The Caribbean in a Changing World

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Surveying the Past, Mapping the Future, Volume 1

Edited by

Livingston Smith,
Stephanie Fullerton-Cooper,
Erica Gordon
and Alexandra Bodden

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INTRODUCTION

DR. LIVINGSTON SMITH
AND DR. STEPHANIE FULLERTON-COOPER

The year 2012 marked 50 years since the demise of the West Indies Federation. The attempt then was to make one country of these mini-states. This milestone was, therefore, a fitting time for retrospection by the territories that opted for independence, entered into autonomous political arrangements, became integrated into extra-regional states, or remained dependent territories. It also presented an opportunity for collective examination of the future possibilities for, and direction of territories with varying political arrangements, and of the region as a whole.

As such, this text examines these societies in comparative and general ways.

As a general assessment of these societies, this book covers several aspects of their ongoing development and challenges**.** Arranged in seven sections, the text covers a historical assessment of the fifty-year mark, social policy and an examination of the experience of Caribbean integration, the state of human capital and social policy in the region, the education sector, Caribbean economic sustainability and, significantly, the physical environment of the Caribbean.

In the historical assessment provided in Section One, the authors contend with the significance of the historical evolution of various Caribbean societies and what this portends for Caribbean futures. There is reference to the comparative development of independent versus dependent territories, the latter described as having opted for 'voluntary colonialism.' This comparative theme is frequently found throughout this work.

The foundational elements of Caribbean political life, the nature and evolution of the Westminster system and interrelated topics of the separation of powers, rule of law, judicial independence and accountability' are also placed under the spotlight.

The reader will find enough not only to arrive at conclusions on the serious issues, but also to tease further exploration of the issues of history,

comparative Caribbean development and the foundational elements of Caribbean democracy.

The section on the experiences with Caribbean integration considers the thinking behind the movement as well as some of the clear successes of this process. There are well developed contending views on the subject, from those who question the utility of integration, to those who, like the former Prime Minister of Barbados, the Right Honourable Owen Arthur, argue for more, not less integration.

This section also discusses the attitudes and experiences to integration of the non-independent territories with at least one writer, Carlyle Corbin, discussing the integration method as an antidote to 'contemporary colonialism.'

The issue of mental health is given significant coverage in section three. There are calls for the removal of the stigma attached to this unfortunate malady, as well as for more resources to deal effectively with its various manifestations. Ideas are also proposed on how to harness human capital and the potentials for economic growth.

The section on social policy, asset building and innovation, is rich and textured in terms of the scope and depth of the analysis. There is a call for the protection of Caribbean young people, an interesting analysis of female stereotypes as well as the contentious issue of gender-based violence, an unfortunate reality in Caribbean societies.

Readers, especially students of public service management in the Caribbean, will find the paper by Roach and Davis-Cooper to be very illuminating. Here also, there is a frank assessment of institutional capabilities given by Professor Peterson.

There is much 'food for thought' in the exploration of the various issues facing the education sector in the Caribbean. There is much to be learnt from the experiences of Caribbean 'expat' teachers in Caribbean classrooms, how to retool for teaching and learning, Batabano and Education in Post- Federation Montserrat.

Section Six examines various issues and challenges in Caribbean economic sustainability. The future of offshore financial centres is given a frank treatment by Timothy Ridley, an expert on the subject. There is an illuminating assessment of the challenges of achieving economic growth in the Caribbean and how to negotiate these. Dr. Marlon Anatol recommends ways and means for Trinidad to diversify its economy beyond oil and gas. The analysis of the financial sophistication of small island developing states and the various concerns of good governance of Caribbean Crown Lands end this section.

It should not be surprising that environmental issues take up such a significant portion of this book. Environmental sustainability has a special resonance for Caribbean survival in an era of global warming. The chapters, some technical in nature, take on these concerns and even propose the paths to be taken by Caribbean governments and their peoples.

We trust that this work will help to stimulate discussion and point the way to significant positive action.

Notes on the Editors

Dr. Livingston Smith

Dr. Livingston Smith is an Associate Professor at the University College of the Cayman Islands. Prior to joining UCCI, he was a tutor in the Department of Government, University of the West Indies and lecturer and administrator at the Northern Caribbean University, Jamaica.

A recipient of the 1994 Universal Adult Suffrage Scholarship in Jamaica, he has conducted advanced research in such areas as Privatization, the role of Government, Caribbean constitutional reform, democracy and democratization, Caribbean political culture, human rights and election processes.

At UCCI, he teaches courses in Political Science/International Relations, Sociology, History and Research Methodology. He is the Director of Research and Publication and Chair of the Social Sciences Department. Dr. Smith also chairs the Editorial Board of the Journal of the University College of the Cayman Islands.

Dr. Stephanie Fullerton-Cooper

Dr. Stephanie Fullerton-Cooper is Associate Professor of Language and Literature in the Arts and Humanities Faculty at the University College of the Cayman Islands (UCCI). She is a graduate of the University of the West Indies, Mona, where she obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree, with Honours, and a Doctoral degree in Literatures in English. She also completed a postgraduate diploma in education at UCCI. Prior to academia, Dr. Fullerton-Cooper spent five years working in journalism and nine in public relations. She has also taught at the Cayman Theological Institute, as well as the University of the West Indies Open Campus in the Cayman Islands. At UCCI, she teaches courses in English Language, Literature, Oral Communication, as well as Report Writing. Dr Fullerton-Cooper is a member of the Editorial Board of the Journal of the University College of the Cayman Islands.

Erica Gordon
Ms. Erica Gordon joined the UCCI team in August 2007 as a Senior Lecturer. She was later promoted to Assistant Chair, Acting Chair and has been Chair of the Department of Arts and Humanities since September 2012. Her background as an educator for more than fifteen years enhances the offerings of UCCI in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities. As a Lecturer in Spanish and English, Ms. Gordon assists students in developing those skills that are essential to function effectively in the Caymanian society and the global village. She assists in the delivery of courses to students in the Associate Degree Programme and the Civil Service College.

Ms. Gordon brings experience from teaching at the secondary and tertiary levels in Jamaica, after receiving training from the Mico Teacher Training College and the University of the West Indies, Mona.

Dr Alexandra Bodden

Dr. Alexandra Bodden is a psychologist in practice in the Cayman Islands and is an adjunct lecturer at the University College of the Cayman Islands. She recently completed her Master's and Doctorate in Clinical Psychology and Post-Doctoral Master's degree in Clinical Psychopharmacology at Nova Southeastern University in Florida. She also holds an Associate's degree in Social Studies from the University College of the Cayman Islands, a Bachelor's degree in Psychology from the University of Virginia and a Master's degrees in General Psychology from New York University. Dr. Bodden has worked as a therapist for the past five years in both the Cayman Islands and the USA, primarily with persons who are homeless, persons with severe and persistent mental illness, persons with substance abuse difficulties and survivors of prolonged childhood abuse. Dr. Bodden has facilitated workshops and given paper and poster presentations at local, regional and international conferences on various topics including the dynamics of domestic violence, substance abuse and violence in youth, education and early intervention for students, mental health services in Cayman and the Caribbean, and the impact of homelessness on women and children.

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SECTION ONE –

THE 50 MARK:
A HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

LOOKING BACK TO EXAMINE THE FUTURE

CHRISTOPHER ROSE

Abstract

This paper looks at selected externalities in the history of the Cayman Islands from 1662 to 1712 together with the origins of these events. Similar events between 1712 and 1762 are examined. These examinations will illustrate both how overseas events have shaped the development of the Cayman Islands, and the impossibility of predicting such events. They will also illustrate the potential advantages of the recognition of both global interconnectedness and environmental consequences in the formulation of timely and well thought out responses to external events.

Introduction

The theme of UCCI's 2012 conference, '*50-50 surveying the past, mapping the future'* calls particular attention to the 50 years since the end of the West Indies Federation and asks what may come in the next 50 years. This paper suggests that what may come in the next 50 years, and more importantly what may be done to optimize what may come, may be answered in part by looking a bit further back in time.

If we imagine ourselves in Grand Cayman in the year 1712 rather than 2012, attending a conference on Caribbean events which is looking back over the preceding 50 years and attempting to prognosticate what would come in the next 50 years, many things would be very different from what we find today, but some issues would undoubtedly have a ring of familiarity. How were the inhabitants of the Cayman Islands to provide for themselves and their families? How was security to be maintained? How were relations with neighbouring islands and the rest of the outside world to be managed?

This paper looks first at selected externalities in the history of the Cayman Islands from 1662 to 1712 together with the origins of these events. Second, similar events between 1712 and 1762 are examined. These examinations will illustrate both how overseas events have shaped the development of the Cayman Islands, and the impossibility of predicting such events. They will also illustrate the potential advantages of the recognition of both global interconnectedness and environmental consequences in the formulation of timely and well thought out responses to external events.

1662 - 1712

The fifty years leading up to 1712 were not short on change for the few inhabitants of the Cayman Islands. Such change was part and parcel of the European conflicts and global political and economic shifts which occurred during the period.

The Cayman Islands was unoccupied in 1662, although it is clear that European mariners were aware of the Cayman Islands from the early 16th century, and that European ships stopped to acquire water and turtle at the islands from time to time from at least the mid-16th century.[1] The singularly important background point for the Cayman Islands as it was in 1662 is the decision taken in England in 1654 as part of the Cromwellian Western Design to send an English army to attack Spanish possessions in the Caribbean. This English army damaged the Spanish colony in Hispaniola and captured the wealth-producing coastal areas of the Spanish colony of Jamaica in 1655.

The authorities in England in early 1655 had not intended to establish an agricultural or trading colony in Jamaica, let alone the Cayman Islands. In fact, Penn and Venables, the military leaders of the conquest of Jamaica, were sent to the Tower in London when Cromwell learned that they had brought home news of a new colony rather than the Spanish silver that they had been sent to acquire which Cromwell had hoped would pay for his European ambitions.[2]

The years between 1655 and 1661 saw a rapidly changing political landscape England and also a profound shift in England's approach to Caribbean colonial expansion. Cromwell and his advisors had little interest in expanding the English colonisation of the Caribbean. The return of Charles II to the throne in 1660 created space for policy change. Royalist advisors favoured rapid settlement of Jamaica and the immediate commencement of agricultural production by many colonists, each planting relatively small acreages. The remnants of Cromwell's army in

Jamaica provided a convenient but ill-prepared instrument for this new policy.

For much of the period from 1655 to 1661, the situation of the English garrison in Jamaica declined. This garrison, though initially successful against the small and unprepared Spanish garrison, found itself almost entirely dependent on rotting, inadequate and infrequent food sent from England and other English colonies.[3] Many soldiers died from a combination of want and disease.

Cromwell's army had not arrived in Jamaica prepared for a long occupation, and neither had they come prepared to produce food or otherwise sustain themselves. Contemporaneous reports suggest that they had exhausted their food supplies by the time that they landed in Jamaica.[4]

Spanish Jamaica had been in decline for decades before the English arrived, with only a few small plantations in operation by 1655. Historical records suggest that the Spanish in Jamaica continued to rely on food supplies sent from Spain, trading jerked meat, tallow and hides for European wheat, olive oil and wine.[5] Although a significant part of the English army which took Jamaica had been raised from English settlers and apprentices in Barbados and the other English colonies in the eastern Caribbean, few had any relevant farming experience. Most of the English occupiers appear to have been almost completely ignorant about raising food crops in the Caribbean. In any event, most of what we now perceive to be common crops in the Caribbean had not yet made their way from Central America, Asia and Africa or were not cultivated in sufficient volumes to feed the occupying army.[6] By 1658, the English army in Jamaica was near starvation. They turned to the Cayman Islands, then already well known to English sea captains as a source of turtle meat, for food.

In March 1662, the restored English monarchy under Charles II authorised the granting of land patents to encourage planting and settlement of a number of the small islands close to Jamaica, which the English crown sought to secure as part of their Jamaican enterprise. Craton and Hirst include the Cayman Islands within this grouping.[7]

August 1662 saw the English army in Jamaica finally disbanded, a cost-saving measure that also brought about the end of martial law in that colony. Those that were released from the army were offered land grants in Jamaica in lieu of transport to their homes in England or the other colonies.

There are no records to indicate that any land grants with respect to the Cayman Islands were made in 1662 or during the 70 years immediately thereafter. Nevertheless, a few brave souls seem to have ventured out of

Jamaica, or to have been starved out or forced to leave by debt or other legal problems, or to have been wrecked or marooned, or to have been encouraged by the turtle trade, to establish some sort of presence on Little Cayman and possibly Grand Cayman, at least on a seasonal basis, at some time between 1658 and 1669.[8]

Naval and other records from the period between the 1662 disbanding of the remnants of the English army in Jamaica, and 1668 do not record any persons living in the Cayman Islands although a few may have been present. Any individuals that were in the Cayman Islands were most likely engaged in subsistence fishing and agriculture. Those that were brave or foolhardy enough to identify their presence to passing ships may have earned whatever they could by providing water, salted fish and turtle, particularly to ships in transit to Central America or on their way back to Europe.

Surviving documentation suggests that a few English settlers had arrived on Little Cayman by 1669.[9] Their stay was short. In that year, the Portuguese-born Spanish privateer Pardal ended the Little Cayman settlement rather unhappily for the settlers. Pardal's raid was a reprisal for earlier raids made by the English privateer Henry Morgan on Spanish colonies in 1668 and 1669. In turn, at least, the pretext for Morgan's 1668 and 1669 attacks involved retribution for Spanish attacks on English ships sailing near Cayman in 1667.[10]

Pardal burned the Little Cayman settlement, killed some of the settlers and sold others into slavery in Cuba. Little Cayman was in no sense the prize in this battle; it merely provided the battlefield and an opportunity for profit and a bit of retribution. Arguably, those unfortunate first inhabitants were also the first in the Cayman Islands to be collateral damage in the battles among competing economic interests. They were not to be the last.

The Treaty of Madrid in 1670 ended hostilities between England and Spain in the Caribbean without any mention of the Cayman Islands or even Jamaica by name. Rather, that Treaty ceded to the English Crown control over Caribbean territories that the English did "hold and possess" as at the date of the Treaty.[11] There is no existing evidence that any part of the Cayman Islands was in any real sense held and possessed by the English as at the date of the 1670 Treaty, although the earlier proclamation of Charles II suggests that the English crown thought of it as theirs to possess at least as early as 1662.

The signing of the Treaty of Madrid and the temporary cessation of hostilities between England and Spain might have been viewed as a figurative "green light" for the further settlement of the Cayman Islands.

However, colonial economics and other considerations once again intervened. Protecting a small colony was very expensive, particularly when the colony did not send tangible wealth back to England. Not only that, a populated Cayman Islands outside of the effective day-to-day control of the colonial authorities in Jamaica was probably viewed as undesirable, particularly at a time when the governments of England and Spain preferred to limit hostilities.[12] A decision was therefore taken in 1671 by the English colonial authorities in Jamaica to end the proto-colonies on the smaller islands close to Jamaica, and to recall any remaining settlers in Cayman and other outlying islands to Jamaica.[13]

Little is recorded of events in the Cayman Islands in the period from 1670 to 1730, and that which is recorded relates mainly to ships, both pirate and prey, passing by or stopping temporarily to "victual". It would seem that a few brave souls were living on the east end of Grand Cayman in the early 1700s, although very little is known of them. Other early settlers may have been present on Cayman Brac and Little Cayman, particularly during the turtling season.

It was at this stage in the history of the Cayman Islands that European events once again provided an impetus for exploitation of both the location and the resources of the Cayman Islands. The impetus for what might now be described as diversification of the economy of the Cayman Islands was not war. Rather, it was a combination of imperial competition, European fashion trends, shifting political strengths within Europe, and the depletion of European natural resources.

Economic growth within Europe, together with the wealth that colonial empires were transferring to colonial and European elites, brought new consumer demands and a re-alignment of economic power. The role of the vagaries of European fashion provides a useful insight.

Brightly coloured wool products were much more valuable than non-dyed cloth in the Europe of the mid-17th century. Prior to 1662, the dyes that were used to dye cloth and leather in England were expensive and mostly imported from the Middle East or England's rivals France and Spain. English dyers and those involved in the Levant dye trade prospered from a law passed in England in 1581 which forbade the import of relatively inexpensive dyes extracted from the logwood tree that the Spanish had discovered in Central America. The authorities in England preferred to have an artificial scarcity of cloth dyes rather than transfer wealth to their rivals in Spain.

The establishment of an English foothold in Jamaica, combined with knowledge of the location of vast logwood forests along the Caribbean coast of Central America, induced scores, and ultimately thousands, of

English adventurers to seek their fortune in the Caribbean logwood trade. Cargos of logwood began to arrive back in Jamaica and the English Eastern Caribbean colonies, as well as the English North American colonies. As a result of these non-Spanish sources, the English authorities amended the law to allow the importation of logwood from English colonies and possessions in 1662.

The transport of logwood from the Caribbean back to England was extremely profitable in the third quarter of the 17thC, a contemporary economist indicating that transporting a single 50-ton cargo of logwood from the Caribbean to England was more profitable than an entire year of transporting any other cargo.

Attacks on Spanish ships carrying logwood from the Central American coast caused significant tension in Europe at a time when the Spanish and English monarchies sought peace. In 1667, the English, who in theory controlled most of the pirates and privateers in the Western Caribbean, and the Spanish, who in theory controlled most of the lands where logwood was extracted, cut a deal to end attacks on shipping carrying logwood to Europe.

The restrictions on privateering brought about by the Treaty of Madrid led to many English privateers entering the logwood trade while others entered the service of other countries or took up piracy.[14] Logwood cutters from Jamaica made regular excursions to the Caribbean coast of what are now Honduras, Belize and Mexico to cut logwood. These logwood cutters joined pirates and transiting merchant ships in using the Cayman Islands as a source of water and turtle which facilitated their international commerce. That, however, is not the end of the story of logwood and the Cayman Islands.

Logwood is not native to the Cayman Islands. By 1715 it had been transplanted from Central America to coastal areas in Jamaica and most likely Grand Cayman.[15] By that time logwood prices in Europe were falling as supplies increased, and logwood cutters no doubt found it more efficient to produce logwood in Jamaica and Cayman rather than travel to Central America where they frequently had to fight Spaniards and disease on land and pirates at sea.[16]

The early 18th century commercial growing of logwood in Cayman may have been viewed as a good idea at the time, and it is something that might have brought a few pieces of silver to those early “developers”, but it was an action now regarded by those interested in preserving the Cayman Islands native flora and fauna as something of a disaster. Cayman-grown logwood, which long ago ceased to have commercial value in dye production, continues to self-propagate in Cayman. It is an

invasive species that thrives in areas once cleared for marginal agriculture. Large tracts of it may now be seen in many parts of Cayman, including within our botanic park. If we are to attempt to protect our native species of flora and fauna, the limitation or eradication of logwood will likely be part of that exercise, a part that will undoubtedly cost significantly more than any profit made by those who initially planted logwood in Cayman.

European commercial and political interests also had other significant, if indirect, effects on the early economy of the Cayman Islands. The flow of dye wood and other commodities from the Caribbean colonies to Europe was subject to a set of complex and frequently changing legislated constraints. Between 1660 and 1672 the English crown set about to maximise its political, commercial and taxation interests by creating what were to become known as the Navigation Acts. These laws that persisted in various forms for nearly a century reflected the relative strengths of competing commercial interests within England.

The Navigations Acts specified among other things, that with limited exceptions, only English ships could trade between the Caribbean English colonies and Europe and that ships from England's Caribbean colonies returning to Europe must only go to certain English and Welsh ports. Spain had a set of similar rules regarding its shipping in that period and banned ships from other countries trading with Spanish possessions in the Caribbean and Central America. However, neither country saw any reason to enforce or even acknowledge the other's rules.

The illicit trade that flourished between Jamaica and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Central America has been well documented by Sheridan, Zahedia and others.[17] There should be no doubt but that this trade provided benefits for those in the Cayman Islands who at the very least offered water and food to Jamaican ships engaged in clandestine trade, particularly with Cuba.

There is another aspect of the 17th-century and 18th-century trade which by its nature remains less well documented, particularly in the earliest periods. That is the trade in goods from Spanish colonies entering Jamaica disguised as goods from the Cayman Islands and other English possessions in the region. The economic basis of this trade was the distortion produced by English and Spanish importation rules as well as duties and taxes.

Goods and the ships transporting them, entering ports in Jamaica from other colonies and even from England were subject to certain taxes and duties. The coastal shipment of goods from one Jamaican port to another was duty-free, although ships engaged in this trade paid an annual tax. A number of the droghers, as the boats used in the Jamaican coastal trade

were known, were operated by persons from Cayman.[18] Goods shipped from Cayman to Jamaica seem to have been treated as goods shipped between Jamaican ports. Goods originating in English Caribbean colonies including Jamaica that were shipped to England were taxed at a lower rate than goods entering England from foreign ports. Goods re-exported from England to neutral countries such as those in the Baltic with which England had a brisk trade, entitled the English importer to a rebate of duties paid provided that the goods were re-exported within a few months. Baltic traders shipped goods widely.

It thus would have been profitable for ships based in Jamaica or Cayman that were willing to break Spanish law by selling English goods in Spanish colonies, to also break English law by accepting some part of the payment in the form of easily transportable products such as Spanish logwood, cacao and indigo, for which there was a ready market in Jamaica for re-shipment to Europe. These illicitly transhipped Spanish goods would then be used by English and Baltic merchants to compete in Europe with identical legitimate - but because of taxes and duties imposed by Spain, much more expensive - goods. The available indirect evidence suggests that authorities in both Jamaica and England turned a blind eye, or possibly completely ignorant eye, to transhipment of foreign products through Jamaican ports. A glaring example relates to the amount of 'Jamaican' elephant ivory that customs logs show entered England in the late 17thC.[19]

Between 1689 and 1712, England was almost constantly at war with one or more of the other European powers. Those wars inevitably spilled over into the Caribbean. However, there were other events between 1689 and 1712 which also helped shape Cayman's relationships with its neighbours.

Piracy and privateering based in Port Royale Jamaica had largely been curtailed by 1690. The reformed privateer turned rich planter and Governor of Jamaica, Sir Henry Morgan, was ruthless in his campaign against his former brothers in arms in the years 1676 to 1683. The Buccaneers were also forced from their Jamaican haunts by the effects of the 1683 Jamaica Act passed by the English Parliament in response to a 1681 request from Jamaican planters to prohibit all commercial interaction with anyone involved in piracy.[20]

The 1692 earthquake that destroyed Port Royal, and the subsequent collapse of infrastructure in Jamaica, which brought starvation and disease, caused a significant portion of the earthquake survivors to leave Jamaica, with some going west towards Cayman and Central America. The French raids on Jamaica in 1694 had the same effect, but to a less

extent. A blight affecting Jamaican cacao production and the shifting economics of the slave trade and sugar forced many small landholders to quit Jamaica in the latter part of the 17th century and the early 18th century. It is entirely plausible that one or more of those events brought some early settlers to Cayman.

The very limited records that are available suggest that there were few people living in Cayman in 1712, and those that were in Cayman had a marginal existence. It is probably that the participants in a hypothetical 1712 Cayman conference would have had a somewhat narrow view of important events, with the arrival, birth or death of particular individuals, pirates and the size and timing of particular harvests assuming greater import than other matters. Food rather than political philosophy would likely have been the focus of their lives. It seems unlikely that any British or Jamaican-born European living in Cayman in 1712 would have considered anything but a colonial future for Cayman if he or she considered such things at all.

Very few of the events between 1662 and 1712 forming the subject matter of our national 1712 conference, with the possible exception of arrival dates of the first permanent settlers in Cayman, would have been within the control of people in Cayman. Few of the events would have been within the control of the nascent government in Jamaica, apart from the manner and to a certain extent the timing of recalling settlers in 1671, the commissioning and de-commissioning of privateers, the pursuit of pirates and the granting of land in the early 18th century.

What then might those attending the 1712 conference have divined from the preceding 50 years regarding the best course forward for the 50 years between 1712 and 1762? In the next section of this paper, selected events which in fact shaped the course of the Cayman Islands will be reviewed to assess whether the attendees at a 1712 conference could have used the events of the period from 1662 – 1712 to foresee, or in any meaningful way shape, their futures.

1712 - 1762

In 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht brought an absence of official war to the Caribbean, but not peace. It is arguable that as experienced in the Cayman Islands, the 1713 peace treaties signed by the United Kingdom, Spain, France, Holland and Portugal to end what were known as the Wars of Spanish Succession, led to less peace in the Western Caribbean and the Cayman Islands in particular.

It was the habit of European governments in the early 18th century to disband their militaries at the end of hostilities wherever they might be. The end of a war declared and ended in Europe thus released many men who had few skills other than fighting into the ports of the Caribbean. Men released from the official war between European powers in 1713 soon returned to the seas to take by force whatever they could, beginning a 26-year period of pirates creating havoc in Cayman and throughout the Caribbean.

The Treaty of 1713 also made possible a commercial arrangement, "The Assiento", between the Kingdom of Spain and what was by then the United Kingdom. The Assiento gave the United Kingdom a monopoly on the slave trade in the Caribbean and allowed for highly regulated, but legitimate trade carried on by English and Spanish ships. Commercial agreements co-incident with the Assiento also allowed for the ships of Spain and the United Kingdom to enter the ports of the other in the Caribbean to trade goods other than slaves. This legitimate trade favoured larger ships carrying official papers and limited the illicit trading opportunities of smaller traders based in Jamaica and quite possibly the Cayman Islands.

Tax and customs duty preferences for goods identified as coming from Cayman into Jamaica for transhipment to the UK remained. However, this transhipment sleight of hand in relation to Cayman is unlikely to have produced more than a moderate profit for a few, and did not require, and likely would not support, any substantial increase in settlements in Cayman. In modern parlance, it would appear that there were no "substantial activities" in Cayman associated with much of the trade ascribed to Cayman in the years immediately after 1712.

It was yet another externality of European origin, this time, the British Naval Stores Act of 1721, that gave the impetus for the next phase of the development of the Cayman Islands.[21] Prior to the passage of the Naval Stores Act of 1721, British tax and customs laws, and, in particular, those passed in 1707, sought to protect the interests of the landed rich who controlled the timber trade in Britain. Imports of colonial and foreign hardwoods suitable for the construction of ships, homes and furniture, were made impractical by protectionist high taxes and customs duties on the importation into England of such woods.

The growing wealth of the Asian, American and West Indian colonies and the lobbying efforts funded by this wealth, brought change to those protectionist practices. Four factors in particular combined to bring about change to British tax and duty laws. These changes in Europe changed the face of Cayman after 1721.

The first factor was an increasing demand in England for timber for both the commercial shipping that transported goods to and from the colonies and for the Royal Navy which protected both this shipping and the UK's colonial territories. This increasing demand for timber coincided in time with the second factor, an increasing population and changes in agriculture practices in the UK, with more land cleared for food and wool production and traditional sources of timber destroyed to meet the demands of exporters and a growing population. The increasing demand for timber and the shrinking supply of the same provided an impetus for changes to the UK's laws that would allow the demand to be met.

The third factor was the growing wealth and influence of the planter elite. Money was flowing back to England from Jamaica and other colonies both to the Crown and to private individuals. New wealth in the hands of families that had left England with little or nothing was used by the returning planter elite to buy and influence positions of power in the UK, and thus to lessen the hold of the hereditary English landowners. The planter interests saw the potential for further profit from at least some of the timber that was previously burned in land clearance and sugar production. Others saw the profit in logging for its sake.

The fourth factor was again fashion. Rich planters and those that chose to emulate them became trendsetters in England, displaying mahogany furniture and panelling in their homes. As a result of the confluence of these factors, the tax and customs duties laws of the UK were changed, reducing the cost of mahogany and other hardwoods imported from the British West Indian colonies. The stage was thus set for hardwoods, and in particular, mahogany to begin to flow from the West Indies to England, and for more loggers and settlers to venture further afield.

Within months of the passage of the 1721 Naval Stores Act, mahogany began to flow from Jamaica and British outposts in Central America to England. Contemporaneous records suggest that by the late 1730s easily logged mahogany was beginning to be scarce in Jamaica, [22] and those with interests in the mahogany trade began to look farther afield. Those that had knowledge of the mahogany forests in the Cayman Islands were then at a commercial advantage.

Surviving legal records show that wealthy Jamaican and Bermudian merchants began sending slave crews to Cayman to cut mahogany as early as 1735. These merchants appointed a local agent, one John Bodden, who was said to be of Grand Cayman. The volume of mahogany being cut in Grand Cayman was sufficient to justify the chartering of ships to transport the timber directly to England from Grand Cayman by 1736. This was in addition to timber also sent to Jamaica for transhipment to Britain.

Initially, these Jamaican and Bermudian merchants did not find it necessary to obtain official land grants to engage in logging, presumably because most of Grand Cayman, and, in particular, the timbered land, was neither inhabited nor claimed by anyone. Several of these wealthy merchants, most of whom seem to have been entirely absentee, did, however, secure large land grants relating to Grand Cayman over the following decade.

The first recorded land patent relating to the Cayman Islands was issued in Spanish Town, Jamaica on 28 February 1735. This grant of three thousand acres, comprising most of what is now the district of George Town, was given to 3 individuals.[23] The contemporaneous map in support of the patent application shows that prior to this 1735 grant, someone, most likely the Campbells and Middletons to whom the first land was granted, had cleared part of the land, built a dwelling and had established a plantain walk and hog sties. It also indicates the Campbells and the Middletons were interested in the remaining timber on the claimed land. It is entirely possible that the Campbells and Middletons undertook the trip to Jamaica in 1735 to formally secure their interests in the land, being aware of the recent or imminent arrival of timber cutters and more settlers. Others established in Grand Cayman took the trip to Jamaica to register their land interests in the following years.

The clearing of Cayman's forests for profit continued throughout the eighteenth century (18thC). No doubt a portion of the profits from that trade earned by residents of the Cayman Islands, as with profits from the earlier trade in logwood and turtle, made possible the expansion of initial experiments in the planting of subsistence crops and later cotton and sugar. It is noted however that neither the growing of crops nor the raising of livestock for export proved commercially successful beyond a very limited degree.

Early settlers and temporary visitors lured by mahogany brought food crops and a variety of other plants that changed the face of Cayman forever. They also brought livestock, and the grasses the livestock needed as food, [24] as well as rats, cats, dogs, some species of insect and reptiles, diseases and many of the other elements of what has come to be known as the Columbian Exchange.[25]

The mahogany trade also shaped the social fabric of the Cayman Islands. There is no record of slaves being present in Cayman before the commercial exploitation of mahogany began. The available evidence suggests that there was no economic activity beyond a subsistence scale in the Cayman Islands that would have been associated with slavery before the advent of the mahogany trade. It is possible that some early settlers

were former slaves who had fled other colonies, but nothing is recorded of any such presence prior to the advent of the mahogany trade.

To return to the initial question regarding whether those in the Cayman Islands in 1712 could have foreseen on the basis of the preceding 50 years the significant events which shaped the course of the islands' evolution from 1712 to 1762, the only reasonable answer is that they could not.

On one scale, it seems safe to conclude that European events in the first half of the 18thC and their consequences, including the advent and consequences of the mahogany trade, were no more foreseeable to early settlers in Cayman than hedge funds and YouTube were predictable to those in Cayman in 1962. Yet there are common threads that provide insights.

The economy of the Cayman Islands over the past 300 years has existed in large part on the basis of supporting international trade in one form or another, from supplying food and water to sailing vessels prior to the advent of steam, to facilitating debt structuring by entities ranging from corporations to the World Bank and its regional bodies today. Even during the decades when Cayman gained the bulk of its hard currency from remittances, those remittances came in no small part from people directly or indirectly facilitating trade, whether as seamen on ships engaged in international commerce or as workers on the Panama Canal.

There has also been a recurring theme of what to modern eyes might appear as short-term thinking and the ill-considered exploitation of local resources. The earliest transients and settlers exploited to near extinction Cayman's marine resources, and, in particular, the turtle. Later arrivals exploited terrestrial resources and, in particular, the mahogany forests to the point of near destruction. Those that followed planted ill-suited crops such as cotton that badly damaged Cayman's fragile soils.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that unforeseeable economic and political externalities will likely continue to produce both threats to, and opportunities for, these islands. Policy makers in Cayman and other similar small jurisdictions ought to maintain a constant awareness that such externalities are almost certain to present themselves. The fact that externalities may be difficult to predict does not suggest that policy makers can be forgiven for ignoring them completely.

There is a need for policymakers in both the public and private sectors to adopt long-term perspectives when extrinsic challenges do appear. Policy responses to externalities ought to be made on the basis of thorough

and timely analyses of the effects of externalities so as to limit negative consequences. Policy responses should also facilitate positive innovations that provide long-term benefits as well as the smallest possible adverse impact on our environment, both physical and human.

Our environment is the hidden pillar of our economy without which no diversification or innovation is possible. The 16thC and 17thC turtling fleets from Jamaica and the Eastern Caribbean colonies of England, Holland, and France are part of our history, but they provided no long-term benefit commensurate with the destruction they caused. The 18thC mahogany cutters who passed through Cayman are also part of our history, but similarly, they provided no long-term benefit commensurate with the destruction they caused.

Let us hope that in guiding the exploitation of present and future opportunities, policymakers avoid the repetition of past mistakes.

Notes

[1] Craton, M. *Founded Upon the Seas A History of the Cayman Islands and Her People*, [Ian Randle Publishers, Kingston 2003], p.14 – 21. See also the journal of Captain Jackson (1643) "*The Island is much frequented by English, Dutch, & French ships, that come purposely to salt up ye flesh of these Tortoises."*

[2] Ibid, p.20 - 25

[3] D'Oyley, Col. Edward, Note to the Admiralty April 1661 Downloaded from: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=76438&strquery=turtle, 12 January 2012

[4] Harrington, MC, 2004 Thesis, The Worke Wee May Doe in the World. The Western Design and the Anglo-Spanish Struggle for the Caribbean, 1654-1655.

[5] Parry, JH Plantation and Provision Ground: An Historical Sketch of the Introduction of Food Crops Into Jamaica, Revista de Historia de América, No. 39 (Jun., 1955), pp. 1-20. Parry notes that while the Arawaks had apparently introduced cassava, maize and possibly sweet potato to Jamaica from Central America, it was not widely grown. Cassava also rapidly depletes soil nutrients and therefore was not suitable for continuous farming in fixed locations. The early Spanish settlers brought with them citrus trees in small numbers as well as cattle, goats and pigs which rapidly became feral. Hunting feral pigs and cattle was one of the ways that the English garrison tried to feed itself after 1655. The Spanish also appear to have favoured fruit bearing plants, moving papaya, sweet sop, soursop, star apple, naseberry and guava among their American possessions, but only to subsidize their family gardens and not for commerce. The coconut, although Asian in origin, seems to have arrived from Spanish colonies on the Pacific coast of Central America. The Spanish also brought banana and plantain from the Canary Islands before 1655. Yams appeared in the early 18thC and ackee in 1778, having been transported to Jamaica by the English from West Africa as slave food. Mango

arrived in 1782, also from Africa. The 1793 arrival of breadfruit, along with jackfruit and otaheite apple from Tahiti is well known.

[6] Ibid

[7] Craton, p.21. Craton and Hirst both indicate that the Cayman Islands is mentioned in the relevant historical text; however, the version of the text held by the British Archives for 21 March 1662 as reproduced online does not in fact mention the Cayman Islands although other islands proximate to Jamaica and referred to by Hirst and Craton are named; *Instructions to Thomas Lord Windsor, Governor of Jamaica. To publish his commission as soon as he lands ; constitute the Council ; and administer the oaths. To settle judicatories for council affairs and for the Admiralty. To commission under the public seal of the island judges, justices, sheriffs, and other officers with fit salaries. Power to pass grants of the little islands adjacent to Jamaica, as Salt Island, Good Island, Pigeon Island, and others, and to raise forts there. To grant commissions and erect Courts of Admiralty. To promulgate the King's license for transporting planters from the neighbouring plantations to Jamaica, with liberty to trade with the Spanish plantations, for the benefit of Jamaica.* Accessed 2 January 2012 from http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=76449&strquery=1662%20Jamaica

[8] Craton, p.35 - 37

[9] Craton, p. 23 - 25

[10] Craton, p. 23

[11] "Universal Peace, True and Sincere Amity in America." Treaty of Madrid (Godolphin Treaty) 18 July 1670. Downloaded 22 April 2011 from http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/amerbegin/power/text1/text1read.htm

[12] Hirst, George S.S. Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands (Private Publication, Kingston 1910) p.24

[13] Ibid p.20. See also; 12 June 1671 *Minutes of the Council of Jamaica. Present, Sir Thomas Lynch, Knt., Lt.-Governor, and four of the Council. Ordered that, whereas there are divers soldiers, planters, privateers, and other late inhabitants of this island now at Caimanos, Musphitos, Keys, and other remote places who make scruple of returning, either fearing his Majesty's displeasure for their past irregular actions or doubting their being prosecuted by their creditors, the Governor sends forth to declare his Majesty's pardon and promise freedom from all arrests and debts to said soldiers, &c., for the term of one year, provided they return within eight months after the date hereof and enter their names in the Secretary's office, from which time their impunity shall commence; and that this be proclaimed and affixed on some convenient place at Port Royal.* Accessed 2 January 2012 at: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=70210&strquery=August%201671%20Caimanos

[14] Camille, MA, *Historical Geography of the Belizean Logwood Trade***,** downloaded 2 Jan 2012 from http://sites.maxwell.syr.edu/clag/yearbook1996/camille.htm. The importance of logwood to the 17thC and 18thC economies of Central America is reflected in the depiction of a logwood tree and logwood cutters on the flag and coinage of Belize.

[15] Those from Cayman will recognise that there is an area in West Bay called Logwoods to this day.
[16] MacDermot, E. The Romance of Logwood. Emp. Rev. 30:364–370, 1916. Cited in Kahr, B. The Progress of Logwood Extract CHIRALITY 10:66–77 (1998)
[17] Zahedieh, Nuala The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica, and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655-1692 The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), pp. 570-593. Sheridan, R. B.
The Wealth of Jamaica in the Eighteenth Century The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1965), pp. 292-311. Nettels, Curtis England and the Spanish-American Trade, 1680-1715
The Journal of Modern History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Mar., 1931), pp. 1-32.
[18] In 1862 the Jamaican Legislature passed a law taxing Cayman droghers in order to pay for the services of a resident magistrate who was to be sent from Jamaica. Acts of the Jamaican Legislature 26 Victoria, c.25, 26.
[19] Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 20: 1702 Downloaded 8 November 2011 from
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=71631
[20] From the colonial papers November 1681: *Paper from the Planters of Jamaica to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. The Lords have made great progress in the well settling of Jamaica, and it is therefore hoped that the noting of what is yet wanting will be favourably received. Those wants seem to be—(1.) An assurance to continue under what is now settled. (2.) Discouraging privateers and pirates. (3.) Regulation of the negro trade. 1. As nothing tends more to invite new planters to a colony, and re-assure the old, than good government and the certainty of its continuance, it is hoped that a clause may be inserted in the intended perpetual Revenue Bill to provide that Jamaica shall always be governed under such laws as shall be made through His Majesty's authority and consent of Governor, Council, and Assembly, not repugnant to the law of England. 2. The Commander-in-Chief in the Island should be ordered to recommend to the Assembly the effectual suppression of piracy by punishing not only the pirates but their abettors and comforters and all magistrates not doing their duty.* Accessed 2 January 2012 at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=70010&strquery=suppression%20of%20privateers
[21] Cross John M. Mahogany was Like Gold in the Time of Solomon, in van Duin, Paul and Hans Piena *The Meeting of the East and the West in the Furniture Trade* (Stichting Ebenist, Amsterdam 2002).
[22] Ibid,
[23] Craton, p.37.
[24] Parry, JH . According to Parry Guinea Grass, which facilitated the commercial raising of cattle and horses, was introduced into Jamaica from Africa in 1745. It seems likely that it would have subsequently been introduced into the Cayman Islands.
[25] Nunn, N and N. Qian *The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas*, Journal of Economic Perspectives Vol. 24, Number 2 Spring 2010 p. 163–188.

UK Dependent Territory Succeeds: An Analysis of Cayman's Successful Development

Truman Bodden

Abstract

In the past 50 years, some Caribbean countries that went independent have seen economic and social decline, while many of the smaller Dependent Territories with few natural resources have seen unprecedented development. The Cayman Islands remains a Crown Colony of the United Kingdom. It is now one of the largest banking and funds centres in the world and boasts one of the highest per capita incomes. This paper will advance a hypothesis that these accomplishments demonstrate the many benefits of being a Crown Colony, which has allowed for stability and success. Recommendations for continued growth will also be developed.

The Cayman Islands became a full dependency of Jamaica and thus was a "Colony of a Colony" from 1865 until Jamaica's independence in 1962. The two Cayman political parties at that time differed on whether to stay with Jamaica or remain a Crown Colony. However, the overriding view of the people was to remain with the UK and the unanimous vote in the Legislature was to remain a Crown Colony (Bodden, 2007, p.27; Crayton, 2003, p. 318).

Cayman received its first constitution in 1959. The 1972 Constitution then remained in place, with a few amendments, until the 2009 constitution came into effect and granted the Cayman Islands full internal self-government. The 1972 constitution provided for 12 elected members and three official members, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary. The Executive Council was comprised of the Governor as Chairman, the three official members and four elected