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

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From Kali'nago to Creole: (Re)Creating and Contesting the Creolized Grenada Islandscape[1]

"Our people are becoming in a manner like yours, since they came to be acquainted with you; and we find it some difficulty to know ourselves, so different are we grown from what we were here-to-fore."

Kali'nago man to Father Montel, Dominica
John Davies translation of Rochefort, *The History of the Caribby-Islands* (1666:250)

In the dim evening light, a voice bellowed, "Tim, Tim!" and all responded in unison, "Papa welcome!"[2] It is the usual greeting from the storyteller and response from the audience, as we anxiously awaited the night's event to unfold. You could hear a pin drop in the hushed silence in the roomful of children as we awaited Papa or Uncle Nadley to begin the evening of scary tall tales and exciting Anansi stories (that featured the Akan-derived trickster spider and other folk characters) (Martin 2022). The kids, all cousins, gathered in the small *board-house* belonging to Aunty Maude, our grandmother, for a few weeks during the rainy season when school was out. The house sat in the middle of a clearing on a hill called *Bwaden* surrounded by towering fruit trees and a cocoa orchard, and with no electric lights around (except inside the house) it got dark even before the sun set. The voice of Uncle Nadley was the only one audible as he weaved his scary tall tales of malevolent folk spirits that roamed the night battling hapless humans who do not appear likely to win out in the end, but somehow do. In one tale, he breaks into song, ominously crooning, *"Come along me boy, come along, come along, come along…,"* as the evil father lures his son in for the final battle in the immortal oedipal struggle of sons against fathers, the future against the past, the new generation against the old, and the dying raging against the living. Before you know it Uncle Nadley uttered the words, "The story end and the wire bend," bringing the night of

[1] The title is a nod to Lennox Honychurch's (2000) *Carib to Creole: A History of Contact and Cultural Exchange in Dominica*.

[2] "Tim, Tim!" is possibly derived from the French Creole expression *Tiens, Tiens*! meaning "Hello, Look!" Sometimes it is the greeting "Cric?" or *Bwa Sèch!* (<Fr "dry wood"), with the audience responding "Crac!" (see Allsopp 1996).

storytelling to an end. All hushed in the surrounding darkness, we scurried off to our beds in fear and dread of the spirits now on the prowl, unleashed by Papa's incantations.

A few minutes later there was a commotion at the door as two of the older cousins returned to the house breathless from a shortened trip to the road to drop off a friend who had visited. Scared and frightened, they relayed a haunting tale right out of Papa's repertoire of scary stories, of being accosted by a *Lajablesse* that had suddenly appeared to them out of the darkness from under the trees as they walked past. Papa, without waiting to hear more, grabbed his cutlass and hurriedly ran to the place where they had spotted the "spirit." Unfortunately, it had already vanished into the dark night as Papa cursed it "*Pa malèwèz!*", hoping that it would be enough to scare it off for good.[3]

Imagine that night of storytelling being played out across the centuries, across the generations, across the Grenadian landscape. How different would it have been in style, content, setting, delivery, and/or language? In mid-1970s Grenada, Uncle Nadley told his stories to us in the English Creole of the rural peasantry where folk culture remained prominent in their everyday expressions, even though he knew the disappearing French *Patwa* (that I had never heard spoken by him or my grandmother). How would that night have played out fifty years before that when there was no electricity in the countryside and people gathered around *masanto* or kerosene lamps and many spoke *Patwa*? Or maybe one hundred years before that when all rural residents spoke *Patwa*, and stories were told under moonlit skies? Or even one hundred and seventy-five years earlier when captive Africans, arriving from West Africa with their memories more readily accessible, lived in the "slave yard" or villages on the plantations and shared their remembered stories of their respective homes? How would these stories have been told all the way back to the Kali'nago? Like the landscape around them, these stories have continuously changed, but nonetheless retained the multiple voices and memories of the countless storytellers like Papa who rendered them, passing on these tales to another generation, and another in slightly altered telling, until they get trapped in the pages of a book for all times (see Viechweg 2013, 2017).

Imagine once again, that among the children gathered in the small *board-house* to hear Papa's stories were teenage children like us from West Africa, England, Scotland and France,

[3] Derived from the French Creole/*Patwa* via the French *pauvre malheureuse* meaning "poor/wretched person," but used here as a curse often accompanied by spitting to show intense disapproval. It was intended to curse the "evil" person or thing to hell, encouraging them to go away or disappear for good or forever. (Allsopp 1998:364; Winer 2009:816).

or even a young Kali'nago boy from Camáhogne. How would each of them experience these stories? What elements would they recognize, or would they recognize anything at all? Would the West African boy, maybe if he was Akan (from present-day Ghana or Ivory Coast), recognize the style and even the names of characters like *Anansi* and *Tacooma*? Would he also recognize the *Mami Wata* in the *Mama Glo*, the *Mmotia* in the *Douen*, or the *Sasabonsam* in the *Papa Bwa* (Pradel 1998, 2000; Warner-Lewis 1991)? Would the English boy recognize anything in the tall tales, or had they changed so much that there was no resemblance at all? Would he recognize English in the "Patoisi-fied," heavily accented English Creole that Papa rendered his Grenadian tales? Would he connect the imagery of Grenadian children dancing the maypole with the ancient spring festival of Europe, or recognize the European mermaid in the *Mama Glo*, the Old-Hag in the *Ligaroo* and *Sukuyant*, or the Jack o' Lantern in the *Lajablesse* (Beck 1975)? Would the French boy at least recognize words like *Lajablesse*, *Lougarou*, and *Mama Maladie* in the lingering French *Patwa* now embedded within English Creole, or some of their characteristics now transformed into these New World wandering spirits? Would the Kali'nago boy recognize the altered landscape where the malevolent spirits roamed? And would he recognize his many water spirits in the *Mama Glo*, or see glimpses of the shadows of the *Master of the Forest* in the *Papa Bwa* as it ran through familiar woods to escape its extinction? Maybe the universality of folktales would excite them all despite not knowing the nuances of these tales adapted to the Grenadian landscape–its forests, mangroves, streams and mountains, history and culture, and its diverse voices camouflaged in new renditions, new languages and dialects, new accents, new tales altogether that arose from the emerging Grenadian cultural landscape. For Grenadians, particularly of a certain era, however, this Creole cultural landscape of folktales and folklore are immediately recognizable and relatable because it is theirs, passed on to them from their ancestors, even as they continue to change, with many of the wandering folk spirits slowly disappearing into the night forever. "*Pa malèwèz!*"

7.1 Cooking Up the *One-Pot* Creolized Grenada Islandscape[4]

"Our culture is who we are! How we eat, how we speak, how we think, so we gotta preserve that… you know. So, it's important for us to keep our identity of who we are. To preserve and maintain our rich cultural traditions. We are unique. There is no one else in the world like us, and we have to maintain, we have to keep our uniqueness, and, you know, we do that through our culture."

(Sirek 2013:113)

The Grenadian cultural landscape, in incorporating as many as two millennia of human habitation from multiple and diverse cultures and peoples and continues to do so, remains uniquely Grenadian in its creolization. This is due to the numerous yet specific interactions and historical chronologies of these diverse peoples, their cultures and the Grenadian environment reacting to centuries of Indigenous and European invasions, genocide, plantation slavery, colonialism, indentureship, adoptability and resilience across the Grenada islandscape. This is reflected in its entangled palimpsest landscape that has been fashioned by the often forced interactions of these peoples and their ideas, experiences and memories. In the last five centuries it has been Indigenous, French, British, African, Caribbean, South and Central American, (East) Indian, and more recently North American, in varying degrees and times. All of these, however, have contributed to the Creole cultural space that is particularly Grenadian as it continually incorporates the foreign, the new, the other to create an evolving cultural landscape. This is the Grenadian landscape, a Creole landscape!

Despite the fact that this study is restricted to the period after 1498 and European invasion of the region, it argues that the process of creolization is not a new phenomenon to the Grenadian landscape, dating as far back to multiple Indigenous interactions in the precolonial era as the island has been at the crossroads of the southern Caribbean and its varied exchanges of peoples, materials and ideas (see Hofman et al. 2022; Jacobson 2023). In Grenada, since 1498, the process has been better documented, and thus illustrated, as in this study (see also Murphy 2021). Creolization produces changing outcomes depending on the multiple variables at any given time, exemplified in the last five centuries by the invasion of Europeans and enslaved Africans into an Indigenous-occupied and created space that has thus produced a contested cultural landscape today.

[4] "A one-pot" is the efficient method of preparing foods like *Cook-up*, *Oildown* and *Calalu Soup* in one pot, historically over a three-stone fire. They are popular culinary dishes across Grenada and derived primarily among the poor rural and urban residents because of their simplicity and ease of preparation. They have also come to illustrate the mix of diverse ingredients, and thus a representation of Grenada's Creole society, particularly the *mash-up* dish *Calalu*, often used as a metaphor for Caribbean Creole society (see Allsopp 1996).

Creolization of the Grenada islandscape, operating under the power dominance of invasions, slavery and colonialism, resulted in uneven contributions to the cultural landscape by these various groups. And despite the multiple and varied interactions that produced hybrid and new cultures, Abrahams (1967:456) argues that the resulting cultural life of islands like Grenada "is based on the institutions, values and expressions by these seekers of empire," i.e. France and Great Britain in the case of Grenada. However, it has been and continues to be modified by conditions and cultures like the initial Indigenous peoples encountered and overwhelming numbers of Africans that were brought to this new and existing Indigenous space. Though it has been historically interpreted that two cultures–enslaved African laborers and European colonizers–were primary to this process, especially influenced by the power imbalances between them, this study posits that the Indigenous influences need to be fully acknowledged as an integral part of this process, particularly in the initial stages and the fact that the landscape was initially an indigenized one (see Murphy 2021; Newton 2013).

The initial process of creolization in Grenada operated under several changing conditions that included the interactions with 1) Indigenous peoples in their created cultural landscape, 2) multiple, diverse and numerically large groups of captive Africans from across western Africa, and 3) dominant, but minority French and British colonizers and settlers. Despite their initial control of the landscape, the Indigenous residents were unable to defend against the more powerful European invaders, which led to their gradual physical extermination from the Grenada islandscape (Anonyme[Bresson] 1975[1769]; Martin 2013). Despite their overwhelming numerical superiority since the late 1600s, captive Africans were "divested of their African heritage" through the process of deculturation through "seasoning"[5] that attempted to sever all ties with their cultural past and their "roots" (Abrahams 1967). The continuous influx of new (captive) Africans until the end of the Slave Trade in 1808[6] and African indenture (1849-63), however, served to replenish African cultural memories into the cultural landscape despite the multiple attempts by the colonial state and churches to destroy them (see Burton 1993).

The French and later British were able to exercise outsized power dominance over all others, and imposed their institutions, values and expressions across the colonial cultural landscape

[5] "Seasoning" was the process the newly arrived captives underwent in order to acclimate them to the slave environment that would define the rest of their lives. It included receiving a "slave name," learning the language/Creole, and adjusting to the new diet, etc. This was done primarily by Creole enslaved.
[6] Though the British Slave Trade was abolished in 1807 the last two slave ships arrived in Grenada in 1808, with the *Commerce* from Sierra Leone the last ship to arrive in February 1808.

of Grenada (Abrahams 1967). Because of that power differential between the groups, Abrahams (1967:458,460) contends that even though European and African cultures came together in a world alien to them both, they, however, "found a certain amount of common ground, and built upon this commonality, developing new modes of expression as the sense of the peasant community developed" via syncretism, eventually creating new cultures, Creole cultures. The cultural expression of the emerging Grenadian peasantry (and thus Grenadian society), however, was primarily European derived as is evident, but Abrahams (1967:459) qualifies,

> "This suppressive process accounts for the elimination or modification of African traits on most levels of organization–religion, government, family and so forth. But habits of expression were almost impossible to control except by undermining their functional value. The most public forms of traditional expression, such as rituals and festivals, could be discouraged, but most of the more private modes of performance, such as storytelling, divining and healing, even singing, could hardly be policed out of existence."

What survived of African cultural memories in the emerging Caribbean (and Grenadian) Creole landscape, Abrahams (1967) contends, were primarily the practices and beliefs that the Europeans allowed and/or tolerated, or what they could not police out of existence. Collins (1990:29-30) adds that "European oppression and domination of socio-economic life did not succeed in complete subjugation of the African consciousness." And, of course, the extent and direction of creolization would depend on the overall numbers of enslaved Africans versus enslaved Creoles that changed over time, especially after the ending of the Slave Trade when enslaved Creoles dominated (Burton 1997). So together with the European-imposed institutions, values and expressions (that were promoted by the emerging mixed-race and white urban elite that would replace the British colonial hierarchy), the Africans and their descendants combined their limited tolerated African memories and imitated/imposed European cultural expressions into Grenada's emerging folk culture that would become a major part of the Creole cultural landscape, becoming less and less "Afro-Creole" and more "Grenadian Creole" as the contact with Africa through the importation of new captive Africans lessened and later ended (Burton 1997). That Grenada's Creole landscape is visible across its cultural space and identifiable in almost every aspect of its society, illustrated most profoundly in its folk traditions, cuisine, agriculture (particularly its provision gardens), institutions (education, judiciary, politics, etc.), and even its personal names.

Though folk or traditional culture, practiced especially in the rural areas where it is part of everyday lived experiences, is often defined as (West-)African derived, it is in fact more accurately described as Creole, resulting from various folk practices that have syncretized over the centuries from multiple origins, but primarily African and European since the 17th century (see Abrahams 1967; Beck 1975). The term folk culture is used to group all of the traditional knowledge and customs that are not specifically identified as European or "Euro-Creole" (which is usually viewed as the domain of the urban elite and middle class) in origin though often heavily influenced by it in many ways, sometimes even incorporating large portions of bygone European folk traditions like funerary rites, annual celebrations, children's games, sports, official holidays, and nursery rhymes (Abrahams 1967; Martin 2007, 2022). Though defining elements of Grenada's culture are traceable to West and West-Central Africa, western Europe and even Indigenous peoples of the Americas, Grenadian (and Caribbean) folk culture is an adaptation to the local landscape by enslaved Africans and their descendants, and the urban elites to create new cultures from the broken fragments and memories of these diverse cultures (Burton 1997; Paterson 1975; Walcott 1993; Warner-Lewis 1991, 1996).

This rural folk culture, which could be termed "Afro-Creole" in its early stages after Burton (1997) because of its greater influence from fading African memories, is often viewed in direct opposition to the perceived refined culture of the urban elite. Burton defines the latter as "Euro-Creole," being more heavily derived from European cultural influences which have dominated the island since colonization (Burton 1997; Paterson 1975; Smith 1965a,b). The rural or folk culture is often perceived as more heavily influenced by African memories, and in some cases that is clearly evident, hence Burton's (1997) "Afro-Creole" designation. Yet, they both, however, continually take from each other in various exchanges, sometimes involuntarily (like imposed educational instruction), other times through mimicry, and/or even intentionally when identified as beneficial. Though folk-derived culture is the lifeblood of the island in many ways as it is the dominant cultural expressions of the majority of its people, it is often rejected or shunned by the urban elite as inferior and backward or usually sanitized if utilized because of its perceived connections to Africa and African memories, but also because it is seen as rural and unrefined. Many of these fading folk memories can (just barely still) be recognized across the Grenadian cultural landscape in its disappearing folk-spiritual practices, superstitious beliefs, storytelling, folk dances, folk music, folklore, and forms of association like *Maroon* and *Susu*, but still vibrantly celebrated in Grenada's

traditional carnival masquerades, dance, rhythms, the increasing use of bush medicines, idiomatic expressions, and popular cuisine (see Kopka 2013; Martin 2022; Sirek 2013).

Like its folk traditions and much of its culture, Grenadian food dishes are readily associated with West Africa, Europe, and the Americas, but, like much of its culture, the island's cuisine is Creole, locally and/or regionally (Goucher 2014). This creolization is exemplified in many of its popular dishes like *Rice and Peas*, *Curry Goat*, *Calalu Soup*, *Oildown*, and *Cook-Up*/ *Pelau*, with their diverse mix of ingredients from multiple sources, various preparation styles, cooking techniques, and even utensils used to prepare them. Enslaved Africans and their descendants, forced to provide most of their daily sustenance, forged much of Grenada's culinary tradition out of Indigenous, European, and African plants, animals, styles and practices within the Grenadian historical landscape to create a variety of food dishes, many one-pot creations cooked on three-stone fires or the ubiquitous coalpot (Martin 2022). Over the years, these have gradually changed as new ingredients and styles are added to cater to evolving local tastes and experiences, thus creating the current Grenadian Creole cuisine. Today, many of these food dishes, having changed over time and still continue to change, remain popular and are promoted as Grenada's "traditional cuisine" available at restaurants and hotels, having come to define Grenadian cuisine, and more importantly Grenadian identity.

One food dish that probably reflects that process the most, or rather can be seen as a metaphor for it is Grenada's popular national dish *Oildown* (GTA 2021; Neuman 2016).[7] By the early 1970s *Oildown* was christened the island's national dish and thereafter celebrated (Kay 1971).[8] As Grenada was beginning to consider its almost impossible route to independence as a SIDS in the late 1960s and early 1970s under political leader Eric Gairy, national symbols began to emerge and promoted across the country and region (Benoit 2020; UWI 1974). Grenada was beginning to be recognized for its traditional cuisine in travel magazines as it was promoted as an emerging tourist destination, but little was recorded of this cuisine, however.[9] Popular local food dishes included *Rice and Peas*, *Fish-Broff* (broth),

[7] It's interesting to note that *Oildown* as we know it was not a common food dish across Grenada before the 1970s. It appears that it was popular in the northeast, particularly eastern St. Patrick, and eaten in several parts of the island. Around 1970 it was chosen and promoted as the national dish when the tourism industry in Grenada was expanding, and also when Grenada was about to achieve political independence from the UK.

[8] Though *Oildown* is recognized as Grenada's national dish by the Grenada Tourism Authority and across the Government of Grenada, the designation is not official as it has never been gazetted in the official *Grenada Government Gazette*.

[9] In 2021 Grenada was certified a "Culinary Capital" by the World Food Travel Association in its inaugural program to help market destinations to renew tourism following the Covid pandemic.

Cou-Cou and Fish, Crab and Calalu, and even *Fish and Oil*, but *Oildown* was not on the national menu, suddenly usurping that role from its rural origins. If any dish deserved that appellation, it probably was the popular *Rice and Peas* and *Stew(ed)-Chicken* that were eaten across the islands, especially on Sundays.

At present, *Oildown* lacks historical antecedent except that it was once known as "steam down" and probably dates to the mid to late 1800s when it was simply a tasty way to cook the recently accepted breadfruit and other vegetables.[10] The dish developed in the countryside, particularly in the northeast of Grenada–northern St. Andrew and eastern St. Patrick where it was one of several foods made by residents in the surrounding communities.[11] Over the years it has changed, but like *Cook-up* and several other popular dishes, it is a one-pot that combined an array of (historical) ground provisions, especially breadfruit, and meats in a unique mix of local spices particularly turmeric (confusedly called saffron in Grenada), coconut milk and dasheen leaves (*Calalu*) to create an appetizing and visually appealing colorful dish. Eric Gairy and his government were responsible for promoting it as a national dish as he was aware of its origins among the rural peasantry from whom he derived his most ardent support. Like its diverse ingredients and style, *Oildown* gradually brought Grenadians together around the idea of a national dish that could be celebrated as one-hundred percent Grenadian despite its obscure origin and tourism promotion.[12]

Though only a few crops and fruits are readily attributed to Indigenous derivation like cassava, sweet potato, corn and papaya, there were many contributions, including an array of plants like peppers and pumpkin, meats from local animals like the agouti, *tatu* and *manicou*,

[10] The introduction of the breadfruit to the Eastern Caribbean has been much celebrated when it was brought to the St. Vincent Botanical Gardens in 1793 by the infamous Captain Bligh aboard the *HMS Providence* as a staple food to feed the enslaved. It arrived in Grenada by the early 1800s, but the enslaved and later peasantry were slow to use it as was intended, preferring instead to continue with their ground provisions (see Martin 2022).

[11] "Steam down" was probably the initial process for cooking breadfruit which was introduced to Grenada when seedlings arrived from the St. Vincent Botanical Gardens under Dr. Anderson in the early 1800s, but did not become a popular food item until around the mid-1800s, and a common food dish by the late 1800s and early 1900s. A quite similar dish is popular in Trinidad and may have derived from a Grenadian introduction, possibly as early as the late 1800s. It is interesting to note that the northern part of the island has been identified as a dynamic cultural region because of the settlement of indentured Africans in the mid to late 1800s. See also Franklyn (2007).

[12] Some form of Grenada *Oildown* was probably taken to Trinidad and Tobago by Grenadians moving there, sometime in the late 1800s/early 1900s where it was recorded in 1907 in a recipe for "Oiled Down" in a local cookbook. There are subtle differences in the recipes from Trinidad, however, and some would add that even the preparations distinguish them from each other. Trinidad *Oildown* lacks provisions, sometimes dumplings, and the all-important turmeric that gives it its distinct color and flavor; they use annatto/*rocou* for coloring. It is also likened to *Metamgee* in Guyana because ground provisions are cooked in coconut milk, and *Run-Down* in Jamaica because fish/seafood is cooked in coconut milk and often served with boiled provisions and dumplings (Jamaican "food").

and seafoods like *lambi*/conch, crabs, *brigo*/whelks and fin fishes (see Pagán-Jiménez and Mickleburgh 2022). Not only were the methods to procure these foods Indigenous, but so too were their preparations for and even cooking methods. With her mortar and pestle, some West African crops and cooking practices, enslaved Africans (re)created from memories foods influenced by their own traditions, but using local ingredients and/or some of their own imports that were already established in their provision gardens (Pulsipher 1990). Adding European and Asian spices, North Atlantic salted cod or saltfish, European salted meats and cooking utensils, completing the initial triumvirate that would form the basis of Grenada's culinary fare for centuries. Indian and other culinary traditions were subsequently added, with significant regional influences. But Grenada's Creole cuisine was forged when these one-pot dishes, popular in the rural areas among the peasantry and working class as a matter of expediency and affordability, mixed with the food dishes of the poor urban dwellers and middle class who had more blended dishes of European-derived flavors, etc., thus creating Grenada's ever evolving Creole cuisine (Martin 2022). Though *Oildown*, Roti, *Doubles*, various soups and broths are very popular, a typical Sunday meal for many Grenadians today, especially in the urban areas, is illustrative of this celebrated Grenadian Creole cuisine: macaroni and/or (Irish/white) potato pie, white rice, or rice and (pigeon) peas, boiled ground provisions as "side dishes" like yams, sweet potato, green *fig*/banana, dasheen, plantain, and/or eddoes, fried plantains, stew chicken/goat or boiled/fried fish, pumpkin or *Calalu*, stewed peas, and cold slaw and/or green salad.[13] This can be had with sorrel, ginger beer, *seamoss* or lime/passion-fruit/golden-apple juice, and cake, sweet-potato pudding/pone, buns/coconut drops or local ice cream like soursop for dessert. It is a potpourri of diverse tastes and flavors from across the historical cultural landscape that identifies Grenadian cuisine as Creole, as uniquely Grenadian, but oftentimes as Caribbean.

Grenadians today speak Grenadian Standard English (GSE) and English Creole as their only forms of communication, and most do so interchangeably and effortlessly, despite a nostalgia for an earlier French Creole/*Patwa*, and still earlier lost African tongues (Allsopp 1996; Holbrook 2005; Joseph 2021). English Creole is, however, a 20th century creation as the lingua franca of Grenada was *Patwa* and spoken by the majority of Grenadians until the last decades of the 1800s when it began its demise by the early 1900s, but not before loaning much of its vocabulary and sometimes structure to its replacement English Creole (Collins

[13] *Oildown* is enjoyed across the island on Fridays, while soups like pigeon-pea and calalu soup are usually reserved for Saturdays. A Sunday breakfast, often described as West Indian, can be extensive as it incorporates a mix of traditional and modern fare.

1998; Holbrook 2005; Joseph 2021). By 1887, Hearn (1890:91) observed that "In the mixed English and Creole speech of the black population one can discern evidence of a linguistic transition. The original French patois is being rapidly forgotten or transformed irrecognizably (sic)." Though GSE is taught in schools across the islands and maintained in government administration and businesses, especially in urban areas, English Creole dominates in most environments. A simple stroll through the bustling urban center of St. George's takes you on a roller-coaster ride through the island's Creole language landscape. At a brief stop in the central Market Square you will hear a cacophony of voices, echoes or flavors of Grenada's various vocal renditions. You are more apt to hear a strongly accented "Patois-ified" English Creole in the Market Square, but if you listen carefully you will discern the elements of GSE that is more prevalent as you travel from the Square to surrounding government offices or businesses like commercial banks, and then the schools on the hill above as the latter institutions reinforce the official language. The dominance of English Creole in places like the Market Square or rural areas across Grenada is a direct influence of *Patwa* as both were used parallelly, with the latter being replaced by the former in due course, but leaving its trace of its deep past embedded within (Holbrook 2005).

Grenada's language history has thus created a bilingualism, though the transition for some is not always easy (Collins 1998; Kephart 1992, 2000). Some, like Kephart (1983), contend that "although English always has been assumed to be the native language of the population... this is in fact not the case. Failure to take this into account has been, and continues to be, a major obstacle to realistic education in the West Indies." Proponents of the dual language scenario suggest that GSE be taught as a second language to better provide realistic and efficient educational instruction to the majority of the island's children who are more proficient in English Creole, their first language (Kephart 1992).

Despite its current widespread use, (Grenada's) English Creole is threatened by other seemingly attractive Creoles arriving in popular mediums from places like Jamaica and the US, but this can also be seen as the continuation of the process of creolization in small island spaces, constantly taking in new ideas and recreating itself each time. Thus, the widespread use of English Creole is the epitome of creolization of the Grenadian cultural landscape as it has incorporated words, phrases, styles, grammar, expressions and intonations from the Kali'nago, French, multiple West African languages and dialects, English and the languages and Creoles of the surrounding islands, countries and continents (Allsopp 1996; Chase and Chase 2011; Collins 1998; Francis 2016; Holbrook 2005; Kephart 2000; La Grenade-Lashley

2016). For now, Grenada's English Creole continues to be the gateway through which the voices of the Grenadian Creole cultural landscape can be heard and read, despite its continuous changes, or maybe, because of them.

The Grenada educational system is a direct product of the British colonial model that it derived from, dating to the late 1830s when the colonial government began promoting education in its former slave societies that had deliberately denied education to the majority of the population (Brizan 1998; Lewis et al. 2021). It was an educational system designed to provide the basics in reading, writing, arithmetic and ethics through religious-based instructions as it was widely held that more was not needed for the majority who would be laborers and agricultural workers (Brizan 1998). As it reflected the British model, it was based on rote learning, discipline or rather fear via corporal punishment, a top-down approach, and strict enforcement of uniforms and a prescribed sense of decency all within a Church-State system that exemplified acquiescence and obedience to succeed (Baldacchino 2018; Brizan 1998; Devas 1932, 1974; Lewis et al. 2021). Though there have been many attempts to indigenize and upgrade the educational system, particularly during the period of the Grenada Revolution, much remains to be done (see Hickling-Hudson 2006; Jules 1992; 2013). It has, however, experienced several important changes over the years that define it more as a creolized system, having taken from other countries in the region and North America where many teachers have been educated and continually interact professionally.

On any given Saturday, a visit to the markets in the towns across Grenada will reveal an array of "provisions" like sweet potato, yams, tannia, dasheen, plantain, breadfruit, *bluggoe* and *fig*; vegetables like tomato, cabbage, cucumber, pigeon peas, peppers, corn, okra and carrot; fruits like banana, mangoes, coconut, sorrel, soursop, watermelon, citrus and papaya; and spices like cinnamon, ginger and turmeric, depending on which are in season (Martin 2022). Mostly women, sitting under umbrellas to shade from the blistering sun, exhibit their produce on trays for sale. It is a rather lively affair as the open market takes on its own life with the constant chatter of voices and trading exchanges. So accustomed we have become to the current agricultural landscape that the history of the crops, of the practices of production, of the tools used, and even the market display are almost forgotten or taken for granted.[14] But all

[14] The artifacts of the agricultural landscape are but few, with the (short-handle) hoe the primary tool used during slavery and derived from West African origins; the traditional digging stick has been replaced by the garden fork. An improved version (i.e. long handle) of the hoe is still used in farming today. The *kata* (<Congo *nkata*: "a pad for the shoulder or head," <Twi *nkata*: "a covering"), a pad made of dry banana leaves but more often of cloth for the head when carrying heavy loads, is still used as such, but also incorporated into the attire

of these provisions, vegetables and fruits are grown primarily by small farmers in their provision and home gardens across the island in plots of land around their homes in the valleys or on hillsides much as they were grown by their fathers, grandmothers, and great grandfathers (Brierley 1974, 1984, 1991; Kopka 2013; Pulsipher 1990). It is a practice that has been handed down for generations, as each family strove to be self-sufficient in food production as a matter of necessity, with the surplus going to weekly markets for sale. For many poor families, the weekly sales are necessary in order to procure additional foods, especially meats.

The provision garden is at the heart of Grenadian society, especially in rural communities where, based on oral tradition, some of these mountain lands that were provided by plantations to the enslaved have remained in families even though many lack deeds to these continuously farmed areas for generations (Mills 2002, 2007; Olwig 199; Pulsipher 1990; Williams 2003). It is at the root of survival, the beginning of self-sufficiency, the production from which the peasantry grew and survived. It is a direct descendant of the "slave gardens" or "provision grounds" that developed under the British from the earlier French plantation gardens that were required by law to ensure the availability of food for the enslaved who occasionally experienced severe food shortages and regular nutritional deficiencies (Brierley 1991; Sheridan 1985). Many of the crops produced in provision gardens today are not different from those grown in "slave gardens" hundreds of years ago, though several minor ones have disappeared altogether (Berleant-Schiller and Pulsipher 1986; Brierley 1985). As Bayley (1833:422) illustrates, "In his provision ground he [the enslaved] plants Guinea grass [to sell as animal feed], Indian corn, yams, taniers, okros, peppers, etc. He also procures fruit, growing in his own garden, or in other parts on or in the neighborhood of the estate." The diversity of plants grown in the provision gardens provides a history lesson on so many aspects of the slave trade, slavery and plantation society. The enslaved grew an assortment of African crops that s/he was quite familiar with from West Africa that were brought to the Caribbean and Grenada. These included plants like yam, dasheen, banana, plantain, watermelon, okra, sesame, sorrel, and kola nut (Carney 2009; Martin 2022; Pulishper 1990; Watts 1987). Even the Caribbean crops that dominated the gardens like cassava, sweet potato and corn were familiar to most West Africans because these were quite common and incorporated into African agriculture and diets since their introductions by Europeans

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of the Shakespeare masquerade of Carriacou where it supports the crown (Martin 2022). The ubiquitous Saturday market displays are reminiscent of any West African market scene then and now.

beginning in the 16th century (Carney 2009). Today, provision gardens litter the Grenadian landscape, a legacy of the vital role they played in the lives of the enslaved and the importance they held as a cultural space that has been handed down through the generations, providing a sense of pride in producing one's own food, a security that is threatened today because less and less are being produced in these gardens as the cultural landscape continues to change (Kopka 2013).

Names–of people, places and things–are very important in forging and maintaining personal and social identity, and the process in a creolized landscape like Grenada's is illustrative. Captive Africans were not allowed to keep their personal names as part of the process of deculturation even though several African names survived slavery (Martin 2020, 2022).[15] The majority of the enslaved were given either French, English or Scottish-derived first (and only) names as a way to sever their African identity and connections, hence the reference to current family names of their descendants as "slave names" made popular by activists like Malcolm X in rejecting his European-derived surname of Little or more the absence of his African name. Today, the majority of Grenadians bear these names as personal and family names, with some feeling a sense of loss as their desire to know their "stolen" African names, and thus African identities, as specific names connected to geographic spaces and nations. Though many believe that their family name is that of a slave owner or other whites, many family names in Grenada are in fact not directly derived from white slave owners' names (Martin 2020). There is little on slave names and naming practices, which makes it rather difficult to trace ancestry beyond the limited official records like the Civil List that began in 1866 for most Grenadians or limited earlier baptismal records. But it is clear from a review of Grenadian surnames that a majority are derived from French and English names (Forebears 2014). Many of these surnames, however, are mostly French and English male first names that were converted to surnames when the ex-enslaved needed to create family names in the post-Emancipation period (Martin 2020). Despite the common belief that most surnames today are derived from white plantation/slave owners and managers, it is quite evident that many ex-enslaved used their given (and only) names to create their family names, a practice supported by the few surviving African male first names now used exclusively as surnames (i.e., Ackee, Cudjoe, Cuffy, Quamina and Quashie); though there were several African female first names used among the enslaved, none survived as family names as might be

[15] Day names of the Asanti were the most commonly used African names among enslaved people and these were passed on to Creole enslaved born in Grenada, ensuring their survival. The use of these few African names for Creole enslaved also possibly illustrate the naming of enslaved by their parents, grandparents or godparents.

expected.[16] Slave owners/managers/overseers' last names held by Grenadians as family names most likely imply a blood connection.

Like personal and family names, the Grenadian landscape was named by the French, English and Scots as they exercised the authority to name the landscape due to their political power dominance and desire to recreate or familiarize this Indigenous landscape to their own back home (Hutchinson 2021). The enslaved and their descendants, however, were responsible for maintaining these names, and at times insisting that a certain name remains even when officially removed as in the case of Gouyave in St. John and Labay in St. Andrew. The majority of street and place names have been rendered by the French and British and thus reflect European themes, but nonetheless capture a mix of both colonizers, hence the recent call for changes to these colonial monuments to more reflect current Grenadian society (Straker 2021; see also Wesche 1961). It should be noted that when the British captured the island they replaced many of the French street names with their own, just as the French had replaced the Kali'nago names with their own.

A short walk up Lucas Street in St. George's to the new Houses of Parliament building on one of the few openings of Parliament provides a scene almost out of the history books or a display in the survival of British colonialism, heritage or legacy.[17] The panoply is directly out of the colonial playbook as the pomp and ceremony are reminiscent of scenes across the former British Empire. The dress, colors and artifacts reinforce symbols of the British Parliamentary model transferred to Grenada during colonialism and adopted almost fully attired after Grenadian Independence. At the opening of the new Parliament the display, including the arrival of the governor general (as the representative of the British Monarch), the inspection of the Royal Grenada Police Force, and the procession of the Maces into the chamber harken back centuries. Though there have been changes over the last five decades, these have been few, superficial and gradual, like the abandonment of the wearing of the white wigs by several officials, including the Speaker of the House of Representatives and

[16] The view that current family names are inherited from slave owners is primarily derived from the North American custom where it was common to give enslaved names based on their owners' names. Slave naming practices in the Caribbean were quite diverse and dependent on local conditions, varying even within a single colonial realm as is evident in the former British Caribbean.

[17] Lucas Street is after William Lucas (*d*1785), prominent resident, plantation owner and legislator who owned the general area along much of the street that was purchased by the colonial government to extend the town and create the residence of the governor at Government House.

President of the Senate, but the reigning British monarch still sits incongruously as Grenada's ceremonial, but highest official of state (Figure 7.1).[18]

Figure 7.1: Procession of the Maces into the new Houses of Parliament, with various officials wearing white wigs, since discontinued, 2018 (courtesy Government of Grenada)

Grenada's entire Parliamentary democracy is modeled on that of the Westminster system, inherited upon its independence via its constitution granted in 1974 from the UK, but derived from its 1968 Statehood Constitution, with minor adjustments (Alexis 1991, 1997; Thorndike 1979; UWI 1974). Connected to its Parliamentary democracy is its electoral political structure, again a direct inheritance from the British model and in existence since 1951 with the advent of universal adult suffrage and the emergence of political parties (Grenade 2010, 2013). The deficiencies in its two-party system and first past the post model have resulted in unequal electoral representation, especially in the past few elections where one party garnered total control of the lower chamber of the Parliament, oftentimes with only narrow

[18] Though some question the continued relevance of the British monarch as Grenada's head of state, the idea of removing this colonial anachronism has never really gained much traction as it has in some of the other states in the region like Guyana (1970), Trinidad (1976), Dominica (1978), and Barbados (2021) which chose to relinquish this status to become Parliamentary republics. The fanfair over Barbados' decision and the call for reparative justice and apology for slavery have reignited the discourse and may promote the idea in a new light (Yang 2022).

majorities (Grenade 2013).[19] Multiple attempts to change the Grenada constitution have met with disapproval, particularly the failure of two referenda in 2016 and 2018, leaving the issue of constitutional reform undone (Grenade 2018, 2020).

Continuing through the capital St. George's from Lucas Street to the Financial Complex on the Carenage or the government complex on the grounds of the former Botanical Gardens at Tanteen (since 2017 the Sir Eric Matthew Gairy Botanical Gardens), will reveal more of the British influences. Here, the everyday functions of the government bureaucracy are on full display, modeled on that of the colonial administration inherited from the British, much of it functioning as it did before Independence, except now incompatibly computerized. There have been superficial changes due more to new technologies grafted onto antiquated and inefficient administrative and hierarchical systems. Its civil service, again, little removed from its colonial counterpart, has seen little substantial changes in the past half century, burdened with antiquated inefficiencies and a lack of desire for change.

Like its political system, the judiciary and policing structures were also inherited from the British colonial model, not much altered since. As you walk across the city you will see black robed lawyers or rather barristers walk from their offices on Church and Lucas Streets to the various courts scattered across the town, following the destruction of the main court building by Hurricane Ivan in 2004. Its judicial system, with the Privy Council in the UK as its final court of appeal, despite a Caribbean Court of Justice, is based on English Common Law.[20] These various institutions are presided over by the Royal Grenada Police Force still occupying the bastion of French and British colonialism on the island, Fort George.[21]

The Grenada Creole landscape of today is not the Creole landscape of my parents, nor that of my grandparents, nor of my great grandparents as it has continuously changed across time. Though each generation often bemoans the disappearance of various elements of its culture not being passed on to the next generation, it is a part of the process embedded in creolization, a process that instigates change across cultures, across the world. Our cultural landscape constantly changes as we travel from one generation to the next, leaving behind things that are no longer needed for the next phase of the journey. Technology makes some

[19] A similar situation has emerged in Barbados where one party won all seats in Parliament in two consecutive elections in 2018 and 2021.
[20] Grenadians voted on two occasions (2016 and 2018) to reject constitutional changes that would have replaced the final appeal to the Privy Council with that of the Caribbean Court of Justice, among others.
[21] A World Bank project will make Fort George solely a visitor attraction with the removal of the RGPF Headquarters though a new site for the RGPF has not been identified to date, but expected to happen by December 2023.

cultural elements irrelevant, as education and knowledge allow us to discard old and unusable parts, as social advancement makes anachronistic practices and beliefs outdated, and as new ideas and practices, not necessarily advantageous, continually wash onto our island shores from other islands, other peoples, other countries, and other continents.

The idea of Caribbean creolization as hybridity of its diverse peoples has been extolled by Caribbean intellectuals, academics, artists and many others as captured in the words of Barnabé et al. (1990:75) who insist that we are "Neither Europeans, nor Africans, nor Asians, we proclaim ourselves Creoles." Carnival artist Peter Minshall beautifully sums up his culturally layered Trinidadian society and its cultural hybridity (Minshall 2019) thus:

> *I am not a European / I am not an African / I am not an Indian*
> *I am not a Chinese or a Syrian / I am not Amerindian*
> *I am not American / North or south*
> *I am none of these / I am all of these*
> *I am a rare hybrid / I am a richly textured, multi-layered creature*
> *Precious as a pearl / The world is my oyster*
> *I see the world clearly from my island vantage*
> *I do not harbor the vanities of a big city dweller*
> *or someone from a large, vast continent*
> *I am the tip of the spear that leads into the future*
> *I am a Caribbean….*

Despite the almost two millennia of Indigenous habitation from South America and the region that are still identifiable in artifacts and *memory-traces,* the Grenadian landscape is not Indigenous, nor Arawak, nor "Taino," nor Kali'nago, nor Kali'na. In spite of the forced integration of a century of French colonialism that is discernable in numerous ways across the Grenadian plantation and monumental landscape, it is not French, nor French Creole. Notwithstanding integrating almost two centuries of habitation of numerous and diverse peoples from western Africa, and embodying their and their descendants' resilience, and the continued presence of African *memory-traces*, it is not African, nor Yoruba, nor Ibo, nor Asante…. Despite imposing and merging two centuries of British colonialism into the modern Grenadian state apparatus, it is not British, nor English, nor Scottish. Even with the incorporation of thousands of indentured immigrants from British India, Malta and Madeira, with the noticeable presence of their *memory-traces* in the Grenadian landscape, it is not Indian, nor Maltese, nor Madeiran. Grenada is its own cultural landscape created by the processes of creolization over centuries of these diverse interactions–oftentimes under violent

and involuntary instigation, imitation and/or sheer survival–to create the Grenada Creole islandscape that is celebrated today, even as it continues to change, and constantly contested.

7.2 Contesting Roots and Origins Along the Journeys of the Ancestors

"In colonial times Grenadians found it socially advantageous to de-emphasize their cultural roots because those roots suggested connections with slavery. For the last two decades, the upsurge of the Black Power movement and other contemporary events have generated a search for those cultural roots. It is significant, however, that the members of these movements do not look for their roots in the land of their birth. For some Grenadians, as in colonial times, the 'center of the universe' is still elsewhere. In this instance, it is in Africa."

CCA (1991:34)

Grenada, like its Caribbean neighbors, experienced a traumatic history in the over 500 years since European invasion of the region, including genocide, slavery and colonialism. These have birthed a complicated settlement landscape, a convoluted and tortured history, a complex society, and contested cultural islandscapes. Thomas (2004:2), commenting on the French Caribbean but also applicable to Grenada, regards the European colonial domination of Martinique and Guadeloupe as resulting in the suffering of "deep alienation regarding their cultural identities," with "a conflicted sense of their own unique history and identity. This feeling of emptiness and rootlessness has given way to an impassioned and, at times, haunting search for origins." Brathwaite (1975) also identifies the Caribbean's "sense of rootlessness, of not belonging to the landscape; dissociation, in fact, of art from act of living," or "the absence of a sense of 'wholeness'" (Kamugisha 2019:78). This disassociation appears to stem from the continuous rejection by Europeans to access to the Creole landscape, resulting in a resentment of that landscape and a seeking to a mythological past that appear more welcoming (Benoit 2020). But as Kamugisha (2019:78) adds, "the issue of 'roots' and 'origins' as one of the primary means to affirm cultural identity" is complicated because of the region's complex history of genocide and African slavery.

Despised and rejected for their African ancestry and cultural memories (by European colonials and their descendants, including the mix-race elite), the descendants of enslaved Africans in Grenada, like across the African or Black Diaspora, have sought to reclaim and own their shunned 'blackness' by affirming its beauty and pride, along with symbolically

rejoining the severed links to Africa as the land of their "origins," of "mama Africa" (Césaire 2013; Garvey 2004; Thomas 2004). This attempt to forge a self-ascribed identity, an African identity from the broken pieces of Caribbean history and imposed European colonial identities was/is a sincere effort to create dignity from disparagement and degradation, celebration from amnesia, acceptance from rejection, and confidence from contempt. It is meant to create cultural empowerment for a dejected people. This rediscovered African identity, exemplified in Pan-Africanism and later Black Power (with the adoption of African names, wear, etc.), dominates the discourse from the beginning of the 20th century. It had sought to reconnect the rupture caused by the Atlantic Slave Trade and plantation slavery that severed the connections between African peoples and their descendants and their biological and cultural origins, and the feeling of rejection in these exiled islandscapes. This discourse would be expounded on by the Jamaican National Hero Marcus Garvey (2004) and others. Césaire (2013), under the banner of *Négritude*, saw it as the most viable agency "to give contemporary Caribbean society a tangible history and motherland," affording "the rediscovery of an African identity because of the degradation of black people in the Caribbean" (Thomas 2004). Césaire (2013) and others envisioned that *Négritude* would raise the consciousness of blacks, especially in the Caribbean, gaining much from their identity with the African homeland of their ancestors. Africa thus became the "roots" meant to ground disparate blacks in the Diaspora who had been searching for an identity and an ancestral home that had seemingly alluded them in the colonized lands of the Caribbean archipelago where many felt rejected, resented and abandoned.

Négritude, in connecting directly to the ancestral African homeland, appeared to reject the multiple journeys of the African diaspora and thus cultural assimilation within colonial cultural boundaries like the Caribbean, in favor of Africa as a single-root tree "which produces the blossoms that are the Caribbean islands" (Thomas 2004). Its quest for purity, despite its defense of it, remained one of the criticisms, while others questioned its romanticizing of long lost African origins. And as Zargarzadeh (2017:718) insists, "The quest for 'single roots' in and for the Caribbean is bound to fail." That many, specifically within the African Diaspora, have leveled strong criticisms against *Négritude* as an approach to creating cultural identity within the region has resulted in the creation of new approaches even as it has influenced them.

An illustration of the impact of the acceptance of an African identity is the rejection of multiple aspects of the Caribbean Creole identity. Some Grenadians regard the only language

that their speak, GSE and/or its derivative English Creole, as a foreign tongue, not their 'true' language because it derived from the language of the colonizer (i.e., the British) of their African ancestors who were kidnapped from western Africa and forced to relinquish their languages, and thus connections to African cultures and identities. This has led to an identity crisis for some who, in rejecting GSE, in turn reject Grenadian Creole culture and identity, opting instead for an imagined, reassembled African identity as a way of reclaiming African 'roots' and 'origins.' Oftentimes, African *memory-traces* are overemphasized or reimagined to enhance their connections to Africa and thus a desired identity. To many, it is not the issue of their being born, or not born in Africa that determines their African identity, but rather the origin of their ancestors (no matter how many generations ago, or the journey since), reinforcing the belief that Africa is reborn and alive in them because of their (displaced) African ancestry and heritage, readily evident in their 'blackness' that was often at the heart of their rejection. For these, descendants of enslaved Africans, Africa remains the 'roots' of their African cultural memories or identifiable traces around them, and an integral part of their identity, despite the loss of African languages, and thus connections to specific African nations, cultures and identities. This is illustrated by Iturriaga's (2022) comment:

> "How societies reckon with their past is *always* complicated. Collective memory does not reflect any 'objective representations' of history. Instead, it is a messy combination of the present moment's hierarchies, identities, and moral and emotional relationships to the past. Collective memory is like layers of sediment shaped by countless variables including emotions, power relations, culture, storytelling, and the passing of time."

This search for origins, particularly African origins (of their enslaved ancestors), oftentimes leads to the rejection of the multiple journeys that they and their immediate ancestors have taken in the last few centuries that created diverse current but contested cultural landscapes. These origins have been debated by Caribbean intellectuals, poets and academics in the past century, with most people left to create identities from the tortured landscape around them. In rejecting *Négritude's* Africa-centric focus, some like Wynter (1971), have privileged "experience and struggle rather than origins or cultural traces" (Kamugisha 2019:17). Echoing Brathwaite, again from the French Caribbean, Glissant (1981) proposed the idea of *Antillianté* that "looks to the Caribbean for their origins and specificity of French Caribbean identity," describing them "as not a simple derivation from Africa, but rather a complex creation" (Thomas 2013:[4]). And the centuries-long journeys incorporate the roots of Africa, Europe, the Americas and elsewhere, while the single roots of Africa do not incorporate the

complicated and long journeys since. Glissant (1981) thus employs the symbol of "rhizomic roots" to illustrate the chaotic nature or entanglements of Caribbean cultural interactions rather than the single-rooted tree of *Négritude* that derived directly or solely from Africa. Many Caribbean peoples describe their cultures as "*calalu* cultures," similar to the cuisine, illustrating its mixed-up quality, its Creole nature, but the idea of personal and national identity remains complicated and contested for most.

Thus, these two alternatives of "origins" have been at the forefront of how history, race and ancestry affect personal identity in Grenada (and the African Diaspora). The idea of African identity rooted solely in African cultural memories disregards or diminishes the multiple journeys of the millions of enslaved Africans and their descendants who established themselves in Grenada (and the Americas), thus (re)creating new "origins" as illustrated by the symbolism of burying of the *navel-strings* of newborns in these newly occupied lands. As recognized above, some like Wynter have privileged the journey over ancestral origins, though she described creolization as "fraudulent multiculturalism" (Kamugisha 2019:99). Nonetheless, these diasporic journeys can be recognized as essential to the process of creolization and thus constitute important components of identity. In fact, the journey is the foundation of Caribbean "roots" as illustrated by Glissant (2008) and others, with Glissant (1989:25) insisting that "We must return to the point from which we started–not a return to the longing for origins, to some immutable state of Being, but a return to the point of entanglement, from which we were forcefully turned away."

The Big Drum or African Nation Dance of Carriacou offers an interesting exploration of identity and belonging in a creolized space still exhibiting strong "Afro-Creole" or African *memory-traces*. In discussing the idea of belonging and identity in the sister island of Carriacou, Ashie-Nikoi (2007:131) conveys how the Big Drum, with its repertoire of songs and dances, is both reflective as it carries with it memories of past experiences, but also, through reenactment of rituals, one can come to know oneself. She continues, "By participating in the Big Drum, the populace learned not only of their historical past, but also who they were as a people individually and collectively." Many, through the beat of the Big Drum when called to the dance circle, could identify which "African nation" they belonged to or that of their parents, and thus "learned of one's self" (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:132; see Martin et al. 2016).

Others, however, were not able to join the circle per the specific beat of the drum, that exclusive calling to their ancestral belonging as they had lost that knowledge and connection like most other Grenadians, despite a few called to the "nation dance" that is still practiced in villages like Munich and La Poterie, St. Andrew and River Sallée, St. Patrick (Collins 2010). Pearse (Ashie-Nikoi 2007:132), adds that for those who "were uncertain of their nation they would use the Creole Juba dance to wet the ring," thus connecting to people around them, and creating relationships to the cultural landscape. Ashie-Nikoi (2007:132) continues, "In a sense, if their African origin was unknown or lost, some would open with what they knew with certainty that they also were – Creole. Although mostly considered a Creole dance, culture bearers Maud George and her sister insisted the Juba was a nation dance," a Carriacou Nation, a Creole Nation, a Grenada Nation (see Martin et al. 2016).[22]

[22] Juba is identified as a "Creole Dance," one of the three classifications within the Big Drum Dance: Nation, Creole, and Frivolous dances; it is also referred to as a secular dance. (see also Marshall 1983)