWRF 2019). Two centuries on, the impact of what the British created and passed on are quite discernable as plantations morphed into villages and communities, eventually enveloping them, and *Patwa* was creolized by its more powerful English equivalent. Despite the continued presence of many French and French *Patwa* names for plants and animals, English came to dominate and soon replaced many of these, with some plants and animals having two names or a mix of both *Patwa* and English (Chase and Chase 2011; Groome 1970; Hawthorne et al. 2004; Martin 2022). Though the British were never able to totally erase the "French colonial landscape" as the French were also unable to completely erase the "Indigenous landscape," they did transform many aspects of it with the imposition of British institutions, language and culture into the entangled Grenadian cultural palimpsest. This is readily evident today in the many British-derived names of villages and towns (Figure 6.7) (Martin 2022; Martin and Thompson 2020). Not only the physical landscape, but the social and economic spheres are plagued by the legacy of the plantation system that still informs Grenada's export agriculture,

its economic dependency, its labor regime, trade linkages, and even the tourism industry that succeeded it and dominates the economy today (Brizan 1998; Weaver 2008).

6.5 Continuing Cultural Influences on the Grenadian Landscape

> *"If you in London, Toronto, or New York, Miami, calling everybody all over to pack everything and come; it doesn't matter, wherever you are, ah just want everybody to pack everything and come…Leh we go back home."*
>
> Berbice, "Leh We Go Back Home" (2011)

The Grenadian landscape has been impacted primarily by Indigenous, French, African and British influences since 1498 (as illustrated above), but smaller groups have also left imprints due to the continued (in, out and return) migration, especially after Emancipation (Steele 2003). Most noticeably have been the immigration of indentured laborers in the 19th century, and though their numbers were relatively small compared to previous inflows, their impacts, nonetheless, have oftentimes appeared above their visibility. Between 1839 and 1893 Grenada welcomed close to four thousand indentured laborers from far away as (British) India, (British) Malta and (Portuguese) Madeira (Steele 2003). Hundreds of immigrants have also arrived as settlers since the mid-1800s from within the region like Barbados and St. Vincent and The Grenadines, Grenada's two closest neighbors to the north, and as far away as Syria and Lebanon. These regional immigrants, particularly, have left considerable influences on the landscape, but the impact of Grenadians returning from places like Trinidad and Tobago, Aruba and the Panama Canal, and even North America and Europe in the mid to late 20th and early 21st centuries have and continue to express significant influences on the island's changing landscape (Cox 1999b; Sookram 2009; Steele 2003). And today, due to new and evolving technologies, influences arrive via the airwaves/television/Internet from many places, including Jamaica, Trinidad, the US, and beyond, continuing to impact the Grenadian cultural landscape, often in unimaginable ways.

Indentured immigration was initiated in Grenada at the end of slavery following the success of similar schemes in Trinidad and British Guiana (now Guyana), stemming primarily from the perceived lack of an adequate labor force at the time (Brizan 1998). The reluctance and/or refusal by some of the former enslaved to work fulltime for perceived low wages on sugar

estates created a panic among planters who incorrectly blamed the hesitant labor force for the continued depression in the sugar industry and advocated for such a scheme. There was debate on the scheme's moral position, with some characterizing it as "slavery under a new guise." Yet, between 1839-93, some 3,900 indentured laborers entered Grenada from Malta, Madeira, and India. In 1839 Grenada received the first indentured immigrants, 164 Maltese who were indentured to sugar estates along the eastern coast for five years. It was also hoped that they "would have a civilizing effect on the ex-slaves" and increase the small white population. In 1841, however, their contracts were dissolved because they had proved a failure. The majority reportedly emigrated to Trinidad, with the few remaining in Grenada finding employment as porters and petty traders (Steele 2003). Their most significant footprint on the Grenadian landscape appears to be the place names Malti in St. David, reportedly after their settlement there, and Morne Gazo, St. David after Gozo, an island in the Maltese archipelago where some originated. The British colonial government then took on the task of indentured immigration, and between 1846-47, 601 migrants from Madeira arrived, and they too proved unsuccessful at agricultural work and soon abandoned their assigned estates for more desirable employment. Many subsequently migrated to Trinidad, but a small number remained, their descendants identifiable by Portuguese-derived names like Franco, DeSouza and DaSilva.

The greatest impact of the indentured laborers were the 3,205 (East) Indians who arrived between 1857 and 1893 to work on sugar and cocoa estates in the rural districts, primarily St. Andrew and St. Patrick. Fewer than 400 returned to India and some emigrated to Trinidad and British Guiana, but about 85% remained in Grenada after their indentures, with many settling in the rural parishes (not far from the estates where they labored) in villages like Samaritan, Red Mud and Diego Piece, St. Patrick; and St. James, Morne Longue and Belmont, St. Andrew; many would also migrate to villages in St. John and St. Mark like Forde, Cumma (?<Hin Kumar, a personal Indian name), Clozier and Florida, St. John (Adams 2017; Sookram 2006, 2007). By 1871 there were 1,344 East Indian-born residents in Grenada, declining to 181 by 1921, and within the next three decades the population became almost exclusively native-born; in 1921 the population was 2,672 in total. At the 100th anniversary Indian Arrival Day celebrations on 1 May 1957, Indo-Grenadians gathered "to honor the surviving ex-indentured immigrants" (Singh 1987:387).[57]

[57] Indian Arrival Day, celebrated each May1st, is a national holiday in Grenada since 2017.

Today, Indo-Grenadians are integrated in communities across the island though they are majorities in several rural villages in the northwest (Adams 2017). The Indo-Grenadian population has never risen above five percent of the total population, recording 2,500 (3 percent) in 2001. Unlike Trinidad and Guyana with larger (East) Indian populations, the small number in Grenada has been absorbed into the larger Creole society, resulting in the loss of much of their "Indian" culture or the invisibility of a distinct Indian cultural identity (Mahabir 1987; Sookram 2006, 2009). Some aspects of East Indian culture, however, have survived, especially in the few rural villages where their numbers have been relatively large, and are embedded in the Grenadian Creole landscape. East Indian memories, possibly influenced more through contact with Trinidad's larger Indian population and the out and return migration with that island, are quite noticeable. These include mainly foods like channa (<Hin *chanaa*: "grain, chickpea"), the popular rice dish *pelau, bhaji* (<Hin *bhaajii*: "vegetable leaves") or spinach, and *Caraila* (<Hin *karela*: "bitter gourd") or "Collie pawpaw," *achar* (<Hin *achaar*: "pickles") or pickled mango, the overall use of curry in popular foods like curry goat, *roti* (<Hin *rotii*: "bread") and *doubles*, and several words like *jagabat* (<Hin *dagabaj*: "bad woman or one of questionable character"), and *dougla* (<Hin *dogalaa*: "hybrid, mongrel"), the offspring of Indian and black (see Allsopp 1998). "Indian powers" and dance are identified in Grenada's Spiritual Baptists practices, which again might have been influenced more from Trinidad (George 2017; Smith 1963). Despite their small numbers, Indo-Grenadians are identifiable across Grenada, owning successful businesses and estates, and in their respective communities.[58] East Indian family names like Bhola, Japal, Laldee, Nyack, Ragbersingh, De Allie and Ramdhanny are common (see Adams 2017; Martin 2022).

Of the regional immigrants who have settled in Grenada since the mid to late 1800s, Barbadians have probably been the most numerous and influential, particularly because of their own demographics on the heavily populated island.[59] In 1872 the *Grenada Chronicle* reported that "Of late years, the number of Barbadian laborers who have come here would surprise many. A regular colony has been formed by them about the Mount Parnassus lands, and others are scattered over the country–everywhere happy and prosperous" ("From the *Grenada Chronicle* July 10" 1872; "From the *St. George's Chronicle* August 5, '71" 1871).

[58] The majority of the Indian entrepreneurs in St. George's, however, are recent immigrants from India and the Indian Diaspora.

[59] Between 1861 and 1921 at least 8,000 Barbadians immigrated to Grenada, the majority settling there (see Johnson 1891, Paterson 1901, Smith 1911, and Garraway 1921).

Others would settle in the capital and surrounding communities and integrated into the larger Creole community since the late 1800s, but several Barbadian family names still stand out. The dynamic community of St. Paul's, St. George, that derived from the large Mount Parnassus estate, retains several known Barbadian-descendant families after a century and a half.[60] It is possible that these Barbadian immigrants brought with them their *Tea-meetings* of speechifying that would spread across Grenada by the early 1900s, but has since disappeared (see Mark 1978).

Another small Barbadian group, predominantly white, settled on the outskirts of St. George's and worked on plantations primarily in Grand Mal and Mount Moritz. They later established the village of Mount Moritz, tucked away on a hill about 2 km (1.25 mi) inland from Molinière Point and about 5 km (3 mi) from the town of St. George's where they were known as the "Mount Moritz Bajans."[61] For just over a century the rural agricultural settlement of Mount Moritz was semi-isolated from the larger surrounding Grenadian society, with only a small number of blacks and mixed-race individuals/families gaining access to the "closed" community. In the early 1970s, the predominantly white/mixed community of Mount Moritz began to change, with many migrating to the Trinidad, US, UK, Canada and Australia, especially the latter due to exclusive racial immigration policies at the time, and today there is a sizeable Grenadian-descent community there.[62] Some long-time residents moved into the wider Grenadian community, and slowly the surrounding black population migrated into

[60] These include the Bullen, Gittens, Lord, Nurse and Wilkinson families.

[61] In 1859 Governor Hicks of Barbados, hoping to resettle some of the poor whites of that island, outlined a scheme for their resettlement to other islands in the Caribbean. The Grenada government welcomed the scheme, acknowledging that it "might prove advantageous to the island" by increasing the white population. It added that an area in Grand Étang was ideal for the community because it was more "suitable to the European constitution." The scheme was not officially followed up–hence there are no records of the eventual settlement of the "Mount Moritz Bajans." In the late 1860s, though, a small number of whites migrated to Grenada along with hundreds of others from Barbados, probably aided by the Anglican Church. The poor whites settled predominantly in the Hermitage and Grand Mal areas in St. George and worked on the Grand Mal estate and the cocoa estate in Mount Moritz. It was reported that "small groups of 15 and 20 whites on schooners destined for Grenada, [left Barbados in the 1870s] to work there as labourers on the cocoa plantations" (Watson 2000). Probably a dozen or so families arrived during that period, and by the 1880s a sizeable community, made up almost exclusively of white Barbadian immigrants, were inhabiting villages surrounding the Grand Mal and Mount Moritz estates. In the early 1900s many began to work and live on the Mount Moritz estate as tenant farmers. The community became practically self-sufficient agriculturally and self-contained socially, interacting with the outside community mainly through the exchange of agricultural produce at Saturday markets. The Mt. Moritz Bajans were either disregarded by the white elite or scorned by the blacks because of their defiant pride (in their "whiteness") and independence. They were taunted and called derogatory names like "poor Backra," "poor Johnny" and "Mong Mong," the latter from Grenadians' Creole pronunciation of the village's name which derived from one of its owners' names, Moritz Hardman (Martin 2022). The Grenada government acquired the estate and in 1957 it became a Land Settlement Scheme, with many of the residents given deeds to plots. See also Sheppard (1977).

[62] This has led to the common, but incorrect assumption/belief that the original Mt. Moritz Bajans came from Australia as some probably shared a similar past with the convicts who were sent to the penal colony there.

Mount Moritz through marriage, residence, etc. By the end of the 1970s the community was virtually integrated and today it would be difficult for someone without a knowledge of the area's history to account for the present racial mixture, which a recent census recorded as 52 percent mixed, 10 percent white, and 36 percent black. Some family names of the original settlers of Mount Moritz are still readily identifiable, including Chandler, Dowden, Edwards, Greaves, Hinds, Medford, Seales, and Searles. Mount Moritz remains a rather unique and interesting community because of its history, and is well known today for the Mount Moritz Breakfast, a monthly West Indian breakfast offering for Grenadians and visitors, especially returnees and their children.

The settlers from St. Vincent and The Grenadines did not congregate in a specific village like the Mount Moritz Bajans or the settlers in the Mt. Parnassus plantation, with the majority African-descent group blending in more easily with the larger Grenadian population because of their similarities. As there has been little research into the influences of immigrants from St. Vincent to Grenada, their impact is speculative based on anecdotal evidence, but they may have brought with them unique cultural attributes that remain in the Grenadian landscape today (George 2017). Like Grenada, the people of St. Vincent have a diverse background and may be partly responsible for the current belief/knowledge among a small number of Grenadians acknowledging Indigenous ancestry. St. Vincent remained one of the few Caribbean islands to retain an Indigenous-derived population throughout colonialism, and immigrants coming from there have acknowledged that fact. Thus, several Grenadian families, with ancestry from St. Vincent proudly acknowledge their Kali'nago and/or Garifuna heritage (i.e., "Last True Carib Descendant Dies" 2013). It is also believed that the Spiritual Baptist faith in Grenada was influenced by the Shakers from St. Vincent which was brought to the island by Vincentian settlers to Grenada between the late 1800s and early 1900s, but may have also been influenced by Grenadians returning from Trinidad where it had earlier become established, also by Vincentians (George 2017; Jacobs 1996; Pollak-Eltz 1993).[63] And though it was most likely that Barbadian immigrants introduced *Tea-meetings* to Grenada, Vincentian immigrants could have also played a role as they too practiced this speechifying ceremony.

[63] The passage of the Public Meetings ("Shakerism") Prohibition Ordinance by the Grenada colonial government in March 1927 may be an indication of the advent/popularity of the religious practice as it sought to ban the public gathering of "two or more persons at which obscene or immoral behavior or practices are indulged in," with a fine of £50 or up to five months in prison (George 2017).

The twin-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago, located 97-145 km (60-90 mi) south of Grenada, has been its closest Caribbean neighbor. The three islands form the gateway to the Lesser Antilles from South America and their histories have been entangled for quite some time, dating back to the precolonial period (Candlin 2022; Hanna 2019). As such, they have had centuries-old economic, political and social/cultural ties with each other that have resulted in ongoing connections and identities (Martin 2022). Since the late 18th century, Grenadians have been migrating to Trinidad, and though the majority have settled there permanently many maintained close ties with families in Grenada that endure even today. Because of this constant stream of Grenadian migrants there, their (along with Vincentians, Barbadians and others) impacts have been tremendous on the Trinidadian cultural landscape, today identified in parts of its Creole identity and, of course, its cultural expressions like its French *Patwa*, religious practices and its world-renowned carnival (Gill 2014; Jacobs 1996). But the relationship between the two islands has not been one directional as is quite evident in the impacts of Trinidad on the Grenadian landscape, especially by Grenadians returning from that island, illustrated especially in its modern celebration of carnival and folk religions (George 2017; Martin 2022). Many Trinidadians and Tobagonians today can trace their ancestry to Grenada and Carriacou because of this historical migration and enduring ties.

Since 1498, Grenada's Indigenous landscape has undergone tremendous transformations by regional and island migration of diverse peoples from across the world, particularly West and West-Central Africans and Europeans. These transformations have reverberated across its cultural landscape, creating an entangled Creole culture that is constantly changing due to ongoing in and out, and return migration. But probably more so now from the overwhelming presence of attractive cultural aspects via television and the Internet from across the globe as brought about by the unprecedented globalization taking place that ironically has its roots in the Caribbean archipelago since 1492.