

WOMEN SLAVES AND REBELS IN GRENADA

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Profit as the primary goal of production played a decisive role in the large-scale deportation of Africans to the Caribbean and their subordination as slaves.¹ British plantation slavery was first established in Barbados in the Caribbean Islands from 1640–50. It was integrally connected with the needs of the early phase of British capitalism (primitive accumulation), defined as an early mode of capitalist labour control (Wallerstein 1979). The beginning of proletarianisation in Great Britain and the establishment of plantation slavery are two different moments of the same historical process, i.e. the development of new lucrative possibilities of capital accumulation. The phase of primitive accumulation (as the phase of transition from feudalism to capitalism) in Great Britain was mainly characterised by the deprivation for producers of their means of production (MEW 23:741–792). The use of violence was an efficient economic method of ensuring profit; it was also a method applicable beyond national borders.

The attacks of the European on the Caribbean Islands ended in most cases in the physical extermination of the Indians.² The primary value of most of the islands was in the land itself. Profit production on a small scale with tobacco was then realised by exporting British male labourers (indentured servants), sometimes by means of force.³

The expansion of profit production through sugar cane required not only a greater investment of capital and additional means of production (e.g. sugar mill), but also a huge amount of labour. Around 1774 the

¹From 1651 to the abolition of the British slave trade in 1808 approximately 1.9 million Africans were deported to the British, and 1.65 million to the French possessions in the Caribbean. West Africa especially was affected very heavily. In the late 18th century, the East African Coast and the Congo were also transformed into suppliers of slaves. At that time the proportion of imported female slaves also increased. 10% were enslaved children (KLEIN 1978:238–44; AUGIER et al 1982:67; PATTERSON 1967:125–9).

²In Grenada or Camerhogues, as it was called at the time by the indigenous population, the four year resistance struggle of the Indians ended in 1654 in their collective suicide to escape colonisation.

³Special Trade Companies in Great Britain and in France also organised the transportation of poor women, mainly as houseworkers and bedfellows (PARES 1960:16; WILLIAMS 1970: 98f).

capital investment for a sugar plantation in Grenada was approximately three times as high as a comparable agricultural undertaking in Great Britain (Anonymous 1774:25). The factors influencing the importing of African slaves were economic calculations, but not economic pressures: it was cheaper to buy a slave than to buy the labour power of a British wage worker for several years (Williams 1981:19). Plantation slavery was ideologically justified by the assumption at that time of the inferiority of people of another culture and skin color. Edward Long, a British plantation owner in Jamaica, wrote in 1774:

In general, they [i.e. the slaves] are void of genius, and seem almost incapable of making any progress in civility. [...] They have no plan or system of morality among them [...] it being a common known proverb, that all people on the globe have some good as well as ill qualities, except the Africans. [...] That the orang-outang and some races of black men are very nearly allied, is, I think, more than probable. (Long 1774; 1970:353, 365).

Racism functioned as an ideology justifying brutality and it was legally institutionalized in the form of plantation-slavery.

In conformity with their economic value, the West Indies were regarded as the 'jewel' in England's Crown in the 18th century (Williams 1970:152). Around 1776 the tiny island of Grenada (311 *km*²) was, following Jamaica, Great Britain's most valuable possession.

Grenada [...] exports more produce to Great Britain and Ireland and consumes within itself more British and Irish commodities, than any of our West Indian Islands, Jamaica alone excepted. (Gov. Macartney to Lord Germain, Grenada 20th June 1776/CO 101/20/1776-7).

The aim of investing an extensive amount of capital for sugar production, the mercantile product par excellence, was to receive profits as large as possible within a span of time as short as possible. The profits were realisable only in Great Britain, where they could be enlarged by further investment, e.g. in the new industries. Through their working-power and their commercialization, the slaves were forced to aid the development of the beginning of industrial society in Great Britain.⁴

In Grenada, each slave produced an average of 8.70 cwt. sugar between 1818 and 1824. In Trinidad and St. Vincent the rates of the slaves' work was even higher with 11.80 and 10.40 cwt., respectively (Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter 1827-29/2:11).

⁴Eric Williams' assumption that the profits coming out of the West Indies were one of the main sources to financing for the industrial revolution needs further examination and is relatively broadly discussed (e.g. WIRZ 1984).

The commodity 'slave'

In the same way as the land, the sugar mill and other plantation essentials, slaves could be bought and sold at the market. Like all other commodities they were placed under the discretion of their owners. Consequently, "the cutting off of an ear was not considered as maiming at common law" (Attorney General, Grenada 1825, in: Sessional Papers, Vol.15, 1825:309). The limit of arbitrariness in maintaining their slaves was set by the interest of the slave owners, as the slaves represented capital investment.

Regarding the exchange value of the slaves — i.e. the sum of the value they personified for their owners — it was generally higher than that of other the means of production. In Grenada slaves represented not only the most important but also the largest part of the total capital investment; "no person would give anything for land without Negroes" (Excerpt from a letter from Grenada, dated 21st March 1797, CO 101/8/1747–1812/196). In 1812, a value of 1,793,165 pounds Sterling was assigned to the slaves, compared to one million pounds Sterling for the cultivated land (cf. Table 3).

Until the beginning of the parliamentary debate on the abolition of the slave trade around 1788 which was stimulated by the movement of the abolitionists, female slaves were imported in smaller numbers than male slaves. They were ususally one third of the total number of slaves and were also bought for a lower price:

Putting Tradesmen and Drivers out of the Question, and speaking only of able, healthy, young Field Slaves, the average Value of a Creol Man of that description, may be stated at present in Grenada at sixty Pounds Sterling, and that of a Creol woman at fifty five Pounds Sterling. (Answers to Questions submitted to the Agents for West Indian Affairs, Grenada 28th May 1788, CO 101/29/1788).

The slaves were legally established as a part of the inheritable, mortgagable and executable private property. In the case of the death of their husbands, white women also could 'enjoy' the legal ownership of slaves. "An act to make slaves, cattle, horses, mules, asses, coppers, stills and plantation utensiles, real estate of inheritance and declaring widows dowable of them, as the lands and tenements." (Grenada 2nd May 1767, CO 103/1/1767). In Grenada, white women numbered between approximately 20% and 27% of the white population (see Table 1). There is no reason to believe that their relationships to the female and male slaves were more humane or less racist than those of their husbands, fathers and sons. The main difference to their male counterparts was that they apparently did not have sexual affairs with slaves; this is probably due

mainly to the ideology surrounding British womanhood, with all its sexist and racist implications.

The specific use value of the slaves was their working power, which made it possible to run other and different means of production, such as the sugar mill. Beyond that they could also be used as an alternative to various working instruments such as the plough, which had otherwise to be imported expensively. The cane fields and all other parts of the plantation were practically worthless without the corresponding slave labour. This specific use value of the slaves, as substantiated through their working power, demonstrated their status as human beings to their masters and mistresses, a status which is denied in their exchange value. Herein also lies their potential ability to oppose the plantation regime.

The slaves' conditions of survival

The life span of the slaves was limited, just as in the case with heavily used machines. The costs for their maintenance were capital investments and were, therefore, dependent on considerations of profitability. In Grenada the mortality rates of the slaves were, during the entire period of slavery, higher than their birth rates. Even in the 19th century, between 1818 and 1831, it was recorded that 9,693 slave-children were born and 11,862 slaves died (Slave Registration 1833:2f.).

Around 1788, the yearly costs for a slave were four pounds sterling. This included saltfish, flour and clothes, mainly traded for rum from the Colonies in North America. In 1825, the slaves in Grenada were formally allowed by law to work on provision grounds—grounds 28 days a year (earlier: 18 days). Craton (1982:50) assumes that the provision-grounds were assigned to the male slaves, but they were worked by both sexes.

Because of the short life span of the slaves, as well as the interruption of their affiliation to the plantation by sale or by mortgaging, their chances of developing relationships based on kin were very small. Therefore, the slaves established a system of 'sponsorship' to assist each other. It included incest taboos between god-children who had the same god-parents. The slaves' memories of Africa also influenced the structure of these social survival networks.

The 'discovery' of the uterus' value of the female slaves

Until the beginning of the parliamentary debate in Great Britain in 1788 on abolishing the slave trade, it was regarded as more profitable by slave owners and their representatives in Grenada and other island to replace slaves by importing slaves already able to work rather than to raise slave

children. The survival chances of slave children were, therefore, extremely small. The rearing of slave children contradicted the short-term expectations of profits.

Interrogation of Mr. John Terry, plantation manager in Grenada between 1776 and 1790:

Question: While you were a manager, did you ever receive directions to pay any very particular attention to pregnant women and their children?

Answer: No, never.

Question: Have you ever heard other managers express any opinion respecting the pregnancy of women, or the rearing of children?

Answer: Yes; their opinion was, that it would be cheaper to buy slaves from Africa than to breed children.

Question: Did you ever hear them say anything about young children?

Answer: Sucking children I have; they have said, that they had rather they would die; for they lost a great deal of the mother's work during the infancy of the child.

Question: What, as far as you understood on the spot, was the greatest recommendation of a manager?

Answer: That he made the most sugar.

(Sessional Papers, Vol.82, 1791 & 92:83).

According to the calculations of the slave owners, pregnancy, delivery and the rearing of a child meant an economic loss, as it meant a disruption of the mother's labour in the cane fields. The first 12 years of a slave child were regarded as expenses which began to be recovered only after this period of time. In Jamaica they estimated a cost of 112 pounds sterling for rearing a child. This sum included the loss of the mother's work caused by pregnancy and delivery, as well as insurance costs to cover the risk of the death of the child before it reached the age of twelve (Hall 1962:307). Slave owner Edward Long in 1774:

I will not deny that those Negroes breed the best, whose labour is least, or easiest. Thus the domestic Negroes have more children, in proportion, than those on penns; and the latter, than those who are employed on sugar plantations. If the number of hogsheads, annually made from any estate exceeds, or even equals, the whole aggregate of Negroes employed upon it, but few children will be brought up on such estate, whatever number may be born; for the mothers will not have sufficient time to take due care of them. [...] But where the proportion of the annual produce is about half a

hogshead for every Negroe, there they will [...] increase very rapidly. (Vol. 2, 1774; 1970:437).

With the end of the slave trade in sight, the use value of the female slaves received new and additional importance because of their ability to produce replacements for dead slaves, in addition to their ability to work in the fields in the same way as the male slaves. The specific female potential to bear children, defined before 1788 as unprofitable, turned the female body into an additionally profitable 'field of appropriation', usable by the slave owners. Primitive accumulation was, therefore, not only confined in the application of violence beyond national borders but extended in a very specific way to the female slaves' bodies as costless 'territory'.⁵

The claim of the slave owner to the prospective slave began at the time when the ovum in the uterus of the female slaves started to develop. From 1788 onwards, special laws were enacted in Grenada "to promote the Natural Increase of the Slave Population." Female slaves who had borne more than six living children were freed from work in the field (CO 101/29/1788). The child-bearing of the female slaves was termed breeding. Chief Justice Sanderson:

The proprietors of estates have not considered the women in any better light than they did their cows. The managers took care of their breeding women as they did for their breeding cows, and she who made the most children was the most valuable subject (Grenada 1834, CO 101/78/1834).

The owners' right of disposal also included the sexual use of their bodies. Rape was a special and institutionalised method of humiliating women and giving them the status of defenceless objects (Davis 1984:24). A Report from the Selected Committee on the State of West India Colonies stated:

It is very common for the Owners or Overseers of slaves to keep [...] slaves in a State of Concubinage on their respective Properties; and, generally speaking, they are not limited in number. [...] The System of Slavery invests the Proprietors or Overseer with an unlimited Power over his Slaves, I will now say his Female Slaves [...] When the Overseers and Bookkeepers visit each other at their convenial Parties, it is

⁵MEILLASSOUX 1976, in his criticism on Marx sees primitive accumulation as a continued process of 'costless converting of values' which is imminent within the capitalist mode of production (p.123). "Women's first and last 'means of production' is their own body" (MIES 1986:170). Specific violence against women is therefore rightly characterized by Mies as an element of the ongoing primitive accumulation. But it is important to see its racist implications.

not unusual for the Female Slaves to be collected and shown, that each may choose a Companion for the Night. (Imperial Blue Books 1832:497, 516).

Rape was ideologically justified by the postulate of the 'black sex-obsessed savage' (Hooks 1983:24). Rape between slaves was punished by death, like murder, because it was considered wantonly 'using or destroying' other people's property (The King versus John Philip Indicted for a Rape on the person of Christian: CO 101/78/1834).

The 'adventures' of the white phallus were expressions of patriarchal wantonness on the basis of their social power. Racism in the context of plantation slavery was neither a gender neutral ideology nor a gender neutral institution.

The Female Slaves and the Organisation of Work on the Plantation

After 1808 the female slaves composed the majority of the field-gang, not only in Grenada but in many other islands (see Table 2). They were usable in a fourfold manner:

1. as saleable commodities (multifunctional private property)
2. as workers
3. as producers of new slaves. They were also solely responsible for the maintenance of the children, who could be sold at any time to another plantation or another island until 1825.
4. as sex objects.

Within the combined working (agricultural and so-called industrial) process, the female slaves were expected to work with the same intensity as the male slaves.⁶

The working process was organised on a low technical level; only a small minority of specialised slaves was needed. Their skills, such as those of a boiler for example, depended mainly on practical experience, which all slaves were able to achieve insofar as they survived a certain time on the plantation. Therefore, access to privileged work was also dependent on signs of loyalty vis-à-vis their white owners and handymen, who organised the working process; also on the principle of 'divide and rule'. The few specialised jobs on the plantation were available only for male slaves, as this corresponded with British ideology, which denied women special abilities beyond the kitchen. House-slaves were to a large extent

⁶According to their physical capacity for work, the slaves were grouped into three gangs (EDWARDS, vol. ii, 1801:156 ff.).

female, but here, too, they were supervised by male slaves such as the butler. This means that access to a more privileged position, such as being freed from working in the sugar-cane fields, or a better means of provision, were available for female slaves not on terms of special skills in connection with the working process but rather the sexual disposal of their body.

The rebellious female property

The whip as economic means of motivating the slaves was not sufficient to control the mass of slaves, as opposed to the small minority of their owners and their handymen. The reckless use of violence, especially on slaves showing signs of resistance, aimed to produce an 'easily handled commodity'. It started on the slave-ship and was known as the 'breaking-in process'⁷; it meant the continuous attempt to make the slaves realise their status as an object of a 'natural' peculiarity by destroying their human (specifically African) dignity and identity. Regarding the female slaves, it also included violent control over their ability to bear children and over their sexuality.

Resistance is as much a characteristic of the history of the slaves as is their exploitation. Resistance within the system of plantation slavery cannot only be expressed in terms of the number of rebellions; the term resistance also has to include all attempts of the slaves to free themselves from the status of a commodity. Of special significance, apart from rebellions, was the development of the slaves' underground culture, with its African background (Kossek 1986:308-13). They created for themselves a means of identity as well as means of communication. Special laws prohibited, under the threat of severe punishment, not only gatherings of slaves outside of their masters' control but also "to beat any drum or drums, or empty Casks, or Boxes or great Gourds, or to blow Horns, Shell, or loud Instruments" (An Act for the better Government of Slaves, Grenada 1767, CO 103/1/1767). Furthermore, the development of distinct relationships by the slaves in the slave quarters has to be understood as part of their resistance to being reduced to commodities. The conditions for rebellion were extremely restricted. The most well-known rebellion of the slaves in Grenada lasted almost two years; its suppression succeeded in 1796, with the help of more than 6000 British soldiers. The slave owners' economic loss amounted to 2.5 million pounds sterling (see Table 4). The rebellion was an important factor contribut-

⁷BRIZAN 1984:84; the process, as well as different forms of the slaves' resistance, is very well described in MARTIN 1985.

ing to Grenada's reduced profitability (Kossek 1986: 444-53). In the British West Indies, the rebellion of the Grenadian slaves was one of the heaviest attacks against the British claims of property (Craton 1982:183). Resistance was brutally answered with torture and murder of both men and women, in an attempt to prevent a repetition. After 1788 the death penalty for pregnant slaves was postponed to after the birth of the child.

The planters themselves have informed me that pregnant women have been frequently exposed to punishment; and that in such case a hole would be dug in the ground for the women's belly, for the purpose of preventing injury to the child. (Imperial Blue Books 1832:531).

Under the whip, as on the field, female and male slaves were equal.

The legal abolition of the whip in 1825, which was ordered by the British Government, caused the slave owners in Grenada to protest:

The females compose the most numerous and effective part of the field gangs of the estate; from the indulgencies already extended to them they have shown themselves to be the most turbulent description of the Slaves, and would become perfectly unmanageable if they knew that this description of correction was abolished by law. It is therefore absolutely necessary (for the present) that it should be held in terrorem over them [...] If suddenly prohibited it is impossible to say what might be the consequences. (President Paterson to Earl Bathurst, Grenada 12th November 1825, in: Slavery Papers 1825-31:62f).

The female slaves in Grenada took part in all forms of resistance, such as insurrections, running away from the plantations, joining maroon societies, arson, murder of the slave owner, individual and collective suicide and refusal to work. Furthermore, the female slaves also tried to oppose the specific form of exploitation as 'breeding cattle' and lust objects, through active resistance against rape, refusal to bear children, abortion, killing of new-born slave-babies, and taking a long time to suckle the children in order to withdraw from work (Imperial Blue Books 1832:274).⁸

The slaves also did not accept the British form of marriage, which the slave owners forced upon them at the beginning of the 19th century in order to promote their natural increase. In Grenada, there has been only one case of marriage between slaves, contracted in 1822. The refusal of the female slaves to put new slaves into the plantation world was an important contribution to lowering the 'slave stock' which, after 1808,

⁸For the case of Trinidad, cf. Rhoda REDDOCK (1985:130) who refers to a five-year 'child-bearing strike' of the female slaves.

could no longer be filled by slave imports from Africa. In spite of rewards for successful slave mothers, the slave owners did not succeed in getting a self-reproducing 'stock of slaves': during the whole period of Plantation slavery in Grenada, the death rates of the slaves exceeded their birth rates.

The British 'Present of Freedom' and its Consequences for the Ex-Slaves in Grenada

The legal abolition of plantation slavery by the British state in 1838 for all their colonies in the Caribbean did not provide any direct answer, either to the revolutionary demands of the slaves' rebellions to abolish the system, or to the active contributions of the female and male slaves to make the form of exploitation they were bound to as unprofitable as possible. Therefore, the so-called British present of freedom meant the slaves' contribution to transforming society remained invisible, as did their own meaning of freedom. The new societal freedom meant nothing more for the ex-slaves than to wait as potential wage workers for instructions 'from above'. The British slave owners were compensated for their slave-property as they were strongly opposed to the abolition of the system.

In the names of justice and equity, if these be not unmeaning terms, we call upon the nation at large, to make a fair, a full, and ample compensation for the losses we must sustain [...] If we are continually to be considered as aliens and outcasts [...] the tie by which we are bound to the Mother Country must be considered as virtually severed, and the duty of allegiance at an end. (Public Meeting of Planters, Merchants, & c., Grenada 1831, CO 101/71/1831).

In Grenada, the slave owners received 616,255 pound sterling in compensation for their loss of 23,638 slaves from the British Government (Burns 1965:629).

The former slaves became dependent subsistence producers and provided as such new and profitable sources of revenues to the (partly new) plantation owners. The access to land by the former slaves was further controlled by capital owners and their representatives. The advantages of the new system were at least twofold: on the one hand, the capital owners had a large army of potential wage workers at their disposal who were responsible for their own reproduction to a large extent; on the other hand, the plots of land were too small for independent peasant subsistence, so they had to compete against each other for the jobs offered, also lowering the wage level. In this regard the 'progress' of freeing the slaves consisted

mainly of tying the slaves in a controlled manner to means of production (subsistence) (Werlhof 1985:138). Establishing subsistence production by integrating it at the same time into the progressing capitalist mode of production was from then onwards the foundation of the further inclusion of the British Caribbean into the capitalist world system. During the phase of integration into the capitalist mode of production as slaves, they were forced to acquire survival strategies, which meant, above all, to work as efficiently as possible on the provision-grounds they had access to. These historically acquired abilities of the ex-slaves were, on the one hand, used as a profitable basis for making (wage)costs the responsibility of the producers; on the other hand, these abilities also were the basis for their continuous attempt to live and produce independently. The ownership of land, no matter how little, became a symbol of freedom. The continued predominance of the plantation system and their need for labour was further defended by force and violence, and stood in opposition to the attempts of the ex-slaves to develop an autonomous system of production apart from the plantations in the hilly interior of the island; their chances of succeeding were extremely small (Brizan 1984).

Female world market producers of today in Grenada

Today Grenada still does not consume what is produced there but it consumes what is not produced there. The dependence on imported food stuffs amounts to 40% of all imports. The days of sugar are over; the majority of descendents of slaves are now mainly planting and harvesting bananas, nutmeg and cocoa, still with their hands and the cutlass. The male workers are classified as bread-winners and earn higher wages than the female workers, who do the same job but are classified as additional earners (Mies 1986:118). The majority of women in Grenada are still solely responsible for their children; 45.8% of all households are female-headed. Half of all children live with their single mother and/or their mothers (CARICOM 1985).

In 1979, 50% of the active population were unemployed — 69% were unemployed women. Many of them were and are forced to offer sexual services in order to receive employment; 'sex for favor' means for many women a small financial help — often with the consequence of having another child. The women are forced, to a larger extent than men, to develop survival strategies. Many of them work within the so-called informal sector of the economy in order to earn a living for themselves and their children. An essential part of the female survival strategies is the development of female networks based on family and friendship ties, as well as on common economic activities.

In Grenada in 1973, the social conditions connected with a plantation economy led to the formation of the liberation movement, the "New Jewel Movement" (NJM). The NJM was formed mainly by intellectuals who had studied abroad and had been radicalised by the Black Power Movement. From the very beginning, the NJM was broadly supported — including very active support by many women who were associated by their social networks. In 1979 the dictator was overthrown.⁹

Nearly 200 years ago, the rebellious slaves demanded freedom and equality, thus provoking the reaction of more than 6000 British troops. The revolution of 1979 demanded the realisation of self-determination on a national level, which was a challenge to the superpower USA. In 1983, a bloody putsch within the revolutionary government was a welcome pretence for the US invasion of Grenada by more than 6000 US soldiers.

The Grenadian revolution failed mainly in dealing with the difficult problem of overcoming the colonial inheritance in order to build a new society. Both factions of the Revolutionary Government failed to make use of the newly-built democratic institutions to inform the people about the problems going on within the Revolutionary Party; as a result, both of them excluded the majority of Grenadians for whom the revolution was meant.¹⁰

Although many projects remained in their initial or planning phase, a lot was achieved during the 4 1/2 year duration of the Revolution. For the first time in the history of Grenada the Revolution attempted, for example, the diversification of agriculture in order to diminish the extreme dependence on food imports, the development of new values for agricultural work, the building up of a cooperative sector, and small industries for processing raw materials. The education and health system was improved and made available to all. Better social conditions were created, especially for women. Nearly two thirds of all women were organised in the National Women's Organisation fighting, above all, against sexual exploitation and for equal pay for women. The alternative model of society in Grenada also brought hope for the masses of unemployed people on other islands who are living more or less under the same conditions. The US invasion is, therefore, also a direct threat to all those whose criticism might turn into political action.

Shortly after the invasion, a field study was started by the US Private Sector Development Organisation in order to work out proposals for re-

⁹During my stay in Grenada in 1983 I obtained information through interviews with representatives of the Revolutionary Government of Grenada.

¹⁰See AMBURSLEY 1983, one of the first to criticise the Revolution before the putsch.

structuring the economy in Grenada. Its results stated the good potential of the island to produce flowers and vegetables for the US market (Barry et al. 1984). Under the supervision of the USA, Grenada is again incorporated into the world market, mainly as a supplier of raw materials, and increasingly as a partially industrialised supplier of ready made articles like most other islands in the Carriibbean (Long 1987; Barry et al. 1984).¹¹ The most important resource of these world-market factories within the so-called Free Trade Zones are a small group of mostly (90%) female workers earning wages below the subsistence level.¹² They finish semi-manufactured products mostly from the USA like brassieres and other articles of clothing, sports articles, electronic products, etc. More than 300 years ago it was cheaper to replace workers from Great Britain with African slaves; today it is one of the management strategies to replace mainly female workers in the industrialised countries with workers living within the periphery. The measures have changed — but the logic is still the same. Consequently, women in Grenada or in Jamaica refer to Free Trade Zones as slave zones, just as they refer to their work on the plantation as slave work according to the working conditions and the merely symbolic character of their wages.¹³ Trade unions are forbidden — the slightest sign of resistance means replacement by another woman. The organisation of profit production is still marked by racism and refers to gender principles as a means to assigning unpaid, underpaid and un-specialised jobs to women in Grenada and other islands of the Caribbean.

¹¹The Carriibbean is becoming an increasingly important site for garment production aimed at the US market. In 1982 the Carriibbean wage rates were significantly lower than those in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea and Singapore (WHEELER 1987). For detailed analysis of the new international division of labour see FRÖBEL et al. 1986.

¹²Incentives for investing in Grenada include a 15 year tax holiday, no personal income tax, dividends and other distributions from profits are tax exempt. One of the main provisions of the Carriibbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is to eliminate duties on most of the products entering the United States. Different US institutions, for example, the Infrastructure of Productive Investment Project (IPIP), Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) offer reasonable conditions for production and inexpensive credits.

¹³During my last stay in Grenada in the summer of 1988, the following wages were stated for workers in the Free Trade Zone "Frequente Industrial Park": US\$ 100 per month for permanently employed women and US\$ 65 for temporary employed women. The few skilled jobs are almost exclusively held by male workers, who earn between US\$ 210–370. Women working on plantations earn US\$ 2.78 a day, men earn US\$ 3.15. The prices for milk, margarine and chicken wings are higher than the prices in European supermarkets.

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Parts of the authentic correspondence between Governors of Grenada and the Secretary of State in London, between individuals, as well as acts and responses concerning Grenada from the Public Record Office in London were used as follows:

CO 101/1-7/1763-1778: Original Correspondence

CO 101/8/1747-1812: Original Correspondence

CO 101/9-87/1762-1838: Original Correspondence, Despatches, Offices, Individuals

CO 103/1-13/1766-1838: Acts

CO 106/15-32/1821-1838: Blue Books

TABLE 1. Number of White Persons and Slaves in Grenada from 1763 until 1834

Year	Total Number of White Persons	Total Number of White Women	Number of Slaves above the age of 14
1763	1.225		10.531
1767			22.876
1772			26.211
1776			30.021
1777	1.324	290	35.118
1783	896	176	24.520
1784			23.926
1788			26.775
1792-94			above 30.000
1804			30.871
1805	1.100		31.229
1811	771		29.381
1812	841		28.791
1813	819		28.182
1814	823		27.679
1815	852		27.250
1816	794		27.234
1817	824		27.698
1818	868		27.415
1819	876		27.060
1820	883		26.910
1821			25.667
1822			25.586
1823	847	219	25.310
1824	827	210	24.972
1825	832	214	24.897
1826	834	222	24.581
1827	768	195	24.473
1828	782	205	24.342
1829	801	205	24.145
1830	761	193	23.821
1831	801		23.471
1832			23.164
1833			23.375
1834			21.074

Sources: CO 101/1/1763-71; CO 101/11/1765-68; CO 101/16/1771-72; CO 101/28/1787-89; CO 101/33/1792-94; CO 101/51/1812; CO 101/61/1821; CO 101/66/1826; CO 101/69/1829; CO 106/23-28/1828-34; Paterson MD-

TABLE 2. Female and Male Slaves in Grenada from 1812 to 1834

Year	Male Slaves	Female Slaves	Proportion of Female Slaves in %
1812	14.352	14.439	50,15
1813	14.026	14.156	50,23
1814	13.074	14.005	51,72
1815	13.484	13.766	50,52
1816	13.451	13.783	50,61
1817	13.510	14.188	51,22
1818	13.328	14.087	51,38
1819	13.155	13.905	51,39
1820	13.022	13.878	51,59
1821	12.398	13.269	51,70
1822	12.355	13.231	51,86
1823	12.258	13.052	51,57
1824	12.101	12.871	51,54
1825	12.057	12.840	51,57
1826	11.896	12.685	51,60
1827	11.841	12.632	51,62
1828	11.777	12.565	51,62
1829	11.738	12.397	51,37
1830	11.589	12.232	51,35
1831	11.386	12.085	51,49
1832	11.200	11.964	51,65
1833	11.319	12.056	51,58
1834	10.648	10.426	49,47

Sources: CO 101/61/1821; CO 101/66/1826; CO 101/69/-1829; CO 106/23-28/1829-34

TABLE 3. Estimated Value of Different Means of Production in Grenada, Jamaica and Barbados in 1812

	Grenada	Jamaica	Barbados
	(Pounds Sterling)		
Slave Labour (private property)	1.793.165	19.250.00	3.272.830
Cultivated Land	1.000.000	16.189.000	2.029.400
Uncultivated Land	30.000	1.914.812	5.000
Buildings, Utensils on Estates	890.000	12.709.450	1.644.000
Colonial Shipping (Export)	31.200	42.036	8.400

Source: Imperial Blue Books 1832:1024 f.

TABLE 4. Calculation of the Amount of Loss caused during the Rebellion between 1795-98 in Grenada

Kind of damage	Pound Sterling
65 sugar estates destroyed	390.000
35 coffee estates destroyed	35.000
Damage on buildings incl. slave huts	160.000
Loss of livestock	65.000
Loss of harvest 1795-98	1.500.000
7000 dead slaves (i.e. one-fourth of the slave-stock of 1795) a 50 Pounds Sterling	350.000
Total	2.500.000

Source: Garraway 1877:80