



STUDIES OF THE AMERICAS

RACE, CLASS, AND THE POLITICS OF DECOLONIZATION

Jamaica Journals, 1961 and 1968



Colin Clarke



STUDIES OF THE AMERICAS

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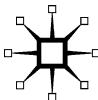
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Jamaica Journals, 1961 and 1968

Colin Clarke

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RACE, CLASS, AND THE POLITICS OF DECOLONIZATION

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To Gillian with love

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Preface

This book consists of two journals kept while I was carrying out fieldwork in Jamaica—the first in 1961, one year before the colony’s independence in 1962, and the second in 1968. Research in Kingston and visits to rural communities are described before the reader is taken into the 1961 political underworld of black racism and Marxism, where the machinations of the various political groups lead up to the Federal Referendum and rejection of federation in favor of Jamaica becoming independent on its own. The 1968 journal explores the impact of independence and the intervening post-independence elections of 1962 and 1967 on the dissolution of the dissident forces of Marxism and black racism. It also identifies the postindependence roots of Jamaica’s constrained two-party democracy.

The Jamaican crisis of 1959–62 was played out in a Cold War context, in which US hegemony in the Spanish Caribbean was being challenged by the anticapitalism of Castro’s Cuba. British voluntary decolonization in Jamaica and the smaller territories, which had been precipitated by the 1938 labor riots, was implemented after 1942 through constitutional decolonization in the shape of adult suffrage. In Jamaica during the 1940s and 1950s two political parties, each backed by a trade union wing, had come to dominate politics and compete for power. But the movement for Jamaican independence soon tangled with British post-war plans for West Indian decolonization via a Caribbean-wide federation.

Although Jamaica’s economic development was highly successful in the 1950s, as world markets for primary products expanded, the society’s color-class stratification remained largely unchanged, and poverty was widespread among the black peasantry and urban and rural proletariat. The Ras Tafari movement became prominent in the squatter camps in Kingston in the 1950s, and in 1959 it was involved in petty public violence. Revd Claudius Henry, one of its most controversial leaders, believed he was the black Jesus, the son of God or

Ras Tafari (Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia), and began to preach redemption to his black followers through their return to Africa.

Under surveillance by the authorities, Revd Henry was arrested for treason felony in April 1960. Two months later his son, Ronald, a Jamaican-born American, arrived in Kingston from New York with military-trained black associates and linked up with some of his father's Ras Tafarian followers. The Americans of Ronald's First Africa Corps and the Ras Tafari fell out, and three of the latter were killed. Almost immediately the camp they had established in the Red Hills near Kingston was raided by the police, some British Army attackers were killed, and the Americans, having fled the scene, were eventually captured, tried, and sentenced, in the case of Ronald Henry, to death.

The rebellious activities of Revd Henry and his son caused great public alarm, and as some of the Ras Tafari had been involved in the Red Hills incident, a survey was rapidly carried out by three local university lecturers into the history, composition, organization, and beliefs of the Kingston Ras Tafari. They made ten recommendations to the government, advocating the amelioration of living conditions in Kingston and the setting up of a mission to investigate emigration to Africa. However, the Ras Tafari were already being manipulated by local Marxists for their own ends, and the lower-class issues of black identity, Back-to-Africa, and violent revolution in 1961 became intertwined with the national problem of withdrawal from the West Indies Federation, which reached its climax with the calling by the government of a federal referendum.

The rejection of federation by the Jamaican lower class and the various groups mobilized by the Marxists, Ras Tafarians, black racists, and the anti-federation political opposition, ushered in independence. Despite their short-term success, the dissident groups and their affiliated political parties were swept away in the 1962 general elections. Sovereign Jamaica in the 1960s was once more dominated politically by the two established political parties. The independent state returned to a condition of normality, which enabled the government to initiate a system of patronage involving homes and jobs in return for electoral support, and the deployment at election times of gang violence on the streets against its opponents—as the 1968 journal reveals—thus setting the pattern for Jamaica for the rest of the twentieth century.

Acknowledgments

I have been carrying out research on Jamaica for more than half a century, and I am grateful for the academic advice and support that I have received from colleagues and friends in recent years, especially from Barry Higman, Trevor Hope, David Howard, Gad Heuman, David Lowenthal, and Elizabeth Thomas-Hope. I owe especial thanks to Barry and Gad for their advice over the contents and presentation of this book. It is a pleasure to thank Professor Robert Hill for sending me the—once-secret—Local Standing Intelligence Committee Reports for Jamaica, covering the period 1960–2, first identified as a major source on decolonization by Richard Hart.

In addition, Robert Hill has shared with me other archival materials that relate to his path-breaking research on the background to the writing of *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* by M. G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford (1960). Stimulated by his findings, I have carried out my own research in The National Archives at Kew, London, and these materials, together with the intelligence reports I received from Robert, have provided important collateral evidence—set out in the footnotes—with which to interrogate the two journals contained in this book, based on my fieldwork in Jamaica in 1961 and 1968.

I am indebted to Michael Athanson, cartographer in the Map Department of the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, for drawing the place-name and road maps of Jamaica (Figures 1.1 and 1.2) and the street and place-name maps of Kingston (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). The remainder of the maps were prepared for me by Ailsa Allen, Cartography and Graphics Officer in the School of Geography and the Environment, Oxford University. I am grateful to her for her skillful map work, and for preparing my color slides for publication as black-and-white images.

Joe Gerlach generously read the entire text for me and asked many pertinent questions about my original reaction to the Jamaican field

situation; I have attempted to respond to his queries in the introduction. My final, and most important, debt is to my wife, Gillian, who was a student at London University when my 1961 visit to Jamaica took place. However, she was with me in Kingston in 1968, and has accompanied me on most of my numerous visits to Jamaica since then. She read, criticized, and made important suggestions about the content and structure of the book. In gratitude for her persistent good humor and her unflagging support for my research, I dedicate this book to her.

Abbreviations

ALCAN	Aluminium Company of Canada
ALJAM	Aluminium Company of Jamaica
BITU	Bustamante Industrial Trade Union
BMPP	Black Man Political Party
CALA	Christiana Land Authority
CAWIA	Council on Afro-West Indian Affairs
CPU	Central Planning Unit
EWFI	Ethiopian World Federation Inc
ISER	Institute of Social and Economic Research
JCR	Junior Common Room (UCWI)
JIDC	Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
JOS	Jamaica Omnibus Service
KSAC	Kingston St Andrew Corporation
LSIC	Local Standing Intelligence Committee
NWU	National Workers Union
PFM	People's Freedom Movement
PNP	People's National Party
PPP	People's Political Party
SCR	Senior Common Room (UCWI)
TPD	Town Planning Department
TUC	Trades Union Council
UCWI	University College of the West Indies
UDC	Urban Development Corporation
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
UWI	University of the West Indies
WISCO	West Indies Sugar Corporation
YVLA	Yallahs Valley Land Authority

Introduction

Two Jamaica Journals—1961 and 1968

British decolonization in the Caribbean, the backyard of the United States, was based on two key principles: that all the island colonies, including Jamaica, should enter a single federated state, the Federation of the West Indies, which began its short life as a British supercolony in 1958, with its capital in Trinidad; and that the process of decolonization should involve a competitive two-party political system from which, given the global Cold War situation, communism and communists (or Marxists) were to be excluded. By 1961, British Guiana (not a member of the British West Indies Federation) was a colony under crypto-communist leadership, and in Jamaica (a British colony since 1655) the communists had been expelled from the People's National Party (PNP)¹ in 1952, yet continued to lurk on the fringes of the two-party system. Two years earlier Castro had established a radical government in neighboring Cuba, though it was not declared communist until late 1961 (Parker 2008).

The PNP, established in 1938, found itself potentially at odds with British postwar policy toward decolonization, since it was from the outset avowedly in favor of Jamaican independence, while its ideological strategy was generally socialist but broad church, and willing to include Marxists within its party structure. The broaching of West Indies Federation by the British in 1948 as a stepping-stone to independence resulted in both the PNP and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP)—labor-oriented, but conservative—accepting the new strategy for Jamaica. However, the failure of the PNP to be elected into government in 1944 and 1949 warranted the expulsion of those left-wing elements that were deemed an obstacle to middle-class support for the party. PNP victories in 1954 and 1959 legitimized the expulsions (also desired by the British), but by 1961 the issue of staying in the federation (scheduled for independence in 1962), or seeking sovereignty on its own, was back at the top of the Jamaican political agenda.

This book consists of two journals I kept while I was carrying out fieldwork for my Oxford doctorate in Jamaica: the first in 1961, one year before the colony's independence as a unitary state in 1962—separate from the West Indies Federation; and the second in 1968, after Jamaica had been sovereign for six years. Chapters 1 and 2 of the 1961 journal give an account of the colony on the eve of independence, and describe my research in Kingston and the visits I made to rural communities. Chapters 3 and 4 lead into the political underworld of black racism and Marxism—the Ras Tafari movement, the People's Political Party (PPP), the Black Man Political Party (BMPP), the Back-to-Africa movement, the People's Freedom Movement (PFM), and the various machinations of these groups in downtown Kingston leading to the federal referendum of September 1961.

The 1968 journal (chapter 5) invites comparison with the earlier one, pointing out the impact of independence and the elections of 1962 and 1967, the general effect of which was to dispel the dissident forces identified in 1961 as black racism, though a form of Black Power (soon to prove ephemeral) had taken shape in Kingston in 1968 emulating the US movement of that time. While the 1968 journal inevitably looks back to the late colonial period, it also anticipates the politics of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, dominated (as Jamaica *seemed not* to be in 1961) by two-party politics. Party-political competition since independence, though admirable in itself, has been vitiated by the use of patronage by politicians, using homes and jobs in return for electoral support in the poorest Kingston constituencies, and by the deployment of violence by gangs allied to the political parties, particularly at election times—as events surrounding the 1967 election reveal.

From the outset of my research I expected to have two major themes running through my doctoral fieldwork, which focused on the urban social geography of Kingston at the end of the colonial period—the beginning of decolonization being marked by the labor rebellion of 1938. First, I was concerned with rapid population growth in Kingston (which had increased by almost 86 percent to 380,000 between 1943 and 1960) involving issues such as unemployment and excessive employment in petty manufacturing and services, and the lack of adequate housing, exemplified by the renting of tenements and yards, the formation of squatter camps, and the development of massive slum conditions. Second, I wanted to investigate the hierarchical social structure of Kingston, known as color-class, based on a history of legal stratification of black slaves, colored (mixed race)

freemen, and white citizens—the class, color, and cultural framework that decolonization promised to dissolve.²

As the research proceeded I visited rural communities and small towns in Jamaica as well as the capital, Kingston, and my interests expanded to include the topics of black racism and Marxism, both of which were catalyzed by the independence issue. The key question was whether Jamaica should stay within the federation or seek independence outside it—as the opposition JLP opportunistically argued it should. So the daily entries in my journal gradually expanded from more routine research on Kingston to address the broader themes that are summarized by the title I have chosen for this book—*Race, Class, and the Politics of Decolonization: Jamaica Journals, 1961 and 1968*.

Research Resources and the Journals

Census data on which to base my urban investigation were available from the 1943 census, which had been tabulated, cross-tabulated, and published at colony and parish levels, though enumeration-district data for Kingston, and large-scale maps onto which to plot them, had yet to be precisely located in Jamaica. During my fieldwork in Kingston I sought similar but more detailed sets of materials from the 1960 census, which was being analyzed by the Department of Statistics at that time. Over several months I was able to acquire and analyze 40,000 punch cards for all the inhabitants in 10 percent of Kingston’s households, tabulating the variables I selected for the 800 enumeration districts into which the city was divided as a basis for subsequent mapping.

I was fortunate that the Jamaica Town Planning Department (TPD) had carried out land-use surveys of Kingston in 1947, 1954, and 1960, and these materials—together with supplementary analyses carried out by the Central Planning Unit—were generously made available to me. I located historical maps for Kingston in the Jamaica Institute, though, not surprisingly, I also found some key information in London, either before or after my 1961 fieldwork, at the Public Record Office (now The National Archives, Kew) and the British Museum. Copying land-use and historical maps of Kingston by hand took up much of my first few months in Jamaica. After that, my main preoccupation was locating and copying the enumeration district data for Kingston in 1943, creating a map of 1943 enumeration district boundaries, and tabulating the 40,000 census punch cards for Kingston in 1961.

It would have been feasible to produce a doctoral thesis on the late colonial city using these sources and the contents of my field diary, but before I completed the fieldwork in 1961, I became convinced that I had to go back to the origins of the city in the late seventeenth century if I were to fully understand the late-colonial present.³ It seemed to me essential to explore, for the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, the legally stratified, color-class community of the port city of Kingston that served the slave-plantation system that formed the core of Jamaica's colonial sugar economy and society. I completed this library research over the next two years in Oxford as a prelude to writing my thesis (Clarke 1967).

A consequence of the historical turn taken by the thesis was that my 1961 journal was never typed up, and my handwritten text was drawn upon only sparingly in my doctorate and book (Clarke 1975). However, Palgrave Macmillan's acceptance for publication in 2009 of *Post-Colonial Trinidad: An Ethnographic Journal*, a journal that my wife, Gillian, and I kept in 1964 (Clarke and Clarke 2010), encouraged me to begin to transcribe my 1961 Jamaica journal. Once it was completed, I turned to the much shorter but parallel journal I kept during repeat urban fieldwork in Kingston in July and August 1968. This research focused on field visits in Kingston (as in 1961) and the acquisition of data from the Sanitary Survey of Kingston and St Andrew carried out annually by the Public Health Department.

I made journal entries on a daily basis in 1961 and 1968 in an attempt to record everything that had social-scientific significance for my Kingston project, or for my understanding of social life in Jamaica, when my travels took me to the rural areas. No tape recordings were used. I usually wrote the journal from memory in the evening (or the following morning) after an interview or event. In the case of my meetings with Dr M. G. (Mike) Smith, senior lecturer in Sociology at the University College of the West Indies (UCWI), however, I kept notes during our discussions as he mentored my research, and they were written into my journal soon afterward.

A Social Geographer Encounters Class and Race

As a geography student in my final year at Oxford (1959–60), I had taken two special subject papers on the “Social and Political Geography of East and West Africa and the West Indies”—all of which were in the process of decolonization by the British at that time. So before I started fieldwork in Jamaica, I was familiar with colonial and developing-world issues such as racial and class hierarchy, decolonization via

unitary statehood and federation, adult suffrage, population growth, and migration, urbanization, and the stresses caused by poverty and slum formation in capital cities in Africa and the Caribbean.

In Kingston I discovered that the colonial color-class system (Henriques 1953), involving a white elite, colored (white–black) middle class and a black lower class, was spatially expressed in the white, sparsely occupied elite neighborhoods and brown middle-class suburbs, while the black overcrowded slums of West Kingston were under great pressure from rapid population growth. In the colonial social context of the white bias, mobility had brought Jews and Syrians into social-class proximity with whites, and Chinese into contact with the brown and black middle class, but the East Indians remained, for the most part, stranded among the black lower class.

The reader will quickly discover that Kingston, and Jamaica more generally, were in deep multifaceted crisis during my 1961 visit, and it was by no means clear that the colony would make a smooth transition to independence. A widening gap between Jamaica's haves, who earned more than £300 per annum and represented 7 percent of the Jamaican population, and have-nots, who earned less than £300 per annum and accounted for 93 percent of Jamaicans, was identified by the JLP politician Edward Seaga (2010). While addressing the Legislative Council early in 1961 and attacking the PNP government, he epitomized the situation as "adding poverty to poverty, destitution to destitution, and depravity to existing misery."⁴

Class hierarchy and class exploitation, problematic as they seemed to be, were, if anything, outstripped in significance on the eve of decolonization by black–white polarization and black lower-class racial disaffection. Despite the averred multiracialism of the Jamaican colonial state and Premier Manley's assertion, "nowhere in the world has more progress been made in developing a non-racial society in which colour is not...psychologically significant"⁵ (quoted in Lowenthal 1972, 18), issues of race and color were rarely below the surface in the run-up to independence.

At the heart of the 1960–1 Jamaican crisis was the Ras Tafari movement, a Back-to-Africa cult, believing in the divinity of Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia (whose princely title had been Ras Tafari). This anti-white movement, challenging the age-old white bias of British colonialism in the Caribbean, was rooted in Kingston's most impoverished neighborhoods, and had begun in Jamaica during the 1930s under the separate leadership of Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, and Archibald Dunkley (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford 1960; Hill 2001). Howell had later established a camp at Pinnacle,

northeast of Spanish Town. In 1954 the camp was attacked by the police, stores of ganja (or marijuana), sacred to the Ras Tafari, were impounded, and Howell's followers were dispersed, many going to Kingston, where they set up squatter settlements (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford 1960).

The Ras Tafari feature prominently in the second half of my 1961 journal, but were only one among several dissident groups in the complex web of black, lower-class alliances that were tentatively being put in place in Kingston in the lead-up to the crucial referendum on Jamaica's membership of the West Indies Federation. Indeed, it was the federal referendum of September 1961 that made two-party national politics look irrelevant, and gave the dissident forces embedded in black racism and Marxism their relevance and appeal. However, all these elements were in retreat after the rejection of federation at the referendum, and the two major parties, the PNP and the JLP, re-asserted their electoral control and pushed for independence at the polls in April 1962.

My encounters with Kingston's political underworld, and the objectives of the various players—withdrawal of Jamaica from the federation prior to independence, and the subsequent organization of a coup that would destroy the democratic system and install a Marxist dictatorship, probably with Ras Tafari participation—are outlined below. I then explore my experience of Jamaica's security issues, and the light shone on them by a reading of the—once secret—Local Standing Intelligence Committee Reports to be found in the UK National Archives. And I explain the links between the Ras Tafari, Marxism, the racist PPP and the Mission to Africa; and excavate the social forces at play in the run-up to the federal referendum. Finally, I introduce Jamaica as a sovereign state, as I witnessed it in 1968.

Kingston's Political Underworld

It will be obvious to the reader of the 1961 journal that there is a caesura between the first and second halves. While the first half is an orthodox account of day-by-day research in a Caribbean colony on the eve of independence, the second half is accessed through a metaphorical trapdoor that deposits the reader in Kingston's political underworld. It is the chance encounter of my Canadian friend, Dr Donald Innis, with Susie Thomas⁶ in August Town just before the opening of the second half of the journal that brings me into contact with Ralph Fitzherbert (Mr Fitz), and through him Millard Johnson, the

leader of the PPP—the party originally founded by Marcus Garvey in 1929—and the Ras Tafari leader Sam Brown.

Fortunately, I had been in Jamaica for several months when Ralph Fitzherbert took me down to West Kingston to meet Millard Johnson and Sam Brown, so I was able to draw on my recently acquired knowledge of Kingston, rural Jamaica, and the slums of West Kingston, as I was plunged into meetings with these two men. What I was not prepared for was Brown's searching questioning, that afternoon and later, about whether or not I was a Marxist, whether I thought a coup d'état was feasible, and his enquiries about the role I might play in an insurrection. It must be added that, although I clung to the notion of democracy's superiority over authoritarian systems of government throughout my conversations with Brown, I had not yet even had the opportunity to vote in a UK general election. I had, however, been interested (but not actively engaged) in national politics and international relations as a schoolboy and student in postwar Britain, and it is clear that my Jamaican experiences, and especially my encounters with poverty in West Kingston, moved me markedly to the democratic left.

I found Brown's questioning over the next few weeks chilling, and was relieved when our one-to-one meetings came to an end—though I found them deeply insightful. I thought at the time that Brown imagined I was the agent of a British communist-inspired group; having received no positive response to his leading questions, he gave up. Why did I remain politically inactive (but observant) in Jamaica in 1961, when I was positively invited to become involved? I was constrained because I was not Jamaican; I did not trust the direction of the radical movement and its leaders, Millard Johnson and, in particular, Sam Brown. I concluded that Brown was a clever, unscrupulous opportunist with no policy other than to dominate any society that his radical thoughts and actions brought into being.⁷

I was convinced that an economic policy more radical than that underlying Jamaica's development trajectory was needed, impressive though it was statistically. Throughout much of the summer of 1961 I was in a cleft stick, attracted by the idea of more radical state intervention for the benefit of the poor, yet concerned about the colonial state's knowledge of my research in West Kingston. I was afraid that any direct association I might have with the communist-orientated PFM and Jamaica's acknowledged leading Marxist, Richard Hart,⁸ would make me a marked man with the authorities, and I was aware that my principal task in Jamaica was to complete the fieldwork for my doctorate. In the mid-1970s in Britain, however, I was closely

associated with Richard in the founding and running of the UK Society for Caribbean Studies, and as Attorney General he generously facilitated a visit that Tony Payne and I made to Grenada shortly before the 1983 coup within the People's Revolutionary Government.

My crucial 1961 contact was Mr Fitz, who was acting as a go-between connecting his former Garveyite associates, Hugh Buchanan,⁹ a leading light in the PFM, and Sam Brown (BMPP) to Millard Johnson (PPP). However, Mr Fitz still received a retainer from the JLP, and he and I moved effortlessly through the JLP yard in Trench Town whenever we needed a base in West Kingston. In my view, Mr Fitz had left-wing and black-racist tendencies, tinged with a strong sense of realism. I paid him a small fee for accompanying me on my trips to West Kingston; he put me, and kept me, in contact with some of the most dangerous people, and could get me into and out of the most deprived areas whenever I wanted to visit. We met again when I returned to Jamaica in 1964 and 1968, and corresponded until his death in the early 1970s.

Local Standing Intelligence Committee Reports and Security Issues

The only independent written information I have about Mr Fitz is that he chaired one of the PPP rallies at Old Hope Road/Standpipe Lane on August 24, 1961.¹⁰ I was not invited by him to attend this rally, though that in itself is not particularly significant. I discovered almost 50 years later that Mr Fitz played this role, because political rallies required police permission—and usually warranted a police presence. He is mentioned in the August 1961 issue of the Local Standing Intelligence Committee (LSIC) reports. These typewritten documents were produced for the LSIC by the Special Branch of the Jamaica Constabulary Force.

In the early 1960s the LSIC was chaired by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr John Clerk,¹¹ and during his absence on leave by Sir Geoffrey Gunter, the Acting Governor, who was a retired Jamaican senior civil servant.¹² Members of the committee on the eve of independence (1961–2) were senior bureaucrats, senior military and police officers, and Special Branch (intelligence) or security officers—six Jamaican and five British, one of whom, the Security Liaison Officer, was a representative of MI5 (Walton 2013).¹³ The reports were sent by the Governor back to the Colonial Office in London to inform British policy, and are now preserved in The National Archives, Public Record Office (TNA, PRO) at Kew, London.¹⁴

Professor Robert Hill of the Department of History, University of California Los Angeles, when eliciting my help with Mike Smith's role in researching and writing *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* (1960), generously sent me 24 of the Jamaican LSIC reports from December 1959 to June 1962. I have subsequently built on their revelations by my own researches on Jamaican materials at The National Archives at Kew. In particular, I consulted a remarkable document on "The Development of Racism in Jamaica" prepared by the Special Branch for the LSIC and completed on July 4, 1961.¹⁵

This is an expert and polished synthesis (possibly revealing the hand of the British MI5 officer resident in Jamaica) of materials in the earlier LSIC reports, with pen portraits of the leading black activists, and a subtle appraisal of changes in the shifting power of the various players—racist and Marxist—in the slum sections of Kingston over the previous year. It contains the bold perception that the Ras Tafarian, Sam Brown, was by late 1960 Hugh Buchanan's chosen political leader of the militant left, and that the surprise emergence of Millard Johnson as a popular national figure in early 1961 required negotiations and compromises on behalf of Brown and Buchanan. There are some overlaps between this report and Mike Smith's 1961 unpublished paper "Race and Politics in Jamaica," written for Norman Manley and the PNP on New Year's Eve 1960, and it seems likely that the author of "The Development of Racism," whether the MI5 officer or not, had read it and possibly spoken to Smith about its contents.

In addition to colonial materials routinely despatched by the Governor of Jamaica to the United Kingdom, I have consulted documents in the Migrated Archive, the Jamaican component of which was released to the public at the end of September 2012. These are secret papers (sent back to Britain and deposited at Hanslope Park, Buckinghamshire) that the United Kingdom was not prepared to leave in former colonies once independence had been achieved. The Migrated Archive for Jamaica, though fairly innocuous, did include the LSIC reports for the six months that were missing from Robert Hill's sendings—months of confusion in Jamaica in late 1961 and the first half of 1962, in the middle of which the British had to hand over to the newly elected Jamaican administration, which was taking the colony into independence outside the West Indies Federation.

I thus acquired an almost complete run of Special Branch reports for the last two-and-a-half years of British colonialism in Jamaica. The

value of the LSIC reports (none of which contradict my own information) is that they make linkages between individuals that I could not always infer with confidence during fieldwork. Furthermore, the reports for 1962 give me insights into what happened in Jamaica immediately after my departure for the United Kingdom at the beginning of October 1961. Nonetheless, my journal supplies the substance and tone of conversations that I had with various interlocutors in Kingston, and these have no equivalent in the abbreviated and synthesized—but (to my view) highly accurate—reports of the Special Branch.

I have used the LSIC reports (and other archival materials) to endnote the text of my 1961 and 1968 journals and this Introduction. Much of the security material, however, is so closely related to the 1961 journal that I have placed key pieces of it in the body of the text itself in chapters 3 and 4 (leaving the endnotes to carry the references), so that the reader can benefit from the juxtaposition of interview material and the corresponding historical record. To enable the two texts to be distinguished, I have put the archival materials into square brackets. In this way it is feasible to include an archive-based assessment, from the vantage point of the present day, of what I was told during fieldwork, to scrutinize the role of Mike Smith in the writing of the report on the Ras Tafari Movement, and to explore his involvement with security matters in Jamaica.

Robert Hill sent me scans of his LSIC reports in early July 2010, but I didn't look at them until I had finished transcribing my 1961 journal a month later. When I did read them I was surprised to discover that I didn't feature in any of them, though most of the public meetings in Kingston at which I had been present in July, August, and September were recorded in the monthly reports, and I must have been highly visible as a white observer in black lower-class neighborhoods. The only occasion when I was involved in a meeting downtown and there was no corresponding security report, was for the celebration of the birthday of Haile Selassie in central Kingston on July 23, 1961.

During that event Mr Fitz and I were warned that we were being followed by two detectives, though nothing came of it. I imagine that I must, at some stage, have been checked out by the police or the Special Branch and assessed—correctly—as a bona fide university researcher. Mike Smith of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) at UCWI, who mentored my research, had been the lead (essentially the sole) author of the 1960 report, *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*, and my association with him, which

is frequently alluded to in the journal, was probably sufficient to allay suspicions on the part of the authorities about my activities—indeed, they may have considered me an unwitting ally of theirs.

The Ras Tafari Report

The now famous report on the Ras Tafari had been produced in the immediate aftermath of what was perceived locally as the attempted June 1960 coup against the Jamaican colonial state. It was organized, so the authorities believed, by Revd Claudius Henry (at that moment in prison awaiting trial) and his US-based son, Ronald (aka Reynold). A military camp had been set up outside Kingston by Ronald's private militia of black Americans with the assistance of some members of the Ras Tafari movement, who were followers of Revd Henry. Several soldiers of the British Hampshire Regiment (on duty in Jamaica) were shot in Kingston's Red Hills on patrol with the West India Regiment and the police force. Ronald Henry and his associates were eventually captured and imprisoned, and Henry and others were hanged for the killing of three Ras Tafari with whom they had once been associated but had fallen out (Barrett 1968).

Reporting on June 28, 1960, to the Jamaica House of Representatives the details of the Red Hills incident, after which two members of the Royal Hampshire Regiment had died, and hinting at an academic investigation of the Ras Tafari movement, which had been involved, Premier Manley commented:

Recently there has developed a section of the Rastafari movement which introduced two new elements. The first was the positive preaching of violence against the country as a whole, and the second was its association with foreign elements in the United States of America.... I assure the House that the Government has under active consideration other positive measures and has enlisted the support by way of advice and help of all those in the community who are best qualified to analyse and interpret the present situation and to make practical proposals as to what other steps may be taken to deal with it.¹⁶

Outstanding among those “best qualified” was undoubtedly Dr M. G. Smith, a family friend of the Manleys and an anthropologist on the staff of UCWI.

Three weeks later (on July 21, by which time, though unknown to most people, he had probably already read, digested, and approved a draft of the report on the Ras Tafari movement) Manley once

more addressed the House of Representatives. Focusing directly on the cult, he claimed that:

The leaders of the elements [Ras Tafari] do not associate themselves with violence and they appealed to the University College of the West Indies to go down among them and study their faiths, beliefs and aspirations and their hopes and we are fortunate indeed in having now as the head of the university a man with vast and broad experience [Professor Arthur Lewis] who not only responded to the request but went himself and presided over the first meeting in the depths of the Rastafarian areas where some 400 to 500 attended, and met them in person and he immediately set up a small committee comprised of three of the finest young men of brains and specialised knowledge in that field [Smith, Augier, and Nettleford], who have worked day and night among the people and who have miraculously in two short weeks been ready to present a full report with recommendations.¹⁷

Manley repeated the myth, enunciated by Principal Lewis in his foreword to the report (dated July 20, 1960), that members of the Ras Tafari movement had asked UCWI to carry out a study of the cult, and that within a period of two weeks a report was produced on July 20, 1960—*The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*. Not surprisingly, the general public was not mollified by the report or its recommendations, and the cult continued to be interpreted as a potentially violent element that might impact the colony's transition to independence, either through federation, or with Jamaica on its own, and, in the latter case, even more vulnerable to potential violence and destabilization (Clarke 1975 and 2006a).

As readers will discover, in 1961 Mike Smith told me the same story as everyone else, namely that the Ras Tafari Report had been requested by the Ras Tafari leadership itself, and that the research and write-up had been completed in a two-week period (in reality ten days) in early July 1960.¹⁸ The meticulous research of Robert Hill has, however, shown quite conclusively that the Ras Tafari Report was commissioned by the Jamaican government in late June 1960 (see also Thompson 2009, 109), and was researched and written by Mike Smith, with his co-authors, Roy Augier (historian) and Rex Nettleford (political scientist), playing minor supporting roles.¹⁹ In Robert Hill's view the study was written more to address Jamaican security problems, than to provide academic research on the Ras Tafari movement (Hill 2001).

Hill argues that work for the report actually started in mid-May 1960 when Mike joined the Rehabilitation of Ras Tafarians Committee,

set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs and chaired by Monsignor Gladstone Wilson, with Mike Smith as Deputy Chairman.²⁰ The Jamaican government's main aim, between the imprisonment of Revd Claudius Henry in April and the outbreak of the Red Hills uprising in June 1960, had been to get Mike Smith to meet, identify, and explore the most dangerous Ras Tafari (such as Boanerges and Sam Brown), to divide the Rastas into their component parts, to manipulate them by proposing a government-sponsored Mission to Africa (recommended in the report), and to co-opt those leaders who were susceptible to emigration or rehabilitation.²¹ If the various Ras Tafari groups fell out with one another or some lost significance, as the Bonaji and the United Rases Organization did, so well and good.²²

Mike told me in 1961 that he had spent several days—I had assumed during July 1960 as part of the “rapid survey” for the Ras Tafari Report (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford 1960, 7)—interviewing Sam Brown, the Ras Tafari leader on the Foreshore Road, and recording 60 hours on tape, because he thought Brown was such a clever and dangerous man. It now seems highly likely that these time-consuming tape recordings must have been made before July 1960; otherwise they would have taken up too much of the ten-day period of research and writing allegedly devoted to the Ras Tafari in July 1960. Brown never mentioned these taped interviews to me, nor did he ever allude to the existence of M. G. Smith.

My Qualms

Mike Smith was, on our first encounter in mid-April 1961, suspicious of me and my research on urban problems in Kingston—“Who sent you here?” was his opening shot. But he quickly relented when, shocked by his accusing tone, I revealed what I had already read at university about the Caribbean and its urban problems, and it became manifestly clear that I was a bona fide research student and not an undercover agent. Mike’s deep personal knowledge of Jamaica, his incisive questioning, and his supervision of detailed field issues as they cropped up, turned out to be of the utmost value, though some readers may be surprised that he tried to take no control of the overall thrust of the research.

Through our conversations, especially from the middle of July until he left Jamaica in the second half of August 1961, he was able give me a great deal of confidential background to the events of 1960–1, comment on the substance of what I was hearing in West Kingston, and, above all, bolster my confidence that I could handle

the situation on my own—which I had to do for the last five weeks of my stay in Jamaica. The information I supplied to him also enabled Mike, who seemed rarely to leave his study in his home on the UCWI campus, to update his knowledge of current events and crucial actors in West Kingston—though that interpretation did not occur to me at the time.

Frequently I felt very vulnerable while I was living alone in my flat on the empty campus during the summer vacation of 1961, because of what I knew about Kingston's political underworld, and I often wondered how much knowledge the Jamaican government had—the LSIC reports indicate that it was very well informed. When I returned to the United Kingdom in October 1961 I told my supervisor at Oxford, Paul Paget, about my experiences and concerns, and on my behalf he contacted Vincent Harlow, Professor of Commonwealth History, who knew me slightly from Caribbean seminars of his that I had attended as an undergraduate.

Professor Harlow agreed to meet me, and on hearing an abbreviated version of my story, immediately offered to write on my behalf to the Colonial Office (in early November 1961). I later discovered that he told Mr Ambler Thomas, the Assistant Under Secretary of State, that “in the course of his [Clarke's] work he evidently became well acquainted with a good many characters in the ‘underworld’ of West Kingston—as well, of course, as other individuals of a different type.”²³ The West Indian Department of the Colonial Office, in response, was pleased to accept my offer to talk to them, but expressed no great urgency. Mr D. Williams, an Assistant Secretary, wrote to me: “We should very much like to take advantage of this offer but I am reluctant to drag you away from Oxford in the middle of term just for this purpose.”²⁴

For my part, I was anxious to discuss Jamaican affairs again with Mike Smith, whom I had not seen since late August, before talking to the Colonial Office—I was not sure what to reveal to them, since I was sympathetic to black upliftment, but not to the creation of a red or black dictatorship—and so I played for time, hoping to meet Mike and talk to him during a stopover he was planning in London en route to a conference in Africa in December 1961. Unfortunately, Mike had to cancel his trip at the last minute. When I eventually saw Mr Williams in early February 1962, the latter, having listened to what I had to say about racism, Marxism, Back-to-Africa, politics, and the referendum, remarked that Jamaica was heading for independence in six months' time and that the United Kingdom had no interest beyond that.

What I did not know then, however, was that the two officials in the Colonial Office, whom I have named—Thomas and Williams—already knew from the LSIC reports the substance of what I revealed, since their names appear in the circulation list written on the cover of the files in The National Archives—hence, I assume, their lack of urgency over our meeting! More recently, I have discovered that the crucial document on “The Development of Racism in Jamaica” had been sent “for your personal information” to Ambler Thomas by Governor Blackburne on August 21, 1961.²⁵ Ironically, it was my slender correspondence with the Colonial Office, now available at The National Archives at Kew, which alerted Robert Hill to the fact that I might have materials—my 1961 journal as it turns out—bearing on M. G. Smith and the Ras Tafari Report.

The Ras Tafari, the African Reform Church, and the First Africa Corps

Members of the Ras Tafari movement occupied center stage in Jamaican life throughout 1961. Two years earlier, the movement had come to public prominence when a violent fight took place at the Coronation Market in West Kingston involving some Ras Tafari and the police. Many of the brethren adopted the slogan “repatriation or revolution.” In 1959 too, Revd Claudius Henry, leader of the African Reform Church and self-proclaimed “Repairer of the Breach,” promised his flock in Kingston that he would lead them back to Africa (Clarke 1975).

While living as an immigrant in the United States, though of Jamaican peasant birth, Claudius Henry had had a vision in 1957 ordering him to return to the colony (Meeks 2000). He was told to read *Isaiah* Chapter 45, which, he claimed, foretold his role as God’s black son, Jesus, in leading Israel (black Jamaicans) back to the Promised Land (Africa). In Jamaica Henry, addressing Sister Edna Fisher’s prayer group in West Kingston, explained that he had been summoned by Ras Tafari (Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia), who was his father, and identified the Back-to-Africa movement as redemptive (Chevannes 1976, 266).

Henry’s African Reform Church (ARC) was built in Sister Edna’s yard on Rosalie Avenue, from which he proselytized in West Kingston and rural Vere. Henry’s cult was distinctive within the Ras Tafari/Back-to-Africa movement and held at arm’s length by many groups, since the Ras Tafari believed that Haile Selassie was God, but no leaders were treated as divine. Revd Henry did not wear, or advocate

wearing, a beard or locks, as many (but not all) Ras Tafari did, though many of Henry's followers were locksmiths. While Henry organized regular services held on Saturdays, rather than Sundays (a long-standing obsession of his), and eschewed ganja, the Ras Tafari did none of these (Bogues 2003).

In August 1959 Henry announced that a crucial decision would be made on October 5, of that year; he mentioned specifically acceptance of the divinity of Emperor Haile Selassie, Saturday worship, and a general reform of life. He also announced that a "Miraculous Repatriation" would begin on the same day (Chevannes 1976, 275). About 500 followers, clutching blue certificates of travel, gathered at the ARC, but no one left Jamaica. Many locksmiths quit the ARC in disappointment, but some followers remained and the cult became closed and secretive. Henry toyed with the abandonment of repatriation, making an unverified claim that he had visited Ethiopia and had discovered that His Majesty "had no intention of giving up Jamaica, because Jamaica being a black country was part of Africa" (Chevannes 1976, 276).

Early in 1960, to escape the stress associated with his failed repatriation project, Revd Henry visited New York for a few weeks to join his son Ronald. But at the end of March he told his followers at his Rosalie Avenue headquarters that his son had made arrangements for a New York boat to come to Jamaica to transport them to Africa, and that the Cuban government had promised assistance if the Jamaican government opposed their repatriation.²⁶ At the beginning of April, Revd Henry and about 450 of his followers, the majority armed with machetes and daggers, went on an outing to a beach in St Thomas. Henry, his deputy Calvert "Thunder" Beckford, and some of the others wore uniform.

Addressing the gathering, Henry

said that when he had a fully equipped and uniformed force of 15,000 he intended to march against the "gods who were the white population" and if his demands for repatriation of his followers to Africa was refused blood would flow. In reply to Beckford's complaint that he was anxious to kill the white men but that Henry was holding him back, Henry reminded him that he [Henry] had been bound over to keep the peace for twelve months and in view of this and the presence of the white soldiers who Manley had "imported" into the island it would be unwise to make a move at the present time. When the order was given, however, there would be no turning back.²⁷

The police raided Henry's church on Rosalie Avenue in West Kingston on April 6, 1960, and found a variety of weapons, dynamite,

and letters from Ronald Henry, and two letters addressed to Fidel Castro.²⁸ One of the letters to Castro read:

All our efforts to have a peaceful repatriation has proven a total failure (*sic*).... Hence we must fight a war for what is ours by right. Therefore, we want to assure you Sir, and your Government that Jamaica and the rest of the West Indies will be turned over to you and your Government, after this war which we are preparing to start for Africa's freedom is completed; and we her scattered children are restored. We are getting ready for an Invasion on the Jamaica Government therefore we need your help and personal advice. (Quoted in Chevannes 1976, 277)

Henry was arrested and gaoled on suspicion of Treason Felony, in other words, the intention to commit treason, rather than treason itself, the former carrying a potential custodial (but not the death) sentence (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford 1960; Clarke 1975).

Two months later (on June 12, 1960) Revd Henry's son Ronald arrived clandestinely in Jamaica from the United States, using Montego Bay as a port of entry, and making his way to join his American First Africa Corps (FAC) in Kingston. Shortly afterward (June 16, 1960), Howard Rollins, a black American citizen and associate of Ronald Henry's, took delivery in Kingston of a large refrigerator, despatched by sea from the United States, behind the rear paneling of which were stowed guns, ammunition, and other military equipment.²⁹

Rollins and another black American, Eldred Morgan, took the weapons by car to a secret camp in Molynes Mountain (part of the Red Hills, a rural area to the north of the West Kingston slum), where Ronald Henry and his black American FAC (all with US military training) had gathered, plus some Ras Tafarian associates of Ronald's father. But the Americans and the Ras Tafari fell out (almost certainly over the target of their mission—Jamaica supported by the local Rastas or Africa by the FAC), and three Ras Tafari, including "Thunder" Beckford, were murdered and buried.³⁰

As events unfolded it was assumed by the Jamaican authorities that Ronald's aim was to seize the government and free his father, whose request for bail in June had been refused in court on the day before the cache of weapons had arrived in Kingston. Following a security tip-off, on June 21, 1960, a combined army and police force raided the camp, and as we already know two members of the Hampshire Regiment were shot and killed by the FAC. This was one of the most violent outbreaks in Jamaica's post slavery history, and it dominated the news for more than a week. Retreating into the St Catherine hills,

Ronald and all his companions were eventually captured.³¹ Revd Henry was imprisoned for ten years in late 1960, and Ronald Henry was hanged in early 1961.

The subsequent report on the Ras Tafari movement noted that, “whereas it had previously been an object of amused scorn, it was now regarded for the first time as a serious threat to the island’s security” (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, 1960, 1). Smith, Augier, and Nettleford observed (1960, 25):

The great majority of Ras Tafari brethren are peaceful citizens who do not believe in violence. We have no evidence that the Ras Tafarians as a group are being manipulated by non-Ras Tafarians with violent beliefs, such as communists.... [Ras Tafari] has no links with Marxism either of analysis or prognosis.... For Jamaican leftists the violent part of the Ras Tafarian spectrum is a gift. Capitalist, bourgeois and proletariat can be directly translated into white, brown and black. Revolution becomes Redemption with Repatriation as the issue provoking bloodshed. The Marxist vanguard wears a Niyabingi cloak.³²

The first three sentences quoted above were intended to allay the fears of the public, especially the Jamaican middle class. An editorial in the *Daily Gleaner*, however, cast doubts on the soundness of the report, as did Monsignor Gladstone Wilson, to whom Mike Smith replied (also in the *Gleaner*) that “rapid surveys” were tried and tested instruments in Social Anthropological research.³³ The fact that these two protagonists were Chairman (Wilson) and Deputy Chairman (Smith) of the secret Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee will have been lost on all but a handful of insiders in 1960.

Nevertheless, my research in 1961 was to show that within a short period of time the last three sentences quoted above from the Ras Tafari Report—as Mike Smith knew—were proving guidelines for action. One particular Jamaican Marxist, Hugh Buchanan, a former advisor to Revd Henry, was starting to manipulate sections of the Ras Tafari who were either Marxist or amenable to Marxism; and violence was certainly being contemplated as a tool by Sam Brown, the leader of the Foreshore Road Ras Tafarians.

Among the ten recommendations made by Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, one set was geared to improved treatment of the Ras Tafari movement and the creation of a Mission to Africa, while the other set focused on ameliorating living conditions among the black poor of downtown Kingston. The recommendations on improving conditions largely repeated the findings of the secret Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee. It was submitted to the Ministry of Home

Affairs in July 1960, and after further prevarication/revision (perhaps associated with Mike Smith's resignation from the committee in mid-1960), forwarded by the minister, William Seivright, to the Cabinet in March 1961.³⁴

Focusing on Back o' Wall in West Kingston, the Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee proposed to work through the good offices of the Methodist Church (a project that materialized as Operation Friendship). The committee's intention was to bring about community improvements among a small sample of Kingston's marginal population—and to mollify the Ras Tafarians—through self-help projects that would produce communal facilities, including a workshop, clinic, and sports facilities.³⁵ If successful it would be rolled out across West Kingston.

Mission to Africa, Marxism, and the People's Political Party

After much negotiation and manipulation of the list of Ras Tafari representatives,³⁶ an unofficial Mission to Africa was dispatched by the Jamaican Government in the spring of 1961 to investigate the possibilities of repatriation. The mission visited Ethiopia and a number of countries in West Africa, and produced two highly optimistic reports in the summer of 1961—a majority report by the non-Ras Tafari delegates, and a minority report by the three Ras Tafari members, Mortimer Planner (aka Mortimo Planno), Filmore Alveranga, and Douglas Mack. In addition, the three Ras Tafari gave a graphic description of their meeting with Emperor Haile Selassie, likening it “spiritually to the visit of the three wise men who journeyed from the West to the East [*sic*] to visit the Baby Jesus” (*Report of Mission to Africa* 1961, 22).

The social tension that had been almost unbearable in Kingston—I could detect it even as I walked through the streets of the downtown area—was immediately released after the report of the Mission to Africa was published in July 1961. But the upper and middle classes failed to appreciate that it would undermine the influence of the rapidly growing group of leftists in the Ras Tafari movement (Brown and his associates in the BMPP), who appeared to revere Karl Marx more than Haile Selassie. Some leftists (Brown and Buchanan) were far more interested in Marxist revolution than in repatriation—both had at one time or another been named members of the Mission to Africa, but had left it before it set out—and by early 1961 Buchanan, who had lived in Cuba and spoke Spanish, had established links with the Castro regime.³⁷

During the course of 1961 the core element in the Ras Tafari movement polarized and split. The religious brethren surrounding Mortimer Planner placed their hopes in repatriation, while the Marxists became increasingly committed to revolution in Jamaica. The Mission to Africa strengthened the position of the religious brethren who remained suspicious of wolves in sheep's clothing, as they termed the Marxists. The latter eulogized the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, and talked to me admiringly about the butchery of the whites in revolutionary Haiti. Yet they feared that any failed attempted coup would result in swift police or British military intervention; early in 1961 Buchanan gave Brown a brief warning about the sort of behavior and talk that could lead to police arrest and trial.³⁸ Brown was cautious about triggering a revolution; in my view, he was apprehensive about failure and afraid of suffering the fate of one or other of the Henrys.

Soon after the middle of 1961 some Marxists (Buchanan and Brown) attempted to draw the Ras Tafari movement into the fold of a new political party, the PPP, which had been launched by Millard Johnson in April, thus bringing together—some rather reluctantly—the following organizations: the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) founded by Marcus Garvey, the Ethiopian World Federation Inc. (EWFI)—Sydney Guntley faction, the Jamaica United Party (a Ras Tafarian and crypto-Marxist group), and the BMPP (Sam Brown).³⁹ The first two of these organizations had a representative on the Mission to Africa, each of whom signed the majority report.

Bursting on the sociopolitical scene in Kingston in the second half of 1960 was Millard Johnson, a black Jamaican barrister, founder of the Council on Afro-West Indian Affairs (CAWIA) in September 1960. He had subsequently toured West Africa with Amy Jacques Garvey (Marcus Garvey's widow) from late 1960 to early 1961. By resurrecting the name of Marcus Garvey's party in April 1961 (but allegedly without the support of Garvey's widow, who lived in Kingston), appearing in African robes, showing films about Africa, and making a direct appeal to race, Johnson seemed for a while to sweep all before him as the black lower class flocked to his meetings (Gannon 1976–7). It soon transpired that the PPP was virtually a front for Richard Hart's PFM, which was a communist party by another name.

A LSIC Report records:

On 10 June [1961] Millard Johnson approached Hart for advice on how to present his idea of a Castro-type government to his followers, and was advised to avoid any reference to communism or revolution in

his speeches. Hart suggested that Johnson might sound his followers on whether they were satisfied with the choice of government Cuba had made. He could then offer to provide them with the same type of government in Jamaica. Hart has accepted Johnson's private invitation to be adviser to the PPP.⁴⁰

The majority of Africa-orientated Ras Tafari (aligned with Mortimer Planner) remained suspicious of these maneuvers, the more so because Johnson, though with a Pan-African outlook, had denied the divinity of Ras Tafari.⁴¹ There is little doubt, however, that in a pre-revolutionary situation Johnson would ideally have been a frontman to confront the main political parties electorally, and once he had succeeded electorally and been removed, a Marxist Ras Tafari-PFM junta would have taken control of the state, whether colonial or independent. Before any of this could happen, or a more direct line to a coup taken, however, Jamaica had to be free from federal encumbrances.

The Federal Referendum

Two opposing camps had been formed, one supporting and the other contesting, Jamaica's membership of the West Indies Federation, set up as a multi-island colonial state in 1958. Nominally, attitudes were split along party lines, the governing PNP being pro-federation and the opposition JLP against it, though there were many in each party who were hostile to their party's federal policy. Premier Manley, unable to confirm Jamaica's continuing membership of the Federation in 1961, submitted the decision to a national referendum (Clarke 1974).⁴²

The referendum in Kingston (and to some extent in Jamaica generally) resolved itself into competition between the West Indian nationalism of the middle and upper classes and the parochialism of the black lower class, with JLP politicians using half-truths and untruths to swing the vote their way. The Ras Tafari, the PPP, and the PFM all recognized that federation could be a distant (the capital was to be in Trinidad), conservative, and legalistic form of government, capable of maintaining the status quo, and powerful enough to subdue internal revolt once the British army had withdrawn at independence.

The Jamaican electorate in September 1961 rejected federation by 54 to 46 percent, with a turnout of just under two-thirds, and jolted the two upper classes (white upper class and brown middle class) out of their perennial complacency into a state of panic. Fears were expressed about Jamaica becoming another Haiti—not for the first

time since 1800. In Kingston the result followed color-class lines, with the upper- and middle-class suburbs voting for federation, and the lower-class neighborhoods in black downtown Kingston registering an equally massive rejection (Clarke 1974 and 1975).

However, the result of the referendum led to a further reduction of tension in the slums of Kingston (after the initial relaxation following the Mission to Africa's report), and members of the lower class began tentatively to re-identify with Jamaican society. Immediately after the referendum the latent centrifugality of the PPP-PFM alliance came into operation, with Buchanan (PFM) and Brown (BMPP and a Marxist Ras Tafari) being expelled from the PPP for trying to undermine Johnson's leadership and take control of the party, which they had been secretly threatening to do for some time.⁴³

Interpreting the result as a vote of no-confidence in the government, the JLP immediately agitated for a general election to be held prior to independence and, under pressure, the PNP conceded. This election, the last to be organized in Jamaica under colonialism, was held in April 1962 and was won by the JLP with 50 percent of the vote, taking 26 out of the 45 constituencies. The PPP, fielding candidates in 16 constituencies, gained just over 2 percent of the national vote, failed to win a single seat, and all its candidates lost their deposits.

Millard Johnson unwisely opted to run against the Minister of Home Affairs, William Seivright, and received only 4.5 percent of the poll, compared to the minister's 60.5 percent. To the amazement of those familiar with the racist tensions of 1961 in West Kingston, the marginal seat of Kingston Western was returned to the JLP with just over 51 percent of the vote, the successful candidate being the Syrian, Edward Seaga, by now a well-known legislator, businessman, and sociologist, and instigator of the "haves" and "have-nots" debate (Clarke 1974). Seaga was thoroughly knowledgeable about lower-class life in West Kingston, and had attended the conference to launch Sam Brown's BMPP in February 1961.⁴⁴

The Marxist Ras Tafarians were discredited, Sam Brown receiving fewer than 100 votes in the 1962 election in Kingston Western; the Ras Tafari brethren were left to dream of their return to Africa—a second less-successful mission was sent to Africa in 1962, but its return tangled with the change of government in April; and the lower class rejoiced that it was to be free on August 1, 1962—for the second time since full slave emancipation in August 1838 (Clarke 1975). Victory in the referendum was in reality a defeat for the dissident groups that had campaigned for it; it did not produce the impasse they had hoped to exploit, but a solution—*independence*—that

the JLP and PNP could act upon, and the masses could embrace as freedom from British colonialism.

Sovereignty and Its Aftermath, 1962–8

The major features of Jamaican late colonial politics were the failure of the black and Marxist dissident elements to fill the vacuum they believed was being created in 1961–2 by British decolonization and federation; and, by contrast, the self-confident seizure of the period of transition after the referendum by the two major parties, the JLP and the PNP, under the leadership of Bustamante and Manley. However, the JLP, once in power, was unable or unwilling to break with the colonial past and give a new cast to Jamaican politics, and the socio-economic conditions that had generated the protest vote that the “no” to federation represented remained unaddressed.

The JLP won the last colonial elections in 1962 and the first elections after independence in 1967, confirming the two-party system, and showing that there would be no room for a third party or more parties in the post-colonial era. By the latter date, the dissident leadership that had seemed so threatening to the political system in 1961 was defunct; Richard Hart was living in England, Hugh Buchanan was dead, and Millard Johnson was in Africa, while Sam Brown was in Kingston, but conspicuously disowned by the black lower class. Mike Smith was a professor in Los Angeles.

In the context of my research on Kingston, the most obvious changes that came about with decolonization were the final Jamaicanization of the civil service and the West Indianization of the academic staff at the University of the West Indies—no longer a college of London University. In the TPD, one of my regular haunts in 1961, I found that by 1968 there had been an influx of black Jamaicans to replace the white expatriate civil servants, most of whom had returned to the United Kingdom.

This change in personnel is obvious in the text and significant in terms of socioracial change in Kingston. During the late 1960s “black is beautiful,” adopted from the United States, became a popular Jamaican slogan, reversing the “white bias” of the colonial period. Some of the younger black middle-class women employed in government departments now sported Afro-hairstyles, in contrast to the hair-straightening that had been almost universal among women in the bureaucracy in the early 1960s.

Irrespective of the two successive victories won at general elections by the JLP, the alliance of the upper and middle classes held good at

the core of each of the two political parties, as the government dripped jobs and houses to the JLP poor. Marginalized by the electoral system, the militant Ras Tafari lost their appeal, nothing came of repatriation to Africa, and many cultists were drawn into the newly established chapter of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church or were scattered in the diaspora following the government's drive against the squatter camps.

The major Ras Tafari act of violence during the postindependence decade was the Coral Gardens disturbance of 1963, which took place on the outskirts of Montego Bay (not in Kingston), and was largely about access to land. It was put down by the JLP government with considerable force: eight people were killed, and the three surviving Ras Tafarians were subsequently hanged (Thomas 2004). But as the decade of the 1960s progressed, the poorest black elements in downtown Kingston once more became disillusioned, and street riots in 1965 were aimed at the Chinese and other business groups.

In 1968 a new, and more dangerous, protest movement—Black Power—emerged in Jamaica, based on the Mona (Kingston) campus of the UWI. A few weeks after my 1968 journal ended, Walter Rodney, a Guyanese lecturer in African History at the university was barred (as an undesirable non-Jamaican) from re-entering the country on October 15, after attending a congress of black writers in Montreal. The next day university students protested at his exclusion, and rioting (involving lower-class black support too) took place in the city center.

Rodney's Black Power movement derived its inspiration from three sources: it looked to Marcus Garvey and the Ras Tafari movement; it employed the verbal techniques of contemporary Black Power advocates in the United States—Stokeley Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver; and it deployed many of the arguments for radical change that had been developed by social scientists in the New World Group at the university, who criticized Jamaica's government and its successful, but socially complacent, economic trajectory as “neo-colonial” (Nettleford 1970).

Rodney, whose appeal was as much to the Kingston poor as to the university students, was reiterating the call to black upliftment made by Millard Johnson and Sam Brown, which had seemed so radical and powerful in Kingston in 1961. According to Rodney, Black Power had three objectives: “(1) the break with imperialism which is historically white racist; (2) the assumption of power by the black masses . . . ; (3) the cultural reconstruction of the society in the image

of the blacks" (1969). The Jamaican political parties responded in ways designed to contain, co-opt, isolate, or undermine Black Power, much as the Norman Manley government had responded to the Ras Tafari in 1960.

They argued that Black Power was already a political reality in Jamaica, and that the notions of black dignity and black beauty were self-evident in an independent black state. The JLP government, intent on manipulating race for its own ends, named Marcus Garvey as one of the postindependence National Heroes, and erected a statue to Paul Bogle (also a National Hero) to commemorate the centenary of the Morant Bay rebellion in 1965 and his leading role in it. In 1966 the government capped these tactics by inviting Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to visit Jamaica, though his presence gave a new impetus to black awareness.

These symbolic gestures to recognize blackness made little difference to the daily life of the Jamaican poor; they were mildly palatable in the more optimistic years immediately following independence, but less so as the late 1960s were entered. By this time, the published works of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael were banned, and in 1968 black-power leaders in Kingston were either excluded from the society (as in the case of Rodney) or dubbed "misguided socialists" (Payne 1988).

However, when Michael Manley (PNP)—Norman's son—defeated the JLP government in 1972, he did so largely by stealing a substantial part of Rodney's agenda, blending it with socialism and using the concoction as a national agenda for change. After a near-decade of democratic socialism and the further tribalization of Jamaican politics, the enterprise ended in the debacle (for Manley) of the "cold-war" election of 1980, which pitted him against the JLP Leader of the Opposition, Edward Seaga.

Before this happened, however, Mike Smith, co-author of the Ras Tafari Report and since 1969 Professor of Anthropology at University College, London, had become a special advisor to the government of his close friend, Michael Manley. Smith's part-time post (1972–5) became full-time from 1975 to 1977, and he was invited to attend Cabinet meetings. In the light of his role as the author of the Ras Tafari Report of 1960, and the record of his conversations with me transcribed in this journal, it will not be surprising to readers that by the mid-1970s Smith's biographer claimed that his "presence was felt in nearly every corner of the government's offices" (Hall 1997, 107).

Conclusion

The fundamental problem for Jamaica after independence in 1962 was to confront the unresolved problems of the British colonial period—color-class and cultural subordination, mass unemployment and underemployment, and poverty in a dependent economy; and a political system that had failed to respond democratically to the needs of the majority of the people. The classic exemplar of these conditions at their worst was the capital city, Kingston.

The fact that one-fifth of Jamaica's population lived in the overcrowded and socially polarized city of Kingston at independence explains why the geography of the city's slum or ghetto was to play such an important negative role—vitiated by guns, gangs, and drugs, and the formation of garrison constituencies—in shaping the electoral politics of Jamaica throughout the first 40 years of sovereignty, as my recent book, *Decolonizing the Colonial City: Urbanization and Stratification in Kingston, Jamaica*, exemplifies (Clarke 2006b).

My 1961 journal shows that, contrary to accepted wisdom, Jamaica's transition to independence was anything but smooth and uncontested, while the 1968 materials demonstrate that, with the earlier dissident forces routed, the two-party political system was able fill the vacuum created by Jamaica's "no" in the federal referendum. The JLP governments of 1962 and 1967 ruled in independence as though Jamaica were still a colony, with the laws, constitution, economy, and social structure essentially copied over from late colonial times. Neither the shock of Black Power in 1968, nor Manley's Democratic Socialism of the 1970s has made a permanent impact on Jamaican society; and the roots of black dissident failure and of two-party stasis are clearly exemplified in my journals for 1961 and 1968 respectively.

Part I

Jamaica Journal 1961

Maps

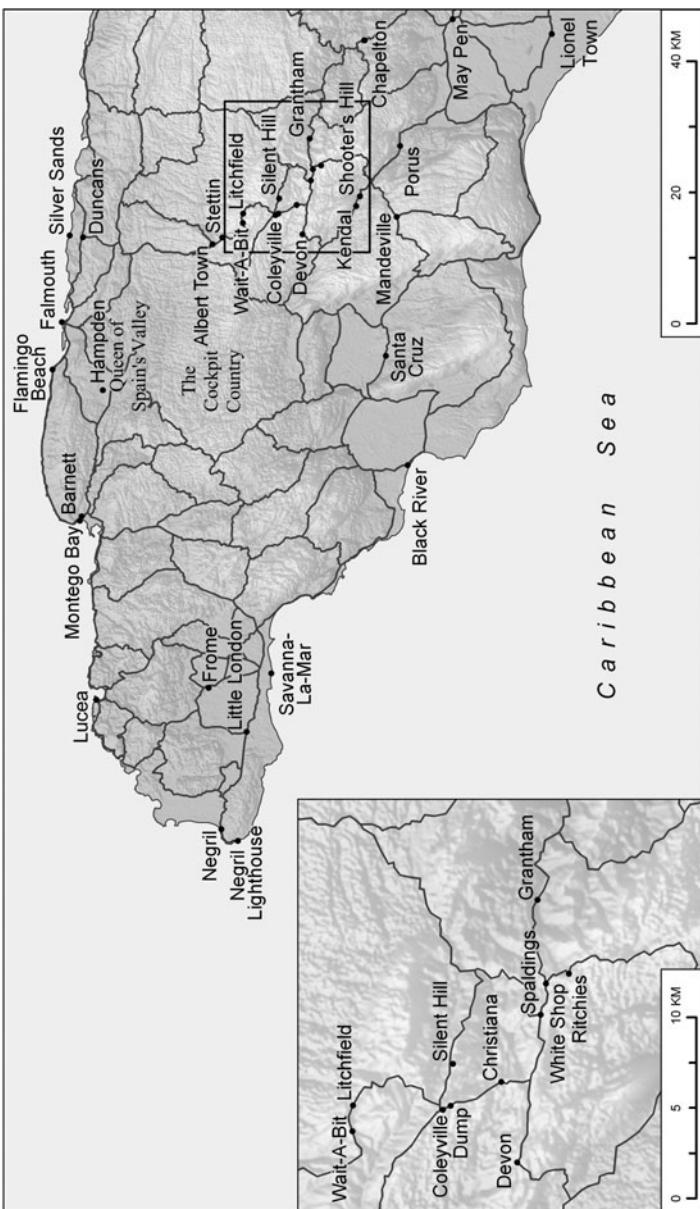


Figure 1.1 Western Jamaica: Place Names and Roads.

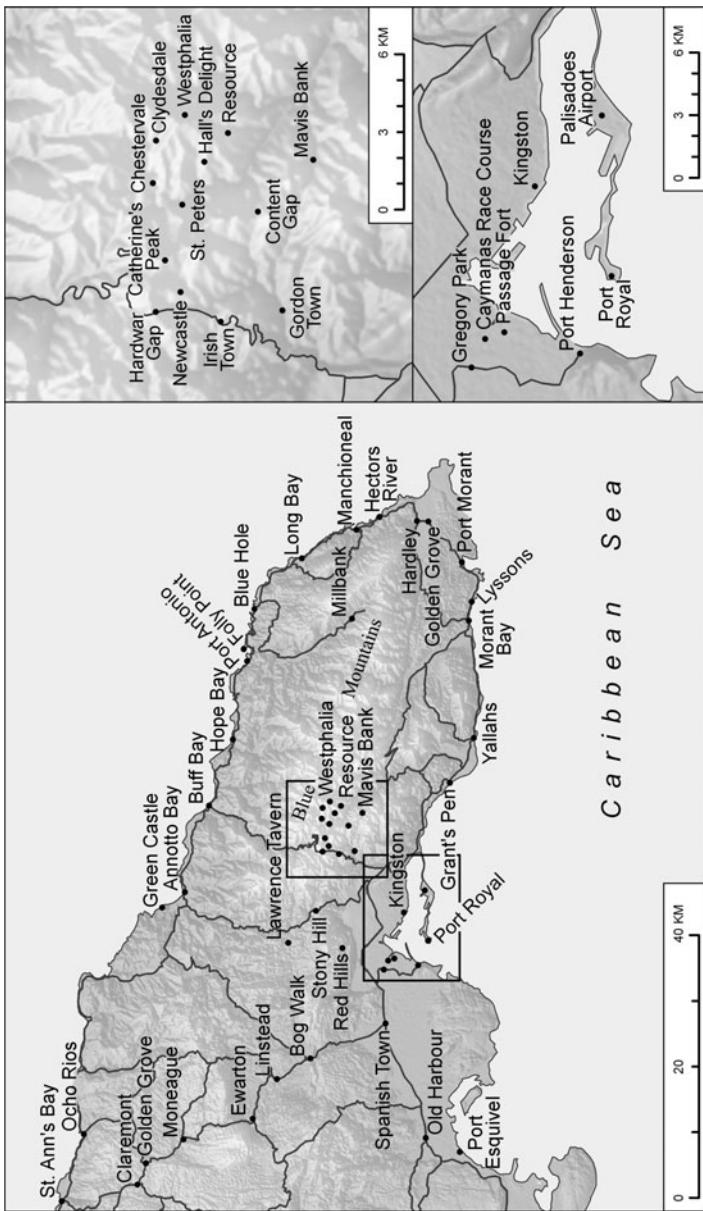


Figure 1.2 Eastern Jamaica: Place Names and Roads.

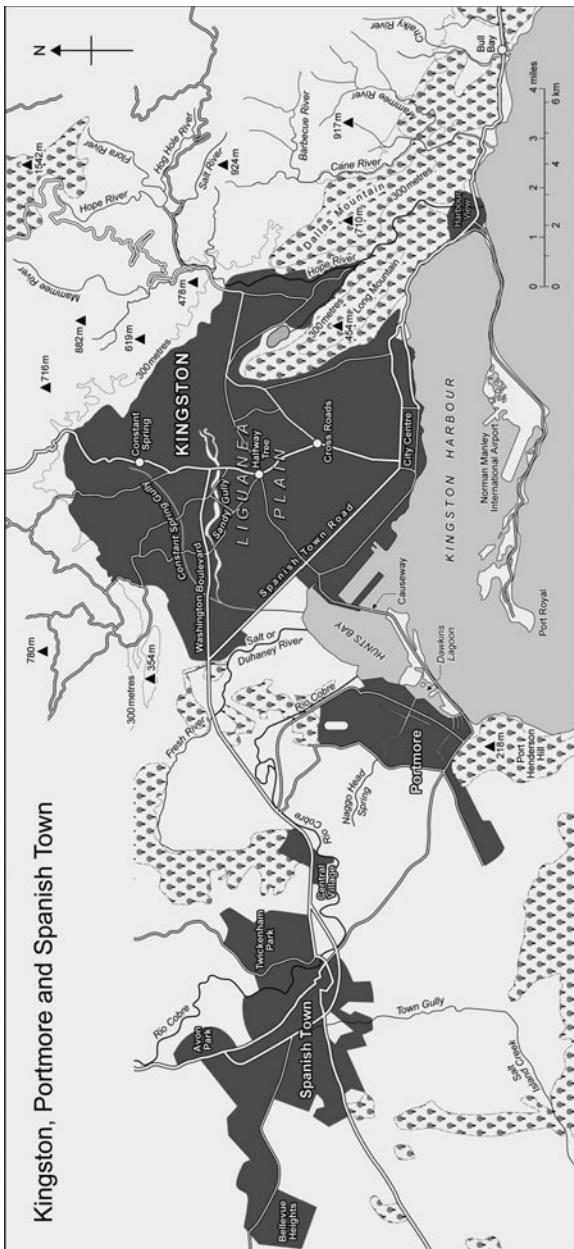


Figure 1.3 Kingston's Regional Context.

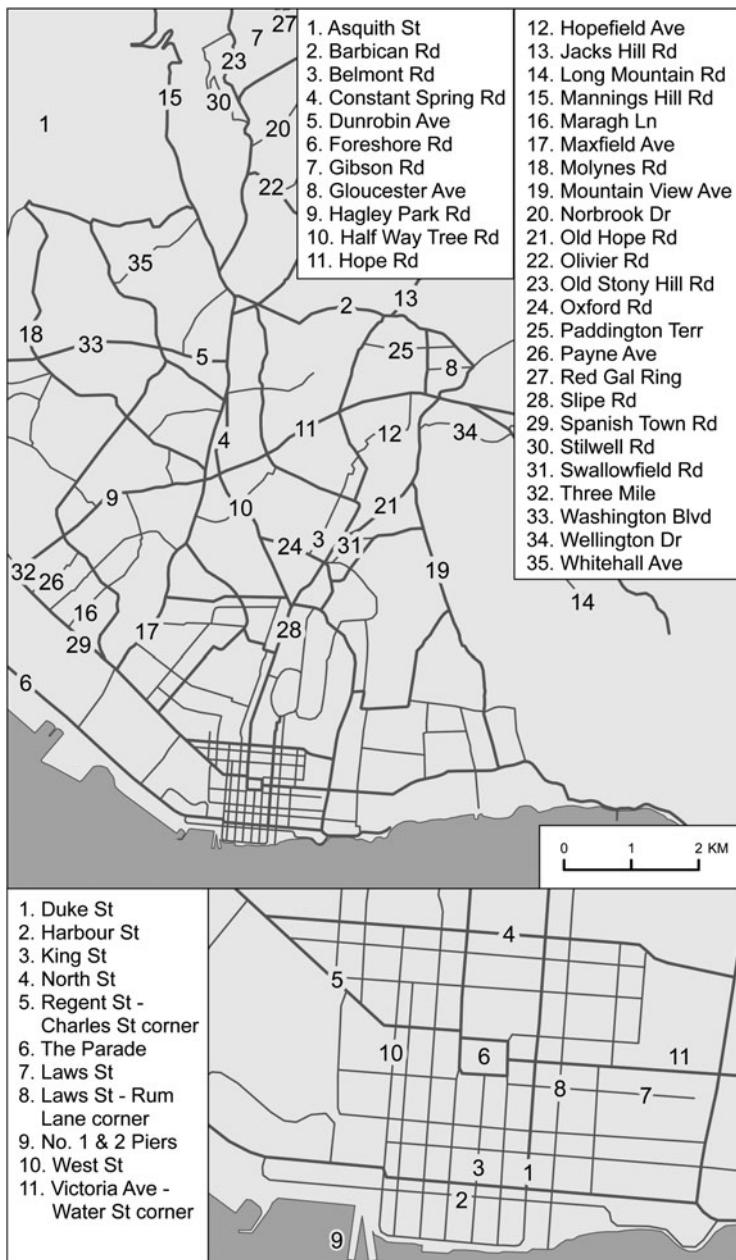


Figure 1.4 Kingston: Street Names.

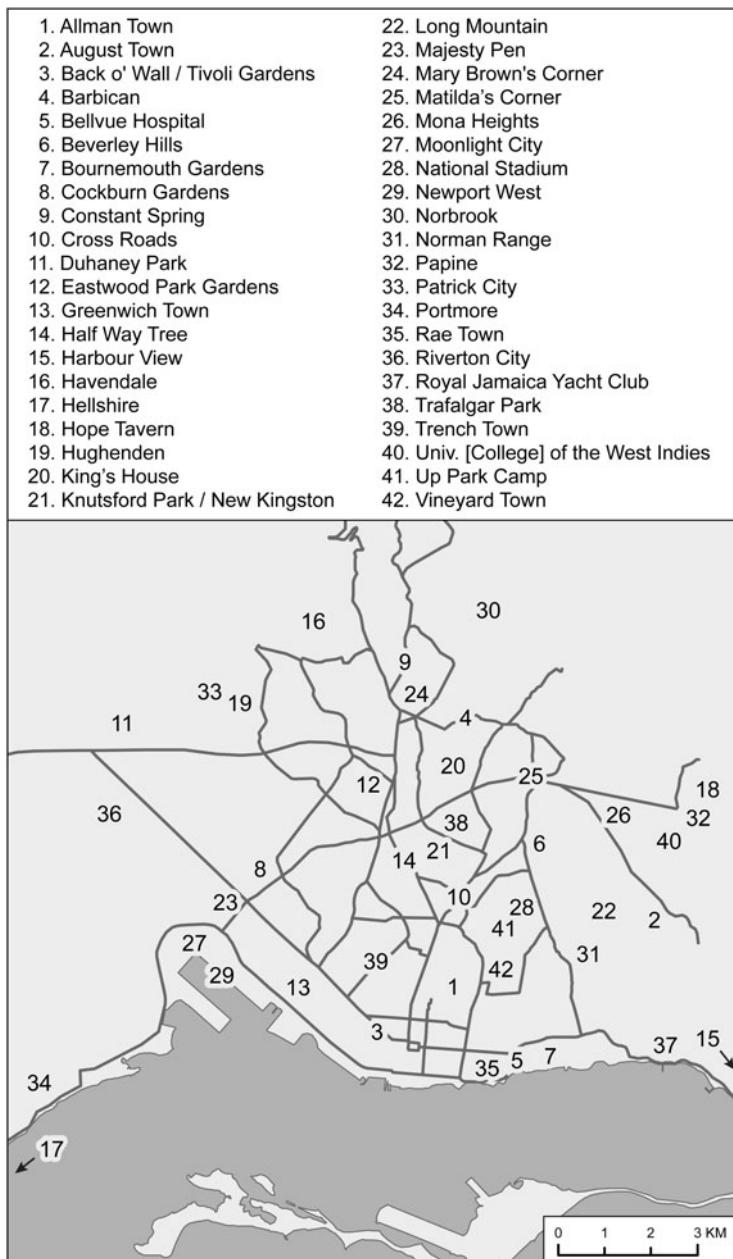


Figure 1.5 Kingston: Place Names.

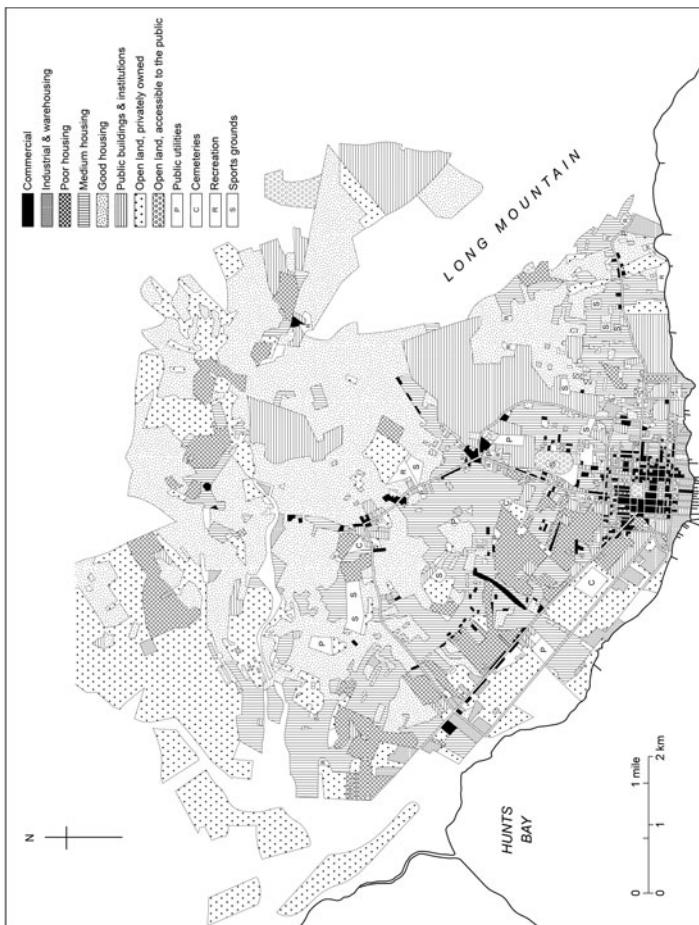


Figure 1.6 Kingston: Land Use, 1960.

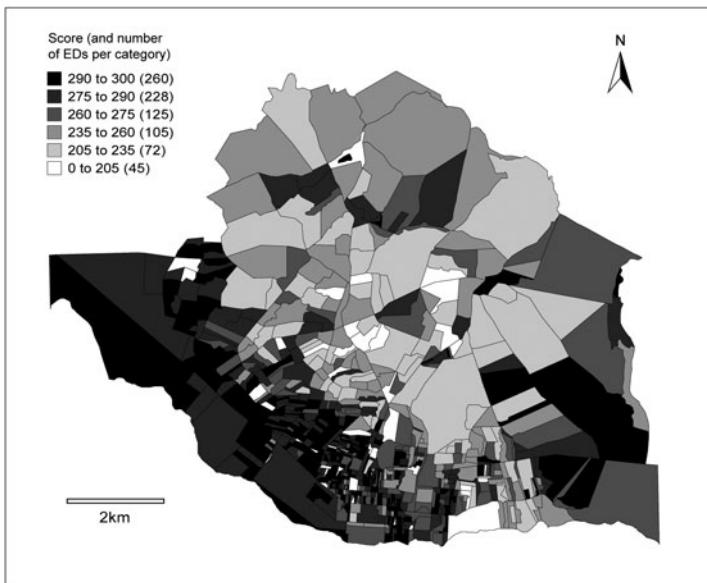


Figure 1.7 Kingston: Socioeconomic Status (Class), 1960.

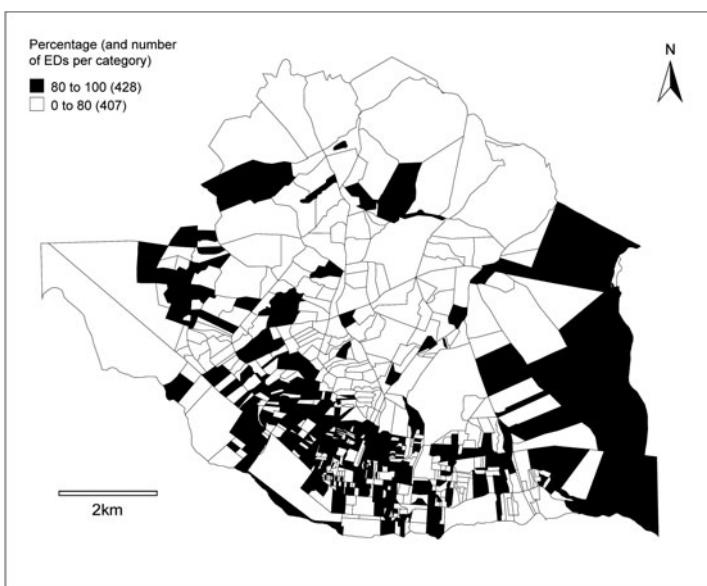


Figure 1.8 Kingston: African (Black) Population, 1960.

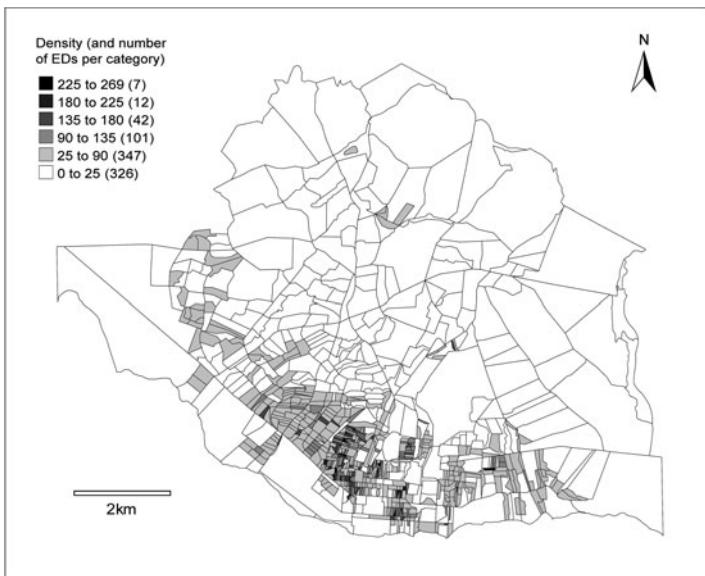


Figure 1.9 Kingston: Population Density, 1960.

Chapter 1

Jamaica: A British Colony on the Eve of Independence

Saturday, February 4, 1961

Leaving London

We took off across the Atlantic from London Heathrow at 8.30 pm—late, because of a pressurization problem. Our route on the first leg of the flight was over Bristol and Shannon to Gander, Newfoundland. Crossing Newfoundland, I detected snow patches on the bare rock below and in the distance the Northern Lights—green fluorescent stripes in the sky. There was snow and ice on the runway at Gander, which caused flurries to be thrown up into the propellers of our turboprop aircraft when we arrived just after 4 am. The terminal building is modern—the antithesis of Heathrow's huts, and the *raison d'être* of Gander as a settlement.

Sunday, February 5

Entering the Caribbean

At Bermuda, which we reached at 9.45 am, there were signs that we were approaching the tropics—a strong, warm, dry wind. Later we landed in the Bahamas, and later still, at about 3 pm GMT, crossed the eastern tip of Cuba. I could pick out the city of Santiago, a swathe of sugar plantations and the coastal cays. By 3.30 pm we touched down at Montego Bay (Figure 1.1), and it was like entering a furnace.

Crossing Jamaica by air from the north to the south coast was a wonderful lesson in geography. I could see the linear development of the limestone cockpits and their wooded nature—an environment hostile to habitation, presenting great problems for settlement, and

much of it, as a consequence, loose-knit.¹ Ridges of dissected shales, with roads following them, gave way to limestone haystack hills, and finally bauxite works. We crossed Spanish Town and its surrounding sugar plantations and landed at the Palisadoes Airport (Figure 1.2), Kingston at 5.30 pm GMT or 12.30 pm local time—a total travel time of 21 hours.²

Kingston

Once out of the airport on the Palisadoes spit (Figure 1.3), I was struck by the glare of the sun, the aridity of the climate, and the stunted nature of the vegetation—mostly large cacti. I was given a lift to the UCWI by a chemist who had turned up to meet a friend of his with whom I had flown out. As we reached the end of the spit, we turned left toward East Kingston, skirted the cement works and turned right into Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4), proceeded past Chung's (a Chinese grocery) and followed the road north, with a mixture of poor shacks and better-quality housing on either side. I was struck by the colonial atmosphere produced by English language signs and products—such as British cars.

University College Campus

Soon after, we left Mountain View Avenue and entered the Old Hope Road, passed the modern housing estate at Mona Heights, and entered the delightful campus of the UCWI (Figure 1.5), backed by the Blue Mountains (Figure 1.2).³ I was bowled over by the magnificent tropical flowers on the campus and the modern architecture—the Registry, the Senior Common Room (SCR), where I was provided with a delicious lunch, and Mary Seacole Hall, a women's hall of residence. The ISER, so my driver discovered, had reserved me a room—without telling me—at the Maryfield Guest House on the Hope Road (Figure 1.4). The chemistry lecturer came back for me, drove me there, and generously lent me a Jamaica ten shilling note—my UK bank had assured me that there was no need to carry Jamaican currency, because they use pounds, shillings, and pence (but, as I discovered, only Jamaica style!)

Colonial Guest House

The Maryfield has a white owner, white residents, and black domestics. I am told by my landlady that property in this part of Kingston

is very expensive—£8,000 per acre with the UK and Jamaica pound at parity. There are the remains of sugar works in the grounds. The heat and night sounds recall Somerset Maugham's Malayan stories. I have a bungalow to myself; the bungalow and main house are anachronisms. Mrs Craig, the owner, suggests to me that there is prejudice against whites—there is no future for the young, and many families are leaving. She alludes to the problem presented by the Castro Revolution in Cuba in 1959⁴ and the Ras Tafarian attempted coup in Jamaica of 1960.⁵ The two events have depressed the Jamaican tourist trade.

At dusk I went for a short walk on the Hope Road. The trees and flowers were beautiful, but there was no path to walk on and much litter. A group of colored boys fell silent as I passed. I reflected that, when I had arrived, the customs officials had been light colored, the porters black—you have to see Jamaicans to realize how black black can be.

Monday, February 6

UCWI

I caught the Jamaica Omnibus Service (JOS) bus up to UCWI, and found myself the only white person on board. The terminus at Papine (Figure 1.5), which has run-down wooden shops and a market like something out of the Deep South, was several hundred yards short of the campus, but it seemed longer on foot in the morning heat. I located the ISER and had an interview with Dr Dudley Huggins, the director, whom I found charming and helpful—to a certain extent. At least, he is not interfering. He told me that David Lowenthal of the American Geographical Society will be coming on a visit from New York. The most helpful of Paul Paget's contacts at ISER is David Edwards, an agricultural economist.⁶ On my return to the guest house, my attention was engaged by a woman higgler, or market seller, who asserted to people at the back of the bus in which I was standing that, "Bustamante is a man sent from God."⁷

Downtown Kingston

In the afternoon I took the bus through the northern suburbs into Kingston, via the commercial center at Half Way Tree (Figure 1.5). At Three Mile the bus turned left off the Hagley Park Road into the Spanish Town Road and headed for the Parade (Figure 1.4). We

immediately entered the slums of West Kingston, and I was overwhelmed by the filth and smell. Beside the road, especially on the north side, stood minute raised huts and some shops. The side roads, no larger than lanes, were full of garbage and manure, and on the main road a buzzard was attacking a carcass. There was dust everywhere, and the higgler were in the midst of it. These women—most of them a deep black—wore turbans and carried baskets or galvanized tubs of fruit or vegetables. The poverty has to be seen to be believed. When the bus stopped, halfway to the Parade, a bearded Ras Tafari boarded it, wearing a white pajama suit with red lapels, and carrying a toy windmill on a stick.⁸

I got off at the Parade, which is located at the heart of the colonial street grid (Figures 1.4 and 1.6).⁹ Kingston has a townscape of low buildings, generally of less than 60 feet elevation because of the danger of earthquakes and hurricanes. The *piazzas* produce cool underwalks, crowded with sellers. Usually the ground-floor shops are like lock-up garages, though there are some very fine general stores such as those owned by a Syrian family, the Issas. Opposite Hannas (also Syrian) on King Street (the main street) is Barclays Bank, but I couldn't draw out any money, because it closes at lunchtime and does not re-open in the afternoons—as banks do in England.

I walked across to the west side of the downtown area, which is very poor and black. West Street is almost entirely Chinese in ownership, and involves both wholesale and retail premises—most of them associated with the grocery trade (Figure 1.4). I made my way back through China Town to the Parade. The gothic-style Coke Methodist Church on Church Street is one of the few red-brick buildings. Near it are the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), the Telephone Company, and the Duke Street Synagogue.

The town is old-fashioned and decayed. Some of the better houses downtown remind me of urban versions of plantocratic homes, but Wildman Street on the east side is a series of bars and brothels, and the houses are little better than sheds. In contrast, children on their way home from school look smart in their uniforms, and young people in general seem friendly; older ones less so. Chinese-colored and Indian children are all mixed with the black and brown.¹⁰ It is strange to see red-headed children with black features—some have just a tinge of red and freckles. Many of the black teenage girls have straightened hair.

I picked up a heavy suitcase left for me at the Melrose Hotel just beyond the north end of the original colonial grid. My flight to Jamaica

had permitted only a limited luggage allowance (33 pounds) and John and Lena Farquharson, whom I met in Worcester last Christmas, had offered to take my excess baggage with them to Jamaica by sea. So I returned to the bus with my case, and retraced my journey through West Kingston. There were many signs of industrial development along the Spanish Town Road, and I noticed factories producing soft drinks, leather goods, and shoes—Bata was located in the middle of a shanty town. There were also large numbers of hardware, grocery, and clothing shops.

Tuesday, February 7

Half Way Tree and Cross Roads

Desperate for funds, I caught the bus to Barclays Bank at Half Way Tree and changed my English currency into Jamaica tender. The bank clerks are Chinese, Chinese-colored, light colored, or white, but not black. Despite the heat I walk slowly down the Half Way Tree Road to Cross Roads (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). Opposite Cecilio Avenue it is claimed that a new industrial estate is to be developed. At the junction with Oxford Road (Figure 1.4) there are hoardings announcing the development of Knutsford Park racecourse as a shopping center and township called New Kingston.

Every 200 to 300 yards along the Half Way Tree Road, the residential pattern is broken up with stores, petrol stations, and car-sales rooms. Bata shoe shops are everywhere. At Cross Roads there are several Chinese groceries and liquor shops with waist-height swing doors. Cinemas are located at Half Way Tree (Odeon) and Cross Roads (State and Carib). Walking around, one cannot fail to be aware of the recently constructed flood-water channels that control flash floods rising in the north of the Liguanea Plain and provide greater security for modern housing developments downstream.

The *Daily Gleaner* reports today that a Sheraton Hotel is earmarked for New Kingston. Mrs Leon is to break with the JLP (the opposition) and form a Christian Democratic Party. Busta (Sir Alexander Bustamante, the JLP leader) says, "good riddance." A glass works is lined up for Kingston, using sand from Black River (Figure 1.1). Black River people are said to be campaigning against "the wickedness and selfishness on the part of those who seek to confiscate our god-given natural endowment, and with flimsy excuses turn their backs on the needs of thousands." Black River people are calling for prayers and fasting—and a march.

Wednesday, February 8***Settling in on Campus***

A taxi took me with my two suitcases to UCWI, where I had a talk with David Edwards about the 1960 census. David thinks that Kingston might have as many as 1,000 census divisions (enumeration districts), and wonders whether they could be combined to make tracts. He suggests that I should talk to George Cumper about the census. I had lunch at the SCR and met Geoff Ferguson¹¹ (Maths Department) and his wife, both from Cambridge. After lunch I was helped by a member of the Staff Accommodation Office to move into my apartment, Flat 13, Taylor Hall. To my surprise, it comes furnished, and although it looks bare, it is spacious and cool. It has a cooker but no fridge. I was told that when Christopher Columbus was asked on his return to Spain to describe Jamaica, he took a sheet of paper, crushed it in his hand, and said, "like that." In the evening Alan Soons and Fred Paton, whom I had met in the SCR, took me to an open-air cinema below Cross Roads, where we saw a poor-quality Hollywood gangster film called *The Garment Jungle*.

Thursday, February 9

I was up by 7.30 am to get on with general administration associated with my research. Much of the morning was spent at the UCWI Hospital on campus, where I tried to get some help for my blocked ears. The multiple take-offs and landings on the flight to Jamaica, coupled with a heavy cold, have made hearing difficult. ISER has provided me with some stationery. In the evening I went to Alan Soon's party.

Friday, February 10

I made notes from a book I had brought with me—*County Town*, one of the few studies of a contemporary British town (my home town of Worcester)—and read the newspaper.¹² I am having difficulty with the SCR. As I am one of the few graduate research students on the campus, I fit in neither as an undergraduate student nor as a member of staff. Later in the afternoon I walked to Papine and went to a Chinese grocery, and then on to the market—the higgler are colorful.

Saturday, February 11

The morning was spent at Cross Roads, shopping and looking at second-hand cars (Figure 1.5). I also went back to the hospital about my hearing. During the afternoon UCWI was holding its own Carnival, with fancy dress and charades—Henry and his Henriettas. I joined in the parade to the music of the steelbands. Jamaica is a mixed society with Indians, Chinese, and Europeans in addition to blacks and those of mixed race (mostly black-white), the two latter being overwhelmingly the majority.

Sunday, February 12

Meeting Professor Zans

Alan Soons took me after breakfast in the SCR to meet Professor Verners Zans and his family. Professor Zans, a Latvian refugee and the director of Geological Surveys, is working on bauxite deposits and water resources in the limestone areas. He mentioned the doctoral research of Conrad Aub, a physical-geography student at Cambridge, who is researching Jamaican limestone. After lunch we went to Alan's house on College Common, adjacent to the University College, and visited his small tropical garden. Gardens are very fertile in the first year of cultivation, and banana trees grow to maturity in nine months. During the second year, the garden requires more care and a great deal of mulching. In the evening I attended the service in the Anglican Chapel on campus. The sermon from the visiting Moderator of the Church of Scotland was poor, but I admired the red gowns of the students—modeled on the University of St Andrews.

Monday, February 13

I work on Matley's *The Geology and Physiography of the Kingston District, Jamaica*, taking notes in the air-conditioned, reserved section of the Library.¹³ I feel I am coming to grips with the subject of my thesis at last. I am getting the feel of Jamaica, and my ears are somewhat better. Three lovely letters have arrived from Gillian—we are writing to one another almost every day, and they have made this my most cheerful day in Kingston.¹⁴ Furthermore, I have managed to rent Peter Sanders's car—an antique and battered Mayflower.

These brave words were followed by my fall into a flood-water channel, invisible in the dark, while crossing from the car park to the

SCR in the evening. It was a painful but not too damaging accident, and I was carefully attended to by one of the hospital doctors—Dr Gourlay—who happened to be in the bar. He told me how important fertility is in Jamaica, and that women without children are called mules—how cruel.

Tuesday, February 14

Campus Philosophy Lecture

I stayed on campus, reading in the morning and writing letters and getting on with some administration in the afternoon. In the evening I went to the well-attended guest-lecturer series on “The Philosophy of the Personal” by Professor John Macmurray of Edinburgh University. The series focuses on the problem of bridging thinking and doing or action. Professor Macmurray argues that the focus should be on action, since action itself involves thought, and he contrasts action, which presupposes knowledge, and reaction that requires a stimulus. There is action for which one is responsible, and events that happen and are beyond the control of a person. He concluded by talking about predestination and free will; and about the apparent determinism of an historical sequence, and free will when confronting the future.

Wednesday, February 15

ISER Research Proposal

Ash Wednesday—no newspapers. I work in my flat and write letters. I submit my thesis project, “Aspects of the Urban Geography of Kingston, Jamaica,” to the ISER for their financial support. If I can get on the university payroll, it will give me SCR status—and provide some money with which to pay for my car.¹⁵

Thursday, February 16

Edith Clarke

In the evening I went to another campus lecture, this time by Edith Clarke, the author of *My Mother Who Fathered Me*, on “Planning in Jamaica.”¹⁶ She is a middle-aged Jamaica-born white. I found her sharp Jamaican accent strange to my ear, and her treatment of the theme incoherent, though she was more vigorous in debate.

Friday, February 17

I drove downtown and worked in the Institute of Jamaica. I have had letters from home and am worried about Gillian. Sangster's Bookshop at Matilda's Corner has ordered two books for me.

In the evening I went to the Junior Common Room (JCR) with Raymond Michel (a language tutor in the French Department) and watched an excellent badminton tournament. The crowd contained well-to-do people of all racial groups.

Saturday, February 18***UCWI Graduation Ceremony***

I worked on my research in my flat in the morning, and on the car with Peter in the afternoon. In the evening I took part—wearing a borrowed gown—in the procession to the Graduation Ceremony, which took place outdoors at the Registry undercroft in the middle of the campus. The guest of honor, Mr Bradshaw, Minister of Transport in the Federal Government, gave a politico-messianic speech that contained a wonderful piece of advice—that the graduands would never be able to find a cat's hair in a haystack.¹⁷ After the ceremony, my neighbor at Taylor Hall Flats, Kemlin Ching, a lecturer in Spanish, invited me to join a drinks party she was holding for her friends. It was enjoyable, though understanding quick-fire conversion in English Creole is a problem—especially with blocked ears.

Sunday, February 19***Friendship with the Sanders***

I met John Brown over breakfast at the SCR. He is an extra-mural lecturer in St Kitts, and he told me about the derogatory attitude of the locals to West Indian authors. I went swimming at Grant's Pen in St Thomas with Peter Sanders and a couple of his friends. Peter and his wife Deirdre (from Angmering, Sussex) invited me for dinner. I lost a game of chess to Peter (a maths lecturer) but saw the moon through his telescope.

Monday, February 20***Map Find at Institute of Jamaica***

While I was working at the Institute of Jamaica I met Lucille Alexander (a staff member), to whom I had been given an introduction by an

acquaintance at Oxford. I also ran into James (Jimmy) Carnegie, a historian and brother of Ralph, who is doing the Bachelor in Commercial Law degree at Jesus College, Oxford. I found a pile of useful maps of Kingston, which I shall have to copy, using tracing paper. Getting the car to Kingston and back is quite an achievement—the overhead cables spoil the townscape.

Tuesday, February 21

I work on copying the Kingston maps at the Institute of Jamaica and hear Professor Macmurray's lecture on "You and I" in the evening.

Wednesday, February 22

Town Planning and Survey Departments

I have car trouble again but make a profitable visit to the TPD at Half Way Tree, where I meet Bill Hodges, the Deputy Government Town Planner. He informs me that the government has told the planners to concentrate on Kingston since the outbreak of violence in the Red Hills in mid-1960.¹⁸ Mr Hodges generously gives me access to all their map materials on the city—largely land-use maps for 1947, 1952, and 1960.

Later I go to the Survey Department to see Evelyn Tate, another of Paul Paget's contacts. Mr Tate is assistant director of Surveys and in charge of the Mapping Division. The car problem is solved by Peter, but I lose one more chess game.

Thursday, February 23

Federation Day

Federation Day—a Bank Holiday—do British Honduras and British Guiana celebrate, since they are not full members? Will this day be recognized next year if the federation breaks up? I go swimming in the University College pool and read George Roberts's book on *The Population of Jamaica* and much of *County Town*—both very useful.¹⁹

Friday, February 24

Progress with Maps

Mr Tate at the Survey Department and I look out the detailed 1:2,500 (25 inches to the mile) plans of Kingston that I need. Mr Tate is

arranging to give me a set of them for my research. Afterward I work on tracing the maps of Kingston in the Jamaica Institute, and later in the day learn the rudiments of bridge. Each evening after dark, as I go down to dinner in the SCR, I pass donkey carts transporting hay. To light their path through the campus the carts carry a flaming branch as a torch.

Saturday, February 25

In the evening I am drawn back to the badminton at the JCR. The place is crammed, and at least three-quarters of the crowd is Chinese, as are the winners of both the men's and women's singles.

Sunday, February 26

Lunch with the Carnegies

At 7 am I got up to take communion in the UCWI chapel. Later in the day, I had lunch with Oscar and Leida Carnegie, who live in a new housing development off Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4). They are the parents of Ralph and Jimmy. Ralph had written to ask them to entertain me. Their house is four years old and simply furnished. Oscar works as a senior member of the civil service in the Ministry of Finance, while Leida is a secretary at St Hugh's School. Both are light-colored. Oscar's father was a minister of religion and Leida's a teacher. Oscar explains to me that civil servants of a certain seniority get six months leave to Britain on a regular basis, even though they are now almost all locals!

Monday, February 27

Downtown I work at the Jamaica Institute in central Kingston, and later go to Barclays Bank. There is only one black man among the staff. In the evening I go to see two films. The first one, *Come Back Africa*, had poor photography and was very biased; but the second one, *Ethiopia Progresses*, was greeted with enthusiastic cries by the audience, especially when Haile Selassie was screened.

Tuesday, February 28

I split my time between the Jamaica Institute and the TPD, where I am planning to photograph their large-scale (1: 1,250 or 12 inches

to the mile) land-use maps of Kingston for 1960. I hear Professor Macmurray's lecture after dinner.

Wednesday, March 1

In the morning I meet Don Mills, the acting director, at the Central Planning Unit (CPU) in the prime minister's office adjacent to Allman Town (Figure 1.5).²⁰ We talk about my research on Kingston.

Thursday, March 2

Central Planning Unit

I return to the CPU, and have a long discussion with Mr Raph Swaby, the acting-deputy director.²¹ We discuss social development in West Kingston—important in the context of the black American/Ras Tafari uprising. Swaby tells me that Mike Smith, one of the authors of the report on the Ras Tafari movement, gives three years' grace before an explosion takes place.²² The Boys' Town area in Trench Town has shanties and is particularly problematic. Back o' Wall, too, has no latrines and no piped water—it is an area known for typhoid (Figure 1.5). “Give us water” is the first request. Should there be compulsory purchase by the government, or should the owners of tenements be summarily dispossessed? Should flats be built, or are site-and-service schemes (leaving building to the occupants) a better solution?

The CPU estimates, using the 1960 census, that if two adults to a room is the acceptable density threshold, then Kingston (with a population of just under 400,000) has 80,000 living in overcrowded accommodation. Using the Kingston and St Andrew Sanitary Survey, if one toilet to eight persons is taken as an alternative measure of overcrowding, then the population living under such circumstances is 120,000. In the shanty towns, the gullies are open sewers. Housing regulations are too stringent, in part because of the problem of building upward in an earthquake and hurricane zone. Houses at Mona Heights cost £2,900 each; at Harbour View £1,900, because they use a special system of prefabrication, and the land—previously owned by government—is cheaper than elsewhere (Figure 1.5).

Not many old people return to rural “family land” from the towns.²³ Usually they lack agricultural skills, and will only return if they will be looked after. There are about 150,000 people in the rural areas waiting to migrate to Britain. Is migration to Kingston direct or

stepwise? There are about 15–20,000 Ras Tafarians in Jamaica, who are described by Mr Swaby as “disprivileged.”

A woman higgler serving me in the street at Half Way Tree said, “I will go and change the money with a Chinaman.”

Pantomime

In the evening I went to the Pantomime, *Carib Gold*—based on pork knocking in British Guiana—at the Ward Theatre on the Parade (Figure 1.4), and I particularly enjoyed the music, song, dance, and setting.²⁴ The English Creole dialogue was difficult to understand.

Friday, March 3

At the TPD I laboriously copy the land-use details from their 1:1,250 maps onto my 1:2,500 sheets from the Survey Department. This is going to go on for weeks, but it is teaching me the detailed layout of the city.

Sunday, March 5

With my help during the morning, Peter and Deirdre moved up to a rented house in Irish Town, on the road to Newcastle, located above Papine and UCWI (Figure 1.2). The hills are steep and deeply eroded. Kemlin Ching and Keith Laurence, a lecturer in History, invited me to lunch in Kim’s flat.

East Indians

Lucille Alexander invited me round to her father’s house off the Half Way Tree Road in the evening. I thought her son, Jamal, was her husband. Lucille and her daughter, Karli, also look of a similar age. Lucille wears a red spot on her forehead and seems vaguely Indian. I was introduced to one of their friends, Earl, who has been studying in London to be a dancer. Jamal says he is on holiday but he is really out of work. Kingston has no employment bureau, so he will look for a job in the *Gleaner* adverts.

Lucille is East Indian, Hindu originally, but her husband was Jewish. She said proudly, “Have you not noticed that Karli is lighter than me?” Her son, Jamal, however, is Indian in looks. Lucille is now involved in yoga and self-realization, a projection of Pantheism. She goes to meetings in Spanish Town (Figure 1.2), where many

people are not Indian at all; it is a bit like American revivalism, and is directed from the United States.

Indians in Jamaica are not as well organized as the Chinese, according to Lucille. There is no Hindu temple, though there are Muslim mosques. Indians are concentrated in West Kingston, especially Cockburn Gardens (Figure 1.5). In downtown Kingston Indians own shops, bazaars, and restaurants—and they are especially prominent in the jewelry trade. The oriental shopping area is Princess Street and Barry Street, and sellers wear the sari.

Indians do not employ their own people as the Chinese do, though the Chinese are forced to employ non-Chinese by legislation. The Chinese, most of whom were not indentured, got a better start than the Indians (almost all being descendants of indentured laborers), plus financial backing from other Chinese. The Indians are seeking to identify themselves as Jamaican, and their position is rather like that of the colored people.

Monday to Wednesday, March 6–8

Conversation about the Family

Mr Johnson,²⁵ who works as a draftsman in the TPD, tells me that he moved from Santa Cruz, St Elizabeth (Figure 1.1) to Kingston to attend technical school. In the city he lived with relatives and returned to the country every couple of months. He explains that the extended family crystallizes as a social force where the need is greatest, and it always has latent potential. It is fundamental to society. His grandmother in the country still settles family problems. I ask whether old people leave the city to return to the country, but he replies that the few who go back to family land, invariably have someone there to support them.

JOS

Mr Isaacs, one of the bus managers, says the Kingston fares are already rock bottom. There is a shortage of drivers, and those with any nous can get much better-paid jobs. Most of the conductors are women, because only women have the educational standard required and are willing to accept the wages offered. The conductresses are notoriously unreliable, especially on Saturday evenings, when they all claim they are ill with their periods. The firm employs roughly 1250 workers: 450 drivers, 450 conductresses, 250–300 on maintenance work in

the garage, and 70 in the office and issuing tickets. A large labor force is needed because three-and-a-half shifts are worked each day.

There is a problem with managing traffic peaks; there are, for example, 12 schools on the Constant Spring Road (Figure 1.4). Fortunately, at peak flow in the morning, business and other workers move from the north of the city, for example Barbican, to downtown, while children and domestic servants travel north. In Admiral's Pen in West Kingston, a one-way system has to be used by the buses because of the narrow roads; in Denham Town the buses actually touch. There is one special service that leaves the railway station daily at 11.15 am to take higgler from the Coronation Market to sell in Rollington Town in East Kingston.

At Harbour View (Figure 1.5), on the eastern edge of Kingston, a bus was running to the housing project before much of the housing was occupied to ensure that residents would patronize the service.

Thursday, March 9

Trip around the East End of the Island

Mr Tate, Assistant Director of the Survey Department, promised me two trips around the island in his white Jaguar, the first of which we completed today. We set off on the shorter circuit to cover the east end of the island in a clockwise direction, leaving Kingston via the Constant Spring Road to Stony Hill, where we had a puncture (Figure 1. 2). After Mr Tate had changed the wheel, we followed the Wag Water River into the Agualta Valley, which is under sugar. The Wag Water makes a deep incision in the rocks, and the tropical-green landscape is characterized by conical hills and steep slopes; the braided river channel is filled with detritus.

We headed for the coast at Greencastle, where the Jamaica Survey has a leveling point, which we went to inspect. There is a rural school at Greencastle, but it was the elevated coral reefs that caught my attention. We retraced our steps to the main road and followed it to Annotto Bay, a small settlement with a cinema and bank, and some piazzas and ironwork decoration in the town center. After another ten miles, though it seemed many more, we reached Buff Bay, which was smaller, but pleasant and quiet. There were some concrete buildings, the sign of a township, but much of the housing was of wattle—not much bigger than a tool shed, and sufficient to cover only one or two single beds. We passed through Hope Bay, also very small, and on to the mouth of the Rio Grande, where there is rafting. The dry-stone walling of Portland reminds me of the Malham area in Yorkshire.

Port Antonio is the most important town of this region, with a copra factory for processing coconuts, and a power station for generating electricity—both in the west of the built-up area. We have a picnic lunch at Folly Point. The Hill on the promontory between West Harbour and East Harbour is the former elite quarter of Port Antonio, and still has the handsome Titchfield Hotel with its brick walls and elaborate grillwork. The wharves and a foundry are located in West Harbour, but are wasting away with the decline of the banana trade. Heavy rain limits the prospects for tourism in Port Antonio, and I am struck by the air of decay, which extends to Titchfield School. I find the hostility of a group of small boys in the town center unpleasant.

Beyond Port Antonio corrugated iron was much in evidence, especially for roofs. We visited Blue Hole, and met some of the fishermen with their long, narrow boats hollowed out of silk-cotton trees. There are fishing villages all around the coast, through Long Bay to Manchioneal, a depressing place and not much bigger than a shopping plaza in Kingston. We stopped for some naseberries that tasted like sweet, runny toffee. At Hector's River we crossed into St Thomas and, cutting inland to Golden Grove, passed through sugar and coconut plantations until we reached Port Morant with its clinker-board houses.

St Thomas is noticeably depressed, and Hordley, in the sugar belt near Golden Grove, perhaps most of all. The children at Hordley School are almost all without shoes, the houses made of nothing more than wattle. Food forest—mango, ackee, breadfruit, and coconut—is vital to the survival of these rural poor. Morant Bay, the principal town of St Thomas, is sizable, but Yallahs, reached near the end of our trip, is minute—especially the shopping area.

It is a wonderful drive, with the beautiful white sands of the north coast offset by the green landscape and the repetitive settlements. Mr Tate explains to me that squatters get title to government land after 60 years; after 6 years if the land is privately owned and fenced; or 12 years if it is not fenced by the squatter.

There is a significant headline in today's *Gleaner*—discussing plans for spreading the benefits of a growing economy so that all will share in housing, water, electricity, and agriculture (the top priorities).

Friday, March 10

Rehousing in Trench Town

In the TPD Mr Theobalds, the office's architect, introduced me to the neighborhood project he is working on for the Boys' Town area,

adjacent to the Spanish Town Road in Trench Town (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). The scheme comprises one-story terraced housing, plus two- and three-story blocks of flats. There is plenty of variety, and the single-story development is for those especially reluctant to accept change and live above ground level. The plan is to house 2,000 and decant from the area another 2,500. So it will be a high-density project, though the speed of growth of tropical vegetation will soon give the area some maturity. It is anticipated that each flat will cost about £500.

The Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation (JIDC) gives employment to 2,500 extra workers each year—a drop in the ocean.

A multiracial audience attended the campus concert of the Music Society—with calypsos to conclude.

Saturday, March 11

I continue to work on the land-use maps of Kingston in the TPD, and to read Maunder's doctoral thesis on unemployment in Kingston.²⁶ In the evening I saw a dance drama at the campus theater, which was excellent, and three plays—all poor.

Friday, March 17

An Oriental Evening at Mary Seacole Hall—the dialogue was corny, but the costumes and dance were excellent. Graham Castor (French Department) tells me that his students claim to be very color conscious.

Saturday, March 18

Most of the day is spent reading in my flat, but in the evening I had a wonderful drive up to Irish Town to stay with Peter and Deirdre at Prospect. It has been raining hard and the steep road above Papine is littered with small boulders.

Sunday, March 19

Newcastle Hill Station

We drove on to Newcastle (Figure 1.2), the British Army hill station, the lights of which I see almost every night from my flat at Mona. From the parade ground at Newcastle, flanked by the badges of the numerous British regiments that were stationed here, I get

a wonderful view across the Liguanea Plain to the historic core of Kingston, the Palisadoes spit and Passage Fort. The social separation of UCWI from Kingston is expressed physically in the barrier of Long Mountain (Figure 1.5). Peter and I climb Catherine's Peak, which is just over 5,000 feet, and have a picnic lunch at Hardwar Gap (Figure 1.2). In the afternoon I get on with some reading back at Irish Town and help Peter with shifting furniture.

Revival Meeting

After dinner we heard drumming for a Revivalist meeting. Peter felt too tired to go, so Deirdre and I set off by car down a narrow track. Having missed the gathering, we left the car and, drawn by the voice of the preacher, navigated the pitch-black night. Suddenly we saw a light and were aware of a crowd of about 20, mostly women and children, muttering "Good evening."

We stood beyond the circle of light. An old woman, wearing a blue dress and looking like a higgler, was preaching. The sermon was dislocated and lacking any practical message: "May God 'elp you this night," was answered by "God 'elp," and "God wants strong people only." Various quotations from the Bible were thrown in, and Christ was constantly referred to, but there was no mention of love, faith, redemption, or the commandments. The woman preacher seemed to suggest that you had to experience and pursue wickedness to be able to understand it—and there is some truth in that.

A hymn was then sung to a throbbing drum beat: "I'll do what I can for my Lord, for my Lord, I'll do all I can for my Lord, till I can't do any more." Those present danced to the music and sang harshly, while the preacher did a hand jive. It was utterly entralling and compelling. To me it seemed like an impromptu Free-Church service, but with no positive preaching. Many of the hymns were terrible dirges, but there were some tunes and verses that I recognized.

The service was rounded off with a collection. The priest physically rotated each member of the congregation in turn as she walked around a central table, decorated with a cloth and some flowers. Her brother-in-law, who turned out to be a coffee farmer, invited us to stay and eat some bread and cake with them. He was very deferential but pleasant. We were introduced to the preacher and her sister—the host on whose ground the ceremony had been held. The priest explained that the drums we had heard at the beginning were to call people to the service.

Monday, March 20

Early in the morning I went straight to the TPD where, with permission, I photographed just under 30 of the detailed 1: 1,250 land-use maps of Kingston for 1960. The talk now is of lower density re-housing in West Kingston. The problem with flats is that they easily become over-occupied and badly maintained. It might be better to try and control population build-up physically by constructing houses. It is said that more than half the lads at Boys' Town School in Trench Town have no shoes.

Tuesday, March 21

There is a postal strike, and the junior hospital doctors are also out, asking for two days' sick leave.

Thursday, March 23

The strike spreads to prison warders, and more post offices are hit. Deirdre—now obviously pregnant—and I go to the cinema to see *Go Naked in the World*.

Friday, March 24

Premier Manley appeals to the strikers to go back to work.

Saturday, March 25***JIDC***

At the JIDC I am told that a US economist called Rostow is predicting that poor countries will eventually experience the stages of economic growth previously achieved by advanced capitalist countries, such as the United Kingdom and United States.²⁷ After that my car packed in, and I got to Irish Town only because Dorothy Clarke, a visiting lecturer in the History Department, generously lent me her Mini.

Sunday, March 26***Catherine's Peak***

Peter and I climbed Mount Horeb and Catherine's Peak (Figure 1.2). I was fascinated by the tree pines, fungi, and birds—doctor birds, egrets, and John Crows.

Monday, March 27***JLP Rally at Papine***

After spending much of the day working in the library at ISER, in the evening I attended a JLP local-government election rally at Papine (Figure 1.5). The crowd, swaying to the music, sang “We are marching through Canaan with a bowl of holy water,” followed by two dirge-like renderings of “Once in Royal David’s City” and “Oh God, Our Help in Ages Past.” The focus was provided by a wagon, illuminated by candles, on which stood a crowd of politicians of various colors. I remember a young white man in a white suit called Eddie Seaga, giving a blistering, but negative speech: “It doesn’t matter who gets this seat, but people should vote against the PNP as a protest against the government’s handling of the recent strike.”²⁸

Tuesday, March 28

My car has been repaired by Anderson’s Garage.

Wednesday, March 29

Much of the day was spent at the Housing Department. In the evening I attended a dancing class at Half Way Tree with Karli Alexander—a very middle-class group.

Thursday, March 30

People in West Kingston are living outside the law.

Saturday, April 1***Easter in Irish Town***

Back in Irish Town for Easter weekend, I am staying at Prospect with Peter and Deirdre. Geoff Ferguson, who is on holiday with his family at a local guest house, visited us with a black baby girl, whom he and his wife are fostering. She is three years old but terribly malnourished and only the size of a normal child of nine months. The little girl was deserted by her mother, and her father is unknown. She cannot speak and her development is slow.

Is the extended family failing under the weight of the baby boom brought on here by preventive medicine and hygiene? This appears to be the case in the yards of West Kingston.

Monday, April 3

The Robinsons (Dr Robinson is Peter's Head of Department) came for tea at about 6 pm—they were expected at 4 pm, and the table had to be reset.

Tuesday, April 4

Peter and I went underwater swimming at Grant's Pen (Figure 1.2), to the east of Bull Bay, where there is a delightful coral reef at a depth of about ten feet. I found the brain coral, sea eggs, and live polyps interesting, but the latter give painful cuts to the skin. The fish were beautiful, especially the small yellow-and-grey fish, called sergeant majors, and the spiny soursop fish.

The Unofficial Mission to Africa—to look into the possibility of mass return migration—left Jamaica today.

Wednesday, April 5

Back to work after the Easter break, I go to the Public Works Department and the JIDC. I attend my dancing class in the evening, where a white girl from St Hugh's School tells me about the dislike of Chinese teachers.

Special buildings in Kingston are often built of brick, especially the churches. Otherwise it is wood downtown, and modern concrete or Reema blocks in the north of the city. Most houses on Duke Street are now offices, especially for lawyers and barristers, because of the proximity of the law courts.

Thursday, April 6

Evening with the Fergusons

Geoff and Rosemary Ferguson invited me to their home for the evening and introduced me to Dudley from Kingston Technical School, and formerly of the Maxfield Park Home. Dudley says a lot of mal-formed children are victims of congenital syphilis.

During his recent visit to Jamaica (he arrived on March 30) British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan asked a nurse at UCWI Hospital, "What is the greatest problem you face here in the way of illness?" Gastroenteritis and malnutrition was the reply. "Oh, dear!" responded the PM.

Friday, April 7***Edward Seaga's Haves and Have-Nots Speech***

At the electoral office I check on constituency and polling district boundaries (they are also used as boundaries in the 1960 census). In the evening, after a meal in the SCR, I talk with a lecturer in physics, Richard Armstrong (originally from the Royal Radar Establishment, Malvern) and Bud Beck, an American visitor from Miami University. Bud, a microbiologist, says that many US hillbillies thought water closets were washbasins when they were called up for military service.

Eddie Seaga, the man I had heard speak at Papine, dropped a bombshell in the Legislative Council (Upper House) today by attempting to demonstrate that in recent years the gap between the rich minority and the poor masses in Jamaica has got wider, and has not been closed by the socioeconomic policy of PNP governments. The have-nots are, according to Seaga, 93 percent of the population.

John Vickers²⁹ and Katrin Norris³⁰ are arrested and charged with a breach of the Undesirable Publications Law.

Saturday, April 8

I spent the morning at the Public Works Department. In the afternoon, I met Patricia Rowe,³¹ who was on the plane from England and is teaching at St Hugh's School. One of Patricia's friends, a British engineer, told me about the problem of getting good foremen and workmen in Jamaica, since emigration to the United Kingdom has depleted the skilled-labor pool. The Ras Tafari are referred to as a lunatic fringe—but they seem to me to be a wide fringe.

People who object to money being spent on the development of West Kingston strike me as similar to the anti-abolitionists of the nineteenth century. The helplessness of ordinary Jamaicans makes me think of the persistence of a slave mentality; all are onlookers, not active participants.

Reflections

There is a deep dichotomy in Kingston's society between the haves (Plate 1.1) and the have-nots (Plate 1.2). The division has been increased further in recent years by the expansion of middle-class mass housing—as at Mona Heights (where there are many Chinese) and Harbour View (Figure 1.5). Spatial dissociation between the



Plate 1.1 Colonial great house in the heart of the white elite area in Kingston in 1961. The house is more suited to a sugar plantation than to its suburban location.

classes (Figure 1.7) goes hand in hand with mental dissociation, and Back o' Wall (Figure 1.5) represents apartheid in reverse—whites are not allowed in (Figure 1.8). Sheer population increase plus high population densities seem to vitiate improvement schemes among the poor (Figure 1.9).

A new leader of the people is needed—black, but nonracial in attitude and with modern ideas. The person needs to have mass appeal, but it is likely that he will be driven into the communist camp by the forces that reproduce the status quo. The middle class see communist agents provocateurs everywhere. But any rising in the near future can be coped with because of the lack of organization of the masses.

The future must entail birth control, industrialization, education, and a good dose of idealism, plus self-help and adult education. The ten-year plan for 1957–67 is already out of date.

Sunday, April 9

I took communion in the campus chapel, and then spent part of the morning after breakfast talking to Patricia Rowe. She tells me that, among a lot of her contacts, the conversations are all about “them and us.” But some white people she knows pay higher wages to their domestic servants than they need—simply to be fair.

I spent a pleasant evening with Syed Reza Ahsan, a geographer from the University of Florida, Gainsville, who is here for a few days before going to Trinidad to carry out his doctoral research on rural East Indians.

Monday, April 10

After working downtown I drove Reza to the Red Hills (Figure 1.2), where the bauxitic soil seeps onto the roadside. The urban fringe is largely under thin bush, with some food forest, but it also has some beautiful houses.

Jamaica's Socio-Religious Problems

In the evening I had a long conversation with Father William Murray the UCWI Chaplain, to whose home I was invited.³² He has always been a chaplain, and has had no pastoral work experience. I mentioned Henriques's book, *Family and Colour in Jamaica*, about which he clearly had a poor opinion—but he conceded that the top people in Jamaica are light colored.³³ I wonder whether class is now more important than color—but can they be separated? Henriques argues they can't.



Plate 1.2 A tenement district dating from the late nineteenth century—Jones Town—in inner West Kingston. Small houses have been built one behind the other to create a yard; tenants rent rooms by the month. Services are communal.

Father Murray referred to the great strides being made in Jamaica by the Catholics, and more especially by the US sects, such as the Seventh Day Adventists. Only now is the Anglican Church beginning to appeal to the man-in-the-street. Dr Gibson is the first Jamaican-born Bishop of Jamaica. Jamaica has a great problem of illegitimacy, but Father Murray believes that the church can do very little about it while current social and economic problems prevail. In rural areas a powerful priest will put a curfew on the community.

As things stand, it seems possible that the Federation of the West Indies will be thrown out. The emphasis is on “what am I going to get out of it?” There is a lack of idealism and altruism in society.

Tuesday, April 11

Reza and I went to the Young Men’s Christian Association on the Hope Road to hear a talk by Eddie Burke of Jamaica Social Welfare on “Emigration and Integration in the UK.” I had heard Burke talk to the Joint Action Committee Against Racial Intolerance at Oxford, when I was a student. On this occasion I thought him good on Jamaica, but not so good on the English.

Wednesday, April 12

A conversation I had recently with one of the staff at the Housing Department suggests that economic prosperity can bridge the color gap in Jamaica. But does Jamaica suffer from class or color prejudice?

Thursday, April 13

Port Royal

Reza and I visited Port Royal (Figure 1.2). The Palisadoes spit has an arid environment with xerophilous and xerophytic plant associations, and mangrove swamps on the Kingston Harbour side. Gun Boat Beach, on the inside of the spit, has an attractive layout for visitors. Port Royal, at the tip, is very small. We visited the red-brick Fort Charles, the “Giddy House” and the hospital, which was in a terrible state of disrepair, but housed a few refugees from Cuba. Housing in Port Royal was quite satisfactory, though some units were neither clean nor well painted—people, in general, seemed well disposed. At the fishing beach there were boats with outboard motors, and boys bathing nude. It was a beautiful trip, with a warm

breeze and a clear view across the harbor on to the well-wooded Kingston skyline two to three miles away.

Color Prejudice

I have been having some thoughts about color prejudice in jobs. Sir Robert Kirkwood, one of Jamaica's leading businessmen, thinks there is little color discrimination—it's just that people's qualifications are not always valid.³⁴ Banks claim that they cannot get the staff they want, but a letter to the press from a black student at UCWI claims that her friends cannot get bank jobs because of their dark color. There is a major difference of opinion on the subject, but it seems to me that the question of color is right on the surface of society.

Chapter 2

Kingston and Rural Jamaica

Friday, April 14

Mr Swaby on Race and Color

At the CPU I arrange to talk further with Mr Swaby. He envisages self-help in Kingston as a prelude to rehousing and owner occupation. It is necessary to create an atmosphere of industry and organization. Rehousing of yard dwellers will have to maintain the ethos of the settlements. The overcrowded middle-class areas in Mr Swaby's 1952 survey of Kingston are now as densely populated as ever.¹

In West Kingston households are comparatively small because children are often sent to the country. Small families and single mothers go together; more stable unions produce larger numbers of children. The rent yard is a social security system for children.

Mr Swaby refers to some of the major East-Indian concentrations in Kingston: Constant Spring, Cockburn Gardens, Back o' Wall, and August Town (Bedward's settlement) (Figure 1.5).² He tells me that if you are black and wear a tie you are treated like a "coloured man." He claims that there is peaceful coexistence between the groups of Ras Tafari in West Kingston.

A major problem for Jamaica is that both local capitalists and consumers have more confidence in imports than in local goods—hence the proliferation of manufacturers' representatives, who import foreign articles, on Kingston's Harbour Street.

Meeting Mike Smith

David Edwards has suggested that I should talk to Mike Smith if I want to incorporate something on the Jamaican household into my

study of Kingston.³ A quick visit to Mike's room in ISER resulted in an invitation to spend the afternoon with him at his home on the campus. I start off by asking him about the complexities of Kingston's social structure, and he suggests I read the last 15 pages of his *Framework for Caribbean Studies*—on color, class, and culture in Caribbean societies.⁴

Social work is being carried out in West Kingston under the Methodists—Revd Hugh Sherlock, Revd Bill Blake, and Sister Julia, based on Ebenezer Church.⁵ There are rent yards, where the land is let and most of the shacks are owned by the renters of the ground spots; and tenement yards, where rooms in subdivided houses are let. Rented tenement complexes characterize inner West Kingston around Bond Street and Salt Lane, in or adjacent to the colonial grid, and many of the neighborhoods in East Kingston stretching out to Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4).

In the tenements social tensions revolve around living on top of one another, lack of facilities, and insecure tenure. Rent collectors frequently overcharge and sometimes turn people against one another. According to Mike, households in downtown Kingston are often very small, with the extended family not expressed at the domestic level. Many neighborhoods record a high annual population turnover—40 percent in West Kingston, 36 percent in Central Kingston, and 28 percent in East Kingston, based on his 1954 data.⁶ Denham Town, developed on the site of Smith Village in 1938, was the first Government Housing Scheme in Kingston. The most depressed element in Smith Village, which had not been rehoused in Denham Town, therefore moved from Dungle to Back o' Wall.

Mike located the major Ras Tafari groups for me: Back o' Wall, Foreshore Road, East Road in Trench Town, Royal Jamaica Yacht Club—Windward Road, Hannah Town, Wareika, Rennock Lodge, Norman Range (all three near Long Mountain), Jones Town, Rose Town (in West Kingston), August Town, Three Mile, Maverley, Seaward Pen, Maxfield Avenue, Waterhouse (off Molynes Road), Bond Street (Figures 1.4 and 1.5).⁷

Mike drew my attention to the pattern of withdrawal that is so persistent in Jamaican society, because of the lack of social mobility. He mentioned the Ras Tafari preoccupation with Africa, and the current high level of emigration to Britain. Ex-slaves withdrew from the sugar plantations after emancipation in 1838 and burrowed into the interior. There is a dog-eat-dog attitude among the working class; and a dog/cow attitude among the working class toward the middle class; solidarity only occurs when there is an outside threat.

Mike believes that Jamaica has only three years to solve its problems, and he sketches four scenarios: a miracle with US aid; rebellion and the UK government takes over; the rebellion succeeds with Cuban intervention; the current government is replaced by a political party that is equally incapable of improvements.⁸

A crucial issue is federation. Norman Manley may succeed in keeping Jamaica in the federation, if the sugar quota from the United States is increased and there is financial aid and involvement of the US Peace Corps. However, it is feasible that Manley will retire soon from political life and Wills Isaacs (Minister of Trade and Industry) will take over. There are many splinter groups in the political parties; some PNP members are anti-federation; some JLP supporters are pro-federation.

Saturday and Sunday, April 15 and 16

I spent the weekend with Peter Sanders and a doctor friend of his, staying first at Port Antonio, where we camped at Folly Point, and then driving up to Millbank in the John Crow Mountains (Figure 1.2). We had a long walk through the mountains on the Sunday and saw some East Indian settlements. I was struck by the green luminosity of the vegetation and the dapples of gold and green. To cool off we swam in the rock pools of the Rio Grande.

Monday to Saturday, April 17 to 22

Millard Johnson launched the PPP on Sunday, April 16—capturing the name of Garvey's political movement of the 1930s.⁹

The headlines of the *Daily Gleaner* on Tuesday, April 18, are given over to news of the invasion of Cuba by a group of exiles, who have landed with CIA support at the Bay of Pigs on the south coast. I imagine the fighting is going on less than 500 miles from Kingston.

The whole week has been devoted to the Department of Statistics. I have negotiated a punch-card copy of their 10 percent sample of Kingston households from the 1960 census, and discussed with Dennis McElrath (a visiting sociologist from Northwestern University) methods by which to analyze the data.

Sunday, April 23

I went swimming at Lyssons—the UCWI beach in St Thomas—with Patricia Rowe and some of her friends.

Wednesday, April 26

Agriculture and Jews in Kingston in 1900

I spent part of the day talking to Mr Clarke at the Jamaica Agricultural Society—he told me that he had been in Worcester and Hereford, UK, during the First World War. He explained “dip and fall back” to me—it’s a dish made of green bananas, shad, and herring.

Fifty years ago the pens of Kingston were not cultivated because of the lack of water caused by drought, though cattle were kept in the area of brackish water near the Windward Road. Owners of the pens were mostly businessmen. To the east of Paradise Street (in East Kingston) there were two-acre smallholdings, though they were not intensively cultivated. East of the Asylum, Kincaid’s property produced mangoes and ackee. Further east still, Doncaster Pen had a pottery, as did Barn Pen (now Bournemouth Gardens) (Figure 1.5), while Belmont was noted for its cattle.

Vineyard Town was originally owned by the Connelly family, but was later subdivided for housing lots. At Half Way Tree there were two pens: Ivy Green owned by Verley, and Collins Green by Sloss (the manager of a bakery). Now both are neighborhoods of middle-class housing (Figure 1.5).

In 1900 Jones Town in West Kingston was owned by absentee proprietors, the Misses Jones, who lived in England. It was an area of squatting, with cultivation taking place around each yard.

Sugar was still being produced at Mona between 1895 and 1900, using the open-pan system, with water taken from the Hope River. Mr Pine was the manager. Later the Mona estate was sold to the Water Commission. In contrast, the sugar works on the Constant Spring estate went out of business before 1880 (Figure 1.5).

In 1900, according to Mr Clarke, there was a marked concentration of Jews on Princess Street in the west of the historic town grid, with some expansion into Port Royal Street. Dispersal took place after the earthquake that devastated Kingston in 1907. Even at this early time, doctors, dentists, and lawyers clustered on lower Duke Street, south of East Queen Street (Figure 1.4). The home of the De Mercado family was located at the top of Hanover Street in the colonial grid, where the government film unit is now based.

Crime and Residence

Later in the day I had a brief conversation with a senior officer at the Jamaica Constabulary Headquarters in Kingston. He mentioned

that there were well-known areas of criminal residence—Salt City (on Upper Regent Street, north of North Street), Back o' Wall, and the Foreshore Road (Marcus Garvey Drive) (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). He balanced his geography of criminal residence by referring to “the slick businessmen of St Andrew.” However, I was refused access orally (and later in writing) to crime data for Kingston, which I wanted to analyze and map.

Thursday, April 27

Coronation Market

Deirdre took me on a shopping trip to Coronation Market on the Spanish Town Road. I was fascinated by the brightly colored fruits, the sandals with soles made from used motorcar tires, and the plump, glistening higgler. They were perplexed by my beard—do they really think I am a follower of Ras Tafari?

Saturday and Sunday, April 29 and 30

Climbing Blue Mountain Peak

Peter Sanders and I set off with a group of friends (Richard Armstrong, Bud Beck, and Peter Fox) to climb Blue Mountain Peak. Leaving our cars at Mavis Bank at around midday (Figure 1.2), we walked for six miles to Whitfield Hall, where we made our base camp at the hostel. It was exceptionally hot—and steep, though we had the chance to cool down while fording two streams. Country folk (many light colored) were most helpful in pointing out the path. The lower lands were under bananas and coffee (for the Mavis Bank factory). Higher up, the steepest slopes were covered with mango trees, though some of the gentler inclines were terraced for horticulture—cabbage, potatoes, escallions, and flowers. There were signs of deforestation on the ridges, but also of reforestation with eucalyptus as we approached Whitfield Hall.

We ate a meal of curried goat provided by the warden—Bud Beck opted for a tin of cold baked beans—and after a short sleep set out at 10 pm to climb the peak, which we intended to reach before dawn. We made our way up hour after hour through the stunted alpine vegetation to the hut at the summit (7,402 feet), only to find that it was cloudy, wet, and terribly cold. We enjoyed a stupendous ten-second glimpse of Kingston through a rift in the clouds, after which Peter and I gave up and ran down to Whitfield Hall and the warmth of

our beds. The remainder trickled in one by one, and once the group was rested, we made our way painfully back down to Mavis Bank in the afternoon.

Monday, May 8

Hookworm Films at Lawrence Tavern

Bud Beck, the visiting epidemiologist, invited me to Lawrence Tavern (to the north of Stony Hill) (Figure 1.2). His team was showing two colored cartoons (in the open air) demonstrating the importance of sanitation as an aid against hookworm infection. The films focused on the life cycle of the worm, but the characters were poor white Americans (while the audience was black), and the family depicted had only three members. Emphasis was placed on maintaining hygienic cooking facilities. At the end of the program, a film was shown to entertain, and I had the doubtful pleasure of joining Bud in singing “Clementine.” There were several Chinese girls in the audience and one poor white man.

Tuesday, May 9

Necessity for Urban Redevelopment

I talked to Horace Gordon, a social worker with Jamaica Social Welfare.¹⁰ Because of the rapid physical deterioration of many house structures in West Kingston, he claims that “nothing short of complete redevelopment will save areas becoming slums.”

Wednesday, May 10

Yallahs Valley Land Authority

Harper Jones, one of the extension officers and a contact of David Edwards, took me on a trip to the Yallahs Valley Land Authority (YVLA), driving us via Gordon Town, Content Gap, Clydesdale, Westphalia, Hall’s Delight, and back to Resource (Figure 1.2).¹¹ Harper explains that the area in the north of the valley, where we were going, is thought to represent one of the greatest problems in the island—poor communications, backward people, and advanced top-soil erosion (Plate 2.1). The settlements occur where clusters of renters were originally located. Two new post offices have been opened in Westphalia and Hall’s Delight. It appears that many peasants are leaving for Britain.



Plate 2.1 Dissection by erosion of the upper Yallahs Valley, Blue Mountains.

The optimum size of holding is thought to be at least five acres, but many are smaller. Fertilizer is being pushed by the YVLA, and 80 percent of farmers now use it. Credit is also available, and the money is invested first in improved housing and then in livestock—there is a lack of protein in the local diet. Credit repayments by the farmers seem to be regular and reliable. South of St Peter's I was taken to meet “one of the best small farmers in Jamaica” with four-and three-quarters acres, much of it terraced (Plate 2.2), and with crops of white asters, broccoli, Brussels sprouts, and grass for mulching. I was told that he is not only “amenable to advice,” but that he also “works off the holding.” There is quite a lot of “partnership” and “day-for-day” labor collaboration among peasants in the upper Yallahs.¹² Many farmers plough by hand, using a utensil made out of a pickaxe. Digging is encouraged by extension officers, because turning the sod is important where the surface has been compacted.

The purpose of afforestation in upper Yallahs is to fix the soil for environmental recuperation, not for commercial tree cutting. Several farmers are employed in planting seedlings. The extension officers have been trying to get peasants to grow mango trees along the contours, but they have found the proposal “not too acceptable.” Soil erosion has now been virtually arrested, though I was shown a photograph of a gully, which took six years to bring under control. The peasants are friendly, and there is considerable social cohesion, according to



Plate 2.2 Placing bunds along the contours to prevent erosion, Yallahs Valley, Blue Mountains.

Harper Jones. The authority seems to be getting down to “the grass roots.” At Hall’s Delight the children were well dressed but without shoes. There are 60 students in a class in the school, and after the age of 12 attendance is irregular because of the demands of farm work. We stopped at the youth corps at Chesterville where 300 boys are under training. I was not impressed with either the hall or the kitchen.

The YVLA seeks to reeducate people, but the big test is whether they will carry on once their subsidies are withdrawn. Is the land authority an economic proposition, taking into account the costs of rehabilitating land?

Thursday, May 11

Trench Town

Horace Gordon and Egbert Sloss have offered to take me to Trench Town to help them scout out the location for a new standpipe (Figure 1.5). They mention the political agitator, Sinclair, and his

communist activities in Vere, south of May Pen (Figure 1.1), where cane fires have been set, and talk as though the revolution is already over in the slum areas of Kingston.¹³ We enter the squatter settlement opposite Boys' Town using Third Avenue, and then follow a track about 6–7 feet wide. The border to the track is formed by a cactus hedge, which also provides a protective perimeter to the yard inside containing huts. The track is sandy and the atmosphere dusty from the rooting of black pigs and the scratching of fowls. There are several young black girls without shoes or bras.

When we get to our destination we meet up with several Ras Tafari—all bearded, except for a clean-shaven young man of 22. He embarks on the theme of revolution or back to Africa, but soon adds that he ought to be at university—he wants a technical education. It seems that there are no cinema screenings of films on Africa, except those provided by Millard Johnson—“one o’we”—and the PPP. Residents ask about me (the white man), and when Horace explains that I am a British researcher attached to UCWI he gets the reply “alrights.” Our principal task this evening is to find a location for a standpipe, as there are 1,300 squatters without water in the settlement. One squatter cleverly suggests that the standpipe should have four nozzles, but Horace explains that that may not work, given the low water pressure and the likely use of a narrow-gauge supply pipe.

As we are going around we meet an older man with a bicycle who is walking through the squatter settlement. He tells us that he thinks the people will spoil any sanitary conveniences if they are provided. What everyone wants is a single-story house set in a good yard—most are migrants from the countryside, essentially unemployed, and they live by scuffling (scraping a living) and cotching (sharing accommodation). Clusters of men are playing games of draughts, dice, and dominoes. A woman in a red dress approaches us and says, “We are not incapable of helping ourselves, but we need water!” There is just one small shop in the heart of the squatter settlement, though there are more on the fringes.

We left Trench Town and drove to a rum shop in central Kingston, where Horace ordered a flask of rum, and began to tell us about an exclusive club on Hanover Street—Jamaica Club. He mentioned an incident that had happened earlier in the day, when a woman from the Housing Department had been chased out of a room in the Trench Town government tenements by two men who had drawn knives on her. Hearing that the room had been vacated by a man who had just won the football pools, they had “captured” the room, and were not prepared to give it up.

Sunday, May 21

During a Church of God service on the Constant Spring Road, the preacher used the sermon to inveigh against promiscuity and the lack of family life in Kingston.

Vic Reid on Ethiopia

Later I heard a lecture by the novelist and publisher, Vic Reid, an advisor to the Unofficial Mission to Africa, who was talking about Ethiopia and the settlement at Sheshemani.¹⁴ This was a story of fortitude on a pioneer fringe, involving black settlers from the United States, though many had parents originally from Jamaica or other parts of the Caribbean. Reid stressed the autocratic nature of Haile Selassie's rule, but pointed out the attraction of an African country where English is the second language.

Monday, May 22

I am told that there are about 19,000 squatters in Kingston. The TPD and the Housing Department are at odds over the way they should be treated—the planners think they should be rehoused, while the officials in housing think they should be thrown off the land.

Tuesday, May 23***Labor Day***

The first national celebration of Labor Day took place. A march organized by Millard Johnson of the PPP was supported by the PFM.¹⁵

Wednesday, 24 May

At the Jamaica Agricultural Society I talked with Mr Gale about produce marketing in Jamaica. He suggested there is over-centralization of the system, focused on Kingston.

East Indians in Kingston

In the afternoon I went to Bethune Avenue, where Maxfield Avenue joins the Spanish Town Road, to visit Varma Hall (Figure 1.4). Varma Hall houses the headquarters of the East India Progressive Society, which caters to East Indian Christians, Muslims, and Hindus, though

the Muslims have a mosque in Spanish Town. Many East Indians have moved away from Bethune Avenue with increasing prosperity for some—getting bank or government jobs, or being rehoused in Cockburn Gardens.

Most Hindus marry within group. Hindi is spoken only by older East Indians and by the Bombay businessmen, who are more recent immigrants than the indentured laborers, from whom most Jamaican Indians are descended. The Bombay group meets at Dadlani's house, but the Cockburn Gardens people seem quite disorganized. I am told that if an Indian man marries out of race, his wife and children are accepted, but this is not the case if a woman is exogamous.

I meet Pundit Tewari, who was born in India and went back on a visit in 1946–7. His wife was born on a sugar estate in Clarendon. She, like her husband, speaks Hindi.

Roughed Up in Trench Town

This trip to the Spanish Town Road provided me with the opportunity to make an impromptu visit to the Boys' Town squatter camp, Trench Town (Figure 1.5); Horace Gordon had suggested that it would be feasible after my brief introduction to the neighborhood by him. I was given a really rough time by a group of young Ras Tafari—those who hadn't seen me before in their squatter camp.

Only two things counted; black-and-white and Africa. "Why you wear beard?" "You see houses like this in England?"—a shack decorated with magazine photos stuck to the inside wall. "You know about Ethiopia in 1936 when white soldiers raped our virgins?" I was pretty scared. "What do we want here? Water, jobs, houses, food—not Africa." I was made to say that Ras Tafari is God. They seemed hazy about Africa, and distrustful of Vic Reid and his reports on Ethiopia. One young man added, "I want to live under a black ruler." I was perpetually asked, "Why are we here?" I suggested it was because of the failure of government to provide housing, but the answer they wanted was "because of the white man." They suggested I wouldn't live in Trench Town under the conditions they experienced, but when I asked, "would you let me?" I was immediately rebuffed with a "no, man." They seemed amazed and none too pleased at my request, and immediately promised not to hurt me—several of them had machetes.

The man with the bicycle, whom I had met during my visit to Trench Town with Horace Gordon, then turned up, said that he knew me, and suggested to the Ras Tafari that he would walk me out

of the squatter settlement. He apologized to me for their roughness and their obvious attempt to humiliate me. We passed other people whom I had met previously, all of whom were friendly. The cyclist slowly walked me out to the road and parted from me with the farewell, "long life." The revolution is over, indeed! If you mention the PNP or JLP, they laugh at you.

Thursday, May 25

Horace Gordon on Black Extremists

Horace Gordon and I continued our conversation about conditions in West Kingston. He reckons that about 80 percent of the inhabitants of Kingston are migrants to the city.¹⁶ Sam Brown, the Rasta spokesman on the Foreshore Road, is already talking about rehabilitation as opposed to repatriation to Africa. If the Mission to Africa fails, social rehabilitation will be even more problematic, and it is anyone's guess what will happen.

Horace believes that the census data on the Rastas was spoilt, because the enumeration got tangled with the arrest of Revd Claudius Henry. He had been training his church people with grenades. What would have happened if his son, Ronald, and his black American followers, who entered Jamaica and set up a guerrilla camp in the Red Hills, had made contact with him before his imprisonment? It is press coverage of the Henrys that has made the middle class so alarmed.

Friday, May 26

Jamaica Chinese

Clinton Chen¹⁷ and I were both at a dinner with the Warden of Taylor Hall, UCWI, to entertain George Price, Chief Minister of British Honduras. Clinton is coming to Oxford as a graduate student in Chemistry in October. He and the other Chinese students talked about their parents' sacrifice, and their determination to see that boys get a good start in life—a case of middle-class drive and strong family background. In all four instances the parents were in the grocery business in Montego Bay, Kingston, or Mandeville. Montego Bay has a Chinese Club. I gather that the Chinese could not care less about federation. Clinton told me he is called a "Chinese dog" by street boys in Kingston; the terms "white man" and "Castro" are shouted at me abusively as I walk around downtown.

Monday, May 29

My East Indian hairdresser, Charles Conie, who has a salon at Matilda's Corner, tells me that he is originally from Cinchona in the upper Yallahs Valley. He has been in business for just over 30 years and has transformed his original wooden premises into the concrete building he now occupies. He has daughters living in my home town—Worcester. One of them is employed at the Royal Worcester Porcelain works.

White Racist Outburst

At the Water Commission of the Kingston and St Andrew Corporation (KSAC) located at Cavaliers, near Cross Roads, I encountered my first experience of racism from a British ex-pat. Sitting on the verandah overlooking the water treatment plant, the engineer poured out a torrent of anti-Jamaican abuse. "Jamaicans are big-headed and will not be taught—black bastards!" No wonder his workers cower when he moves near them. I leave quickly with a copy of the Water Commission annual report in my bag.

Stunned by this outburst, I move on to the Housing Department. They are having problems because the schemes they are devising are not acceptable to the Central Housing Authority. It seems there is no machinery available to facilitate housing redevelopment in Kingston.

Mr Walters at the Electoral Office informs me that in the Kingston Pen (Back o' Wall) polling district more people voted in 1959 than there were names on the roll, and this crucially swung the result in the West Kingston constituency in favor of the PNP (JLP 6,064 and PNP 6,163).

If

What will happen if:

- (a) migration to the United Kingdom is stopped by London after Federal or Jamaican independence?
- (b) the Back-to-Africa Mission fails?
- (c) there is a winning "no" vote in the referendum?
- (d) Jamaica becomes independent outside the federation, and the Hampshire Regiment leaves?
- (e) there is the rise of a black leader?

a + b + c + d + e = revolution.

Tuesday, May 30

East Indians in Jamaica

I have arranged an interview with Ivan Blake, one of the committee members of the East India Progressive Society—several on the committee have English family names. East Indians in Jamaica are a depressed group: indentured recruitment (a five-year term) ended in 1917; and 1929 was the final date for application for repatriation to India. Historically, East Indians have been second-class citizens in Jamaica, having to arrange civil as well as religious marriages, and have experienced social discrimination from the black majority. The aims of the East India Progressive Society are nonreligious and nonpolitical, and its 40 members are either fully or half-Indian. The goal is group equality and integration (not separation). In particular, they wish to press for improved treatment in court through appropriate lawyers and translators; to overcome discrimination at work; and to press for cremation (recently allowed, though there is no dedicated site).

Now there are Hindu and Muslim marriage laws; divorce and inheritance conform to the law of the land; and the backlog of illegitimate children has been made legitimate. There are two Hindu marriage officers in Kingston, and one in Vere, Clarendon. The Hindu Samaj (society) organizes group worship for Hindus in Kingston, and its membership, too, is less than 40. There is a move to introduce a service sheet. A Hindu school operates at Cockburn Pen with 20–30 children, and religion is taught twice a week. No caste is practiced in Jamaica, but the distinction between indentured and free migrants is strong. The indentured laborers came from the United Provinces and Madras, the merchants from Sind and Bombay—this merchant class is exclusive both abroad and at home.

There is no Muslim–Hindu conflict in Jamaica. Hindus are Sanathanists; the Muslims have a mosque in Spanish Town. An Islamic Sunday School is held at UCWI, but it is supported by local merchants, and is exclusive. Another Muslim Sunday School is run in Cockburn Gardens. Club India, set up for cultural and recreational purposes, attracts people of some financial standing. Historically, East Indians concentrated along the Spanish Town Road at Kingston Pen (Back o' Wall) (Figure 1.5) and near the junction with the Maxfield Avenue to the north of the Spanish Town Road (Figure 1.4). In both localities the land was owned by members of the Tewari family. When the latter area was subdivided into Tewari Crescent the residents couldn't pay and had to move out.

Jamaican East Indians have contacts with other East Indians throughout the Caribbean on a religious and friendship basis. Contacts with India are solely cultural. Dr Varma has suggested that there might be East Indian emigration from Jamaica to the communities in British Honduras and British Guiana.

Wednesday, May 31

The *Gleaner* reports the assassination yesterday of the dictator, President Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. The Castro regime in Cuba is secure—but the old dictators (first Batista in Cuba in 1959 and now Trujillo) have been toppled.

Saturday, June 3

The Africa Mission has returned to Jamaica.

Sunday, June 4

Hindu Ceremony

In the late afternoon I attended a Hindu household service at Ivan Blake's house in Chisholm Avenue, near Maxfield Park, West Kingston (Figure 1.4). On the verandah there was a table with oils, vials, and flowers for use in the ceremony. Pundit Tewari was waiting to conduct a family service in Sanskrit and Hindi to celebrate the departure of Ivan's son overseas. I calculated there were roughly 30 children, 30 men, and 40 women; I was told that about half were non-Hindu. The East Indian congregation was segregated by sex. The girls were beautifully dressed in white; and women sang religious songs throughout the ceremony.

After the rites were over, sweetmeats of flour, pineapple, and raisins were served, followed by a feast of curry, rice, mangoes, peas, and potatoes. Later we listened to a tape recording of a woman lecturer in Sanskrit at Delhi University giving a short talk in English.

It was a delightful evening, the more so perhaps, because it provided an escape from this black–white business. As I was leaving, I noticed a small, wizened old woman wearing beautiful silver jewelry—bangles around her neck and a piercing in her nose. There were several poor, elderly East Indians; old men with beak noses, just skin and bones.

Monday, June 5

Trip around the West End of the Island

Evelyn Tate drove a visitor, Leon McGuire (a former pupil of my supervisor, Paul Paget) and me around the west end of Jamaica in his Jaguar. We set out via Caymanas Sugar Estate to Spanish Town, the former capital (Figure 1.2). Much of the historic center of the town is tawdry and reminiscent of Kingston's tenements, though the main square is attractive and an indicator of previous gracious living. We then follow the line of the Rio Cobre, and cross it on the Flat Bridge before heading north through the gorge to Bog Walk and Linstead—I have the impression of an organic township, in addition to the famous market.

Leaving Ewarton, where the open-cast bauxite workings are unsightly, we climb Mount Diablo and then descend to Moneague, enjoying wonderful views westward across St Thomas-in-ye-Vale into the surrounding cockpits—the rolling countryside is good for pasture. Descending Fern Gully, we arrive at Ocho Rios on the north coast. We make stops at Shaw Park Hotel and Dunn's River Falls, before driving on to St Ann's Bay and the Arawak Hotel, which to my surprise is air-conditioned—even the waste-paper bins are from Miami. Hotels, sugar plantations, and empty subdivisions alternate as we travel westward along the coast. Mr Tate tells us that a plot can cost as much as £3,500. The real-estate speculators—Randall and Chung—are milking the country.

The main road is fringed by the Caribbean Sea on the right and a high marine cliff inland. Below the cliff is a raised coral platform with poor-quality agricultural land and clumps of sea grapes. Beyond the cliff the mass of the serrated, castellated Cockpit Country can be glimpsed. We pass through Falmouth, which looks quite clean and has an attractive eighteenth-century grid pattern. Lunch is a picnic at Flamingo Beach (Figure 1.1). First stop after lunch is the Casa Montego (a modern hotel that looks like a block of flats) and Doctor's Cave in Montego Bay, which has good white sands but is otherwise nondescript. The contrast between tourist and downtown Montego Bay is striking, and the latter contains the most decrepit urban center I have yet seen in Jamaica.

To my surprise there is a sugar factory on the western outskirts of Montego Bay—Barnett Estate (owned by the Kerr-Jarretts). There are queues of cane wagons waiting to get into the factory yard. Following the coast road, we pass the perched Round Hill Hotel and drive on to Lucea, an impoverished settlement with a lovely harbor. The rounded, limestone hills come down to the coast in the parish of Hanover, and as

the eye ascends, the green landscape changes from sugar to food forest and upland forest. The coastal strip is poor in Hanover, and extends into Westmoreland, where the white sands provide the potential for tourist development at Negril. One wonders what sort of tourist will be attracted, and whether the benefits will reach the grass roots.

We take a break at Negril Lighthouse before turning inland, heading for Little London and Savannah-la-Mar. This is a very poor area, with abandoned wattle cottages and men, women, and children frequently in tatters as we approach the vicinity of the Frome Sugar Estate. Crossing the Cabarita River, I become aware of many East Indians on the road before we enter Savannah-la-Mar and follow the main road down to the harbor. I am struck by the same Syrian and Jewish names that feature among Kingston retailers—Marzouca, Henriques, and Issa. By the time we reach Black River it is dark, and I see little of the route that leads us through Santa Cruz, Mandeville (quite English with its delightful square, where we dine), Porus, May Pen, and Spanish Town to Kingston (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Reflecting on our conversations in the car, I get the impression that most qualified Jamaicans are going into safe government jobs. Money is being invested in real estate, not industry (as at home).

Tuesday, June 6

Barbara Caplow invites me to spend the evening with her and introduces me to the water colorist Bill Melville, who specializes in Jamaican scenes in a “British” tradition.

Thursday to Saturday, June 8–10

Hampden Estate

I am staying at Hampden for four days, living in the great house with John and Lena Farquharson, who had brought out my suitcase for me by sea from England. Lena’s mother, who lives in Worcester, is a friend of my mother—hence the invitation. My room in the great house (with its four-poster Governor’s bed) is on the first floor and looks across the droning sugar factory up into the Cockpit Country (Plate 2.3). I cannot escape the view of a haystack topographic outline, which is pleasurable, or the smell of the dunder (lees of cane-juice), which is not. The great house was built in the late eighteenth century, just as sugar cultivation was spreading across the lowlands south of Falmouth (Figure 1.1).



Plate 2.3 Hampden great house, built in the late eighteenth century by the sugar planter, John Stirling, and modified by the Kelly-Lawson family from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries.

Hampden, an amalgamation of six or seven original plantations, is set in the Queen of Spain's Valley, southwest of Falmouth, and covers 10,000 acres, between 3,000 and 4,000 acres being under sugar. The estate also produces bananas, cocoa, and citrus, and has a herd of 500 red-poll cattle, though it will probably be trebled to 1,500 if sugar exports are curtailed. The estate is divided into three farms—one in and two out; the out farms are less fertile, but have clay soils that are moisture retaining. In addition 1,000 acres can be irrigated using three wells.

Most of the sugar cane grown is of the 12-month variety, though some is 15-month cane. The cane plant is ratooned (allowing it to regenerate after cutting) for up to nine years—there is little disease. Heavy rain is important in fixing the sucrose content. The harvest is taken off from December to August, when the sugar content drops right away. It takes a day of cutting by hand to clear a field. Burnt cane can be saved if it is cut and processed immediately, especially if it is wet. Three tons of cane per man are cut each day, but the amount, it is claimed, could be trebled. I am told that cane fires in Vere (in Clarendon) correlate with attempts to introduce mechanical cutting. There are two mechanical cane loaders in the Hampden Estate garage, which cannot be used for political reasons. A cane worker refused John's request that I might be allowed to photograph him while he cut. He replied angrily, "me no black monkey."

Cane farmers occupy the periphery of the estate. Hampden contracts to take their entire crop, and pays for it on the basis of the sucrose quality of the cane, measured by a 10 percent sample taken in the factory yard. Cane farmers contribute 120,000 tons of cane each year, compared to the estate output of 90,000 tons. This year Hampden anticipates a record crop of 20,000 tons of manufactured sugar. Approximately 9–10 tons of cane produce one ton of sugar. About 300 tons of fertilizers are used on the estate each year, notably phosphates and sulfate of ammonia in a one-to-one ratio. Marketing of the sugar is carried out within the framework of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement.

In crop time the estate employs about 1,400 workers, dropping down to 900 in the dead season. The managerial staff—mostly white—are housed in bungalows located near the great house, while regular workers live in settlements on the periphery of the estate. Cane cutters, imported for the crop season, occupy barracks close to the factory. Both the BITU and the National Workers Union (NWU) have bargaining rights on the estate, but their rivalry must weaken labor solidarity. The estate is served by an estate-and-government school, by a chapel, a playing field, and a sports club (which has 60 staff members). The estate is valued at between £1,250,000 and £1,500,000.

Sugar is trucked to Hampden Wharf at Falmouth, which was bought from Delgado in 1928. Because the harbor is shallow it takes five days to load 2,500 tons by lightering. Lightermen earn £3–400 per annum, dockers £60–90 per annum. The wharf can store up to 9,000 tons of sugar at a time, and sugar for other estates in the region is handled and exported. It is likely in future that the seasonal work at the wharf will disappear altogether. The whole operation may shift to Reynold's new bauxite wharf at Ocho Rios (Figure 1.2)—or the sugar may be transported directly to Savannah-la-Mar on the south coast of Jamaica for transhipment. Hampden Wharf currently imports timber from British Honduras. It also imports and retails radios, car tires, and bicycles.

Rum is made at Hampden for the Jamaica Sugar Manufacturers' Association, which sells most of the Hampden product to Germany for use in confectionery. Hampden rum is made to a special formula and has four-times the body of others. I can vouch for the bouquet remaining in the tasting glass hours after the liquid is drained! The German firm Krupps provided the new sugar factory on a barter basis in the late 1930s—as recorded on a notice in the plant.

I like neat Georgian Falmouth with its color wash and clinker board. The court house, colonial square, and flower beds are most

attractive. There seem to be fewer poor housing areas than elsewhere in Jamaica. But new industry is needed to bolster the place if sugar leaves. There is talk of a mattress factory using incentive legislation for new industry. John Farquharson is interested in the project, though there seems to be a water shortage that will affect manufacturing.

On Saturday we all went to a fête at the Hague Grounds, during which I was introduced to the white Custos of Trelawny, Mr Parnell. People, young and old, were colorfully dressed for the occasion—and what they wore was offset by the dark sky. We also took in a Trelawny-Hanover inter-parish cricket match played on the Hampden pitch. The Hanover captain was a huge man in a white floppy hat; Trelawny won by eight wickets.

John referred to promiscuity among people of all classes—from the resident magistrate downward. Both John and Lena were delightful hosts, and John went out of his way to explain to me the operation of the estate at Hampden. But the Queen of Spain's Valley is enclosed—physically and socially—climatically hot and humid, and somewhat lugubrious.

Sunday, June 11

Journey Back to Kingston

On Sunday afternoon I drove back to Kingston. Beyond the mangrove to the east of Falmouth I found the north coast largely derelict, the major exceptions being a cinema under construction at Duncans, hotels and winter cottages at Runaway Bay, and the banana and coconut groves near St Ann's Bay (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Beyond St Ann's Bay I turned inland toward Claremont, following the line of the Great River. The valley was full of bananas and food forest.

A small town, Claremont is quite attractive with some good middle-class housing. This seems to be a prosperous area, enhanced by the bauxite at Golden Grove. From Claremont to Moneague there was good pasture, with fine Jamaican black- and red-poll cattle, set in a limestone landscape, including haystack hills. St Thomas-in-ye-Vale is a massive faulted depression, parts of which fill with water in the wet season. It drains to the south toward Spanish Town via the Rio Cobre gorge, which I follow on my way back to Kingston.

I am now thoroughly disillusioned with Jamaica and its future. I think that plans will remain plans. There is too much talk and too little action—too much ambivalence. Federation is being treated as a democratic safeguard, and sugar quotas in the United States provide a good example of federal bargaining power.

Tuesday, June 13

Christiana and Its Peasants

This is the first of six days that I am spending with my host, Donald Innis, who has invited me to stay with him at a guest house in Christiana on the edge of the Cockpit Country (Figure 1.1). Donald has visited the area on three separate occasions, the first two to carry out fieldwork for his doctorate in geography at Berkeley, California. Donald, a Canadian and professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, was supervised for his doctorate on small farming in Jamaica by the US geographer, Carl Sauer.

On Tuesday afternoon Donald took me to meet an old friend of his, Mrs Elizabeth Williams at her house in Devon (Figure 1.1). She lives on a red-soil hillside in the white limestone area, whereas much of the terrain in the Christiana Land Authority lies to the east on the shale inlier. We climbed the steps of the house, which stands on concrete stilts, and I was greeted by Mrs Williams's daughter, Rosalind, who is in her early thirties. Rosalind offered her right hand to me, while the other hand held her left breast to her month-old baby. She has two children—the baby and Faith, who is under three. Also in the household is Elizabeth (Tibbie), aged over 60, and her grandchildren, Shirley (13) and Herbert (11). Herbert's father lives in Kingston, while Shirley's father is in England, where he is married and has two children. This is a typical grandmother family; not one child is legitimate.

Rosalind used to live with an aunt in Allman Town in Kingston (known locally as "town"), where she worked in a milk bar. She returned, pregnant, to her mother, Tibbie, in the country when one of her brothers emigrated to England. Now she wants her own house plot—away from the family area. On a subsequent occasion, one of Christiana's middle-class worthies, Miss Shaw, commented to Rosalind in my hearing, "child mash up your life." But Rosalind told me privately, "Miss Shaw does not have youth on *her* side, nor does she have a child to look after her in *her* old age."

Substantial though the house is, many rooms lack plaster and paint. The house consists of a main room, three bedrooms (one of them empty), and a kitchen. The main room contains a table and hard chairs, but no carpet. Decoration is provided by old Christmas cards and Victorian sayings such as "Christ Saves." The lean-to kitchen, from which the smoke escapes through cracks and holes, contains a wood fire and pot on a concrete bench. They have no lunch, but supper consists of boiled bananas, dumplings of flour and water, salt

fish (Canadian cod), and chocho. The meal is not eaten hot, and the family doesn't sit down together for it.

The household owns four-and-a-half acres of land, bought by Tibbie's brother who worked in the United States in the 1940s. Most of it is now in grass, because two of Tibbie's sons are in England, as is one daughter, a State Registered Nurse. Close to the house they have a garden with an orange tree, chocho, bananas, and coffee—mostly for their own use, though some is sold at market. They also have a fowl and a black pig that wanders in and out of the house and kitchen. Donald and I were given bananas like small thumbs. It appears that the family subsists on the garden and remittances sent from the United Kingdom. However, they do have a kerosene stove, the gift of Rosalind's "baby father." Although Rosalind describes her baby daughter as "my little accident," the child is clearly loved. The older children in the household are not sent to school if errands have to be run or if bananas are to be sold. Rock is being burned (to expand and weaken it) for breaking into road metal in one of the limestone depressions (*dolines*) near the Williams's house.

Wednesday, June 14

Christiana Land Authority

Donald and I went to the Christiana Land Authority (CALA) to keep an appointment with the director, Captain Arthur Thelwell.¹⁸ He tells us that "we know all the answers that can be known," and that "poor agricultural practice occurs where people have made so much money out of CALA that they have sold out to newcomers, who have brought in poor techniques." Donald and I thought Thelwell's preoccupation with Gandhi's spinning wheel as the key to rural development was nonsense, and we gratefully accepted the offer of Winston Palmer,¹⁹ the Senior Extension Officer, to take us off for an afternoon trip through CALA.

Winston drove us to Spaldings, where we visited the bookshop, press, and workshops at Knox College (a secondary school), and then on to White Shop and Ritchies, where we inspected the tilapia fish pond. Returning to Christiana we finished up at the property of a Mr Steers, on which he has 11 milking cows—Jamaica Hopes (Jersey-Montgomery cross-breeds). Establishing 40 acres of pangola grass for feed has cost £17,000. Winston tells us about plans for an artisan settlement at Coleyville-Buttup, and about a

low-income housing project proposed for lower Christiana. There also seem to be proposals for a middle-class housing scheme to be called Caland, outside Christiana, where 200 lots are to be laid out. Social segregation on this scale seems out of place in such a small settlement.

Winston then mentions two land settlement schemes in the vicinity. Stettin settlement north of Christiana, on the edge of the Cockpit Country, consists of a 50-acre central unit, surrounded by smallholdings of two to three acres—very much in the plantation pattern. The settlement is nucleated and planned. Adjacent to Stettin is Allsides, a 4,000-acre property formerly belonging to Sir Archibald Campbell. Most of the land settlement is in two- to three-acre holdings. Although there are 1,300 tenants to date, not all the subdivisions have been made. Allsides farmers get 7–9 tons of cane to one ton of sugar, and send to the factories at Appleton and Long Pond.

Because of the high elevation (3,000 feet), Christiana and its satellite communities are the land of the yam and the potato (Plate 2.4). Winston claims that a yield of 6,000 pounds of yams per acre is worth £120. Irish potatoes (to distinguish them from sweet potatoes) require ten sprayings per year with insecticide and heavy applications of fertilizer.



Plate 2.4 Yam sticks and yam hills in the mountainous interior of Jamaica near Christiana, an area to which the ex-slaves migrated after emancipation in 1838.

Thursday, June 15

Farming Systems

In the morning Winston took us to Dump, where 1,500 small farmers are in a potato cooperative (Figure 1.1). Billy McLaren, one of the large property owners whom we met, gives land to his workers to enable them to participate. At Silent Hill we see a group of agricultural laborers engaged in "morning sport"—a form of collaborative work, before visiting a balm yard for white magic, where flags are fluttering and glasses of water have been set out on a table.²⁰ In the Yankee Valley there is one excellent banana plot of about 40 acres, but many residents have no title to land.

We spoke with a light-colored farmer who has 15 acres *here*, implying that he has more land elsewhere. Four men work for him, two of whom are cutting boards from jackfruit and cedar. Winston takes us to meet a white farmer with 25 acres. Mr Newman has four acres in sugar and finds that it is good for the protection of hill slopes. He has a horse-driven sugar mill, but the cane has to be fed through by hand—I photograph the tattered youths who are good-humouredly helping with the task. Once extracted, the juice is boiled to make sugar heads to be sold in the Christiana market for five or six pence per head. Eucalyptus is growing on the hillsides, but clean weeding gives rise to gullyng in the fields.

Bauxite and Alumina

Donald has arranged for the two of us to spend the afternoon at the Kirkvine works belonging to the Aluminium Company of Jamaica (ALJAM), a subsidiary of the Aluminium Company of Canada (ALCAN) at Shooters Hill near Mandeville (Figure 1.1). ALJAM employs 2,000 (including 75 expatriates) in its three operations at Ewarton, between Moneague and Linstead, at Port Esquivel, near Old Harbour on the south coast (Figure 1.2) and at Kendal, adjacent to Shooters Hill. Here at Kendal there are 1,100 employees working on three shifts, of whom 46 are expatriates. At the moment ALJAM employs ten West Indian university graduates. Kendal's employees live in Mandeville, Christiana, and Spaldings.

The manufacturing of alumina from bauxite began in December 1952: Kirkvine now produces 500,000 tons of alumina a year, and Ewarton 250,000. It takes three tons of bauxite to manufacture one ton of alumina by treating the red earth with caustic soda and lime. ALJAM is essentially a mining-and-chemical industry combined.

With £40 million invested, it is also one of the largest producers of government revenue in Jamaica. Alumina is exported for final transformation into aluminum, using enormous quantities of electricity. Two-thirds goes to Kitimat in British Columbia, Canada (where there is hydroelectricity), and the remainder to Norway, India, Sweden, and Europe.

Mining of bauxite requires a two-foot overburden to be removed, after which strip mining takes place to a depth of 80–100 feet. Each load of bauxite exported contains 22 percent water; Reynolds, another company, reduces this amount to 10 percent by baking before shipment. Land reclamation after mining is a major issue, and is being actively prosecuted by ALJAM—otherwise £45 per acre has to be paid to the government in compensation. There is also the issue of environmental degradation associated with the massive liquor pools that scar the landscape and contain industrial waste.

ALJAM is a major player in agriculture, with 10,000 acres in St Ann on the north coast, 20,000 in Manchester—where we are—and 45,000 acres in a cattle property attached to Port Esquivel. Between 400 and 500 people are engaged in agricultural activities. One of the major ways in which ALCAN has affected agriculture has been through its impact on land values, which have rocketed in recent years—and this source of cash has no doubt funded the emigration of many rural Jamaicans to the United Kingdom.

Friday, June 16

More Peasant Problems

Winston Palmer collects us at 6 am and takes us to Dump, down into the Hector's River valley, then on to Litchfield, Wait-a-Bit, Allsides (a great yam area) and Albert Town (on the edge of the Cockpit Country)—and back (Figure 1.1). In this region trees have been cut down by peasants so that there are bare upper slopes, with bananas and coffee mixed below. CALA has 640 persons per square mile on average. We come across Sister Icy's balm yard and her flags fluttering in the breeze. We are told about the white pig problem—they suffer from sun stroke and require expensive shelters.

Christiana is much less impoverished than many of the Jamaican lowlands. The optimum size of holding seems to be between 15 and 25 acres, though it is now possible to own two parcels of land if one is in CALA and the other is in a government land-settlement scheme—as in the RITCHIES area. It appears that many peasants want more land than they and their family can use, so that they can employ

labor; some want pasture for cattle that will work for them while they leave the area. A solution to the agricultural problems of Christiana would seem to be terracing of the slopes and improved marketing—the area has been depleted over time by bananas and ginger. The key seems to be to graft on to the peasant tradition that has evolved since slave emancipation. There is a stable skilled-yeoman element here with middle-class aspirations.

Local Civil Servants and Expatriate Perks

Jamaica cannot afford a civil service (modeled on the colonial regime) where employees retire after 33 years of employment, and department heads accrue six months' paid leave in the United Kingdom (passage free) every five or six years. Why pay more to expatriates than locals at UCWI? The University College ought to cash in on the shortage of lecturing posts at UK universities; after all, it teaches London University degrees!

Saturday, June 17

Federal Referendum

Premier Manley has announced that there will be a referendum to decide whether Jamaica stays in the West Indies Federation or pulls out.

Sunday, June 18

Mixed Cropping in Devon

Donald and I walk down Savoy and Job Lanes in Christiana; there are many very poor houses made of potato boxes and cod-fish barrels—with separate kitchens. There are also impoverished houses built of Spanish wall. When we get out into the countryside toward the Williams household in Devon, we come across small fields with mixed cultivation including coco, yam, cassava, sweet potato, arrow-root, and yams (Plate 2.5). These intercropping combinations are the focus of Donald's research. In the dolines Donald and I find a layering of trees and crops with bananas at the bottom on the best soil, and all the other crops mixed together higher up. Bananas are also grown close to the house, where there is throwaway human waste and manure. Aubrey Williams (now in London), Miss Tibbie's son, is both an owner and a leaser of land.



Plate 2.5 Mixed cropping of ground provisions for subsistence on the edge of a doline (solution depression in the limestone)—Devon, Christiana.

We talk to a “poor white” peasant, Mas’ Denis. He tells us that a single-crop field is best, because there is no competition between crops. But he adds that on smallholdings a mixture of crops is essential—namely, the cultivation of both commercial and subsistence crops, because it is dangerous to put all your eggs in one basket. Usually you cultivate for two years and then leave the property under grass (and cattle) for two years.

Donald is surprised at my acceptance by Tibbie and Ros who, like others in Christiana, call me Mas’ Colin.

Journey Home

I return to Kingston down the Rio Minho valley via Spaldings, Grantham Gorge (large holdings here) Frankfield, Trout Hall, and Chapelton, where there is excellent food forest, citrus, and sugar (Figure 1.1). May Pen is situated in poorer scrub land. Between May Pen and Old Harbour there is a sisal estate, set in an arid limestone environment (Figure 1.2). On the outskirts of Spanish Town,

Brahman bulls are being used for draught—four or six to the team. At Caymanas Estate there are solid cane-cutters' barracks on the main road to Kingston.

Friday, June 30

Brother Dizzie

I meet Brother Dizzie (Gillespie) in Mike Smith's room at ISER. Dizzie is a locksman with a small beard. He is taken aback that I am from Oxford. Dizzie is from Back o' Wall and wants to know what I think about Prime Minister Macmillan. I am given a lot of talk about rape during the slave trade and the fact that Norman Manley is an agent of colonialism. Millard Johnson is described as "climbing on the bandwagon," but as giving more justice to blacks.

Dizzie says that some whites have great understanding, but emigration is not important: repatriation and spiritual contact with Africa are most important. Money is not important: there was no payment for the journey out—therefore none for the journey back (moral responsibility of United Kingdom?). If there is an unfavorable report from the Mission to Africa because of the agency of Babylon, Manley would be putting his head in a rope—"we prefer Back-to-Africa."

There is some talk about government agents who have worn the beard and penetrate Rasta ranks.²¹ There will be no rehabilitation here—those who talk of it have been misled (spiritually). Dizzie insists on the greeting "love!" He will not beg, but will receive anything for "love." Rastas are beyond politics, because politics divide—the truth will be "revealed." Dizzie will not accept work, because locksmiths are dignitaries and cannot be paid adequate wages for the work available to them.

Saturday, July 1

Food for Kingston

The economic section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands has no figures on marketing for Kingston, because it is mostly handled through higglering (peasant marketeers). Higglering is part of the social system. Yams come from different parts of the island at different seasons of the year. Fresh milk is less important than in the past (there used to be an adulteration problem); now people use condensed and powdered milk.

There is little market gardening around Kingston. Formerly many East Indians were market gardeners, and they hold on at Cockburn Gardens in West Kingston. The big Kingston cattle pens had all become residences by the twentieth century, though some still produced cattle and coconuts. About 350 head of cattle are slaughtered in Kingston every week. Caymanas estate, between Kingston and Spanish Town, produces some vegetables for the urban market.

Donald Innis, now staying in university accommodation on the campus, tells me that the Job Lane people in Christiana often take the law into their own hands and have been involved in collective murder.

Sunday, July 2

St Andrew's Church, Half Way Tree

I took communion at St Andrew's Church, Half Way Tree—essentially a middle-class gathering. The congregation contained several Chinese and many light coloreds—women predominated. I found the service very high, and there was much kneeling, making the sign of the cross, bowing, and bell tinkling. The sermon emphasized the importance of worship—not clapping hands and saying alleluia!

Donald Innis on Crop Mixing

Donald Innis tells me that some of the people up at Christiana thought I was a Rasta—they probably hadn't seen one. We talk about crop mixing on peasant plots.²² Donald argues that 1,000 pounds of yams per acre—a good yield—is feasible whether the yams are grown alone or in a crop complex (for example with cocos or peas). Potatoes yield much less, but it takes only three months before they are harvested. Christiana is phosphate-deficient because it is neutralized by the presence of iron and aluminum oxides in the soil. Renewal of soil quality is problematic.

Tuesday, July 4

Elite Housing in the Northern Suburbs

Donald and I decide to explore some of Kingston's northern suburbs together. So I drive down to the Constant Spring Road and on to Dunrobin Avenue (Figure 1.4), where I take a photograph of Jamaica Woollens, a blanket factory.²³ We then follow the Red Hills Road to Chancery Hall, where I photograph Tunbridge Drive, Knightsdale Drive,

and gravel diggers working in the Constant Spring Gully (Figure 1.3). There are some fabulous houses in this area, though much of it is still in thorn scrub and in the hands of land speculators. Eventually we arrive in Constant Spring via Whitehall Avenue (Figure 1.4), which is a major social divide, with poor make-shift houses on the gully floor.

The Constant Spring—Stillwell Road area has magnificent houses with swimming pools, and many must be worth £15–20,000. They enjoy unbroken views across the Liguanea Plain, and put Mona Heights in a decidedly inferior category. The urban geographer's adage "the higher the fewer" certainly applies in Kingston if you contrast Constant Spring and Trench Town. We return to University College via Olivier Road, noting its neoclassical architecture.

Wednesday, July 5

Proposed New Housing for Trench Town

Leaving the campus at 6 am, Donald and I drive down to West Kingston and look at the densely populated tenements at Salt Lane, adjacent to the Coronation Market, and the new housing on the Spanish Town Road, into which some of the Trench Town population is to be decanted (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). Building the new housing has just started, and each unit will cost £600—some less—paid back with interest over 30 years. The rehousing is out on contract from the Housing Department. The scheme will eventually cover the whole area. However, housing may stimulate migrants from the country, in addition to those who will come if a curb is placed on emigration to the United Kingdom. Bill Hodges, my contact in the TPD, sees Jamaica becoming another Haiti.

Mr Lee at Seaga's Travel Service tells me that only 15 percent of the migrants to the United Kingdom are from Kingston. Special charter flights to the United Kingdom cost £85. If the migration is halted, their business will be crippled.

Bert Flanz, a visiting US professor of politics from New York University, says that he is increasingly coming to the conclusion that the British West Indian Federation is—or could be—strong and not weak, if the prime minister uses all his powers.

Graham Castor invited me around to his house to meet a white woman friend who has promised to get me the membership list for St Andrew's Tennis Club. It appears that color plays quite a part at Liguanea Club; having taken a colored friend there, Valerie was told to be careful about the people she introduces. The formula seems to

be color + status + wealth makes for acceptance—but which is paramount? The issue is less pressing at St Andrew's.

Thursday, July 6

Archie Singham, one of the lecturers in politics, says that the peasants in Yallahs hate the YVLA's guts (does this mean the middle-class extension officers?). He tells me that Thelwell at CALA draws two government salaries and is a £3,000-a-year-man while being retired. Trinidad and Barbados have stopped the colonial-leave racket. Archie is avowedly fed up with Jamaica and UCWI.

Donald and I went to the Ward Theatre to see an evening performance of the Dance Theatre's *Sun Over the West Indies*, which has just returned after a successful tour of North America. We were astonished by the middle-class reaction of the audience to the excellent performance of the Afro-Christian rite "Pocomania"—embarrassed rejection.

Friday, July 7

I had a brief, but uninformative meeting with Vic Reid (he didn't want to talk to me about the Mission to Africa) at the offices of his magazine, *Spotlight*, and then headed down to the offices of the Immigration Authorities where I had a chance encounter with Miss Sewell.

Miss Sewell, who is carrying out a series of interviews with emigrants to the United Kingdom for Dr Davidson of UCWI, thought that about ten percent were from Kingston; other notable source areas were the parishes of Westmoreland and St Catherine. Miss Sewell told me that she imagined the United Kingdom was entirely built up, and was astonished when I pointed out that London and the big cities were like that, but that much of the country was rural.

As far as immigrants are concerned, there is an annual quota of 20 Chinese (all have to come via the British colony of Hong Kong). A £100 deposit has to be paid, and preference is usually given to old people and children joining relatives in Jamaica. There are restrictions on immigrants in certain trades, even for would-be travelers from the United Kingdom—for example, in printing.

Norman Manley, in my opinion, has been captured by the Jamaican middle class as surely as squatted land has been captured by the Rastas. Was there a showdown behind the scenes between capitalism and socialism in 1952, when the left wing was expelled from the PNP? It seems to me that the bureaucrats gradually took over afterward.

Chapter 3

The Ras Tafari Movement, Marxism, and Race

Saturday, July 8

Donald Introduces Me to Mr Fitz

At 6 pm Donald Innis, who is preparing to leave tomorrow morning by boat for Canada, took me to visit his new acquaintances at 12 Beaumont Road, August Town (Figure 1.5)—Mr Ralph Fitzherbert (54), Miss Clara Armstrong (56), Susie¹ (16), and Ricky (3). The children are in some loose way related to Miss Clara. Miss Clara is light in color and quite passive. Mr Fitz is dark, articulate, and impressive. He has a UNIA flag and black star. He asked me to read his life horoscope.

Beaumont Road is part of the Central Housing Authority scheme at Hermitage, August Town. The house, which cost £200 repayable over 20 years, has two rooms divided by a partition, a water closet and shower, and a small kitchen with an oil stove. The walls are covered with Victorian Christian messages; the beds and furniture are in quite good condition. I notice that the metal bed ends have been painted to resemble wood.

Mr Fitz, Sam Brown, and the PPP

The Rastafarian, Sam Brown, who lives on the Foreshore Road in West Kingston, is Mr Fitz's friend. Brown is said to be bitterly disappointed by the Back-to-Africa mission—will there be violence now? Hailie Selassie is reputed to have welcomed migration to Somaliland, but not repatriation to Ethiopia.

The PPP will use racism as the last resort, according to Mr Fitz. It will back Busta (whose powers are thought to be limited) to drive

out the PNP, which has been captured by capitalists. Mr Fitz claims that the political street fights in which he was involved in the 1940s and 1950s were to no avail. He fought for Manley and the PNP, but was then dismissed.

The Rastas look to Ras Tafari, because the God of the white man has never favored them. But they believe in a creator. Mr Fitz tells us about *ganja* and its side effects—hunger and thirst. The PPP was campaigning in Port Antonio last week, and this week is in Mandeville, Black River, and Savannah-la-Mar. Mr Fitz would like to go back to Africa.

Sunday, July 9

PPP

After lunch Mr Fitz and I went down to the PPP and Council on Afro-West Indian Affairs (CAWIA) headquarters at 169 Spanish Town Road, located at the junction with Maxfield Avenue (Figure 1.4). Most of the people in the building were black, but the vice-president of the PPP, Martin Allen was light-skinned. He is a TUC (Trades Union Council) man,² and was a leftist when the 4 Hs (Richard Hart,³ Ken Hill,⁴ Frank Hill,⁵ and Arthur Henry) were expelled from the PNP in 1952. Martin Allen explained that the main purpose of the PPP is to emphasize African culture and exclude the US and British. He believes in the Africanization of Jamaica, but the present Back-to-Africa movement is a mirage. An appeal to color would be a last resort (he does not seem to be particularly antagonistic to whites).

I found Martin Allen articulate and soft-spoken. On incentive industrialization, he seemed supportive of the strategy, but he would stop the loophole by which firms may pull out after their tax exemption period is over. Although he spoke about agricultural settlement in Jamaica, he has no direct plans. He doesn't come across as particularly socialist; he thinks that the middle class will follow whoever is in power. Education is important, especially technicians—more idealism and pulling of weight is required. He added that “the Krushchev technique may be required” (compulsion?)—and pointed to “Garvey’s dignity of the black skin.” Allen seemed well informed about conditions in Africa. But migration to Britain was scandalous and tantamount to abandoning a sinking ship. He supported the Garvey slogan “Africa for the Africans at home and abroad,” but Back-to-Africa was defensible only where blacks were in a national minority—as in the United States.

After the 1955 election, Norman Manley claimed that “socialism was only a label.” The TUC, which was formerly affiliated to the PNP,

now provides undeclared backing for the PPP. The TUC is pledged to pursue a nonparty alignment (but it may be altered). It will kick Manley with the right foot, but Busta only with the left. Over the federal referendum there is, according to Allen, a common platform linking the JLP, PPP, and Sam Brown (who speaks with the PPP), though they have different reasons for opposing federation. The PPP in power might facilitate the Back-to-Africa movement, though Allen seems to be thinking in terms of Ras Tafari reintegration in society. Allen commented that the link between unions and political parties was iniquitous, because industrialists who provide party funds can pressure the trade-union appendages. Allen seemed to me a sensible, well-balanced man, conscious of Jamaican and world problems. But I wonder whether a common platform with the JLP will be fostered. Mr Fitz tells me that he cannot foresee change without drastic action, but this reflects his class and cultural position in society.

We meet Millard Johnson, the leader of the PPP, who turns out to be less articulate than Allen. Johnson has a pocked-marked face, and is short and rather rotund. I think he was able to re-found the PPP because his father is wealthy. Johnson sounds humble and speaks of the great job of work to be done. But I suspect that he is rather middle class at heart—he hopes I will not give the impression that Kingston is a dump. Johnson tells me that he has an African friend who owns a £20,000 house in Stony Hill.⁶ I wonder whether the PPP will get to grips with peasant problems and attitudes? Will the middle class accept Johnson's leadership?

[Clarke, 2015: According to the Jamaican Local Standing Intelligence Committee (LSIC) Report for February 1961, “Millard Johnson, Vice-President of the CAWIA came to attention shortly after his return from a two months’ tour of Africa. Although not a Rastafarian as such, he is obsessed with the unity of negroes and recognition of Africa as the Mother Country. During February he held two public meetings, racial in tone, one of which was a protest meeting against the killing of Patrice Lumumba. He has pledged his support for the BMPP of Samuel Brown.”⁷]

Brother Samuel Brown

Mr Fitz and I leave the PPP and go down to the shanty town on the Foreshore Road (Figure 1.4) to visit Brother Samuel Brown, a locksman in his mid-thirties.

[Clarke, 2015: After the Revd Claudius Henry and his confederates were convicted on charges of Treason Felony on 29 October 1960,

Brown and the Foreshore Road Locksmen threatened violence in response to his imprisonment. The LSIC Report at that time noted that “Brown is perhaps the most dangerous of the present Rastafarian leaders though his actual following is still small. Three reports of inflammatory speeches made by him were forwarded by the police for the advice of the Attorney General.”⁸]

Brown and Mr Fitz were Garveyites together.⁹ Sam Brown is one of the three major Rasta spokesmen—the others being Charles Dunkley¹⁰ and Mortimer Planner of Salt Lane.

[Clarke, 2015: Mortimer Planner was a Ras Tafarian, and a leader of the EWFI. According to the LSIC Report February 1961, he “typifies the Back-to-Africa movement of the Rastafarians. His speeches are also racial in character. His main talking point is repatriation for Rastafarians as opposed to emigration.”¹¹]

Brown’s queen is a girl of about 18. They look after seven children who do not belong to them. Their hut is roughly 12 feet by 9 feet, and is of good construction with a verandah, but very bare. It contains a double bed, a chair, a stool, and various books and newspapers. At the front of the building, facing the Foreshore Road, there is a parlor or food shop, looking obliquely to the right toward Greenwich Town (Figure 1.5) (Plate 3.1).



Plate 3.1 The Foreshore Road squatter community in 1961. Sam Brown’s store and hut are behind the cyclist.

Brown is articulate and intelligent, and wishes to appear sincere. At night he believes that the lights of elite homes in the Red Hills, clearly visible from his room, mock him. He charges the Jamaican whites with bringing him and his people into slavery. Moreover, he claims that he is holding the people back, “because one cannot control a hurricane.” I think he is afraid of the possibility of things becoming out of hand. Yet he realizes that the time for action is approaching.

Brown is trying to work out whether he can take over. “Are you with us?” he asks me; “Can we count on you? The woman has gone, so you can speak freely among us.” I had the feeling that the conversation was approaching a point of imbalance, and I said that I did not feel that I could help. Brown is weighing the possibility of Manley calling in British forces. Will expatriates leave? Could he, Brown, announce popular backing for a coup and call on the United Nations or Bandung (nonaligned countries) for recognition?

Brown asks me what I think of integration (miscegenation) and seems quite impressed by my reply (in favor), but he says that he believes in racial purity. In his opinion great structural changes are needed to break down basic social isolation and polarization in Jamaica. Although the Rastas emphasize brotherly love, they clearly think that only by shedding blood will their cause be recognized. In that way they will make Jamaica an African colony.

As Mr Fitz and I left the Foreshore Road, we took some sound equipment and drums in my car down to the Regent Street–Charles Street corner (Figure 1.4)—they have several BMPP meetings a month.

[Clarke, 2015: According to the Special Branch, the BMPP was founded by Sam Brown in February 1961 “with local communist assistance.” The party’s formation was mentioned by Brown at a meeting of the EWFJ on 1 February. “At this meeting Brown stated that he was still interested in the Mission to Africa, but both Manley and Bustamante must be got rid of and a Rastafarian government formed.”¹²]

The Back o’ Wall Rastas do not preach.

BMPP meeting

I returned for the evening meeting accompanied by Mr Fitz and Miss Clara, and we were greeted by the deep beat of the *akete* drums.¹³ The crowd numbered about 200, with many women among the participants. There were groups of police with batons on the street

corners, but the meeting was orderly and broke up at the time stipulated—9 pm. The Church of England is thought of as bigoted; it preaches racial equality but does not denounce South African racism. Brother Sam said to me: “You will be quite safe. But tomorrow we might be shooting at one another across a trench.” I replied, “Tomorrow is another day.”

[Clarke, 2015: The Special Branch reported that speakers at the BMPP meetings in July “followed a racist, anti-Federation, and (occasionally) a pro-Communist theme.”¹⁴]

I talked to a young man of 27 who has never had a job, and no longer looks for work. He has 5 children, and has spent 11 years on the Foreshore Road. His woman, a domestic servant, works at Boys’ Town for 25 shillings per week. They share food with neighbors if they have it. This approaches pure communism or early Christian ideals. The young man would migrate anywhere—even to the United Kingdom for a while.

These Ras Tafari are human, which the Jamaican middle class does not accept; the polarization of attitudes casts the middle and upper classes as Babylon (oppressors) and the Ras Tafari as a lunatic fringe. All the Ras Tafari and downtrodden people I have met say that there are many good white individuals—but that they do not characterize the entire group. Expatriate whites just will not become involved in the situation.

Both the historic white-man regime and the current brown-man regime are castigated by the Ras Tafari. However, this does not refer to individuals but to associational color—British imperial agents and Jamaican politicians. The Jamaican middle-class attitude is that they know all they want to about the Rastas—they are idle, ’tiefing, and so on. What would happen to the country if everyone went back to their homeland—Great Britain, China, India? But Africans (blacks) do not want to maintain the status quo.

Brown observes, “Rastas are a symptom: they represent the safety valve for a society such as ours.” He therefore speaks for all the underprivileged of Jamaica; and points to a warning on the fence nearby saying “informers beware.” Brown describes federation as a noose, and as representing repression for the Ras Tafari and the poor in general. There are said to be almost 19,000 Ras Tafari in Kingston and the neighboring parish of St Catherine, but they have little contact with the brethren in Montego Bay.

[Clarke, 2015: Smith, Augier and Nettleford commented that “if the declared Ras Tafari brethren are estimated at between ten and fifteen

thousand, the undeclared but closely integrated sympathisers may be an equal number, and the sum of these two may be somewhat less than the numbers of people in Kingston who might take the side of the Ras Tafari brethren if circumstances seemed favourable" (1960, 21). These estimates are at variance with those advanced in "The Development of Racism in Jamaica" 1961, where the membership of the Ras Tafari movement was given as 3180 for March 1960, and two-thirds were estimated to be in Kingston. The anonymous author, continuing to refer to the Ras Tafari movement, added: "Neither was it, after the arrest of the Henrys and before the publication of the Report, in a state of unrest. It was disorganized and partly moribund." The resurgence of the Ras Tafari on the Jamaican scene was laid at the door of the Ras Tafari Report itself.^{15]}

According to Brown, Manley will not tolerate opposition. He is seen as dictatorial. The PPP argues that he should not campaign for federation—he should reflect, not create, the opinion of the people. Both Martin Allen and Mr Fitz commented, "We had to whitewash Manley before the electorate for driving out Garvey." Will there be another abortive "slave revolt?" Mr Fitz estimates that the PPP has acquired more than 10,000 members in 10 weeks.¹⁶

Brown claims, "The Bible enslaves the mind, so that blacks worship a white God." Religion, in his view, is an opium—but ganja frees the mind. Brown speaks for the downtrodden, but a key factor is the peasantry—will they follow? My main concern is whether he has a constructive policy. What will be the reaction in West Kingston if federation is accepted in the referendum? Martin Allen told me that the Ras Tafari are moving into politics, and a large number are in the PPP. Allen is well-informed about Africa, and says that what is needed there is a pioneering spirit. As I leave the meeting Brother Sam says that he wants me to take him books—good books.

Monday, July 10

Miss Clara's View

Miss Clara talked to me about herself and the two children—Ricky and Susie, children of her nephew and niece respectively—the nephew is now in London. Miss Clara asked for Ricky (because she wanted security in old age?). Donald Innis has promised to put Susie through secondary school. It will cost about £7 per term. Miss Clara has asked me to buy books with Susie and to see the headteacher.

I glean a few things more about Miss Clara. She came to Kingston from Clarendon when she was 16. She lived downtown in inner

Kingston in Georges Lane and High Holborn, and later in Trench Town. Her niece was the recipient of the Central Housing Authority unit where they live, but it is now in Miss Clara's name. She has been living in August Town for five years. Her three children are all dead. In her opinion it is now more difficult to get a job than in the past, because of the unions. Unionized labor is privileged.

She asks me to tell Mr Fitz that I hope he will be getting married ("giving him that slight push"). She says, "I love that man. He took me up when I had no shoes on my feet; I would love to serve him to the end." Ricky regards Mr Fitz as Daddy (Ricky went to sleep on my lap). Miss Clara would like a settled job for Mr Fitz. "I just want to marry and settle down: I have love when it is too late." Yet she seems so passive when Mr Fitz is there. We discuss her view that many women take advantage of marriage. According to Miss Clara, young people marry and split up because they are "what you might call infatuated." Many girls take men to cheap hotels—for a short time, some because they like it, others because they have to.

Miss Clara thinks that Marcus Garvey was the first great black man. But she is not against mixed marriages—love and happiness are her ideal. Amy Garvey is not acceptable on public platforms because she is a PNP supporter. People say she betrayed her husband. Miss Clara tells me that Mr Fitz is interested in "testing the temperature" of the Rastas. But for whom? In Miss Clara's opinion, the Kingston metropolitan area is the key to Jamaica. There is a great difference between the rural peasantry and the oppressed urban masses, but she thinks the peasantry will follow. Miss Clara believes that Eddie Seaga speaks well—but will he act well? She seems to imagine that Donald Innis and I can wave a magic wand and make everything come right!

PPP Follow-Up

Today Martin Allen wrote to me on behalf of the Afro-West Indian Cultural Centre (Director Millard Johnson), 165 Spanish Town Road:

We of the above named organisation intends (*sic*) to carry out a series of weekly lectures by prominent people in the field of history, social economics, anthropology, African, local and international affairs and other cultural subjects...We are therefore inviting you to permit us to have your name place (*sic*) on our panel of lectures in pursuance of this objective.

Tuesday, July 11

Winnie Chong¹⁷ on the Chinese

In the morning I met Winnie Chong, a student at UCWI, who is working for me as my assistant, copying Kingston enumeration-district data from the 1943 census held in the ISER archive. According to Winnie, Chinese youth are breaking away from parental despotism. Fathers know that Jamaican Chinese girls are not interested in working in the family grocery or bar, so they import wives for their sons from Hong Kong. Winnie's brother was separated within a month of marriage, and the matchmaker ran off with the girl. Chinese fathers like to have a lot of sons to perpetuate their name.

Winnie says there is no such thing as "Chinese-coloured"; they are told by their parents that they are all Chinese. Church of England ministers do not believe in going to the poor and needy—they are far too snooty. But the Catholics helped the Chinese and showed an interest in them and their children. More and more Chinese marry out of group. Winnie is interested in neither federation nor the Rastas. She admits that there is a great deal of truth in what the Ras Tafari stand for, but she does not sympathize with them. "I am not prejudiced, but...."

The Chinese in Kingston object to colored and black people replacing them in banks. Winnie sees no future for Jamaica. She is passive, fatalistic, and looking for a good job.

Expatriate Attitudes

Later in the day at The Grange, a guesthouse on Arnold Road, I hear from Patricia Rowe that she finds that black schoolchildren whom she is teaching at St Hugh's High School are not acceptable to the other residents. Expatriates at The Grange are mostly business people, and in her words, "the worst type of English," who talk about "bloody blacks." Expatriates are sending money out of the country, and there is a marked lack of idealism among teachers at St Hugh's. They do not envisage, or fight for, a better world for their pupils. According to Patricia, Vic Reid's daughter's essay was returned to her because it questioned religious tenets.

Patricia tells me that one UK bank official she knows regards anything and everything Jamaican as "bush." A British girl on the Flamingo Hotel reception desk in Kingston told Patricia, "I don't like the people."

Wednesday, July 12

Mr Fitz has suggested that Susie should show me around August Town and some of the suburbs. She is an intelligent girl, who would like to be employed in public service. Although she realizes the gravity of the problems and the task ahead of her, she seems determined to work hard in Jamaica where people are so needy.

We talk about books she has read—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and others on the slave trade. She says that slavery makes her flesh creep; it accounts for her rather anti-white attitude.

Ras Tafari Meeting

In the evening I went with Richard Armstrong, a friend on the UCWI staff, to a Rasta meeting near the corner of the Spanish Town Road and Maxfield Avenue (Figure 1.4), where we were spattered by gutter sludge as buses and lorries roared by. We were greeted by Brother Menasseh Tapper, and soon got into conversation with S. Bramwell, a Marxist who admitted to “using” the Rastas for communist ends. He claims not to be racist, but “loves” materialism—his ideas are very theoretical and he offers no practical solutions. Bramwell thinks that Richard Hart is an opportunist, and Manley and Busta are imperial agents (typical jargon). Bramwell gives Jamaica until 1965 before there is an outburst (presumably to chime with the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion), and wants to tell the illiterate people what they are fighting for. He lost his last job because of his political activity; he was spurned by the other workers, though they repeated his jargon (Marxism-Leninism). We talk about birth control, and Bramwell admits it has to come—but he is afraid it will have “a bad effect on the organs.”

The speaker that evening adopted an anti-federation stance, likening the British West Indies Federation to the yoke of the Central Africa Federation. Everything revolves around the federation!

Thursday, July 13

Reflections

Visiting ISER, I engage in a conversation with Winnie Chong and a Syrian lady—both are convinced that an uprising is inevitable.

I think that Sam Brown is against anyone white—English, American, Russian.

Mr Fitz is watching what is happening. Is he seeking to manipulate them? I guess so. Is he communist? Is Martin Allen a communist (TUC)?

Is Allen seeking only to manipulate Johnson? In my opinion, the sole hope is peaceful change—if only Manley will grasp the nettle. Has the federal issue taken Manley too far away from the Jamaica arena?

Miss Clara told me that last Sunday evening (July 9) a Rasta in the group said of me: “What dat white man doin’ ‘ere? Me nat ready for ‘im ‘ead, but me shall ‘ave it whan me wan’ it.”

Sam Brown

In the afternoon I go to visit Sam Brown in the Foreshore Road squatter camp, taking with me as a present E. B. Castle’s *Ancient Education and Today*.¹⁸ Sam asks me what help I can give. I say I want to see peaceful change take place (I don’t realize he is a communist). He replies that he thinks violence may be needed—I am not to repeat that. I add that what I support is social justice. Sam asks if I will write what I know when I get back to England—and mention his name! Will I help to get him to Europe so that he can present his case? Sam asks me to give his regards to Professor Chapman in Politics at UCWI, who understands Ras Tafari problems, though Sam has never met him. Sam asks me what are his chances of success—he is prepared to fail or die, if that is his destiny.

[Clarke, 2015: Throughout our conversation I thought that Brown was testing me, trying to find out if I was an agent of some kind, and probing me for my view of his likely success in a revolutionary coup. Brown had had a similar conversation with John Vickers and Katrin Norris in his hut on the Foreshore Road on 4 April 1961, though Vickers had shown none of the restraint that I did. According to the Special Branch, “Vickers told Brown that if the Rastafarians wanted to stage a revolution in this country they could now succeed. Katrin Norris is alleged to have stated that because she writes articles affecting Rastafarians she has been victimised by the Editor of the Gleaner Company for whom she works.”¹⁹]

“If people will not hear, they must feel. We are more against brown man than against white,” says Sam (to please me?). I ask what about Russians (who are white)? Answer—“Russians have a classless society.” This runs counter to Sam’s general views about the white man. Sam is obviously communist but wearing a cloak of racism. I ask about Millard Johnson (who I thought was rather middle class). Sam replies that Johnson is prosperous, but he (Brown) has come up from the gutter and has a link with the people. Sam sees Johnson as a lever. But what about Allen (I ask myself). Last Sunday Mr Fitz had also

been interested in whether I would help. Was that spiel by Martin Allen about the need for industrialization and economic development a cover for the communist regime he envisages?

Sam asks me, confidentially, if I am a Marxist. I reply that I believe in democracy. Despite my colour, he tells me, he will come to terms with me if I will help him. I am starting to feel afraid. Sam mixes tobacco and *ganja* into a splif and smokes it, sucking on the length of the cone.²⁰ A Rasta comes in with Chinese character cards—*peakapeow*.²¹ He seems to be having a row with his woman, whom he calls “sister.” The children share some biscuits and iced water. One girl is copying a Ras Tafari membership list. I ask Sam whether he would stay in the squatter camp under all circumstances—a question he won’t answer. He sees himself as a dictator, which comes out in his attitude to his warriors, woman, and children (one child of eight is at private school). The community on the Foreshore Road lives communally, but does it apply to Sam Brown? There seem to be links with a communist cell in Vere.

[Clarke, 2015: Political agitation in Vere, Clarendon by H. G. Sinclair and Rolly Simm, often with Ras Tafari support, was the most regular communist rural activity reported on by LSIC in 1960 and 1961. Sinclair, who was elected a Parish Councillor in Clarendon, claimed that “within five years a communist government will take control in Jamaica.”²²]

I ask Sam about the Ras Tafari conception of God (a creator beyond), but Sam’s reply indicates that this is not of great importance now; politics and economics are more important than religion.²³ At this stage, I ask myself, who do they believe is God—Ras Tafari or Karl Marx? I think that Brown believes in Brown—he has a light queen. Sam seems to approve of amelioration in terms of improved water supply, sanitation, and housing. Could this group be reintegrated into society—or into the communist society that I suspect Martin Allen envisages? Allen, talking to me about socialism, said “What is applicable at one stage is not applicable at another.” The ultimate for him is communism, I suppose.

I wonder whether Sam thinks that, despite my denial, I am a Marxist contact? He observed, “Take control first, formulate plans later.” Bramwell had previously spoken of “a new system for a new country.” Does Sam really want peaceful change? He assured me he didn’t want to hurt anyone (not if he can be sure of his success without violence). I ask Sam about relations between him and

Mortimer Planner. “Ambition thrust us apart; necessity will bring us together,” he replies.

[Clarke, 2015: The continuing connection between Brown and Planner is revealed by a letter, intercepted by the Special Branch, dated 28 April 1961, which Sam Brown received while Planner was abroad on the Unofficial Mission to Africa. In it, “Planner complained that articles had appeared in the African press describing Rastafarians as a barbarous sect who would not be allowed into Africa without ‘proper training’. Planner blamed the Jamaican government for spreading false reports of Rastafarians in Africa and stated that the Mission was doomed to failure, this despite encouraging reports in the local press that the Mission was being well received.”²⁴]

Sam commented that the “Africans” who have done well in Jamaica are people who received favors—he actually used the word “stooges” for them. But Brother Tapper told me that he didn’t blame people for getting out of the Kingston slums; the trouble, in his view, is that those people who succeed forget their origins far too quickly.

Reflections

Is Sam an out-and-out Marxist? Will he not settle for peaceful democratic change? He assured me that he was not a democrat but believed in Marxism. I ask myself whether Jamaican communism is compatible with Castro’s socialism. What truth is there that capitalism cannot prevent poverty? What will the world picture in 2000 be like—if we are still here?

Jamaica-born Professor Frederic Cassidy from Wisconsin told me, “You have to be an outsider to consider Jamaica with sympathy and objectivity.”²⁵

Geoff Ferguson informs me that Richard Hart is prepared to back the PPP—this is significant.

[Clarke, 2015: The Special Branch reported that on June 10, “Hart has accepted Johnson’s private invitation to be adviser to the PPP.”²⁶]

Friday, July 14

Miscellaneous Information

Mr Fitz claims that the PPP might have to fall back on racism (negative) if necessary, in order to rally the black vote. There is a link

between smuggled cigarettes on Water Lane behind the harbor, a JLP organizer and Mr Fitz, who gets a small retainer from the JLP.

Miss Clara approves of birth-control—I had mentioned the graf-fito, “birth control is aimed at wiping out the blacks.” Miss Clara blames people’s lack of responsibility; but they are poor, unemployed, and lacking ambition, and seek pleasure as their only interest. Her suggestion is quietly to make contraception available.

Professor Reubens, a visiting economist at UCWI and a specialist in sugar-cane mechanization, tells me he has been to Monymusk at Lionel Town, Vere (Figure 1.1), and has been shown some of the poor districts, where the economy is none too secure. Both trade-union leaders, Hugh Shearer (BITU) and Michael Manley (NWU), admit that cane labor is irresponsible—but for good reasons. There is a communist cell in Vere, and 40 fires were set in one night—Lionel Town is said to be deeply impoverished. Professor Reubens has told me that Michael Manley and Hugh Shearer hate Millard Johnson, and the PPP is branded by them as communist (contrast Norman Manley in 1939, when he was allied with Richard Hart and many others on the left).

What if the communist element is the only one fostering sufficient change? Can it be channeled into a permanent ginger group? Will it be swallowed by the rigid structure of Jamaican society?

At Mandeville, on July 11, George Minott of the PPP said that Jamaican labor would never hate white men.²⁷ Jamaica must remain a multiracial society, but to talk of racial harmony at the price of the subordination of the black majority was nonsense.

When Sam Brown asked me whether brown and white would leave Jamaica (after a coup), was he thinking of Jamaica becoming a homogeneous black society? When he says, “Yes they can stay and be my slave,” he leaves no doubt about the status of the white and brown if his regime succeeded.

Mr Fitz comes across as an idealist-socialist. He is sufficiently open-minded to admit that Norman Manley *could* still win the day when the federal referendum is held.

Saturday, July 15

Mike Smith on the Marxists and Racists: His Letter to Premier Manley

I spent much of the day at Mike Smith’s home discussing with him the progress of my research and detailing my fieldwork encounters with Millard Johnson, Martin Allen, and Sam Brown.

Mike tells me that in May 1960, soon after his return from the United States, he was invited onto a government Ras Tafari Problem Committee with Monsignor Gladstone Wilson.

[Clarke, 2015: Mike Smith's letter of 12 May 1960 to David and Jane Lowenthal reported, "Yesterday the Home Affairs ministry woke me up to say could I come on a committee to plan Ras Tafari rehabilitation." On 26 May Mike Smith wrote again to David Lowenthal to confide, "The PFM boys (? or some other) have been burning down sugar-canies in Vere, Monymusk etc.; and I suspect that my prophecy of a bust-up locally may be fulfilled inside two years, perhaps this year, perhaps, next month.... This is just between us, but the Ras Tafari Problem Committee—which is most hush-hush—met last Friday [20 May] for the first time. Minister Seivright decided to address us, and duly blew up the Churches for failing to convert, proselytise, or otherwise demobilise the Rastas, who seem to be rather more militant at the moment.]

Mike Smith was the Vice Chairman and Rt Revd Monsignor Gladstone Wilson Chairman of the Ras Tafari Rehabilitation Committee, which also contained three senior bureaucrats from Housing and Social Welfare (A. McNair) and Home Affairs (J. H. Clerk, Permanent Secretary, and G.A. Smith), two ministers of religion (Revd Canon R. O. C. King, Anglican and the Revd H. B. Sherlock, Methodist), a lecturer in Education from UCWI (Dr Douglas Manley), and Dr R. O. Cooke, a specialist in mental health.^{28]}

Seivright, the minister of Home Affairs, promised to make available all the necessary detailed information that could be provided, but his offer was immediately blocked for security reasons by "Hambone" Hamilton, the acting permanent secretary.²⁹ Mike walked out.

[Clarke, 2015: Presumably, "all the necessary detailed information that could be provided" by the Minister was contained in the Local Standing Intelligence Committee Reports, which were discussed in the Introduction. Evidence in this book suggests that Mike Smith did have access to this secret intelligence material in 1960, when he was involved with the Ras Tafari Rehabilitation Committee, and that it was also made available to him during 1961.]

As background for the Ras Tafari Report, Rex Nettleford got hold of a copy of a discussion between Home Minister Seivright and a man called O'Sullivan, a Canadian reporter and anthropologist, who was also a friend of Menasseh Tapper.

[Clarke, 2015: The Special Branch reported that Joseph Royal O'Sullivan, a naturalised Canadian, who was in Jamaica from November 1959 to June 30, 1960, took a great deal of interest in the

Ras Tafarians, Revd Claudius Henry, and the affairs of the African Reform Church. He said he intended to write a book about the cultists, and is reported to have told the Ras Tafarians that “the only way they can hope to get back to Africa was through the study of the ‘economist doctrine’. He said he was prepared to teach them about Marxism.” An exclusion order was issued by the Jamaican government against O’Sullivan on July 14, 1960, shortly after he had left Jamaica for Cuba.

Robert Hill provided me with a copy of an undated transcript of a meeting between Home Minister Seivright, Acting Permanent Secretary Hamilton, Joseph O’Sullivan (invited by Mr Dabney), Lloyd Aarons and Mr Dabney (aka Dobney), secretary of the United Rases Organisation, to discuss: (1) recognition of the Ras Tafari by the government; (2) work, and aid to get employment; and (3) approved centres where the members might dwell, worship and live. It probably took place in early June, before the Red Hills incident involving Ronald Henry, but may have served to introduce Dabney and O’Sullivan to Seivright.

According to Nettleford in a letter to Principal Lewis on June 25, reflecting on a later meeting he had with Dabney, but suggested by Seivright, “What they want us to do seems to fall under two broad headings: (1) To provide a meeting place where they can hold their ‘conventions’ so as to derive some benefit from the ‘intellectual influence of the College’; (2) To carry out some research into their movement with a view to providing the public with the ‘true facts’ as to the nature, aims and objects of the movement and different branches.” The request “to carry out some research” may contain the kernel of the claim that the Ras Tafari had requested the survey which Smith, Augier and Nettleford eventually wrote. They noted, “this survey arose out of letters written to the Principal of the U.C.W.I., Professor Arthur Lewis, and to the resident tutor, Extra-Mural Studies, Mr Rex Nettleford, by members of the Ras Tafari brethren living in Kingston” (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford 1960, 7).^{30]}

O’Sullivan had suggested (at a meeting quite separate from the one mentioned in the “undated transcript,” see above) that the Rasta report’s secretary should be a lawyer, either Richard Hart or Peter Evans (aka Matthew Strong, the *Daily Gleaner* columnist). According to Mike, they were pushing the line that the report should be written through the United Rases Organization.

[Clarke, 2015: The United Rases Organization was based in Jones Town, West Kingston. It had faded from the picture by the time I was carrying out research in 1961, largely because it was not represented on the Mission to Africa. But in March 1960, in the aftermath of

the Sharpeville shootings in South Africa, its members were looking to Cuba for arms through contacts of Revd Claudius Henry. They also believed, the Special Branch reported, that they “should make their own efforts to get arms and ammunition, if necessary by attacking men on the streets and raiding their homes at night. This was greeted with shouts and cheers that ‘This is blackman time.’”^{31]}

Mike told me that the report on the Ras Tafari Movement had been requested by Mortimer Planner and Sam Brown, among others.

[Clarke, 2015: This is incorrect in the light of Robert Hill’s research on the origins of the Ras Tafari report. It is most likely that Mike Smith was commissioned by Norman Manley to write it, and the involvement of Augier, Nettleford and Principal Lewis of UCWI was largely to provide academic camouflage to conceal the political origins and intentions of the survey.]

Mike referred to the great strength of Planner’s Local 37 (of the Ethiopian World Federation Inc.) on Salt Lane, where a basic form of communism is practiced. Mike visited most of the Rasta squatter camps, but especially Boanerges (Watto) on Eleventh Street to the north of Clock Circle in Trench Town, where Watto makes aluminum bowls, and the Foreshore Road, where he spent 60 hours with Sam Brown, whom he describes as thoroughly unscrupulous.

Brown is using Ras Tafarism and Marxism to promote Brown; in all probability he is much less sincere than Johnson. Brown was originally a cycling champion and crowd hero, but he sank to the Foreshore Road, and his present hostile pose is logical. However, he is a petty capitalist and owns a shop. On the foreshore he is challenged by Dixon—“Brother Man.”

Mike tells me about racist meetings that take place at Dr Douglas’s house opposite Mike’s former home in Retirement Crescent near Cross Roads. They spied on Mike, and vice versa. Douglas is black and a dentist, and is associated with Hugh Buchanan, who was recently in Cuba.³²

Subsequent to Buchanan’s visit, a new Cuban consul has arrived (a former road worker).³³ Buchanan was associated with Revd Henry, but dissociated himself from Henry when he realized that his attempts at rebellion were amateurish.

Buchanan and Brown are in it together, Mike assures me. Buchanan has been known to Mike as a communist from before the Second World War. Buchanan is a building contractor who occasionally sleeps on the Foreshore Road, but Hart is a Jewish lawyer, and Allen is light

colored. How can they promote racism? When will the communists realize that this is not a disciplined society? Jamaican peasants used to be confronted by the Marxists with the terms capitalist, bourgeoisie, and proletariat, but Mike thought they might have understood better if the Marxists had talked about Dives and Lazarus.

In August 1960 Sam Brown announced to Mike that he was going to the country to spark fires at May Pen, Old Harbour, and other places, perhaps to cause a diversion.

[Clarke, 2015: Mike Smith's "Ras Tafari developments since July 30th," a typescript prepared for Premier Manley and marked "Secret," dwells on Brown's plan to be out of Kingston over 14 to 15 August, 1960 – "he inadvertently let us know that he was planning to spend three days in the country" (22). Mike Smith comments to his co-author of the Ras Tafari report, Roy Augier, "that Brown was probably looking for a chance to lead a rebellion and that his country jaunt might well represent time spent in organising diversionary movements to coincide with some blows in town" (23). Later in the document, Smith speculates that, "if Brown is planning violence, its spearhead will be mainly locksmiths although bearded and baldhead men can be expected to join as opportunity occurs." (24)³⁴]

But Brown didn't go to the country; according to Mike, he wanted his pound of flesh from a girl whose man Brown was going to appoint to the deputation to see Norman Manley about the Mission to Africa, though Brown later had him voted off. In the event Brown was stopped by the police for cycling with the girl on his cross-bar, slipped while getting off the saddle, and temporarily damaged his testicles.

Mike says that Rastas are subject to police beatings; people are carried off without being charged. A PNP lawyer stirred things up at a public meeting and got a man freed—Manley does not know what his police and civil service is up to. Mike tells me that at one time he and Edith Clarke were prison visitors. They were concerned about prisoners being kept in the dumb cell at the Kingston Penitentiary, and both walked out when no committee of enquiry was called, despite their urging.

George Simpson, according to Mike, studied only mild groups of Ras Tafari, such as those near the Maxfield Avenue.³⁵ We turn to the Ras Tafari Report, and Mike explains the rationale behind the principal recommendations. The establishment of the Ethiopian Coptic Church is intended to channel Ras Tafari toward peaceful and religious ends. It is hoped that the Mission to Africa will separate the sheep from the goats; that is, the Back-to-Africa enthusiasts from the

revolutionary element. It is anticipated that a breathing space (for government) will be created by rehabilitation, rehousing, and additional water supplies in West Kingston, and thus change the social atmosphere by the time of the return of the mission. Finally, the aim is to stop police persecution, because that is merely giving solidarity to the Rastas; the police should stop shaving Rastas—why remove their insignia?

Mike adds that both Brown and Planner are first-class honors material. When it came to the argument about who should represent the Ras Tafari on the Mission to Africa, Brown wanted to run the whole thing.

[Clarke, 2015: Mike Smith's typescript, "Ras Tafari developments" goes into the attempt to put together a representative group of Rastas to meet Premier Manley on 17 August, 1960 and details the dominance of Sam Brown in the negotiations. "We agreed that whether Brown was a one-track revolutionary or not, he did seem to have split the Council, which could have been extremely useful to him, and to have isolated the violent element of Locksmen." In my opinion, isolating the violent element would also have been useful to the Manley government.^{36]}]

Eventually two representatives were granted to Local 37—a very intelligent local and key place.³⁷ Dr Douglas was also selected.

Brown told Manley that he wanted Buchanan as a government representative, but Manley replied that as the government was paying for the mission, it would provide who it liked. Buchanan could go, but only in one of the Rases seats. This has led to tensions between Brown and Buchanan, and Brown's position has been damaged by Dixon's comment that Brown would promote a Marxist over one of "our brethren" (presumably meaning Planner).

Planner's minority report on the Mission to Africa has probably kept the confidence of Local 37, and today he is off to the EWFI convention in the United States where he will probably stay at the same hotel as Castro did in New York—the Hotel Theresa.

Now Brown is hoping that he can capitalize on the mission report, but it seems, according to Mike, that he is restricted in direct influence to the Hunt's Bay area of the harbor (Figure 1.6). Yet systematic blockage of Back o' Wall against help from the Methodist-led Operation Friendship suggests communist influence, probably Brown. Brown is in a good strategic position on the Foreshore Road for this blockade, since Back o' Wall contains a gully that runs along to Coronation Market and out to the harbor.

There is a small student Marxist group at UCWI—black and bearded, according to Mike.

[Clarke, 2015: The left-wing UCWI student group is frequently alluded to in the LSIC Reports. For example, in June 1961, under the heading “University College of the West Indies,” there were 7 paragraphs of information (14–20), naming Walter Rodney (British Guiana), Wahid Ali (Trinidad), and Noel Blair and John Ridsden (both of Jamaica). Angela King, President of the Students’ Union, returned to Kingston on 9 June after a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Students in Havana. She had been told “that the Cuban revolution was the first of a series of revolutions to be staged in Latin American countries in which the West Indies will be expected to participate.”^{38]}]

Mike thinks that there is jockeying for position among Rastas, racists, and communists in Kingston. It is difficult to say whether people are Marxist or not. C. L. R. James, a visitor from Trinidad, is Marxist.

[Clarke, 2015: C. L. R. James, a Marxist writer and political organizer, was editor of *The Nation*, the People’s National Movement’s paper in Trinidad from 1958 to 1960. James came to Jamaica in early 1961, where he had a serious motoring accident, and Mike Smith visited him in hospital. It is likely that someone high up in the PNP showed him Smith’s 1961 paper, “Race and Politics in Jamaica.”^{39]}]

Mike told me that James thought his paper was Marxist in analysis but flawed by being prescriptively democratic and involving minimal change.⁴⁰

What the Marxists must do, according to Mike, is not to preach the gospel, but to precipitate a crisis and jump in afterward. A unifying force would be an attack on a black policeman, not a white man—significantly. (I wonder whether Brown is unprepared to move because he cannot be sure of personal success.) Rebels should start an uprising in dispersed pockets, Mike tells me. Government forces can sustain a battle for only two or three days without reinforcements. Rebels should blow up the Palisadoes runway. Manley must keep troops after the Hampshires leave. A British security man is staying on and MI5 may be in town to counter Castro and the Cold War.

[Clarke, 2015: It is likely Mike was referring to the British Security Liaison Officer, a member of MI5, whose post was retained in Jamaica after the British Army left immediately prior to independence.^{41]}]

According to Mike, Johnson, Douglas, and Buchanan—part of the black middle-class element in the PPP—would push out the colored group. A secondary revolution would oust Johnson and allow in the communists, seeking to reform the social structure, but only to place themselves or their group in the dominant position (I ask myself, what about the Jamaican people in all this?).

A certain amount of bureaucracy is essential in Jamaica, Mike tells me, but powers should be transferred to ministers and not to permanent secretaries. The social structure may be truncated by revolution, but will it otherwise be changed radically? What if the Rastas take over? Will there be another Haiti? Will the Rastas fight with their penises like present-day Africans in the Congo? The prospect is one of nihilism in contrast to Busta's negativism.

"Who knows the real effects of ganja?" Mike asks. For several years the Cabinet has failed to ask the United Nations for help with a ganja study. What is the Cabinet interest in this £1 million business? Is there graft in the bureaucracy?

Historically there was a rift in the TUC, so Hart went beyond it to form the People's Freedom Movement. The Rastas are split East and West, Marxist and non-Marxist. The communists, too, are divided into those who use and do not use the Rastas.⁴² Mike points out that Busta's chaotic leadership of the 1940s is still applicable; will Johnson take over his charisma or will he be just a front man? Mike concludes that Manley's socialism came 20 years too soon.

During Christmas 1960 people were in panic, and the wealthiest US and Canadian citizens left Jamaica. Millard Johnson was preaching race in schools and banks, and the atmosphere was tense. The tension broke as Brown and Buchanan got down to business and the Mission to Africa took shape.

[Clarke, 2015: Brown was picked up on the LSIC radar only in October 1960 after he had featured so frequently, and with such a high profile, in Mike Smith's secret report on "Ras Tafari Developments since July 30th." By November 1960 Buchanan, who had returned from Cuba, was in touch with Brown.

In January 1961 the Special Branch recorded: "Samuel Brown became active towards the latter part of the month, and on 23 January held a private meeting at Foreshore Road which was attended by about 25 Rastafarians. He is alleged to have stated that he proposed to commence an island-wide campaign in the near future with a view to organizing and unifying the black people of Jamaica. He stated that he would be starting where C. V. Henry left off. At subsequent meetings on January 24, 25, and 26, Brown stated that he proposed to fence off

his premises on the Foreshore Road and carry out drilling exercises and the training of selected Rastafarians in the use of firearms.”

The Special Branch also noted, “Buchanan stated that he hoped eventually to link...the PFM, the Rastafarian Movement, and all racial groups with the object of opposing the Federation of the West Indies Referendum. Buchanan’s intentions agree with the PFM’s plans....The next step would be to defeat the government at the General Elections and set up a Castro-type revolutionary government. The army and police would then be used to suppress the masses and so retain power.”^{43]}

According to Mike, many people would like to see another 1865 rebellion and the restoration of Crown Colony government, and are quite prepared to let events take their course. Perhaps it would not be worth it to the communists to take over Jamaica at this juncture, because of the multitudinous problems. Jamaicans in Cuba may be a potential agency for infiltrating Jamaica.

Mary Smith joined us for a drink, and she and Mike told me how Home Minister Seivright had arrived at their home and, bewildered, claimed that he had been ordered by Premier Manley to bring out the troops and to be prepared to shoot it out in the country—in Frome and other places.

[Clarke, 2015: An insight into Seivright’s state of mind prior to the Red Hills uprising in June 1960, but after Revd Henry’s arrest in early April 1960, is given by Robert McGregor, Consul General of the USA, in a despatch of May 12, 1960: Minister Seivright “is convinced that Henry and his militant followers intended to assassinate leaders of the government in a Good Friday effort [April 15, 1960] and this was thwarted by timely police raids.”^{44]}]

Mike’s checking proves that on this occasion Seivright had completely misunderstood Manley, and Mike advised inaction.⁴⁵ This and Brown’s frustrated trip to the country in August 1960 were, according to Mike, “fantastic danger points.”

Robert Lightbourne also came to see Mike. After he had been there a while, he finally admitted that he had been approached to head a coup. He is black, a JLP member of the House of Representatives, but a former English public schoolboy—and this is not his idea of cricket.

[Clarke, 2015: “The Development of Racism in Jamaica” notes that, “According to an unconfirmed report [Millard] Johnson believes that

by this time [the forthcoming 1963 elections] he will have succeeded in uniting all racist groups under his leadership and (irrespective of the outcome of the next General Elections) with the departure of the British Battalion in 1962 conditions will be suitable for a Jamaican Revolution. According to that unconfirmed report Johnson has also stated that in such an event, he could expect support from certain prominent Jamaicans." Lightbourne was black and a JLP Member of the House of Representatives. Johnson had also been a member of the JLP, but resigned from it in October 1960.^{46]}

Mike tells me that he finds parallels between Jamaica and Haiti with regard to mulatto-black relations—socially and politically—and reveals that he had recently sent a copy of James Leyburn's book, *The Haitian People*, to Norman Manley. Mike showed me a passage—highly relevant to Jamaica—that he had marked for Manley's benefit:

Thoughtful men...know well enough that it is possible to improve the lot of the people. But if the peasant should be well educated he would become ambitious; where then would be the monopoly which is now held by the aristocrats on wealth, government, education? Merest self-interest prompts one to defend the status quo. This definitely worries many of the upper group. Aware that so long as conditions remain as they are Haiti will be poor and backward, they are nevertheless not ready to promote what would be a thoroughgoing social revolution. If any government should become oversolicitous for the well-being of the masses, it would soon find itself bitterly opposed by the upper class. In the long run, what will be the result of keeping things as they are? Elite who know their history can find several possible answers, no one of which appeals to them: a peasants' revolt, a Reign of Terror, intervention by a foreign power. They are on the horns of a dilemma: if as rulers they promote material welfare, they lose their present positions of security; if they do not promote change, violent change will unseat them.⁴⁷

Manley's response had been to return the book with a note rejecting the applicability of the quotation to Jamaica, and, in particular, to his government.

Sunday, July 16

Jamaican Social/Racial Problems and Federation

Mr Fitz told me that the Rastas might carry out guerrilla warfare in the hills—like the Maroons of old. Yesterday Mike Smith revealed that last August (1960) he saw Buchanan, Brown, and some Maroons together.

[Clarke, 2015: This is not far-fetched. Early in 1961 Cornelius Martin (aka General Quaco) self-styled commander-in-chief of the Maroons, had allegedly been asked to become leader of the Rastafarian movement and give the Rastafarians military training. Nothing came of it after his interrogation by the Special Branch.^{48]}]

Jamaica, it seems to me, is being swayed more by feelings of social, economic, and implied racial or color inequalities (Millard Johnson) than by broader issues of federal idealism and Caribbean nationalism.

Water has not been put into squatter camps, as Mike Smith and his co-authors of the Ras Tafari Report suggested—note the length of time (about five months) taken to install a standpipe in the Boys' Town squatter camp. Is this part of the middle-class Creole psychology—all take and no give?

Today I sent the following air letter to my parents in Worcester, UK, asking them to keep it for my records:

I have had a very profitable but tiring week, concluding yesterday with an 8-hour session with Mike Smith. We compared notes on the Rastas and on the rigidity of Jamaica's social structure. I have written to Gillian saying what is happening, and I think you ought to know.

In Kingston the populous underprivileged element is being organized to vote for Jamaican independence and isolation. The racist and Marxist manipulators think that they can more easily gain control of the island by democratic, or *in extremis* revolutionary means if political power is not vested in a distant federal institution. Needless to say, the middle-class Creole bureaucracy sees the democratic safeguards of federation as the long-term solution to maintaining the status quo.

The bayonets of the Hampshire Regiment provide short-term security. Premier Manley can still save the situation by instituting radical social change; but such is the bureaucratic organization of the civil service that Manley is probably not a free agent. Finally, there are many people who hope that a crisis will develop, and that Britain will intervene and maintain the social and political status quo (colonialism) for a considerable length of time.

Thursday, July 20

Recently I had a talk with Miss Clara who declares herself against racism. "We black people not good to one another."

I gave a lift to a pregnant woman from Morant Bay, St Thomas. She is employed by Professor and Mrs Croston, and says that work

is easier in Kingston than elsewhere. She has three children in the country, and hopes this will be the last one.

Sam Brown

Once more I drive down to the Foreshore Road to meet Sam Brown. He agrees to the status quo while the forces in play are in balance—it would require a great effort to upset the order. Sam says he can manage Norman Manley, but Johnson is stubborn. Millard Johnson has left Jamaica today for a trip to London and the United Nations. Brown would like to get to London to match Planner's visit to the US. This is all part of the behind-the-scenes power struggle, but Sam says it may be settled peacefully. He is obviously uncertain of his position and his ability to come out on top. But he emphasizes that the crowd of 7,000 at Savannah-la-Mar were there for him as well as for Johnson.⁴⁹

I introduce the theme of Jamaica's social polarization and suggest that the middle class and the government can still save the day. Brown agrees, but seems to think that the middle class will not move fast enough (for him?). Would he sell out for a good job? Sam concludes, "Democracy gives too little too late." The situation in Sam's shack seems quiet. He smokes some ganja with a rather spicy smell. Sam was once a carpenter and he has two tables, a chair, and a stool plus a new armchair that he has made. It seems that we have got beyond the language of Ras Tafari and Marxism. Sam confides that there has been an attempt to discredit Planner and the EWFI in the United States. The latter says it will not help out over Back-to-Africa—it needs an organization in Jamaica.

I ask Sam about the establishment of the Orthodox Coptic Church in Jamaica, which has been recommended in the Ras Tafari Report. Sam replies that in his opinion it might help, but it is no real solution—which suggests to me that he is not interested in the theological aspects of Ras Tafari. Sam tells me that he would promise the people nothing—they no longer trust the promises of politicians. Furthermore, people want nothing except food, clothing, and shelter. Has he learned from the charisma of Bustamante?

PNP Rally

In the evening I attended the end of a PNP political rally at Half Way Tree. Some big guns were there—Michael Manley⁵⁰ (NWU), Wills Isaacs,⁵¹ William Seivright,⁵² and barrister Dudley Thompson⁵³ (who

defended Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta⁵⁴). The party song was delivered with a raised clenched right fist at the finale.

Sunday, July 23

Birthday of Haile Selassie

I took Mr Fitz, Miss Clara, and their neighbor from August Town down to a Ras Tafari gathering at the corner of Laws Street and Rum Lane (Figure 1.4) to celebrate the birthday of Emperor Haile Selassie (Ras Tafari). Two striking Rasta queens—one in black and the other in a red-and-black velvet gown were in the throng.

The address was given by Stanley Grant—a long, rambling speech punctuated by calls for “freedom!” He demanded that the money spent by the government on the federation should be used to establish an African-languages school for potential repatriates, and referred repeatedly to Jamaican “politricks” and the role of “Norman Manlie—the man lie.” The greater part of the audience was not bearded but was obviously sympathetic to what was being said, and this included several PPP supporters.

[Clarke, 2015: Stanley Grant was a Jamaican author and journalist; self-styled Executive Secretary of the West Indian People’s Conference, and Chairman of the Caribbean Afro-Asian Committee. Grant held two public meetings in Kingston in late January 1961 which give the flavour of his message. A LSIC Report revealed that on January 29 he addressed “350 persons most of whom were Rastafarians. The theme of his speech was the abolition of imperialism and the unity of all African and Asian states behind the black people of Jamaica.” The next day “he made a strong attack on the government and police and urged the audience to prepare themselves for the inevitable struggle for liberation, which he said could not be stopped by guns, bayonets or battleships.” Three days after the celebration of Emperor Haile Selassie’s birthday in July 1961, Grant was publicly denounced by Sam Brown as a spy working for the Colonial Office.⁵⁵]

Once more I heard the throbbing beat of the *akete* drums, there was dancing in the street and I met a Rasta queen from Back o’ Wall (she says there are four Rasta leaders there). Later I was introduced to Joseph Nathaniel Hibbert, one of the founders of the Ras Tafari movement, an old man in masses of regalia. I had seen him a fortnight before in the Rasta gathering on the Spanish Town Road.⁵⁶ Mr Fitz introduced me to Hibbert as “a good black man, despite his colour.”

A light-colored man I met in a neighboring bar told me that the Rastas could take over whenever they wanted. He said I was a brave man to be there. Brother Tapper disagreed with Grant's speech, but Mr Fitz commented, "Look at the numbers." Mr Fitz is obviously circulating to ensure that he is known. We were warned that two detectives were following us. A man in the bar tried to give me a thumbs-clasped handshake.

Mr Fitz told me he believed Garvey was not dead, and he went on to comment that I would see whether or not he was right in all matters by the end of 1962 or beginning of 1963. The Rasta flags carry the "shining star"; a woman walked around the gathering with a picture of the Black Jesus on her head.

This is one of the Rasta songs being sung, accompanied by drums and bongos:

Black man kingdom come
Bless the Ras
White man kingdom gone
Bless the Ras
Oh! He must be holy
For he told the story
Black man kingdom come
Bless the Ras

The challenge of urbanization for rural illiterates is one of nurture and accommodation. The Coronation Market is their focus. They rapidly experience disappointment and disillusion, and have great difficulty in locating relatives and friends. Horace Gordon's idea that Kingstonians should go back to the country does not have general appeal.

Monday, July 24

Buchanan, Ras Tafari, and the Referendum

According to Mr Fitz, Hugh Buchanan told him that a Ras Tafari leader will advise the people to abstain from voting in the federal referendum, because their interest is in Africa not in Jamaica.⁵⁷ Mr Fitz reports that Brown wants to make Jamaica a "colony" of Africa—he would do the same for Haiti if possible.

[Clarke, 2015: Richard Hart claimed that Buchanan was Jamaica's most important early Marxist (Trevor Munroe 1990). A master mason

and contractor, he left school at 12, later spending some time in Cuba. Co-founder of the Jamaica Workers' and Tradesmen's Union (1936) and the *Jamaica Labour Weekly* (1938), which led to his imprisonment for sedition, he was marginalised in the BITU by Bustamante. Buchanan remained a political agitator and party organizer into the 1960s, as this journal demonstrates (Post 1978; Munroe 1990; Munroe and Bertram 2006).

Special Branch alleged that Buchanan was the link-man bridging the PFM, Millard Johnson's PPP and Sam Brown's BMPP in the period 1961–62, and that he "secretly organised a Communist faction within the PPP in order to depose Johnson at the next general meeting." He was allegedly the person who told Brown that Stanley Grant was a Colonial Office spy. Buchanan was not only one of the most enduring political figures on the left (he had been a Garveyite), but also one of the most adept and agile. He made many trips to Cuba in the early 1960s, where he had close ties to the Castro regime.^{58]}

Tuesday, July 25

Liguanea Club

Barbara Caplow took me to Liguanea Club to ask for the membership list to aid my research. But acting-secretary Colonel Feasey refused to give either Mrs Caplow, who is a member, or me, access to the records. "Would they do that in a London club?" he asks. I reply that I don't know.

Apparently, you have to have two club sponsors for membership of Liguanea, and have to meet the membership committee so they can check your color. In Mrs Caplow's case, her sponsor, the manager of Barclays Bank, told a Mr Ashenheim on the phone, and in her hearing, not to bother with a formal interview because she was North American and lily-white. Colored (but not black) people get membership.⁵⁹

House of Representatives

Richard Armstrong accompanied me to an afternoon sitting of the House of Representatives at Gordon House. To my disappointment, there was no mention of the Report of the Mission to Africa, which is due any time now. Vernon Arnett, Minister of Finance, told Busta (Sir Alexander Bustamante) that in 1944 he could have been another Castro—a liberator. To which Busta rose to his feet and retorted,

"I *was* the liberator—I mean I *am* the liberator." After subsiding in his seat, Busta took out a comb and began to tend his gray locks.

PPP Rally

In the evening Mr Fitz and I went down to Jones Town for a PPP meeting held at the junction of Asquith and Thompson Streets (Figure 1.4). The speaker addressed, "my Jamaican brothers—my black brothers. Love your white, yellow, blue brothers, but above all love yourselves." He continued, "I am speaking to the poor people, the black people of Jamaica. Millard Johnson is in Britain on your business—black people's business."

Mr Fitz asks me for £5 to pay his housing instalment. He says he received 30 shillings from a government Garveyite for checking that the PPP line was OK. He warns me that Miss Clara is interested in the bottle. He disagrees with Millard Johnson's obstruction of the police, but admits that there is great in-fighting going on in the PPP between Marxists and socialists. Mr Fitz thinks that the communists can be used. He suggests that all arguments and discussions should be on the basis of humanity—but is that feasible out of context?

During our visit to Jones Town there is a discussion between Mr Fitz and a Rasta queen from Back o' Wall, who is wearing a red turban and a green dress with a yellow waist cord. She is the same person who was wearing the black-and-red velvet dress last Sunday. With her hooked nose, she looks handsome as she shakes my hand. She is also very determined, and refuses to admit to Mr Fitz that Marcus Garvey was a precursor of Ras Tafari.⁶⁰

Mr Fitz and the Rasta queen joke about sexual and nonsexual love. Mr Fitz is trying to get her to commit herself to political action. The PPP is obviously afraid that Rastas will remain neutral in the referendum. She says she can love no one except "a beard man," which brings me into the equation. She recoils, saying that she will have nothing to do with Babylon, but Mr Fitz counters that, "You have to know Babylon to dislodge it."

I talked to two young men, one of whom thought that federation was premature. A man from Lyndhurst Road enquired whether I was a friend of Peter Evans.⁶¹ Apparently, I look like him, because of my beard. Brother Eric, who works for the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, asked me whether I knew O'Sullivan.⁶²

Mike Smith told me that a German woman sociologist, a Miss Müller, was nearly manhandled by the PPP on Labor Day.

Wednesday, July 26

Report of Mission to Africa

The *Daily Gleaner* notes that the Report of the Mission to Africa is out today. It is peaceful on Wildman Street and Rose Lane in downtown Kingston.

Mayer Matalon

Mike Smith has arranged for me to meet Mayer Matalon, Chairman of West Indies Home Contractors Ltd, in the anticipation that he can get me access to the previous addresses of people moving into the Mona Heights and Harbour View housing schemes.⁶³ Good-looking and with wavy hair, Mr Matalon is dressed in an immaculate, light-weight charcoal-colored suit. I find him forthright, business-like, and helpful. One or two calls to business associates on a hands-free telephone reveal that the materials I want are available and will be extracted for me.

Barbara Caplow and O. T. Fairclough

I spend the evening at Barbara Caplow's. Apparently Richard Hart and Peter Evans are friends of Barbara's. I am introduced to Jean Mackay⁶⁴ (a Jamaican white girl with perhaps just a hint of color), and O. T. Fairclough, the editor of *Public Opinion*, the PNP weekly newspaper.⁶⁵ Fairclough talked about the possibility of a new daily newspaper, and about his period working in a bank in Haiti—an unusual experience for a black Jamaican. Although he is Treasurer of the PNP he is disappointed with the government's achievements—it has taken too long to develop its education and housing policies. Fairclough is a man of dignity and calm.

Fairclough explained about Bertram and the voting hoax of 1959. Tavares (JLP) had a factory for that purpose out west (in the St Andrew southwestern constituency) and won by a whisker. Fairclough commented that Stan Grant would not say what he wanted, and added that he thought that Millard Johnson was fastening onto inequalities that were real in Jamaican society. He estimated the PPP might get two West Kingston seats and act as a ginger group. Fairclough told me that Thelwell (in Christiana) was a man to be humored—that is, bad!

Jean is dynamic and alive to Jamaica's problems compared to most of the middle class I come across. She tells me about her

interesting experiences as a census enumerator in 1960, and about her American boyfriend in the United States. She really ought to go to university.

Thursday, July 27

Horace Gordon on Jamaican Society

According to Horace Gordon, whom I meet at Jamaica Social Welfare, social status in Jamaica is defined by family, wealth, length of time wealthy, color, and education. Education per se as a mechanism for mobility is an innovation. Previously, mobility was a very slow business indeed. A father would pass on to his son the ground that had been gained, like rungs in a social ladder. Particularly important is the role of legitimacy of birth. Generally speaking, Jamaica has low social mobility. In Horace's case the problem is that he doesn't have Jamaican secondary education—though he attended high school in the United States and holds degrees from Columbia and Howard Universities. He has not got family status, and no Jamaican educational status except the Jamaica local exam.

Horace confirms the capture of Norman Manley by the middle class; the imposition of ideas from the top in the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission; the lack of front-line operators. Permanent secretaries in the ministries are too powerful. He also draws attention to the dissociation between the middle and lower classes—the middle class are embarrassed by pocomania-cult dancing. There is a United Rases Organization in Jones Town—an educational body (I think O'Sullivan was associated with that)—and an Ethiopian Bookshop at 76 Princess Street, in the heart of China Town. Marxist Chinese are said to be associated with the Rastas.

Friday, July 28

Barriers to Urban Amelioration

Mrs Ballysingh at the Council of Voluntary Social Services tells me about the work of various agencies, such as the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission which, as I know, is operating in Trench Town, and Operation Friendship located in Kingston Pen (Back o' Wall) (Figure 1.5).⁶⁶ The latter is systematically blocked by communists. A Jamaican businessman offered to fund a workshop in Kingston Pen, but it was turned down the next day by the locals because of intimidation.

[Clarke, 2015: Operation Friendship was the small-scale neighbourhood development at Back o' Wall, recommended and funded as a result of the report of the Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee (Cabinet Submission of Hon. W. M. Seivright, Minister of Home Affairs, 3 March, 1961). It adopted as its core policy many of the suggestions made to the Premier Norman Manley by Governor Blackburne in November 1960, as well as recommendations from the Ras Tafari report of 1960.⁶⁷]

There is a great problem for front-line workers, in that promises are broken by the government's bureaucracy. Father Sherlock wished it to be recorded that he had been assured by top government officials that water would be run into Kingston Pen within two weeks; eight weeks later nothing had been done. There is a brown bureaucratic barrier! Mrs Levin, a colleague of Mrs Ballysingh's, tells me that children under the age of ten peddle ganja, especially in the Trench Town slum north of Boy's Town (Figure 1.5).

Ministry of Housing and Social Welfare

Mr Mendes, at the Ministry of Housing and Social Welfare, claims that people expect too much of government and will not help themselves. The government cannot solve the housing problem for between 20 and 30 years. In his view the National Stadium to be built on Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4) will be profit-making, while the new airport terminal will be ideal for tourists—middle-class claptrap. Mrs Ballysingh didn't agree with these two developments.

When I argue with middle-class people in Kingston I feel I am banging my head against a brick wall. They are quite blind. Their minds run on railway tracks, though they can be charming off the topic of Jamaica.

Mr Fitz's Accident

I went to August Town in the early evening to see Miss Clara. Mr Fitz is there with a bandaged head and legs. He has been involved in a jeep crash on the way to St Ann's Bay—his and Marcus Garvey's home town. Talk turns to children and sex: children in Jamaica mature early and live cheek-by-jowl with parents.

JLP Public Meeting

Later I went on my own to a JLP public meeting at Papine (Figure 1.5). Among the throng I met barrister Eugene Parkinson (chairman of

the executive of the JLP)⁶⁸ and a Mr Duncan—a former PNP supporter who left the party when he realized it could not fulfill its promises. He thinks in terms of capitalism, and is distressed by the amount of money leaving the country and by the lack of incentives for *local* businesses. He tells me that people will not return to the country from Kingston, “because they cannot stand the joke” (being ridiculed for their failure in the city). Mr Duncan is a smallholder, the tenant of four rented rooms, and a carpenter in Gordon Town (Figure 1.2). A married man, he tells me that birth control should be made available, and that the age of consent should be raised from 14 to 18. He has family land in St Ann, and considers that the PPP will disappear.

Impact of Mission to Africa

The recommendations contained in the report of the Mission to Africa have had a great effect on the temper of people one meets on the street in Kingston, and it represents an opening. The Majority Report concludes that it “is grateful for the opportunity...to take part in this historic event and trusts that the results anticipated will be forthcoming,”⁶⁹ while the Minority Report, written by the Ras Tafari participants, claims that “all the African governments were willing to negotiate in resettling people in Africa.”⁷⁰

I have come to the conclusion that middle-class Jamaicans have no sense of humanitarianism or social justice—they have no idea how to treat people.

Saturday, July 29

Party at the Smiths

Mike and Mary Smith invited me to an evening drinks party at their house, during which I met a number of colleagues, and a Southern Rhodesian visitor to the university, Cyril Rogers, who is carrying out research on race attitudes in Jamaica. Also present was a stop-over visitor from New York—the likeable and youthful American geographer, David Lowenthal.

Sunday, July 30

I went round to Mike’s house in the morning and met David again. He gave me several offprints of his Caribbean papers and a copy of his new book titled *The West Indies Federation*.⁷¹

Jean Mackay on Color

I spent much of the afternoon talking to Jean Mackay. Jean's grandmother is 92; and *her* grandmother was a slave of the Ibo tribe, who bore children for a white plantation owner. Jean is intelligent and inquisitive and conscious of her social responsibility. When working for the census as an enumerator of the district in which she lives, she entered herself as Afro-European—and was told by her superior to correct it to white.

Jean claims that she became conscious of color only when she went to boarding school at St Hilda's, Brown's Town. She grumbles about agricultural extension officers who drive big cars and do not identify with the rural population. She adds, "It is because of people like me that this situation has developed in Jamaica. I should be one of those to suffer in a revolt."

Mike Smith's Views on PPP and Marxism—and Back-to-Africa

Mike Smith confirms that there is a definite rift in the PPP between the left and right.

[Clarke, 2015: The Special Branch observed in July that, "Certain members of the PPP objected to the communist element in the party, on the grounds that there were rich Negroes willing to join the party if the communists were ousted." I wonder whether Mike Smith had read this report, too.⁷²]

I reflect that Mr Fitz is paid to keep an eye on the PPP party line, and note his comment at Jones Town about the fight between Marxists and socialists—between groups embracing and rejecting the party program. Richard Hart, according to Mike, is manipulating Millard Johnson via Martin Allen. Was it Allen's soft voice that was urging the crowd on against Miss Müller, the German sociologist on Camp Road on Labor Day? Mike agrees that Back-to-Africa cannot solve everything. But it will separate the sheep from the goats and remove extremists from the masses of more pacific people—thus giving the government more breathing space.

Tuesday, August 1

Slave Emancipation Day

I went with Jean to celebrate the national holiday in Spanish Town, where the declaration of emancipation was read by the Governor to

the slaves on the steps of King's House on this very day in 1838. The colonial architecture of the main square is impressive, with the façade of the ruined King's House, the old Assembly building, and the Rodney Memorial. We walk through the empty and seedy streets to the cathedral, and are astonished at the apparent lack of any form of public celebration for such a momentous event in Jamaica's history.

Wednesday, August 2

Land Values in Kingston—Plus a Visit to Amy Jacques Garvey

I set off on a trip with Mr Jacques from the Land Valuation Department.⁷³ We investigate the prefabricated housing going up at Harbour View, and note that the wall and roof units are produced by a Puerto Rican firm. At Norman Range there is a fine house, where the government sold the plot for £800, plus a series of good government units—duplex and with an upstairs. We also take in Jacques Crescent off Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4), where my guide owns property.

After a brief visit to Beverley Hills (Figure 1.5) to enjoy the view across Kingston and to see the house of Patrick Chung (the real-estate developer and originator of Patrick City) we go to meet Mr Jacques's sister, Amy Jacques Garvey, widow of Marcus Garvey, who lives near Mona Heights.⁷⁴ She strikes me as highly intelligent. Prominent in her sitting room is a bust of Marcus Garvey, a photo of the Ghanaian leader, Nkrumah, and the UNIA flag; and she introduces me to her bearded son, Marcus Jr, who teaches at Kingston College. She tells me that she is a PNP supporter—and not behind Millard Johnson's move into politics. I think she is brown rather than black; her photograph shows her to have been a beautiful young woman.

The subdivisions at Barbican are popular with top government people, where houses sell for £5,000 each. Later we go past Norman Manley's home Drumblair,⁷⁵ and the magnificent "great houses" of Abe Issa,⁷⁶ Percy Junor,⁷⁷ and Douglas Judah,⁷⁸ as we make our way northward toward Constant Spring. Fabulous houses, but I am told that 90 percent are mortgaged.

Thursday, August 3

More on Land Values

In the afternoon Mr Jacques and I take the Constant Spring and Old Stony Hill Roads to the Reformatory, and then cross to Hermitage

and more specifically to Gibson Road, Red Gal Ring, and the Midway Club (Figure 1.4). In Hermitage three to four acres have to be purchased to make a single house plot. Apparently there are covenants to ensure that only houses of a stipulated value can be built on certain plots of land. Mr Jacques tells me he could afford to live in Stony Hill, but I think he recognizes the value of anonymity—he seems to own a lot of property. The highest land values in Kingston, of course, are not here in the northern suburbs, but on corner sites on King Street in the city center, where £2 per square foot is the norm. Nathan's store on King Street occupies the most valuable location in Jamaica.

Old houses constructed in and around the city center at the beginning of the twentieth century have a rough-caste base to the walls and a verandah with wooden pillars—often with a fretwork ornament at the top of the walls to aid the through-flow of air. High ceilings, beaded, wooden-plank floors with skirting boards, and wooden double-doors with glass panels complete the layout. In downtown Kingston, many small Edwardian houses have beautiful door pillars.

Friday, August 4

Bogus Voting and Other Matters

Mr Fitz instructs me in the methods of bogus voting. You cover your index finger in candle wax before putting it into the indelible ink into which it is dipped after you have voted. You then rub the ink-colored wax off your finger and repeat the performance in the voting booth.

I wonder about the attitude of the Rastas to the divinity of Haile Selassie since the report was published, and about the Nyabingi dance (death to the whites)—is that the extremist way of the PPP?

The Chinese are thought to be apolitical, and would vote for the political party that would give them a break.

Chapter 4

Race, Class, and the Referendum

Sunday, August 6

PPP Street Meeting

In the evening Mr Fitz, Miss Clara, and I went to a PPP meeting at the junction of Victoria Avenue and Water Street (Figure 1.4), close to the Bellevue mental hospital. We heard a strong speech by Martin Allen and another speaker who pulled the “Manley is an honourable man” trick. The cry was raised, “Manley/Pharoah let us go—otherwise you will be caught in the Red Sea.” This was followed with a powerful statement by Chris Lawrence of the PFM.

[Clarke, 2015: Chris Lawrence was a left-wing political organizer, member of the TUC, and sometime Secretary of the PFM. In the early 1960s Richard Hart was trying to get Lawrence expelled from the PFM, according to the Special Branch, because he considered him to be working for the Security Police. Lawrence served in the RAF during the Second World War, but seems to have spent a lot of time out of work in the late 1950s before associating himself with Millard Johnson and the PPP, and later rejoining the TUC (Munroe 1990).^{1]}]

I was introduced to a Mr S. O. Guntley, the chairman of the meeting, who owns a shop at 12 Slipe Road.² He was dressed in a Sunday suit, and is middle class. I also met the dentist, Dr M. B. Douglas (Mike Smith’s former neighbor on Retirement Crescent),³ and Mr George Minott, who has recently written an article in the *Jamaica Times*. Allen told me “we don’t need to preach race hatred since the majority of people are African.”

David Kerr told me that he thought that emphasis should be on the equality of the races, and that the Rastas are pretty well completely

communist. The Report of the Mission to Africa has been well received in Kingston. In Kerr's opinion the Rastas are strong in the country, and he thinks they will take over. The axis, in my opinion, is: Rastas—communists—PPP + Lawrence (PFM). In Jamaica one must not forget the symbolic importance locally of Mau Mau,⁴ Castro, Lumumba,⁵ Ghana,⁶ and Haiti.⁷

Wednesday, August 9

Encounters with Poverty in West Kingston

On a trip to West Kingston Mr Fitz and I went to meet Bramley Johnson, Millard's father, at his business on the Spanish Town Road. He is small, shrewd, and lower middle class. He is offering buses on hire-purchase to his workers. This is against a union order and the issue is soon to go to court.

In Greenwich Town we go to a yard (Figure 1.5) and encounter Osbee Campbell, a Rasta. We proceed east beyond Industrial Terrace to Greek Pond dungle,⁸ close to the Foreshore Road, and talk to two East Indian boys who are looking for scraps. Two young men are breaking up steel drums for scrap iron (Plate 4.1). We talk to Hazel Williams, known as Babsie, from neighboring Tinson Pen—her man has left her. She is aged 20 and has three children aged seven, three,



Plate 4.1 Men scuffling (recycling) on the “dungle” (waste dump) adjacent to the Foreshore Road in West Kingston in 1961. They are reclaiming discarded oil barrels.

and one. She is looking for scraps, and seems rather simple. Near Hunts Bay power station we come across Gwendoline Blake, a squatter on Industrial Terrace near Back o' Wall. She is aged 28 and has no teeth. Of her three children, those aged 12 and 3 are in the country, and only the baby of one year is with its mother.

Sam Brown

We continue to Sam Brown's shack, where Sam refers to brown men as "mulattoes, quadroons, spittoons." He adds, "Manley layeth me down to sleep on hard benches; he leadeth me by the still factories." His boys are having their trousers washed, and their shirts are tied at the waist. Brown says he is reaching breaking point, and I note that his shop and house are for sale. He says he is going to get together a band of fighters. The referendum, in his opinion, is more crucial than the next election (one can see why). Brown tells us that he expected nothing concrete from the Mission to Africa. His goal is "freedom here where we have struggled without reward for so long—then repatriation!"

Archie McNair, a Scot in the Ministry of Housing and Social Welfare, and Revd Blake of Operation Friendship join us at Sam Brown's, and there is general conversation.⁹ McNair seems very much on edge, though he is probably sincere, and obviously doesn't know what to make of me. Brown has built an extra room on his verandah, and is keen on getting water to the area. He tells me that he has received a tape-recorder from the United States. An American called Darovian has promised to supply a tape, but hasn't returned with it. Brown describes Horace Gordon of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission as "a very crafty black man." Later there was a visit from Chris Lawrence and someone called Caven (TUC—a neat boy).¹⁰

Hugh Buchanan

Mr Fitz takes me to meet Buchanan, who is bearded, Marxist, and grumbling that his stone masonry business doesn't pay. Buchanan claims that he is tempering Brown. Brown is annoyed that Millard Johnson left for England without the PPP Committee's consent. Buchanan obviously wants Johnson as a front man—and Johnson has the Garvey mantle.¹¹

Mr Fitz seems to me to be sitting on the fence—apparently Buchanan is paying him 30 shillings for reporting on meetings. Buchanan lives at 44a Arnold Road, between Allman Town and Vineyard Town (Figure 1.5), though our encounter took place in West Kingston.

Thursday, August 10

***Mike Smith on Black Power and
Left Wing Maneuverings***

Darovian (aka Carlson) is a US Information Office man, according to Mike Smith. Peter Evans has suggested that Busta should take over the Back-to-Africa movement. Hart is promoting Johnson (Mike thinks Johnson does not realize Hart is Marxist), and Allen is an agent for Hart.

[Clarke, 2015: Hart was certainly promoting Johnson; but Mike Smith seems not to have known that Johnson was a founding member of the PFM in 1954. (Munroe and Bertram 2006, 269)]

Mike thinks that Brown's behavior yesterday with the visitors from Operation Friendship was better than it would have been had I not been there. Will Brown obstruct the water plans? Mike fears that the fact that Brown's shop and house are for sale probably spells trouble.

Mike tells me that the old-established pattern of political association has involved Buchanan and Hart plus Allen, Caven, and Lawrence (PFM). Buchanan was behind Revd Henry and his Africa Reform Church, but pulled out in early 1960 when he saw that the affair was amateurish.

Friday, August 11

More on Sam Brown

Mike Smith thinks that Brown has been chopped with a machete by Dixon (Brother Man). Apparently there have been recent adverts in the evening newspaper, the *Star*, saying that Brown is handing the Rases over to the PPP for protection. But Mike is of the opinion that Dixon and Watto (Boanerges) are men of integrity—and Dixon is also violent. Brown was outwitted in the discussion about the Mission to Africa and the appointment of either Buchanan or Planner as the Rastafarian representative.

[Clarke, 2015: In the event, neither Brown nor Buchanan—each at this moment was steeped in left-wing Jamaican politics rather than the Back-to-Africa movement—was selected to join the Mission to Africa, and Mortimer Planner was joined by two other representatives of the Ras Tafari Movement—Filmore Alveranga and Douglas Mack, all

three of whom signed the Minority Report. The Majority Report was endorsed by the remainder of the delegation: Mr Westmore Blackwood of the Universal Negro Improvement Association; Dr M. B. Douglas of the Afro-Caribbean League; Mr Cecil Gordon of the Ethiopian World Federation Inc.; Mr Z. Munroe Scarlett of the Afro-West Indian Welfare League—and the two advisers to the Mission, Dr L.C. Leslie, medical practitioner, who also acted as leader of the Mission, and Mr Victor Reid, journalist and author.]

On Wednesday (two days ago) Brown had said to me, “I shall probably not see you again.” He referred to the guiding hand of Marcus Garvey and said, “One day you shall read from the big book.”

Brown does not want rehabilitation on the Foreshore Road, despite protests to the contrary, and his apparent cooperation with McNair and Blake. I recall that Brown has a sign outside his shack saying “Thou shall not commit adultery.” I wonder whether he means sexually or politically.

Saturday, August 12

Majesty Pen and Moonlight City

Mr Fitz told me that he saw Hugh Buchanan yesterday and there was no mention of Sam Brown or a chopping. We went down to Majesty Pen together and crossed the railway line to Moonlight City (Figure 1.5). At Three Mile there is an illegal market selling fruit and coal (charcoal) for cooking pots (Figure 1.4).

Majesty Pen is a hurricane-rehousing scheme set up during the Bustamante government of the early 1950s. The barracks (single rooms) cost six shillings per month and have communal showers and toilets. The locality is dirty, with stagnant water, tin cans, and pigs wallowing in the water and mud. One woman was cooking out of doors, and several men were making brooms out of mangrove wood. I have never seen such squalor. Property boundaries are made of cactus hedges and beaten-out petrol tins. We were shown around by Roy McLeary, an upholsterer, who wants to go to the United Kingdom.

In Moonlight City the houses are made of linoleum and cardboard (Plate 4.2). This is the bottom of the barrel. People want to show me everything. Brother Bailey, a fearsome-looking locksmith, is making good aluminum pots. I buy one. His hut is bare, with floorboards missing, but he has two bed-spring sets and is trying hard to survive. There is no antagonism in the area.



Plate 4.2 A shanty at Moonlight City in 1961. Housing in this small squatter settlement on the edge of Hunts Bay is made of recycled materials.

Middle Class and Back to Africa

My hope for Jamaica is that there will be migration to Africa along the lines of Garvey. But the Jamaican middle class considers

- (a) that most people want something for nothing—"they feel we owe them a living";
- (b) what would happen if Indians and Chinese wanted to go back;?
- (c) that migration to Africa is escapism—they will never make good;
- (d) and asks, what about the brown man? Rastas would say he is OK here—or belongs in Britain.

John Maxwell, writing in *Public Opinion* today foresees the possibility of the coalescence of the PFM and the PPP and, with the support of Ken Hill (one of the 4 Hs) in the Federal Parliament, the forming of a nationalist and socialist movement with social change as its objective.

Sunday, August 13

Building the Berlin Wall

While I was working in the Department of Statistics, sorting out the boundaries of the 1943 census-enumeration districts, Radio

Rediffusion was playing “We live in two different worlds”—an excellent candidate for the Jamaica national anthem, or for Berlin where the wall separating East and West is starting to be built.

Monday, August 14

Ferdinand Smith

Ferdinand Smith, leader of the PFM, died in Mocho, Clarendon. The “Red Flag” is sung at his funeral.

[Clarke, 2015: Ferdinand Smith, leader of the PFM, had been suffering with heart problems, and Richard Hart had petitioned the government (for a while unsuccessfully) for a passport to enable him to have treatment in a European communist country. After Smith’s death Hart appears to have officially assumed the leadership of the PFM, though the Hart and Munro factions persisted.^{12]}]

Friday, August 18

Addis Ababa Bookshop

I visit the Addis Ababa Bookshop on 76 Princess Street. It is run by the Chin brothers, and another couple called Moodie and Ricketts.

[Clarke, 2015: Number 76 Princess Street was owned by Kam Hugh, a wealthy leading Chinese communist, who has made regular visits to China and Cuba. In February 1961 the PFM moved its office furniture there from 1 Bond Street, where it was in arrears with the rent.^{13]}]

The books are on Ethiopia, Garvey, China (*The Biography of a Chinese Worker*), sex, and race. I note Stennett Kerr-Coombs’s book, *I Am No Slave*. Magazines include *China Progresses*. The shop contains pictures of the Emperor Haile Selassie and several African paintings. Brother Moodie tells me he thinks that Brother Chin, who is a Ras Tafarian, may be communist. Behind the bookstall I notice the room used by Richard Hart’s PFM as its headquarters. A PFM monthly pamphlet is on sale devoted to the death of Ferdinand Smith.

Moodie, a Rasta for three-and-a-half years, is brown skinned and supports both federation and Back-to-Africa. He is against Sam Brown and the entry of Ras Tafari into Jamaican politics. He thinks that Manley will provide the means for repatriation. In his view Brown is not intelligent, but “a wolf in sheep’s clothing.” Neither does he follow Mortimer Planner’s lead. I think that Moodie belongs to the

United Rases Organization. Moodie does not imagine that all Rastas will be acceptable in Africa, but believes that many will be prepared to go to different countries, such as Ghana—not solely to Ethiopia.

Mike Smith on Planner and the Vickers

Mike Smith tells me that Planner has been staying in the United States for a while, after his Ethiopia World Federation conference. Brown's house has been stoned, but Brown was sleeping elsewhere and trying to lay hands on a pistol. Mr and Mrs John Vickers (the latter, aka Katrin Norris) and the communists of Haiti and Cuba¹⁴ are mixed up in some way, according to Mike. Darovian was given a list of addresses by Norris to which he, as a good leftist, should forward propaganda.¹⁵

In reply to a questionnaire issued in the newspaper *Public Opinion*, Haile Selassie has asked the Rastas not to regard him as God. He will maintain fatherly and brotherly relations and be on their side. SIGNIFICANCE—will it make any difference?

Saturday, August 19

People at Majesty Pen and Moonlight City

Mr Fitz and I went back to Majesty Pen and Moonlight City to take some black-and-white photos (I had taken color slides on our previous trip). I met several craftsmen—a baker and Brother Arthur, a cobbler with children wearing dreadlocks. He debunked the *Public Opinion* piece and Haile Selassie's alleged denial of his divinity. Brother Arthur mentioned Nyabingi and death to the white and black oppressors. Whites and the Roman Catholic Church were identified as especially coercive. Brother Arthur thought that Professor Arthur Lewis and the UCWI report on the Ras Tafari were good—but too much on the side of the Rastas for the taste of the government and the Jamaican middle class.

We met a young woman of 30, Berenice Foster, living in a hut six feet by five feet. Abandoned by her man, she has six children, the youngest six months old. She has been in the shack since November 1960.

Mr Fitz is buying lining for the roof of the house at Hermitage, August Town, instead of paying off the arrears on the mortgage. His approach is, why worry if you can pay off enough for safety's sake—and not get evicted.

Chinese and Communism

Mr Feng, whom I met in the TPD, and who is doing research for an American University, claims that there is a split in the Chinese Benevolent Society between Chinese-speaking conservatives and the younger generation. Many Chinese youngsters are interested in communism but know little about it. They think they can keep their middle-class status, and want it both ways. They will probably not be active in a Jamaican revolt, but they would be sympathizers.

Tuesday, August 22

Mike Smith's Departure to the United States

Mike, Mary, and their sons are preparing to leave for Los Angeles, where Mike is to be Professor of Anthropology. Mike and Mary are distressed because their eldest son, Danny, was scooped off the bottom of the university swimming pool—he seems to have blacked out. For security reasons, they have moved to another house on the campus on the eve of their departure.

[Clarke, 2015: This entry is essentially the coda to the long conversation I had with Mike Smith on July 15, and it takes on a special meaning in the context of Robert Hill's contention that Mike Smith's work on the Rastas was research with a security objective. I was puzzled at the time that Mike and his family moved house "for security reasons" just before they left Jamaica, but imagined that Mike feared a reprisal against him and his family, possibly from some Rastas.]

Mike says that Planner came back to Kingston from the United States last Thursday or Friday. Planner stayed at the Hotel Theresa in New York, where Castro and Khrushchev have also been guests. Planner is said to be less racist than Brown. Will Planner be open to communism and to relations with Brown?

Mike wonders whether Richard Hart "with his doctrinaire Marxism" has once more missed the boat? There are many imponderables. Will the Rastas stay out of politics? Will the government do enough to keep the recommendations of the Africa Mission Report going? It is clear, however, that the referendum struggle is essentially between the middle and lower classes.

[Clarke, 2015: Against this one must set the final assessment of the Local Intelligence Committee in the period July–August 1961: "the support given by the PFM and more particularly by the individual

members who have achieved positions of influence in the organizations concerned, provides a focus for communist activity unequalled in the history of the PFM.”^{16]}

Saturday, August 26

West Kingston and the JLP Yard

Mr Fitz and I make another trip to West Kingston. I take photographs at Greek Pond dungle, on the foreshore south of Back o’ Wall, and at Cockburn Gardens where there is a government tenement (Figure 1.5). Mr Fitz guides me into the Boys’ Town squatter area in Trench Town (Figure 1.5), and more specifically to the JLP yard to which he has party-political access. He introduces me to Babu Branch, and I am allowed to take photographs. One young woman of 23 has 2 children. The young girls do not wear bras, and feed their babies openly. Visiting relationships seem prevalent.

Branch explains that the Boys’ Town land, which is officially regarded as squatted, was given to the people (the people believe just what they want). The government intends to take it back. For the initial redevelopment of the site, 326 houses are planned; the JLP contends that it is only a vote-catching scheme.

The “wants” of the community are enumerated for me: electric lights, roads, better buildings with separate plots (not yards). Water seems reasonably adequate now that the standpipe has been installed. Some people say they do not like the concrete roofs proposed for the new Trench Town housing scheme—they will be too hot. They think the units are too expensive and that self-help is better. But I worry that self-help housing might degenerate quickly. At the end of the morning we drive back to August Town, and Mr Fitz shows me his handiwork—he has made a good job of lining the roof of the house.

Revelation about Stanley Grant

Mr Fitz assures me that Stanley Grant is a colonial agent; and that there was a clear rift between him and the PPP at a Marcus Garvey ceremony on August 17 to celebrate the dead leader’s birthday.

[Clarke, 2015: A LSIC Report on July 26, 1961 noted that Sam Brown, at Buchanan’s instigation, had attacked Stanley Grant during a public meeting of the BMPP, alleging that he was a spy of the Colonial Office. In August the pressure on Grant mounted. Winston Munro (Munro faction of the PFM) claimed that Grant was “employed by the

Colonial Office, at a high figure, to learn the thoughts of "Africans living abroad" concerning revolutionary activities"; and Johnson, Brown and Buchanan all made political attacks on Grant. Events culminated on August 17 when Grant organized a Marcus Garvey birthday celebration, "during which a skirmish broke out between Grant and Johnson supporters which was quelled by the police.... Following this incident Grant was threatened with personal violence by Sam Brown. Latest reports indicate that Grant has now joined forces with the Mortimer Planner faction of the EWFI."¹⁷]

Sam Brown is throwing all his energy into the PPP, according to Mr Fitz, the executive of which is presumably Millard Johnson, Sam Brown, S. O. Guntley, George Minott, Hugh Buchanan, Chris Lawrence, Martin Allen, and Byron Moore, who often chairs the street meetings.¹⁸ Johnson and Brown are said to be closer now, but how secure is Brown's hold on the Rases? It appears that Mr Fitz lived in Cuba for a year with his mother and that, like Buchanan, he speaks Spanish.

Sunday, August 27

Middle-Class Fears

The Jamaican middle class is definitely very frightened. Jack Tyndale-Biscoe, from whom I am hoping to purchase some air photos of Kingston, said that he is sorry for the people, yet he appeared shocked that squatters use the Boys' Town wall as a latrine. He thinks that back to Africa is "a lot of balls."

Mr Evelyn Tate, who has invited me for a meal, claims that "we need federation for security—we can call on the United Kingdom or United Nations to teach these people a lesson. I want federation and I don't care how much it costs me. We need federal troops to keep West Kingston in its place." On his own admission, he is very scared of the Rastas, and thinks the Africa Mission may come to nothing. "People like me, where should I go back to—Britain?" Mr Tate thinks that family status is not important; there are great opportunities in society now. But in the next breath he reveals that "people used to be content living on their properties—at the beginning of the twentieth century they kept their place." (What a world!—I think).

Mrs Tate chipped in to note that "middle-class women think only about material things." She seems quiet and more liberal than her husband; and Rosemary, their geographer daughter, now back from the United Kingdom, seems open to new ideas. Nevertheless, even Rosemary says that she is afraid of an attack on Jamaica from Castro's

Cuba, probably reflecting her father's concern. There is now a complete polarization of opinion in Jamaica. Mr Tate has undergone a great hardening of attitude since I saw him last.

Other Strands

The financial secretary and head of the Civil Service, Egerton Richardson, is said to be a black nationalist and anti-PNP.¹⁹ I hear a further suggestion that Busta should take over the Back-to-Africa movement.

Monday, August 28

UNIA and the Rastas

Millard Johnson has returned from the United States, where he spoke at the UNIA convention in New York, and was appointed UNIA Commissioner for Latin America and the Caribbean.²⁰ He reveals he has formed a referendum alliance with the JLP and others who are anti-Federation.²¹

The Ras Tafari claim that they like the Germans because the two world wars brought the Jamaican people up from slavery. A child in Boy's Town asked me whether I was German. Ras Tafari can be thought of as a cargo cult, but the goods to be transported are themselves, not manufactured imports to be consumed. One of its founders, Howell, was a seaman—it seems appropriate.²²

Middle-Class Preoccupations

Miss Jones,²³ one of the junior staff at the Department of Statistics, tells me that, in her opinion, the government is doing a lot, especially in education. She thinks that Back-to-Africa will fail, but that the middle class just does not know what is happening in West Kingston—they are afraid to go there. She herself is shocked that I should have visited it and come out alive.

Apparently many middle-class girls get married to save their reputation. Miss Jones refers to the case of a man she knows with two girls pregnant by him.

Cuban Refugees

There are a lot of Cuban refugees on the streets now. Arriving by plane and especially by small motor boat, they cluster around the YWCA on Hanover Street.²⁴

August 29 to September 6***Tabulating the 1960 Census***

Throughout August I worked on 40,000 holorith cards, representing all the inhabitants in ten percent of the households in the 1960 census for Kingston. I have been allowed to duplicate the punch cards and then test-run them through tabulating machines in the Department of Statistics.

With a team of four men, working overtime in the evenings after their regular work for the Census Unit of the Department of Statistics, and in particular over the weekend of Saturday and Sunday, September 2 and 3, we tabulate and print out results for the 800-odd enumeration districts that make up the Kingston Metropolitan Area. The machines are run through Saturday night and Sunday morning until they are hot—you could fry eggs on them.

Before he left, Mike Smith had advised me on the selection of variables to be tabulated, especially those relating to the household; and Mr Roy Bailey from the Census Unit programmed the tabulators to my specifications.

Thursday, September 7

Mr Fitz tells me that social referents such as income, job, education, legitimacy, and color vary in their significance at different points on the social scale.

Mr Curtis of Standard Life tells me that £2 million is locked up in used cars in Kingston, and that there are 193 separate car lots.

At Harbour View two- and three-bedroom houses are available on mortgages with a 20-year repayment period. Two-bedroom houses cost £1,975—with a £200 deposit and repayments of £14 per month; three-bedroom houses cost £2,285—with a £230 deposit and repayments of £16 per month.

Saturday, September 9***Millard Johnson and the PPP
Rally at August Town***

I hear Millard Johnson give a speech at August Town (Figure 1.5). Cyril Rogers, who is in the crowd, remarks, “This boy is going to go far.” It is a clever, distinctive speech—funny and beautifully controlled, but lacking in a constructive policy. However, he emphasizes

that he does not preach hate against brown, green, yellow, or blue—"but love black." "All peoples," he continues, "regard Jamaica as home." This is an important development, which suggests that the race issue pure and simple doesn't wash; or that his backers, Hart and Allen, have reservations (ideological or practical) about using race.

After his speech Johnson came up and shook hands with me, and told me that Africans are ashamed of servitude in the West Indies (I think it applies to the British as well!). I wonder about Johnson's role in the Back-to-Africa movement, now that he has become the Caribbean Commissioner of the UNIA. It seems to me that the political program of the PPP is fence sitting. Its ends are the same as ever, but I am doubtful about the means. Buchanan has the real program because he is a communist. How flexible would Hart and company be in power? Has Johnson overreached himself by bringing a summons against Norman Manley?

Tuesday, September 12

During a radio program Bernard Lewis, Director of the Jamaica Institute, says that one of the objectives of the new zoo to be located in the Hope Botanical Gardens is "to make our animal communities happy." What about the Jamaican human communities, I wonder?

Miss Fletcher at the Jamaica Institute Junior Library assures me, "The people on the Foreshore Road live there because they like it, not because they have to."

Monday, September 18

Hugh Sherlock

I meet Hugh Sherlock, Chairman of the Jamaica District of the Methodist Church—a man of great tolerance and compassion, though he is obviously worn out and with nervous hands. He explains to me that he realizes he is taking a calculated risk with the formation of the Good Citizens' Association. He had hoped that it would lever people into an interest in Operation Friendship, but he has miscalculated. I suggest to him that there is a danger that the outstanding sportsmen associated with the Good Citizens' Association, such as Worrell and Alexander, both former West Indies test-cricket captains, will be termed stooges in West Kingston.²⁵

Hugh Sherlock was the founder of Boys' Town in 1940 and directed it until 1956. In the period 1953–4 the JLP politician,

Linden Newland, declared himself opposed to slum clearance in West Kingston because of its potential to disrupt voting patterns. Hugh Sherlock adds his perception that the Kingston middle class swings between complacency and panic.

[Clarke, 2015: When I interviewed him, I of course had no idea that Revd Sherlock was a member of the secret Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee, set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs in May 1960, though, in conversation, Mike Smith always referred to him and Revd Blake and Sister Julia of Operation Friendship in warm terms—without ever suggesting I might meet them.^{26]}]

JIDC

I am told by Mr Pyne, the Public Relations Officer at the JIDC that it is unlikely Jamaica will break into the markets of Latin America—they have high tariff barriers and a common market is mooted. He thinks it might be sensible to give a 13-year tax holiday to get industry to disperse away from Kingston. Many consider the incentives in Jamaica are niggardly in comparison with the concessions in Trinidad and Barbados and the ten-year tax holiday in Puerto Rico. British firms enjoy the tax concessions, provided a separate company is established in Jamaica and none of the profits are repatriated; if they are, they will be taxed in Britain. Generally, US firms are more go-ahead. Two-thousand-five-hundred jobs have been created annually in tax-incentive industries in Jamaica over the last eight years, mostly in Kingston.

Kingston has the seventh-largest harbor in the world. There are high wages in the cement and beer industries located on its edge. Here the weekly wage is £6 to £7, but labor elsewhere can still be engaged for £2.50. Mr Pyne is doubtful about petroleum refining in Kingston but wonders about Old Harbour (Figure 1.2). Farel Suits in Rae Town (Figure 1.5) get no concessions from the government because they compete with the small tailor.

Tuesday, September 19

Referendum Day at Edith Clarke's

During the afternoon of the federal referendum I visited Edith Clarke (one of Mike Smith's contacts) in her beautiful great house at 79 Shortwood Road, Constant Spring (Figure 1.5).²⁷ She was sent abroad to boarding school in Malvern, United Kingdom, and studied Social

Anthropology at the London School of Economics under Bronislaw Malinowski—she has great pep.

Miss Clarke tells me that one of the characteristics of Jamaica is that middle-class men do not know how to treat women.” She is unmarried. She introduces me to her cousin, Eric Pengelly, the custos of St Thomas, and his wife.²⁸ The custos is recuperating (I think from a heart attack), but when told about my fieldwork, he suggests that the Rastas should be put in a work camp.

Mrs Pengelly expanded on the difficulty of helping the children of employees. One girl, who had been brought up close to her family, had six children by the time she was in her early twenties. Mrs Pengelly told me, “I didn’t blame her the first time, since the father was a white-collar worker and above her status.”

By the evening the referendum exit polls indicate that Jamaica has said “no” to federation. This will give a great fillip to the dissident forces.

Wednesday, September 20

Reflections on the “No” Vote

When I go to the electoral office to get hold of the electoral rolls for Kingston (I am interested because they give occupation as well as name and address) Mr Walters tells me he thinks the situation is now very dangerous. It strikes me that the middle class have received what they deserved, but will the little people ever get their deserts?

I wonder about the effect of the referendum on the Ras Tafari and the relationship between Brown, Planner, and Grant. It will obviously give a boost to Millard Johnson, who (like the JLP) told enormous lies to the people—for example, that federation was a new form of enslavement; that poverty would increase; and that the Federal Maple (a ship provided to the federation by the Canadian government) carried chains to bind them. There is a lot of talk that the illiterates have voted out the federation. Has Johnson played on illiteracy—an old game in Jamaica? The next thing we shall hear is that there should be a literacy qualification for the vote.

The PNP is clearly out of touch with the grass roots, and Norman Manley has once more failed to get an idealistic solution across (for federation *now* read socialism *then*). Manley needs to respond to the situation with social and economic reforms, such as improved housing for the poor and land settlements. He should put a squeeze on the middle class and foster Back-to-Africa. A man, cleaning up the senior

common room at UCWI, summed it up neatly when he sang: “me no wan’ no middle-class federation—me want ’wuk.”

Friday, September 22

Haves and Have-Not

I spent some time at the Agricultural Department, Hope Botanic Gardens with the soil chemist, Mr Hewitt. He is getting some soil maps of Jamaica for me. Mr Hewitt believes that the bigger the cars of the extension officers the better—they can carry people around more easily in their spacious vehicles. But he goes on to say that in Jamaica the “have” and “have not” problem is quite fundamental. It would be better if everyone was poor together.

When I was in the Boys’ Town area today a little lad, looking at my beard, asked if I was Niya (Niyabingi) man.

Monday, September 25

Yallahs Valley Land Authority

At the YVLA office in Kingston I have another talk with Harper Jones, who took me on my field visit to the area some weeks ago. He says that when I have read the reports he is going to lend me, I shall know more about the authority than many of its employees. He reminds me that Yallahs has four times as many agricultural workers employed per head of the population as the whole of Jamaica.

Sam Brown a Danger—the PPP a Revenge Party

Mr Fitz talked about the prospect of Jamaica going like Haiti. He tells me that Brown is understood to be an extremist—a danger. Brown is “going to mash up Planner.”

[Clarke, 2015: Sam Brown continued to support the PPP until September 27, 1961, when Johnson announced the names of the four PPP candidates to fight the forthcoming elections—Millard Johnson, Dr M. B. Douglas, Martin Allen and Byron Moore. At the end of September, according to the LSIC, Brown “announced that he would contest seats at the next General Election independently of the PPP. It is probable that this action has been taken by Brown at the instigation of H. C. Buchanan.”^{29]}]

In Mr Fitz's view the only noncorrupt members of the cabinet, excepting Manley, are Seivright (Minister of Home Affairs) and Lloyd (Minister of Health). Mr Fitz wants to oust Manley. He told me that the PPP is a revenge party, and contains many comrades. The executive are front men, with the powers in the background (PFM I assume).

Wednesday, September 27

In the light of the referendum, Hugh Sherlock says to me, "We must go to the people. The challenge is setting a person-to-person example. There are problems at different levels: for example, the bad language of the lower bracket; and the aloofness, distance and lack of interest of the middle class in poor people."

Friday, September 29

Harper Jones at the YVLA, to whom I returned the reports, referred to the problem of land that is not cultivated, but cited marketing as *the* fundamental issue.

Kingston Cricket Club and Solutions That Are Not Cricket

Eric Ellington, a lecturer in Biochemistry at UCWI, and a friend through the SCR, took me to Kingston Cricket Club where he obtained a copy of the membership list for me. I got into conversation with Noel Holtz, once the acting financial secretary of Jamaica and now a director of the Jamaica Ice Company.³⁰ He told me that one should definitely send the Rastas back to Africa—but ensure that there is a hole in the boat.

Saturday, September 30

A Last Look at West Kingston

Mr Fitz and I put on a trip to West Kingston for Richard Armstrong (my friend from UCWI) and David Lowenthal, who is visiting again en route for research in Dominica. Our tour takes us to Majesty Pen, Moonlight City, the dungle, and Trench Town (Figure 1.5).

One of the Majesty Pen's residents told us that he was looking for another Castro. Eugenie Powell asked me to find her a job. She is

aged 23 and has 4 children, the first when she was 14. We got into conversation with a young man—he was born in the area and has no idea about agriculture and peasant life. I suppose that an attraction of living in town is scuffling. The Rasta pot-makers in Moonlight City seem to exist on a spiritual plane, and think that only the right government can foster repatriation—a Rasta government and a chance for Brown? The locksmen said that Millard Johnson is alright, but they are fatalistic—all will be performed in due course. One of the locksmen has a pipe and bowl for ganja.

We saw people waiting at the dungle for the rubbish carts and then looking for food in the garbage. In Boy's Town we met a man with a chillum pipe for smoking ganja. He wanted me to take a drag, and chided me that I was afraid. I was asked why I am not a Rasta, and it is agreed that Christianity and Ras Tafari are similar. When I asked the man with the chillum whether it was fair for whites to be blamed for the 200-year-old sins of slavery, I was told that “the sins are still being committed.” But a woman neighbor interjected that she would rather be ruled by whites than by the layabouts in the lane.

Sunday, October 1

Farewells

In the morning I went to say goodbye to Mr Fitz, Miss Clara, and Susie. In the evening David and Jane Lowenthal took me out to dinner, introduced me to the pleasures of Barbadian Mount Gay rum, and offered to drive me to the airport the following morning. As I prepare to leave I wonder whether I shall ever return.

Part II

Jamaica Journal 1968

Chapter 5

Sovereign Jamaica: Post-Colonialism as Neocolonialism

Sunday, June 30, 1968

Arrival in Kingston

My wife, Gillian, and I, and our two children, Aidan (almost three) and Veronica (17 months), flew to Kingston from Canada, where I have been teaching—right up to departure—at the University of Toronto for the academic year 1967–8. We were met at Palisadoes Airport by Barry Floyd and his daughters (Figure 1.2). They took us to their house on Long Mountain Road, opposite the university campus, to meet Barry’s wife Jean and Barry junior (Figure 1.4).

We are staying with the Floyds for a couple of weeks before they leave for San Antonio, Texas, where they are to spend the summer vacation. When they leave we shall take over their house and VW van. Barry, who is head of department, has arranged for me to use his office in the Geography and Geology Department at the University of the West Indies (UWI).¹

[Clarke, 2015: Thereafter, I was involved in visiting Port Antonio and the Christiana area with Barry Floyd as part of the fieldwork provided for the visiting examiner, Professor Tom Elkins of Sussex University; taking part in end-of-year activities at UWI; and helping the Floyds leave for Texas.]

Wednesday, July 17

Town Planning Department

My visit to the TPD reveals that almost all the senior white personnel I knew in 1961 have left. I meet Mr Pattison and Mr Lefvert, who

work for United Nations Development Planning (UNDP), and Mr McLaren, the Government Town Planner. The UNDP team is producing a Physical Plan for Jamaica to be integrated into the Five-Year National Plan, which is currently being worked on. The Physical Plan has three components: a regional plan with maps of physical resources; a study of urban and rural settlements; Kingston. Mr Lefvert showed me a map they had made of Jamaica's low-order central places and their hinterlands.

Mr McLaren fills me in on recent changes in Kingston. There is a pressing need for a motorway linking Constant Spring and downtown (Figure 1.3). The danger is that traffic will filter into residential roads, and that they too will give rise to commercial ribbons. It appears that there is a substantial problem in using development orders associated with the land-use zoning system that has been introduced. Automatic permission is given for development of a residential nature, and only commerce and industry are subject to zoning controls (in theory at least).

Kingston is subject to constant outward movement. The elite are moving to the hills, so the intention is to make development orders applicable to the whole of St Andrew parish. The system of unimproved land values, a major plank of PNP urban policy when in government, is in abeyance, and Finance and Planning Minister Seaga is said to be looking into a system that will be acceptable to Cabinet—and be effective.

There has been a tremendous growth of middle-income housing in Kingston to the north of the Washington Boulevard (Figure 1.3). Mayer Matalon has been behind the biggest scheme at Duhaney Park, but neither Patrick City nor Riverton City (both owned by Patrick Chung) has been developed (Figure 1.5). In Patrick City there was a scam over mortgage repayments and titles; in the case of Riverton City, land values have now risen so high that it is likely that the lots will have to be re-surveyed for industry or commerce.²

Observations on Urban Change

Drought is enveloping the island, even the higher suburbs on the Liguanea Plain are dry, bony, and dishevelled, and Mona Heights—the epitome of the lower middle class—has unkempt houses and gardens (Figure 1.5). The historic center of Kingston—the Kingston of 1900—is a city of bumpy, broken roads, crumbling pavements, and chipped paint. Steps lead up to disintegrating wooden houses. There

are men serving in restaurants; men working as loaders or unloaders of lorries. Boxes and bags—and blocks of ice—are dragged across pavements stained with crushed drying fruit. By the side of the road lie wooden spars with nails protruding from them and piles of wood shavings. Along the walls the stench of urine is overpowering. Women are selling newspapers and provisions at street corners. On the pavements there are large sugarcane crushing machines—vendors sell the cane juice. This is no different from 1961—or 1861.

The finger piers at the southern end of the colonial grid, once the focus of the import-export trade for the commercial center of Kingston, are being dismantled, though some remain in use for the time being. This is the site of the Shankland Cox waterfront redevelopment. The Victoria Crafts Market, at the foot of King Street near the harbor, is decrepit and smelly with loafers sitting against the walls. Near the market there is a cluster of free-port shops that feed off the tourists coming to the craft market. Better shopping is located between Harbour Street and the public buildings on King Street. Air Canada, to my surprise, has moved from Harbour Street to Knutsford Park, New Kingston.

Squatters have been removed from the foreshore at Greek Pond Beach (the old dungle), the power station, and Moonlight City. A flat platform has been produced by cut-and-fill, and bulldozing and reclamation along the Marcus Garvey Drive continue the process of land extension begun in the early 1900s. A container port stands where Sam Brown's hut was located in 1961. Squatter huts on the Foreshore Road were bulldozed in 1966–7.

There had been gang fights and an attempt to blow up the bridge on the Foreshore Road near the Newport West development, and these activities triggered government action. It is likely that Matalon gave the squatters and other inhabitants money to leave Moonlight City, since it is in part occupied by the access road to New Port West. It is said that Sam Brown has become a labor organizer and owner of a car. Probably no more than half-a-dozen Rastas have actually gone back to Africa.

Many of the displaced squatters have moved to Riverton City, where fearsome-looking barricades protect the yards. The captured lots of the subdivision have been turned into an informal site-and-service scheme. Other displaced squatters have settled on the stabilized banks of the Sandy Gully near the Washington Boulevard (Figure 1.3), and this has led to some pilfering from new estates and to protests from their Citizens' Associations.

***Reflections on the Survival of
Jamaican Society***

How is it that Jamaican society, on the verge of breakdown during the period 1960–1, has continued with tension but without change? The Back-to-Africa movement was of short-term interest for most Jamaicans, and was caught up with the referendum. Once the federal referendum was lost, and Jamaica was committed to independence without the smaller islands, Millard Johnson's PPP and the broader Back-to-Africa movement ran out of steam.³

The two-party system was able to re-assert its control, and the victory of the JLP on the eve of independence in 1962 not only removed the PNP from power but also enabled the new government to give a bit here and there, especially to its supporters in the lower class in Kingston.⁴ Since this is the element that is most subject to disaffection, their support for the government is critical. As I commented to David Lowenthal during my visit to the American Geographical Society in New York in February of this year [1968], the present situation in Jamaica, involving latent discontent, has probably been the norm for a century at least.

Racial hostility, as far as I can tell, is nothing like as open as in 1960, though our American friends Gad and Ruth Heuman (Gad is researching the free coloreds), have mentioned the racism of the whites staying at their hotel in Graham Heights in the northern suburbs. Apparently the clientele is all white. One of the residents is a real-estate agent with house plots in St Thomas that he sells to Jamaicans living in the United Kingdom. He hopes their mortgages will gradually fall through so that he can sell each property several times without relinquishing ownership.

Walter Rodney

Ken Post, whom I met over coffee at ISER a few days ago, has already told me that there is a great deal of black power activity based at the university, though it is concealed by the absence of students during the long vacation. The key figure is the lecturer in African History, Walter Rodney.⁵ Rodney, who is Guyanese, is making connections between left-wing students and poor blacks in West Kingston, and is radicalizing the latter along the same lines (racism and Marxism) that Hugh Buchanan and Sam Brown were following in the early 1960s. I told Post that my thesis contains sections summarizing the activities of the racists and Marxists in the lead-up to the 1961

federal referendum and, at my suggestion, he is going to consult my doctoral thesis in the library at ISER.

Tuesday, July 23

Town Planning Department

At the TPD I have an appointment with Gail,⁶ one of the young planners. When I ask a member of staff if Gail is there, she replies that she is “the girl with the awful hair”—Gail has an Afro-hairstyle, which would have been unthinkable in 1961. Gail tells me that she does some voluntary teaching of science at Majesty Pen (which also would not have happened in 1961). The Jamaica Volunteers, of whom Gail is one, are trying to involve the middle class in the development of West Kingston. Gail tells me that housing schemes in West Kingston are more to demonstrate sympathy for, and understanding of, the slum than to provide serious solutions. Rehousing involves a government subsidy, self-help, and no employment.

The Planning Department is much more aware of Jamaica’s problems than it was in 1961, though doing less about them, because it is bogged down with development orders. The staff is less expatriate and more self-confident. Yet I was told about Gladstone,⁷ the newly appointed messenger, being sent to the TPD with a note from Mas’ Eddie (Seaga) saying that he—a fervent JLP supporter—should be employed. It is claimed that if Seaga were Prime Minister, everybody would have a number and the country would run like a mathematical exercise.

Friday, July 26

Central Planning Unit

I have arranged to visit the CPU, where Don Mills is now the director. Skepticism is expressed about the Kingston waterfront development. There is too much reliance on tourism, and the convention hotel will be almost in the slum area. How will this downtown ribbon development tie in with the future growth pattern of the city? Perhaps the waterfront development should have been postponed in favor of a new city center at Ferry halfway to Spanish Town. Do Kingstonians want a public place in which to meet, such as the harbor frontage in the waterfront development? The inhabitants of Kingston are very class conscious, and want to be seen only with certain people.

In the view of the CPU there is an almost unlimited demand for mortgages from the population, and the government has only rarely been called upon as a guarantor in the schemes at Mona Heights and Harbour View. At Duhaney Park, however, 28 units have had to be bought by government (Figure 1.5). Eventually Portmore (Figure 1.3) will have 30,000 units, but the question remains whether they will be taken up—and should a development on this scale be organized by a nongovernmental agency? Informally, however, the JLP government has nationalized “the Matalons”—that is West Indies Home Contractors.

What effect will the causeway to link Newport West to Portmore across Hunts Bay have on the regime of Kingston harbor (Figure 1.3)? Seaga seems to think that the money generated by the Portmore project will help in the purchase of property there. Retail dispersion away from the central business district has already gone too far. Kingston Mall, in the downtown area, may become a glorified Coronation Market—already a lot of cloth is sold by the pound weight. The Constant Spring Expressway, had it been built, would have dumped the traffic at the Kingston Public Hospital (KPH) in inner West Kingston—there were no other planned distributor roads.

The TPD's hope that the Five-Year Plan will be regional is not shared by the CPU. But the CPU suggests that a regional agency is needed to deal with Kingston—and I think it is essential.⁸ The general opinion in the CPU is that no more slum clearance is being planned for West Kingston.

Party at the Jeffersons

Gillian and I were invited by Owen and Minki Jefferson to a drinks party in the evening at their house.⁹ Owen was a fellow doctoral student at Jesus College, Oxford in the early 1960s. Other guests were Archie Singham and his wife, John Maxwell (not the journalist), Orlando Patterson, and his brother.¹⁰ Jefferson, Singham (whom I met in 1961), Maxwell, and Patterson are colleagues in the Social Sciences Faculty at UWI.

Singham entertained us for much of the evening, and observed that Seaga is acquiring a more solid base. Seaga secured his second win in his Kingston Western constituency in 1967 by offering homes and jobs to his followers and through the general development of Tivoli Gardens—the new constituency has a much smaller population than the 1962 version. During the 1967 election the opposition PNP physically attacked the constituency to intimidate the electorate and

to try and dissuade them from voting, but Seaga still got 69 percent of the votes cast. It may be necessary to “insulate” Kingston Western in future by developing other sections of the slums. In other words, political necessity on the part of the JLP may be the best stimulus to urban renewal.

Singham contends that Seaga won Kingston Western in 1962 because the PNP was badly organized, and Seaga ensured that he had enough people registered to win (beating Dudley Thompson by fewer than 700 votes). Sam Brown ran as an independent against Seaga and Thompson and got 78 votes.¹¹ Millard Johnson had less than £1,000 to spend on his campaign in St Andrew West Central, which was won by the PNP, and he received a mere 1,014 votes.¹²

Singham claims that Seaga is finished as a popular leader because of his association with the Matalons. This Syrian–Jewish alliance won’t go down well with the voters—though lower-class Jamaicans in my experience cannot distinguish between the two groups. Seaga’s Hellshire Hills project—Portmore (Figure 1.3)—is seen as vote-catching with the middle class. But how does he stand with the lower class? The trade unions want someone—unlike Seaga—who talks their language. The PNP needs the charisma of Michael Manley, plus able grass-roots leaders—out with the lawyers such as Vivian Blake and Dudley Thompson.

Monday, July 29

Caribbean Planning Associates and Shankland Cox

I make a morning visit to Caribbean Planning Associates and Shankland Cox (they share premises near Half Way Tree). Mr Theobalds, who was the architect in the TPD in 1961, shows me a layout for Rozelle Village near Morant Bay (Figure 1.2). This is a private development with a school and playing field to serve the Goodyear Tyre factory just outside the town. USAID is providing the funds to guarantee the mortgages—it may do a bit to stem the tidal movement into Kingston.

Mr Theobalds is critical of the Shankland plan for Kingston, because the firm is little more than a draftsman for the Matalons’ real-estate deal. “What control,” he asks, “will there be finally over the architecture?” Local politicians seem to have Miami Beach in mind, and need a road on the waterfront to generate capital. John Martin of Shanklands goes so far as to tell me that they have been “inveigled into operating a huge subdivision.”

Cox is interested in cheap prefabricated housing for low-income groups, and admits that site-and-service schemes are needed—but will the latter give the politicians sufficient control for their own manipulative ends? Shankland have recently been commissioned to work on the area running from the Spanish Town Road south via the Coronation Market to the waterfront redevelopment. The idea is to produce a new provisions market with car parking on top, and to link the little man in the Kingston Western constituency to the waterfront scheme. It appears that Caribbean Planning Associates had been commissioned by Seaga to draw artists' impressions of the waterfront redevelopment for display when Shankland came out to start work in Jamaica. Seaga is in West Kingston for life.

Wednesday, July 31

Mr Fitz and Miss Clara

In the afternoon I take Aidan with me to August Town to look for Mr Fitz and Miss Clara (Figure 1.5). With money sent to them by my father they set up a small food shop after Gillian and I made a short visit to Jamaica in 1964. I soon locate their lock-up premises and find Mr Fitz and Miss Clara at work. They offer Aidan some sweet biscuits, which he quickly eats. It's alarming how much Mr Fitz and Miss Clara can remember about what I said to them or asked them back in 1961!

Mr Fitz tells me that when they opened the shop someone set obeah—black magic on them. He speaks in hushed tones because men are playing dominoes in the shade outside. Mr Fitz found a small packet containing bones, grave dirt, and money wrapped in black thread on the doorstep. He added that he burned the packet and put the money in the till—all you can do when you are up against obeah is pray.

Monday, August 5

Independence Day Celebrations

This is Independence Day, and at 4 pm I take Aidan to Mountain View Avenue to watch the Carnival arrive at the National Stadium, which has been carved out of Up Park Camp (Figure 1.5). There are huge crowds: people of all colors and classes are standing by the roadside. At last the parade arrives—bandsmen followed by boy scouts, floats, and other groups. The floats are not clearly marked, though I pick

out those representing the Duhaney and Harbour View Citizens' Associations. Among the themed floats is one devoted to "The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe."

There are brown, black, and Chinese girls on the floats, with some segregation by color. The steelbands are stiff; the crowds stiffer. The police are trying to keep back a small group carrying placards saying, "Black man arise," and waving a red, yellow, and green flag. This is an obvious copy of Trinidad Carnival, but a poor show by Trinidad standards. There are queens (partly Jamaican, of course); a road march; bands and floats; a steel band (Trinidad Esso band, specially imported for the occasion); use of the National Stadium. According to Seaga, it is intended to promote national solidarity—hence a John Canoe in the parade. As I pick up Aidan and leave, I am aware of abandoned cars; crowds on the car roofs; dented roofs.

Tuesday, August 6

West Kingston

Mr Bernard, one of the public health inspectors working for the KSAC, took me to White Wing City in Cockburn Gardens (Figure 1.5). We left his car at the clinic, where there was some discussion about the distribution of powdered milk—a new product since 1961 for mass child consumption. Sanitary inspectors are responsible for the distribution of powdered-milk vouchers to the needy.

We have a close look at the hurricane rehousing built after 1951. Rooms are let for six shillings per month, and there are communal kitchens, washrooms, and standpipes. The houses and kitchens are not too bad considering the set-up and their age. Some residents have built a stockade outside their room to capture private outdoor space for themselves. No doubt the current strike by refuse collectors is making things worse, but the rubble, broken bottles, tin cans, and garbage scattered between the buildings is an ideal environment for hogs, chickens, dogs, puppies, piglets, and goats to work over in their search for scraps. Raising small livestock is the only way in which the poorest can make some money.

I get into conversation with two women. The younger, Joyce, spent Independence Day fasting as a member of a Pentecostal sect. She talks about upliftment and being saved, and about being protected from war and trouble. She is married and has 6 children aged 3–16. Her husband works at Metal Box on the Spanish Town Road. She had an operation at the UWI Hospital three years ago to prevent her having

any more children. She has been well ever since, but some women, after having their tubes tied, complain of pains in the stomach. The older woman, Sylvia, suggests that women having these pains haven't had their full quota of children—a popular view. She herself has had only three, but has many grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

Joyce introduces several of her children to me—they look fine. She is interested in her children's schooling, and proudly tells me that one of her boys and one of her girls are second in their class out of 60 or more. She has decided to limit her family to give them a better chance. Jamaican women's forcefulness is something to contend with; their vocabulary and thought processes are highly conditioned by the Bible.

Mr Bernard took me to meet a painfully thin woman called Cynthia, whose son has passed the 11+ examination to go to the Technical Secondary School in Christiana. She is very proud of him, and went to all the way from Kingston to attend the Parent-Teachers Association. Mr Bernard arranged to get the boy's birth certificate for her so that he could be admitted to the school. The woman has 4 more children by another man—who appeared later. The couple seem proud of the boy, and keen that he should do well. "I hope you live to see him succeed," says Mr Bernard. He adds that everyone now has the chance to become governor-general. But how meaningful or important is that, I ask myself?

We fall in with three young men and an older bearded man, each of whom, so they say, has worked at a variety of tasks in the last two weeks and earned just over £5. The three young men are aged 18–22 and consider themselves to be out of work. One of them is hoping to get a driving licence; Mr Bernard adds that JOS bus drivers earn about £15 per week—and have cars. The bearded welder complains that, if you are going to get a job, you need a card from the Government Employment Office plus a JLP member's card.

Conversation moves on to the struggle between the NWU and the BITU for control of labor in the new bauxite workings. All four men express dissatisfaction with the political set-up—all feel neglected. They would like to go back to Africa, the welder especially—he's interested in Zambia. He knew Sam Brown and told me that Brown was not a true Rasta. Prince Edward, the most respected of the Ras Tafari, still has a yard on the Spanish Town Road. Planner continues to live on Salt Lane. Only a few have gone back to Africa by paying their own way—but a quarter of the people would like to go.

We talked about the break-up of the squatter camps, after which some went to Molynes Road, Wareika (Long Mountain), and Payne

Avenue (Figure 1.4). Fewer Rastas are seen on the Spanish Town Road than previously. We talk about the threat and promise of the movement. With the break-up of the camps Rastas are spread out and are now in the countryside. The welder wants a one-party state, and adds that communist countries live well together—he makes reference to Cuba. I gather that Hugh Buchanan is dead, and I remind myself that he had been a Garveyite. Mr Fitz has told me that Sam Brown (Independent) ran in the Kingston Western constituency in 1962, with Byron Moore the PPP candidate.¹³ Brown was bought by the PNP, according to Mr Fitz, to split the PPP vote (249), the JLP not being considered a danger. Yet Eddie Seaga (JLP) won with just over 51 percent of the poll.

The attraction of Kingston for country people is quite clear. Both women we met at the beginning of our trip were from rural parts (women are being shed from agriculture)—but all the men were from Kingston. I am told about one man, who during a political fight in West Kingston, sent his wife and children back to the country yet stayed himself to see it out. Men seem to take violence for granted, and to expect it; they are prepared even to promote it to get jobs. Just how idle—that is unemployed—these men are is difficult to gauge.

We visit Majesty Pen, where the illegal market at Three Mile is now regulated and there is a St Andrew's (Anglican) Church presence (Figure 1.5). Moonlight City is regenerating, having been destroyed in 1966–7. There are about 25–30 shacks strung along the railway track linking Kingston to Spanish Town. Allegedly, Matalon bought the people out, paying £5 per head. According to Bill Hodges, who wrote to me about it, it cost him £2,000, so there would have been 400 squatters. Some went to Payne Avenue (Figure 1.4), but the majority settled in Riverton City (Figure 1.5). Now people are returning to Moonlight City.

Ras Daniel was not ousted with the rest from Moonlight City because he was involved in the casting of aluminum cooking pots. Last year water was removed from the settlement to deter redevelopment, but now the Rastas want the water back. They are prepared to pay rates for it and to levy fees from other squatters. At the moment they rely on a well about six feet deep with a lining of oil drums, one on top of the other. Ras Daniel has been in Moonlight City since 1960 and remembers me from my previous visits.

He is critical of the garbage and filth of Majesty Pen, and the lack of warning signs to protect children. When we went into his yard, he told us about discrimination against Ras Tafari. For example, he was imprisoned illegally in 1962, having been taken by the police

to Morant Bay and charged with vagrancy (Figure 1.2). He interprets the unexpected death of Prime Minister Sangster in April 1967 as murder;¹⁴ the governor general is a white man in a black skin; and everyone is against the Rasta, especially the police. Ras Daniel declares, “Me born black.”

Ras Daniel explains that the Junior Secondary School at Payne Avenue was paid for by the Ethiopian Government, and an Ethiopian Ambassador is soon to be accredited. Sangster had been charged by the Lion of Judah (Emperor Haile Selassie) during his visit to Jamaica to look after the Ras Tafari—hence his death, according to Ras Daniel. Later we met an East Indian sadhu, who had grown his hair into locks.¹⁵ His soliloquy at the end of our visit, delivered while Ras Daniel was removing a leaf from his own hair, was essentially Marxist—or at least anti capitalist.

Mr Bernard's Reflections

As we return by car to Cross Roads, Mr Bernard tells me that local business interests are pressing for a School of Business Management, because locals are cheaper to employ than expats. On our journey down the Spanish Town Road, I notice that Millard Johnson's PPP headquarters has been renamed the People's Store—I wonder if it is still owned by his father?

Mr Bernard is critical of the middle and upper classes in Kingston who bring pressure to bear on the pockets of poverty within the suburban population; civil servants generally back this pressure and make no attempt to help the poor—there is no slum clearance policy.

Ras Daniel will probably be unsuccessful in his attempt to get water reinstalled in Moonlight City, according to Mr Bernard. The Housing Ministry will have to approve the project, thus guaranteeing coverage of the costs, before the Water Commission will act. I am told that many people, like Ras Daniel, believe that Sangster was murdered, largely because his death came so soon after he assumed real power—he had previously fronted the Bustamante government while Busta was ailing.

Apparently, you can get beaten up if you play one political party off against the other. The political system is one of rewards, or patronage and tension management. When the PNP is the government, the middle class is satisfied, and there is lower-class disaffection (as in 1961); when the JLP forms the government, most of the lower class is satisfied, the middle class is displeased, and the unemployed who are not JLP are disaffected.

Wednesday, August 7***JIDC***

Mrs Campbell of the JIDC has agreed to provide me with some information about the industrialization-by-invitation program. There are 175 firms operating under incentive laws, 38 of which are outside Kingston—10 in St Catherine and 7 in St Thomas, the parishes adjacent to the capital. At the end of March 1968 there were 10,690 people employed in these factories—but the multiplier effect is anyone's guess. She claims that during the last 6 years, 1,500 jobs have been created each year.

It takes between one and three years to get a factory up and running, depending on the building needs of the company. Factories operating under the Export Industries Manufacturing legislation had to close in 1962 because of changes in the US quota. In some rural locations it is possible to extend the incentives for up to 10–15 years, depending on the decision of the House of Representatives. At the moment, roughly 70 of the factories operating under incentive legislation are Jamaican owned, 40 are owned by US or Canadian capital, and 25 are British—the rest are in joint ownership.

Mrs Campbell explains that since independence a local stock market has been established. Stocks and shares are advertised in the local newspaper, and there is also over-the-counter trading via several finance houses. This has led to increased local investment in the Jamaican economy, as distinct from the building societies, which had previously been the main savings vehicle for Jamaicans.

Thursday, August 8***Redevelopment Plans for West Kingston***

Mr Noel Fraser at the Ministry of Housing tells me that Tivoli Gardens on the site of Back o' Wall contains 816 units, plus shops, a field, and community services (Figure 1.5). Stage One had 299 units, Stage Two 233, and Stage Three 284; 32 more are to be added later this year. The average population per unit is 5 persons, so there are about 4,000 people in the rehousing section.

The development of Trench Town has so far been smaller. USAID has constructed 71 units and another 158 are in the pipeline with 30 for purchase, mortgages being supplied by the Ministry of Housing. More than 100 acres in Trench Town are owned by government and are available for housing schemes. Town Planning controls will be in place, with allocations made for schools.

Small-scale low-income housing has been provided at Long Mountain Pen and Briggs Pen on Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4), which together have provided 60 homes. Lower-middle-income schemes in which the government has been involved are located at Elletson Flats (in the dry bed of the Hope River at Papine) with 220 units (Figure 1.5), and Rennock Lodge off Mountain View Avenue (Figure 1.4).

Mr Fraser discloses that a master plan is to be drawn up by the Ministry for the redevelopment of West Kingston. Over the next five years it is intended to spend £13 million—more than government has expended on housing in all previous projects combined.

Friday, August 9

West Kingston

I set off on another trip to West Kingston with Mr Bernard, and we head for Riverton City (Figure 1.5). There are a few industrial premises on the site and a handful of houses belonging to hapless purchasers, but it is really too wet to be healthy. Health inspectors have been spraying the area to keep down the mosquitoes. There are about 200 squatters, mostly in wooden houses—plus one balmyard and a few Ras Tafari. Seen from the outside, the wooden fencing surrounding the lots in Riverton looks formidable and impenetrable. Riverton City was laid out in plots before 1961, but it lies, fatally for middle-class housing, south of the Spanish Town Road. Now the roads and lots are overgrown with macca (thorn bush). Squatters cannot use the electricity or water, which must have been locked off; many raid the fire hydrants for water.

Moving on to Cockburn Gardens (Figure 1.5), we find that the housing is mixed—some government, some quite good private, and some poor (at Grass-Quit Glade). East of Savitri Road and the adjoining gully there is squatting on government-owned land. People are afraid of losing this land, so they are building concrete houses in the hope that the government will let them stay. Mr Foster, the senior health inspector, had told me before we set out that most recipients of housing in slum-clearance projects are outsiders—the original squatters have to shift for themselves. The gully, which runs down to Hunts Bay, is to be bridged and developed by the government. There is a standpipe, an Adventist Church, and a mixed East Indian-black population. An Indian woman is collecting water and a mixed-race boy is playing marbles—to all intents

and purposes they are culturally black. Nevertheless, there seems to be a fair amount of endogamy among the East Indians.

Driving back down the Spanish Town Road toward the city center, we visit Boy's Town redevelopment (Figure 1.5). Some of the new units are attractive and have a mixture of single story and two- and four-story buildings. There are some shops in the new scheme. Central Avenue has now been renamed Collie Smith Avenue—after the famous cricketer, but north of Third Avenue there are still squatters, and Clock Circle is much the same as before. Spanish Town Road has undergone a facelift, but along Thompson Street, on the border between Trench Town and Jones Town (Figure 1.4), there are squatter camps and stockades identical to Boys' Town in 1961. When we stop at a street corner, I am assailed with the cry “white man”—the bane of my existence during my visits downtown in 1961.

Mr Bernard tells me that Maragh Lands (Figure 1.4) to the west of Trench Town on the north side of the Spanish Town Road are among the worst housing areas in West Kingston. Property owners rent out house spots and run in a water pipe, thus creating impoverished rent yards. The former illegal market at Three Mile has now been named the D. C. Tavares Market after the late JLP Minister of Housing (Figure 1.4). Mr Bernard adds that the squatters at Wareika (Long Mountain) have a bad reputation for thuggery and thieving (Figure 1.5).

Monday, August 12

Funding Elite Housing

I have arranged to spend much of the day in the field with Mr Jacques of the Land Valuation Department—a contact of mine from 1961. I am told that most of the houses at Beverley Hills have been bought by businessmen whose enterprises absorb some of the building costs. Aaron Matalon's new home is worth £40–50,000, but cost about £30,000—with £2,000 just to clear the site. Building lots alone are frequently £5,000. The neogreat house at Beverley Hills still belongs to Pat Chung.

Newport West

Mr Jacques and I go to meet Mr Wedderburn who works for Newport Holdings. The Foreshore Development Corporation sold out to them, but they are all Matalon-owned companies. Independence City

at Portmore is also being developed by a Matalon firm, the Jamaica Mortgage Company. The first phase of development at Newport West covers 500 acres and gives a depth of 35 feet at the wharves—for container ships (Figure 1.5). They are now proceeding to Stage Two. The government owns land on the south side of the Marcus Garvey Drive for customs sheds. The total mortgage for Newport West is one million pounds, to be repaid by 1979. Mr Wedderburn says that large properties along the wharves are sold for 10 shillings per square foot, while industrial lots sell for 20–30 shillings per square foot. Values in the old port were much higher at £3 per square foot several years ago. Only Number One Pier will be retained—for the railway.

Portmore Project

Independence City at Portmore is the first major housing development (except Harbour View) beyond the Liguanea Plain, the whole of which is now occupied by Kingston (Figure 1.3). The houses are identical to the ones at Hughenden (Figure 1.5), and are being constructed with USAID, presumably with mortgage money. At this stage there are only 50 houses completed, and most are unoccupied. Further developments at Portmore will depend on the building of the Causeway (completion scheduled for March 1969), linking the Hellshire Hills area to Newport West, the Marcus Garvey Drive (Foreshore Road), and Three Mile.

From Caymanas Racecourse you get wonderful views on to Catherine's Peak and the Blue Mountains, but the area to the north of Gregory Park is very depressing. Flat and marshy, it is given over to the homes of fishermen and cane-workers (Figure 1.2). Going down to Port Henderson was quite a revelation; the old colonial buildings have been renovated, including the Rodney Arms.

As we drive back to Kingston, Mr Jacques tells me that he knows Prime Minister Shearer quite well, and implies that the Matalons first made their money through deals with the PNP over government-owned land at Mona Heights and Harbour View.

Wednesday, August 14

Gloria Knight and the UDC

I have arranged to interview Mrs Gloria Knight, who was administrative secretary to the Kingston Waterfront Redevelopment Company and is now the General Manager of the Urban Development

Corporation (UDC).¹⁶ She explains that the first phase of the waterfront redevelopment is out for tender and should be accepted or rejected by September 1968. The UDC receives no government funds, so schemes have to be economically viable. Moses Matalon is the Chairman of the UDC,¹⁷ and other members of the board are John Issa (Development and Finance Corporation),¹⁸ Don Mills (CPU) and Mr McLaren (Government Town Planner).

The UDC will have control over both the land use and the architecture of the waterfront development. Mrs Knight thinks that the apartments on the waterfront will probably be largely for expatriates. She mentions that a link between the waterfront and Tivoli Gardens is mooted, and the waterfront project may eventually extend east to Rockfort (two miles beyond Bournemouth Gardens) via a new coast road (Figure 1.5). One day the UDC may develop Wareika Hill (Long Mountain) for recreational purposes. She also thinks that there may be work for the UDC at Spanish Town, where the Jamaica National Trust has already earmarked historic buildings for restoration. In addition, a bypass is needed, and the town center requires refurbishment (Figure 1.3).

The Ministry of Housing owns a lot of land to the northeast of Hellshire, which may lead to government housing being located at Portmore—or to land swaps for private housing. The government cannot build where land is valued at £5,000 or more an acre. Mrs Knight admits that the development of a new town at Portmore may result in a “glorified Mona Heights,” but adds that a rapid transit system for Kingston-Portmore is off the agenda because of the high installation costs. However, she does foresee an eventual road link between Portmore and Port Royal, across the entrance to Kingston Harbour (Figures 1.2 and 1.3)

Wednesday, August 21

Public Health Department

The director of the Public Health Department has given me permission to copy the statistics from the Annual Report of the Sanitary Survey of Kingston and St Andrew for 1967—and for comparison, the Report for 1960. It's a tedious job. Among the inspectors there seems to be a fair amount of concern for the squatter areas. Shantytowners are not always squatters, but may live in a chattel house in a rent yard. All early government housing schemes dating back to the 1950s involved the rental of a single room and access to communal basic facilities—as in the private tenements at that time.

Revival Convention

Mr Fitz and Mr Donaldson, the captain or pastor of the Bethel Church in August Town, took me in the evening to a Revival convention at the Olivet Baptist Church (with its headquarters in Heaven), situated in the middle of a rent-yard complex just off the Old Hope Road. To reach it from the main road, where I left the van, we crossed the gully at Swallowfield by a narrow bridge (Figure 1.4) and walked down a cactus-walled trail to find a surprisingly large concrete church.

We stood in a group outside, but were immediately asked to go through to the vestry. There we were greeted by Pastor Lindsay, the head of Olivet Baptist Church, before being shown to seats in the body of the church. All this I found a bit embarrassing, and my self-consciousness was increased when Pastor Lindsay began to welcome the guests, with a special mention for me. My eyes were drawn to the altar, beautifully decorated with flowers, crucifixes, candles, and statues of Jesus. Over the altar was an illuminated screen depicting the Last Supper.

The church was crammed with men in suits and women in white dresses, often with turbans. There seems to be a great deal of visiting for conventions—Mr Donaldson had one last week. There were groups from August Town, Duff Street (Rose Town) to the west of Trench Town, and the Red Hills on the northwestern extremity of the city. Half the pastors were women, and each group of followers was usually, but not exclusively, of the same sex as the pastor.

Three of the women pastors were wearing glasses and smart dresses and hats. But all the pastors were powerful speakers, having a great rapport with, and control over, the congregation. The congregation was lower class, and mostly but not exclusively, black—the pastors likewise. Everyone was neatly turned out. All age groups were well represented, though there seemed to be few couples; rather, men or women with or without their children. Many small children went to sleep on their sisters' laps.

There were no prayers, but a series of testimonies and many hymns. When the hymns were struck up, the building throbbed to the rhythm, as if it were going to burst at the seams. The congregation swayed to the music and the beat of tambourines, while an old lady waved a flag in time to the music. Audience participation was at a maximum: “yes man, praise the Lord” (a 100 times over). Key phrases used by the preachers, as well as well-known biblical passages, were repeated by the congregation during the testimonies. Throughout the service, there was great emphasis on salvation and getting the spirit. But only

one woman got the spirit—during a frenzied piece of singing and dancing that accompanied the taking of the collection.

The Bible readings were all selected from the Old Testament, and the sermon, delivered by a woman pastor, was based on one of them. The sermon was all about digging out abominations—adultery, fornication, magic, false witness. The preacher was digging in a hill and finding a door, behind which the abominations were concealed. Key phrases were repeated so that we would remember them: tarry a while, abominations, what was behind the door?—nastiness.

The chairman of the service (a junior civil servant, it appears) would echo each phrase to maximize its dramatic impact. The abominations having been itemized, the people nodded their heads or shouted, yes, as the vices were paraded, which seemed to have a cathartic effect on the whole congregation. After this massive display of folk eloquence, people felt purged and in direct communication with the preacher, their neighbor, and God.

In August Town

Once the service was over I found myself chauffeur to the August Town group, and returned them to Mr Donaldson's church (Figure 1.5). He has been in August Town for 15 years. His church is of unfinished concrete and has neither window frames nor panes of glass—but it is large. There are plaques to patrons on the walls, and Keble Munn's name is prominent on one of them—Munn, the PNP constituency representative, was a former minister of Agriculture in the PNP government before independence.

Revival provides opportunities for leadership, companionship in hardship, recreation, support in distress (possibly against obeah), and contact with God that accommodates and is not revolutionary. One speaker at the convention tonight claimed to have a hot telephone line to heaven. There seems to be a great deal of visiting between Revival groups. Many still baptize in the Hope River (Jamaica's Jordan), digging wells for water in the dried-up bed.

Mr Donaldson's house is modest, with a photo of Winston Churchill and a picture of a Spanish black madonna. There is a seal and a pitcher of water in the garden, but I detect no wife.

As we departed Mr Fitz told me that August Town is full of obeah—Paton, one of the residents is an obeah man. Mr Fitz's telling conclusion is that they would rather spend their last penny to prevent you rising up, than use it to help themselves.

Thursday, August 22

Government Employment Bureau

At the Public Health Department I finish off copying the 1960 and 1967 reports that have been made available to me.

The Government Employment Bureau is located on East Street in the colonial grid, and helps people looking for both foreign and local employment. Both sections are packed with people, though it is said to be a quiet day. Registered women applicants can get jobs as domestics and seamstresses—if they will accept the wages they are offered. Local employment available in Kingston is listed on a board outside the office: household help, factory work, skilled and unskilled work, and catering and artisan trade. Unlike private employment bureaus, the government service is free.

Operation Friendship

Later in the day I had arranged a visit to Operation Friendship. Traveling through the central grid via Charles, Beeston, and Oxford Streets I arrive at Operation Friendship adjacent to the Coronation Market on the Spanish Town Road (Figure 1.4). Revd Edwards is a quiet, sympathetic man. He has given up his Methodist Church responsibilities to head the Social Action Campaign. They support a kindergarten, youth clubs, adult education, and adult literacy classes (100+ attend). In addition, there is a medical program with a dispensary, dental surgery, and six voluntary, part-time doctors.

Operation Friendship has had no government funds since the JLP came to power in 1962, and it relies heavily on non-Jamaican volunteers. At the Trade School there is one full-time Jamaican, a German, and a Peace Corps volunteer. Next year two volunteers are being provided by the German government. Their task is not so much to ameliorate as to equip. The Family Planning clinic is paid for by Oxfam and deals with about 16 requests each week. Opposite Operation Friendship's clinic there is an appalling cardboard shack on the pavement housing a man, woman, and two children. They hang up washing on an iron fence and get water from, and use, the public latrines opposite that serve the Coronation Market.

The Ebenezer Church (Methodist) is a fine old red-brick building, which originally served the prosperous colored people of the city center. The ancient tombs are used by vagrants as beds at night because the stone heats up in the daytime and is comfortable in the evening—even now there are sleepers stretched out on them. Beyond the wall



Plate 5.1 The redevelopment of Back o' Wall into a high-density, government-apartment scheme at Tivoli Gardens. A view from the Ebenezer Church graveyard, 1968.

surrounding the burial ground lies Back o' Wall. Revd Edwards was emphatic that none of the squatters in Back o' Wall has been rehoused in Tivoli Gardens (Plate 5.1).

My perception is that the power of the Ras Tafari has waned. The brethren are split, and there has been a great deal of disillusionment with Haile Selassie, who spent his official visit to Jamaica in 1967 staying at King's House and not in West Kingston. Moreover, the demand for Back-to-Africa has subsided because of the improved possibility of emigrating to Canada and the United States—with the shift away from a small regional quota to a points system based on qualifications. Disaffection in the lower class has been replaced by, or submerged under, interparty warfare (as at the 1967 elections). People are prepared to fight or kill to get their party in, because they need houses and jobs.

Friday, August 23

White Spaces

Gillian and I meet Lena Farquharson at Liguanea Club at New Kingston (Figure 1.5), and confirm that we shall go to Hampden tomorrow. Lena introduces us to her American friend, Gladys, and suggests we go with her to Gladys's house. As we follow Lena up the

Hope Road I say to Gillian that, on the basis of my map of Liguanea Club members, I predict that Gladys will live in the Barbican area (Figure 1.5). I am not surprised when we stop, as predicted, in Gloucester Avenue (Figure 1.4). Gladys used to be a nurse, working for the United Fruit Company in Cuba, but left in 1960 after Fidel Castro, so she claimed, revealed himself as a communist. Gladys tells us that wealthy Americans bring their children down to Jamaica to show them how amicably blacks live with whites.

Saturday, August 24

Hampden

Today, Aidan's third birthday, we set off early for Hampden by road, passing through thriving markets at Linstead, St Ann's Bay, and Falmouth (Figures 1.1 and 1.2) When we arrive, it strikes me that John Farquharson seems more Jamaican than before, and fits the anachronistic role of the white planter more comfortably than when I was here in 1961, or when Gillian and I visited four years ago. John is a senior officer in the Special Constabulary, and spends evenings on patrol. Is this his way of "keeping in" with authority in a post-colonial situation?

Color is probably even more crucial on a sugar plantation than in Kingston, and the white bias of old has now been replaced by white hate. Lena is often referred to as a white bitch, and is the last to be served wherever she goes—an experience I had recently at the African Ballet when it visited Kingston. John does have a friend who is not white—Dacosta Chin See, a Falmouth businessman. But when we take the children swimming at Silver Sands we find that the clientele is largely white (Figure 1.1).

John and I have our usual conversation about the sugar industry. He reminds me that between two-thirds and three-quarters of Jamaican sugar still has a guaranteed market and sale price through local, Commonwealth, and US quotas—the remainder is sold on the volatile world market. But it is now expected that half the sugar factories in Jamaica will close because they are not viable. Only 7 will remain in operation, leaving Hampden as the smallest, though it is expected to increase its sugar output from 20,000 to 35,000 tons.

At the other end of the spectrum, West Indies Sugar Corporation (WISCO)'s Monymusk produces 60,000 tons of sugar, and WISCO's Frome, with 110,000 tons, accounts for one-quarter of Jamaican output.¹⁹ John tells me that the difficulty at Hampden is getting people

to weed, so some mechanization has become essential, though cane-cutting and loading are still carried out by hand. Mr Bell, the factory manager and a Scot, like his two predecessors, confides that Hampden is not run on efficient business lines.

Gillian and I are much more concerned about John and Lena than about the estate. There is a plantation-town tug of war, because in addition to the great house at Hampden they have an apartment at Coral Gardens in Montego Bay, and John tells me that he spends much of his spare time in Falmouth on special constabulary patrols. He is uncertain whether the two boys should go to school locally or abroad in the United Kingdom. Is there a future for whites in Jamaica, John wonders? Politics are getting into everything—local politicians have even attempted to infiltrate a domestic-science class Lena is running.

Sunday, August 26

Plantation Inheritance

Before leaving for Kingston I wander around the grounds of the great house, which was built in 1779 by John Sterling, who was the first person to be buried in the family graveyard. A few years after slave emancipation in 1838, George Lawson bought the property and he and his heirs expanded it by buying neighboring estates, so that their great houses became overseers' homes. The Lawsons mutated into the Kelly-Lawsons and now the Farquharsons have taken over—John's mother was the last Kelly-Lawson heir. The only nonfamily member I know with a long connection with the great house is Miss Ida who worked as the cook for 37 years and has recently retired.

Tuesday, August 27

Farewell

Gillian has generously offered to take Aidan and Veronica back to England on her own, so that I can have my first experience of traveling through virtually the entire Caribbean from Haiti and the Dominican Republic to Trinidad and Guyana. This afternoon I drove her, Aidan, and Veronica to the Palisadoes Airport and had the miserable experience of waving them off from the viewing gallery.

Notes

Introduction

1. A list of abbreviations is given at the front of the book.
2. By “culture” I mean class-related forms of family, religion, and education.
3. I doubt, however, that the sociological content of my 1961 journal would have been acceptable as the basis for a doctorate in the School of Geography at Oxford at the time it was submitted in 1967.
4. Edward Seaga, *Jamaica Hansard: Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, Session 1961–1962, No. 1, speech on Friday, April 7, 1961, 21–22, quotation on 22.
5. Norman W. Manley, address to National Press Club, Washington, DC, April 19, 1961, quoted in *Congressional Record*, Vol. 107, 7306.
6. A pseudonym.
7. A more positive evaluation of Sam Brown, which nonetheless identifies his dangerous personality, is given by Leonard Barrett as a result of interviews carried out in 1965, by which time Brown’s political moment had come and gone. “Meeting Sam Brown is an unforgettable experience. His clothes are ragged, and his beard and hair are a kinky mass extending in all directions. Extremely intense, inordinately vain, he is unquestionably the boss” [*The Rastafarians: A Study in Messianic Cultism in Jamaica* (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean Studies, 1968), 98]. In a later book, based on the same materials, Barrett notes: “Ras Brown is one of the most complex personalities within the Rastafarian movement. He combines in his person the attributes of the mystic, poet, orator, saint, painter, and what a government official called ‘a lovable rascal.’ In his presence at one given moment, one feels free and relaxed, and in the next moment tense and frightened... Born in the parish of Trelawny in 1925, he attended the local elementary school and was so brilliant a student that it is reported he won a scholarship to a prestigious secondary school in Kingston, but failed to accept the offer because of poverty” [*The Rastafarians: The Dreadlocks of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann with Sangster’s Book Store, 1977), 147–148].

8. Richard Hart (born Jamaica 1917, died Bristol, UK, 2013). Solicitor, trade unionist, and Marxist politician. Educated Munro College Ja. and Denstone College, UK. Partner Hart and Lewin Solicitors. Former Secy. Caribbean Labour Congress; Vice-Pres. Trades Union Congress of Jamaica, 1949; Mem. Ex. Co. People's National Party, 1941–51 (Clifton Neita [ed.], *Who's Who Jamaica*, Kingston, Jamaica: Who's Who [Jamaica] Ltd, 1960, 227–228).
9. Hugh Buchanan (born 1904). Buchanan was Jamaica's most important early Marxist, and was active politically and in trade unions from the 1930s [Trevor Munroe and Arnold Bertram, *Adult Suffrage and Political Administrations in Jamaica, 1944–2002* (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann, 2006)].
10. LSIC Report August, 1961, para. 41, CO 1031/3709 C 410239, The National Archives, Public Record Office, Kew, UK.
11. John Clerk (born 1917). Educated Jamaica College (1929–35). Joined civil service, 1936; Permanent Secy. Min. of Health, 1956–60; Permanent Secy. Min. Of Home Affairs, 1960 (Neita [ed.], *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 119).
12. Sir Geoffrey Gunter (born 1879) Chief Accountant and Auditor Jamaica Govt. Railway (1923–40 retired), Custos Rotulorum for St Andrew, and Acting Governor of Jamaica June 14–October 13, 1960 (Clifton Neita (ed.), *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 217).
13. This example of LSIC membership on May 4, 1962 was found in the Export Archive, FCO 141/5432, TNA, PRO. The precise composition of the LSIC at that date was as follows: Mr J. H. Clerk, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and Local Government, Chairman; Mr H. D. Eastwood, M. C., Security Liaison Officer; Major J. A. Garnett, G. S. O. 2; Lt.-Cmdr. J. T. Gilhespy, Intelligence Officer; Mr N. H. Smith, Principal Assistant Secretary, Governor's Secretary's Office; Mr A. G. Langdon, Acting Deputy Commissioner of Police; Snr/Supt. J. R. Middleton, MBE, Special Branch; Mr N. Hernandez, Special Branch; Mr G. A. Smith, Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and Local Government. Apologies for absence were received from Major Davies, Military Intelligence Officer; and Major Preston-Jones, G. S. O. 2, and Jamaica Defence Force.
14. Prior to Jamaica attaining internal self-government in 1959, the Governor of Jamaica chaired the LSIC. Walton notes that Sir Hugh Foot "had become well-versed in MI5's colonial operations while serving as Governor of Jamaica" (*Empire of Secrets: British Intelligence, the Cold War, and the Twilight of Empire*, 2013, 313). According to Walton, Jamaica was one of only three principal MI5 posts in the Americas, the other two being Ottawa and Trinidad.
15. CO 1031/3452 C47 2930, TNA, PRO.
16. Norman Manley, *Jamaica Hansard: Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, Session 1960–61, no 3, speech on Tuesday June 28, 1960, 436–437.

17. Norman Manley, *ibid.*, speech on Thursday July 21, 1960, 519.
18. Ten days (July 5–14, 1960) is the period for carrying out the field-work on the Ras Tafari and writing the report also given by the author of “The Development of Racism in Jamaica,” July 4, 1961, para. 16, CO 1031/3452 C472930.
19. For Robert Hill’s account of Mike Smith’s role in researching and writing the Ras Tafari report consult—<http://anniepaul.net/our-man-in-mona-an-interview-by-robert-a-hill-with-annie-paul/>.
20. The details of the secret Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee are given on page 80 of Hill’s interview as set out in endnote 19.
21. Boanerges, from the Clock Circle area of Trench town, was one of the Ras Tafari concentrated on by Mike Smith. Boanerges (aka Watto or Watts) was a maker of aluminum bowls and leader of the Bonaji.
22. Neither the Bonaji nor the United Rases Organ are mentioned in LSIC Reports for 1960–61.
23. Vincent Harlow to Ambler Thomas, November 10, 1961, CO 1031/ 3996 206774, TNA, PRO.
24. D. Williams to C. G. Clarke, November 15, 1961, CO 1031/ 3996 206774, TNA, PRO.
25. Gov. Sir Kenneth Blackburne to Ambler Thomas, August 21, 1961, CO 1031/ 3452 C472930, TNA, PRO.
26. LSIC Report, March 1960, para. 19, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA PRO.
27. LSIC Report, April 1960, para. 14, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA, PRO.
28. Details of the raid are given in Local Standing Intelligence Committee Report, April 1960, para 15, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA, PRO.
29. LSIC Report, June 1960, para. 19, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA, PRO.
30. LSIC Report, June 1960, paras. 19 and 25, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA, PRO.
31. LSIC Report, June 1960, paras. 15, 22, 23, 26, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA, PRO.
32. Niyabingi in Jamaica meant death to black and white oppressors (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, 1960, 11).
33. This public exchange of views is reported in Nettleford, *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica*, London and Kingston: Collins and Sangster, 1970, 55).
34. The Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee Report was sent as a secret Cabinet Submission by W. M. Seivright, Minister of Home Affairs, March 3, 1961 (IB/31/298—1961), and located by Robert Hill in the Jamaica National Archives. A copy is in my possession. The findings of the Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee seem to have been sent to Seivright as early as July 1960, according to Governor Blackburne, see para. 5 of his report on “The Slum Areas of Kingston” Secret as set out in endnote 35. The Rastafarian report

describes Dr M. G. Smith as “since resigned.” The resignation of Mike Smith, presumably in the aftermath of the Red Hill incident in late June 1960, was probably the reason for the hostility of Monsignor Gladstone Wilson to Smith’s *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*, see endnote 33.

35. Behind this project lay a broader, but secret, plan for urban renewal in Kingston that Premier Manley had asked Governor Blackburne to prepare on “The Slum Areas of Kingston” Secret, which he submitted to the Premier on November 11, 1960. Governor Blackburne had a degree in Geography as well as Modern Languages from Cambridge, and he saw the problem of the Ras Tafari as rooted in poverty, unemployment, poor-quality housing, and squatting. Even so, he argued that “The campaign should be designed to deal with the depressed areas and the people in them as a whole: it should not be designed to deal with the Ras Tafari cult” (2).
36. An account of Smith and Augier’s attempt to facilitate the formation of a representative delegation of Ras Tafarians to meet Premier Manley in mid-August 1960 is contained in M. G. Smith’s “Ras Tafari developments since July 30th” Secret, a document found by Prof. Robert Hill in the Professor Arthur Lewis papers at Princeton University, USA. A copy of this document is in my possession.
37. “The Development of Racism in Jamaica” claimed (para 29) that, in late October 1960, Buchanan had “received the ‘Red Carpet treatment’ during his stay in Havana.” The purpose of his visit had been to present the case of the Ras Tafarians to the Castro government; to familiarize himself with the Cuban Revolution; and to seek financial and other assistance, CO 1031/3452 C472930, TNA, PRO.
38. Buchanan warned Brown of the provisions of the Detention Law in early 1961, LSIC Report, February 1961, para. 20, CO 1031/3708 C410239, TNA, PRO.
39. LSIC Report, April 1961, para. 31, CO 1031/3709 C410239, TNA, PRO.
40. LSIC Report, June 1961, para. 7, CO 1031/3709 C410239, TNA, PRO.
41. The Special Branch, “The Development of Racism in Jamaica,” July 4, 1961, para. 64, CO 1031/3452, TNA, PRO.
42. Norman Washington Manley (1893–1969). Barrister and politician. Educated Jamaica College 1906–12; Rhodes Scholar 1914; Jesus College, Oxford, 1914–21(BA; BCL); officer and winner of Military Medal in First World War; called to the Bar, Gray’s Inn, 1921. Founder and President of the People’s National Party (1938); Member of Parliament from 1949; Chief Minister (1955), Premier of Jamaica and Minister of Development (1959) (Neita [ed.] *Who’s Who Jamaica 1960*, 323). Leader of the PNP opposition before and after independence in 1962.

43. LSIC Report, November 1961, para. 39, CO 1031/3709 C410239, TNA, PRO.
44. Special Branch, “The Development of Racism in Jamaica.” LSIC Report, July 4, 1961, para. 67, CO 1031/3452, TNA, PRO.

1 Jamaica: A British Colony on the Eve of Independence

1. Cockpits are large solution holes in tropical limestone, and are separated by up-standing conical hills. The two features together make for a distinctive and impenetrable landscape.
2. The Palisadoes Airport was later renamed the Norman Manley International Airport.
3. University College of the West Indies was founded in 1948 as an affiliate of London University, UK.
4. The Cuban Revolution, based on a rural guerrilla campaign, ended in victory for the insurgents in early January 1959. Fidel Castro’s government was regarded by the United States from the outset as a left-wing, anticapitalist, anti-American, and illegitimate (nondemocratic) regime—a view widely shared by the Jamaican upper and middle classes.
5. The “coup” was not Ras Tafari-led, nor did it necessarily have Jamaica as its goal. The outbreak of violence was led by Ronald (aka Reynold) Henry with the support of several black US citizens with military training. However, it did involve some local members of the Ras Tafari movement (followers of Revd Henry, Ronald’s father), three of whom were assassinated by the Americans.
6. Paul Paget was my doctoral supervisor at Oxford. He had spent time in Jamaica with the British army at the end of the Second World War, and had made a research visit to the Caribbean in 1959, when he established a number of contacts that were valuable to me in setting up my research. It was Dr Dudley Huggins’s offer to Paul to have an Oxford geography graduate attached to the ISER at the UCWI that clinched my going to Jamaica—there being no Geography Department on campus at that time.
7. Sir Alexander Bustamante (1884–1977). Politician, planter, pen-keeper, and trade unionist. Member of Parliament 1944 onward; Chief Minister (1953–55); leader of the opposition in parliament (1955–62); leader of the Jamaica Labour Party, and head of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union [Clifton Neita (ed.) *Who’s Who Jamaica 1960* (Kingston: Who’s Who (Jamaica) Ltd., 1960), 91–92]. In independence prime minister (1962–67).
8. A follower of Ras Tafari, or Haile Selassie—his princely title was Ras Tafari before he became Emperor of Ethiopia. Haile Selassie is believed by his Jamaican followers to be the incarnation of God.

9. The Parade, or main square, in Kingston had been used as a parade ground by the British military in the eighteenth century.
10. Chinese coloreds are also known as Afro-Chinese.
11. A pseudonym.
12. J. Glaisyer, T. Brennan, W. Richie, and P. Sargent Florence (eds.), *County Town: A Civic Survey for the Planning of Worcester* (London: J. Murray, 1946).
13. Charles Matley, *The Geology and Physiography of the Kingston District, Jamaica* (Jamaica: Government Printing Office, 1951).
14. Gillian was my fiancée, and is now my wife.
15. The ISER did accept my research proposal and awarded me a small grant monthly, which made me eligible for membership of the SCR and paid for my car hire.
16. Edith Clarke, *My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of the Family in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957).
17. The phrase in Standard English is “a needle in a haystack.”
18. Presumably to accompany the work on neighborhood rehabilitation recommended by the secret RasTafari Rehabilitation Committee, see Introduction, endnotes 34 and 35, and the report on the Ras Tafari Movement by Smith, Augier, and Nettleford of July 1961.
19. George Roberts, *The Population of Jamaica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).
20. Donald Owen Mills (b. Mandeville, 1921). Educated Elem. School Chapleton; Jamaica College (1932–39); London University (1947–50); religion, Anglican. Joined Civil Service (Treasury) 1941; statistician, Central Bureau of Statistics (1950–53); senior statistician (1953–57); Principal assistant secretary, Central Planning Unit, 1957 onward. In Jamaica’s independence he was director of the Central Planning Unit (1962–68), and ambassador and permanent representative of Jamaica to the United Nations (1973–81). Awarded the Order of Jamaica in 1979 [Roy Dickson, *The Jamaica Directory of Personalities 1985–87* (Kingston: Gleaner Company, 1987), 259–260].
21. Raphael Swaby (b. Manchester, Ja., 1918). Educated Calabar High School (1928–33); certified accountant, 1941; Diploma Public Administration (London), 1945; M. P. A. Harvard, 1957; religion, Moravian. Clerk Department of Income Tax and Stamp duties (1946–48); bursar, University College of the West Indies (1948–56); principal assistant secretary, Central Planning Unit, 1956 onward (Neita, *Who’s Who Jamaica 1960*, 464).
22. M. G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford, *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica* (Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, 1960).
23. Family land was land acquired by black peasants in the immediate post-slavery period (after 1838), and passed on down the family

- line without legal inheritance or subdivision. All descendants of the original occupant(s) have rights of usufruct, and some may establish house spots.
24. Pork knocking means mineral prospecting.
 25. A pseudonym.
 26. This University of London doctorate was published as W. F. Maunder, *Employment in an Underdeveloped Area* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1960).
 27. Walt Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).
 28. Edward (Eddie) Seaga (b. Boston, USA, 1930) Manufacturer and Legislator. Educated Wolmer's School (1941–48) and Harvard University (1948–52); religion Anglican. Managing director of West Indies Records Ltd; member of the Legislative Council 1959–62, and in 1962 elected member of the House of Representatives; minister with various portfolios (Social Welfare 1962–67 and Finance and Development 1967–72), Leader of the Opposition, and Prime Minister of Jamaica 1980–89 [Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 429; Edward Seaga, *Edward Seaga: My Life and Leadership, 1930–1980* (Oxford: Macmillan, 2010)].
 29. John Vickers, a Jamaican-born, left-wing agitator, and agent of the PFM, who was an associate (and later husband) of Katrin Norris.
 30. Katrin Norris (b. Germany 1936 as Katrin Thiele). In 1946 she went to England with her English-born mother, and adopted her grandmother's English surname, Norris. She graduated with an Oxford BA degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics, having been a student at St. Anne's College (1955–58) [Katrin Fitzherbert, *True to Both My Selves* (London: Virago, 1998)]. In 1960 she visited the United States and Cuba, where she met John Vickers and traveled with him to Jamaica. She was employed as a reporter on the *Daily Gleaner*, and mixed in left-wing circles while in Jamaica in 1960–61, including the PFM, and was threatened with expulsion from Jamaica for possessing banned literature (*World Student News*). She married John Vickers in April 1961, LSIC Report April 1961, para. 9, CO 1031/3709, C410239. Norris returned to the United Kingdom and published *Jamaica: The Search for an Identity* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). Her activities and those of John Vickers in Jamaica in 1960–61 are detailed in the LSIC Reports, CO1031/3708 and 9, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 31. A pseudonym.
 32. William Murray (b. 1926). Clergyman. Educated Rusea's High School, Lucea, and Columbia University, New York; religion, Anglican. Chaplain, University College of the West Indies and University College Hospital (1954–61). Later Bishop of Mandeville (1976) (Dickson, *The Jamaican Directory of Personalities*, 271).

33. Fernando Henriques, *Family and Colour in Jamaica* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953).
34. Sir Robert Kirkwood (b. England 1904). Business executive and legislator. Educated Harrow School, UK. Chairman, Sugar Manufacturers' Association, Jamaica; Director, BWI Sugar Association; Member Legislative Co. 1942 onward (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 287).

2 Kingston and Rural Jamaica

1. The survey concentrated on areas south of the Half Way Tree Road and in East Kingston (R. A. Swaby "Report on housing conditions in middle-income areas in Kingston and St Andrew," *mimeo*, 1951).
2. Alexander Bedward (1859–1930), was the folk hero and messianic cult leader of a movement (Bedwardism) that in the early 1900s centered on the Jamaica Native Baptist Free Church in August Town (now in northeast Kingston) on the banks of the Hope River. In 1920 Bedward announced that he would ascend to Heaven on December 31, 1920 and descend to earth on January 3, 1921. Later in 1921, when neither event had taken place, Bedward was committed by the colonial authorities to the Belvue Asylum where he later died (Olive Senior, *Encyclopedia of Jamaican Heritage* [St Andrew. Jamaica: Twin Guinep Publishers, 2003], 54–55).
3. M. G. (Mike) Smith (1921–93) was, at the time of our meeting, Senior Lecturer in Sociology at UCWI. A protégé of the Manley family while he was still a schoolboy at Jamaica College, he won the Jamaica Island Scholarship in 1939, attended McGill University, Canada, and then joined the Canadian Army, in which he served in Europe during the Second World War. Graduating with a BA from University College, London in 1948, he carried out fieldwork for his doctorate in Social Anthropology in Northern Nigeria, submitting his thesis in 1951. From 1952 to 1960 he was a research fellow and then senior research fellow at the ISER at UCWI, leaving in 1961 for a professorship in Anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles. The author of numerous books and articles on social theory—especially on pluralism and the plural society, Africa and the Caribbean, he was subsequently Professor of Anthropology and Head of Department at University College, London (1969–75), and Professor of Anthropology at Yale University (1978–86). From 1972 to 1977 he was special advisor to the prime minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley. See Douglas Hall, *A Man Divided: Michael Garfield Smith: Jamaican Poet and Anthropologist, 1921–1993* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1997).
4. M. G. Smith, *A Framework for Caribbean Studies* (1955). Kingston, Jamaica: Extra-Mural Department, University College of the West Indies.

5. This is the group (Operation Friendship) empowered to carry through the recommendations of the Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee, of which Mike Smith was sometime vice-chairman, with funds voted by the Cabinet in March 1961 (see Introduction endnotes 33 and 34). None of this was mentioned to me by Mike, other than his membership of the Rehabilitation of Ras Tafarians Committee, which cropped up in our conversation months later in August.
6. M. G. Smith, *West Indian Family Structure* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962)—see Chapter 6 on Kingston (163–197).
7. These locations coincide closely with my map of the distribution of members of the cult of Ras Tafari based on the 1960 census (Colin G. Clarke, *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and social Change, 1692–1962* [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1975], Fig. 89, 243).
8. The last possibility is, of course, the one that happened.
9. The PPP brought together the following organizations: Universal Negro Improvement Association, Jamaica United Party, Ethiopian World Federation Incorporated (Guntley faction), and the Black Man Political Party. The LSIC Report for April 1961, para 2, comments that “The majority of the racist groups now have local communist links,” while para 6 notes that the Richard Hart faction of the PFM “would not officially affiliate with Millard Johnson’s PPP. Members were, however, free to assist Johnson in building up the party,” CO 1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO. In May the Munro faction of the PFM also agreed to support the racialist policy of the PPP clandestinely, and to allow its members to do likewise, LSIC Report May 1961, para 7, CO 1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
10. Horace Gordon was, according to Rex Nettleford, “instrumental in setting up the administrative framework for the University study in 1960,” *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race and Protest in Jamaica* (London and Kingston: Collins and Sangster, 1970), 49. That Gordon worked for the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission further suggests the hidden hand of the Manley government in the commissioning of the Ras Tafari Report.
11. The Yallahs Valley appears as sample area F in David Edwards, *An Economic Study of Small Farming in Jamaica* (Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, 1961).
12. “Partners” is a system of communal working, whereby each participant in the group takes it in turn to till his land with the help of the others; “day-for-day” involves a peasant borrowing the labor of a neighbor and then returning it on a reciprocal basis (M. G. Smith, *A Report on Labour Supply in Rural Jamaica* [Kingston: Government Printer, 1956]).
13. Herbert. G. Sinclair was a communist agitator, associated with the setting of cane fires in Vere. He won a local government election in

Clarendon in 1956, as recalled by Richard Hart (Trevor Munroe, *Jamaican Politics: A Marxist Perspective in Transition* [Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann, 1990], 150–151), and was still participating successfully in Parish Council elections as a PFM candidate in the Vere area of Clarendon in the early 1960s—see, for example, LSIC Report January 1960, para 7, CO 1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. In February 1961 Sinclair became acting-chairman of the PFM, presumably because of the poor health of its Chairman, Ferdinand Smith, LSIC Report February 1961, para 21, CO 1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.

14. Vic Reid (b. 1913). Journalist and author. Educated Kingston Technical School; religion, Christian. Reporter, *Daily Gleaner*, 1946–53; editor, *Public Opinion*, 1954–57; editor in chief, *Spotlight Magazine* since 1960. Author of the novels *New Day*, 1948; and *The Leopard*, 1958 (Clifton Neita [ed.] *Who's Who Jamaica 1960* [Kingston: Who's Who (Jamaica) Ltd., 1960], 402). The settlement at Sheshemani is discussed in the *Report of Mission to Africa*, 1961, 5.
15. The PFM was founded in 1954, after the expulsion of the left wing from the PNP in 1952. According to Richard Hart, “We looked on ourselves at that time not as a party, but as a sort of political pressure group” (Munroe, *Jamaican Politics*, 150).
16. Census data for 1960 show that 50 percent of Kingston’s residents were migrants from other areas of Jamaica.
17. A pseudonym.
18. Capt. Arthur Thelwell, CBE, JP (b. 1889). Agriculturalist and sportsman; Commissioner of Lands (1947–50); Chairman Christiana Land authority (1954 onward). Formerly Member of the Legislative Co. Saw active service in First World War in France and Italy (Neita, 473).
19. A pseudonym.
20. A balm yard is a center for herbal medicine, and is used when it is believed that an illness has a spiritual cause. Some balmists specialize in removing evil spells identified with obeah or black magic (Senior, *Encyclopedia of Jamaican Heritage*, 35–36).
21. Presumably agents of the Jamaica Special Branch.
22. Donald Q. Innis, “The Efficiency of Jamaican Peasant Land Use,” *Canadian Geographer*, 5, 1961, 19–23.
23. Owned by Canadians, the blanket factory was operating under the Export Industry Incentive Law, which required that it did *not* manufacture for the local market.

3 The Ras Tafari Movement, Marxism, and Race

1. A pseudonym.
2. The TUC was the original union affiliated to the PNP. After the purging of the left wing of the party (the 4 Hs—Richard Hart, Ken

- Hill, Frank Hill, and Arthur Henry) in 1952, the TUC, which was thought to be under their influence, was dropped, and a new labor organization, the National Workers Union (NWU), was created by the PNP under the leadership of Michael Manley, Norman Manley's younger son (Richard Hart, *Time for a Change: Constitutional, Political and Labour Developments in Jamaica and other Colonies in the Caribbean Region, 1944–1955* [Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak Publications, 2004]).
3. Richard Hart (1917–2013). Solicitor, trade unionist, and politician. Founder-member and advisor to the People's Freedom Movement, 1954–62, a Marxist political grouping [Trevor Munro, *Jamaican Politics: A Marxist Perspective in Transition* (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann, 1990)]. Hart's role in left-wing political manœuvrings in 1961 is detailed in the monthly LSIC reports, CO1031/3708 and 9, C410239, TNA, PRO. In 1963 Hart left Jamaica for British Guiana, where he edited Cheddi Jagan's Peoples Political Party newspaper, the *Mirror*; in 1965 he moved to the United Kingdom, where he worked as a lawyer in local government for Surrey County Council; from 1982 to 1983 he was Attorney General in the People's Revolutionary Government in Grenada. After his return to the United Kingdom, he continued to publish a range of books dealing with the social and political history of labor in Jamaica and the Caribbean, often drawing on his own immaculately preserved archive of documents.
 4. Ken Hill (b. 1909). Journalist, trades unionist, and politician. Educated St George's College. Editorial staff *Daily Gleaner*, 1928–39; PNP Member House of Representatives, Western Kingston, 1949–54; President TUC, Jamaica, 1947–55; second Vice-President PNP, resigned 1952, and expelled (with Richard Hart) from the PNP as a left-winger; Mayor of Kingston and St Andrew, 1951–52; Democratic Labour Party rep, Federal House of Reps. 1958–62 (Clifton Neita [ed.] *Who's Who Jamaica 1960* [Kingston: Who's Who (Jamaica) Ltd., 1960], 245; Munro, *Jamaican Politics*).
 5. Frank Hill, brother of Ken and a former left-wing political activist associated with Richard Hart, was expelled from the People's National Party for alleged communist sympathies in 1952 (Munro, *Jamaican Politics*).
 6. African here probably means black Jamaican; in the 1960 Jamaica Census the terms African and Afro-European were used for black and coloured.
 7. Millard Johnson (born Jamaica 1917) Barrister and leader/re-founder of the PPP (originally founded by Marcus Garvey in 1929). Quotation in LSIC Report, February 1961, para. 15, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 8. LSIC Report for October, 1960, paras 40 and 41, quotation in 41, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.

9. Followers of Marcus Garvey (1887–1940). See Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* (New York: Macmillan, 1963); Colin Grant, *Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (London: Vintage Books, 2009).
10. Charles Dunkley, leader of one of the factions of the EWFI.
11. Mortimer Planner (aka Mortimo Planno) Ras Tafarian and leader of the EWFI. Quotation in LSIC Report, February 1961, para 19, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
12. LSIC Report, February 1961, paras 13 and 16, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
13. Burra drums were originally played at secular dances in Jamaica, and were used to welcome prisoners back to their communities on their release. The Ras Tafari renamed the burra drums akete drums, and they replaced the burra dance by the Niyabingi (death to the whites) dance (M. G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford, *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*, [Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, 1960], 18).
14. LSIC Report, July 1961, para. 42, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
15. The estimates advanced in “The Development of Racism in Jamaica,” 1961, are located in para. 10, CO 1031/3452 C472930, TNA, PRO; para. 20 discusses the absence of a state of unrest among the Rastas prior to the Ras Tafari Report; and para 21 attributes the revival of Ras Tafari fortunes to the report itself.
16. The Jamaica Special Branch’s estimate of the PPP’s strength in Jamaica was 6,000–7,000 people, LSIC Report, July 1961, para. 36, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
17. A pseudonym.
18. E. B. Castle, *Ancient Education and Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961).
19. The material relating to Vickers and Norris appear in the LSIC Report, April 1961, para. 27, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
20. Ganja or cannabis is regarded by the Ras Tafari as a sacred weed, though it is an illegal substance in Jamaica. Ganja was introduced by East Indian indentured laborers in the nineteenth century.
21. Peaka peow is a lottery game, and illegal in Jamaica. It was introduced by Chinese immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
22. LSIC Report, July 1961, para 8, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
23. For Sam Brown’s beliefs, see “The Creed of a Ras Tafari Man” in Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, *The Ras Tafari Movement*, 1960, 48–54, often attributed to him. Also Donald Hogg’s “Sam Brown’s Treatise on the Rastafari Movement,” *Caribbean Studies*, vol. 6, 3, October 1966, 37–40.

24. LSIC Report for April 1961, para 24, CO1031/3709 C410239, TNA, PRO.
25. Professor Frederic Cassidy was in Jamaica for the launch of his book, *Jamaica Talk: Three Hundred Years of the English Language in Jamaica* (London: Macmillan and Kingston, Jamaica: The Institute of Jamaica, 1961).
26. LSIC Report, June 1961, para 7, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
27. George Minott (b. 1908). Businessman and local government official. Educated elementary schools and St John's College; religion, Anglican (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica*, 341). Minott's affiliations and activities in 1959–62 are set forth in the LSIC reports, CO1031/3708, 9 and 10, C410239, TNA, PRO.
28. A copy of Mike Smith's letters to the Lowenthals, requested by Robert Hill, is in my possession. The composition of the Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee is given in Seivright to the Cabinet, IB/31/298—1961 supplied to me from the Jamaica Archives by Professor Robert Hill. A copy is in my possession. The report was sent to Minister Seivright in July 1960, according to Governor Blackburne, see endnote 67 below.
29. B. L. St J. Hamilton (b. 1914). BA London University; English Master, Jamaica College (1941–44); English Master, Kingston College, 1951; Principal Education Officer, 1956; Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs (acting as Permanent Secretary in 1960) (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 221).
30. The information about Joseph O'Sullivan appears in LSIC Report, June 1960, para 31, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. The exclusion order against O'Sullivan is given in LSIC Report, July 1960, para 24, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. The undated transcript of the meeting between Home Minister Seivright, Acting Permanent Secretary Hamilton, Joseph O'Sullivan (invited by Mr Dabney), Lloyd Aarons, and Mr Dabney, and the letter on University College of the West Indies notepaper from Nettleford to Principal Lewis on June 25, 1960 were found by Professor Robert Hill among Professor Lewis's papers at Princeton. A copy of each document is in my possession.
31. LSIC Report, March 1960, para 23, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
32. Dr M. B. Douglas, dental practitioner in Government Service. Born Spanish Town, 1917. Educated Kingston College, 1933–36; Tennessee State College, USA, 1945–47; Edinburgh University, 1947–52 (LDS and RCS); religion Anglican (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 153–155).
33. Alfonso Herrera.
34. M. G. Smith's "Secret" report was written for Premier Manley (copied to Principal Lewis), before Manley met the Ras Tafari delegation

- to discuss the Mission to Africa with them on August 17, 1960. It was located by Robert Hill in the Arthur Lewis papers at Princeton University, and a copy is in my possession.
35. George E. Simpson, "Political Cultism in West Kingston, Jamaica," *Social and Economic Studies*, 4, 2, 1955, 133–149.
 36. Mike Smith's (1960) "Ras Tafari Developments since 30th July" Secret, 23.
 37. Local 37 of the EWFI.
 38. LSIC Report, June 1961, paras 14 and 15, quotation in para 15, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 39. C. L. R. James (b. Trinidad 1901). Teacher, journalist, author, and lecturer. Educated Queen's Royal College, Port of Spain, and Government Training College for Teachers. Between 1932 and 1958, freelance journalist and lecturer in England and the United States; author of *Black Jacobins*, 1938 and *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways*, 1953 (Carlton Comma [ed.] *Who's Who in Trinidad and Tobago 1966* [Port of Spain: Caribbean Printers, 1966], 133–134).
 40. "Race and Politics in Jamaica," 1961 and "Politics and Society" 1957 were both unpublished, and were given to me to read and note by Mike Smith in 1961. Both papers were specifically written for the Peoples National Party, and copies were sent to me by Robert Hill in 2011. However, large parts of the 1957 paper were embedded in Smith's "The Plural Framework of Jamaican Society," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 12, 3, 1961, 249–262.
 41. LSIC Report, May 1962, FCO 141/5432, TNA, PRO.
 42. I think this may be a reference to the Munro and Hart factions of the PFM, and the hostility of Munro to the Rastas. Ferdinand Smith, too, was hostile to them.
 43. Buchanan's contact with Brown appears in LSIC Report, November 1960, para 34, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. Brown's various activities in January 1961 are detailed in LSIC Report, January 1961, para 20, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. Buchanan's intentions are summarized in para 6 of the January document. This statement of far-left plans is very close to what Mike Smith has told me earlier in this passage.
 44. Despatch No. 330, May 12, 1960, in US National Archives, Maryland, supplied by Professor Robert Hill. A copy is in my possession.
 45. Manley may possibly have used the term "bring out the troops" metaphorically, to mean stepping up the pressure on the disaffected.
 46. Robert Lightbourne (b. 1909). Son of a planter and politician; educated Jamaica College and in England. JLP Member of the House of Representatives for Western St Thomas (Neita ed. 1960, 305). The unconfirmed report pointing to an eventual Jamaican Revolution is given in "The Development of Racism in Jamaica," July 4, 1961,

- para 80, CO1031/3452, C472930, TNA, PRO, which also includes information about Johnson's resignation from the JLP—para 58.
47. James Leyburn, *The Haitian People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1941), 288.
 48. LSIC Report, January 1961, para 18, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 49. The Special Branch mentions the meeting in Savannah la Mar, but gives no crowd figures, LSIC Report, July 1961, para 32, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 50. Michael Manley (1924–97) Trade unionist (leader of National Workers Union 1952–72) and politician, and younger son of Norman and Edna Manley. Educated Jamaica College (1935–43); LSE, London (1946–50). Pilot Officer Royal Canadian Air Force (1943–45) (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 261).
 51. Wills Isaacs (b. 1902). Businessman and politician. Education elementary school and private tuition; religion Roman Catholic. First Vice-President of the PNP (1941–), Acting-Mayor of Kingston (1951), Minister of Trade and Industry (1955–) (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 323).
 52. William Seivright (b. 1901). Businessman and politician. Educated Wolmer's School (1912–17); religion Anglican. Third Vice-President of PNP, Member of House of Representatives, Western St Andrew (1956–), Minister of Agriculture and Lands (1956–9), Minister of Home Affairs (1959–62) (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 430).
 53. Dudley Thompson (b. 1917). Barrister and politician—in wartime, Flt. Lieut. RAF Bomber Command (1940–47). Educated Mico College (1935–7); Rhodes Scholar to Merton College, Oxford (1948–50); called to the bar, Gray's Inn 1950, and practiced as a barrister in East Africa (1950–55); religion Roman Catholic (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 474).
 54. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenyan leader, defended by Dudley Thompson, but imprisoned for allegedly managing Mau Mau. President of Kenya, 1963.
 55. The reference to Stanley Grant and his January address is given in LSIC Report, January 1961, para 23, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. Grant's outing as a spy by Sam Brown is reported in LSIC Report, July 1961, para 42, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 56. Joseph Nathaniel Hibbert (b. 1894). One of the three original Jamaican preachers of the divinity of Ras Tafari (Haile Selassie), the others being Leonard Howell and Archibald Dunkley. Hibbert had lived in Costa Rica between 1911 and 1931, and in 1924 had joined the ancient Mystic Order of Ethiopia. After his return to Jamaica, he began to preach that Haile Selassie was the King

- of Kings, the returned Messiah and Redeemer of Israel (Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, *The Ras Tafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*, 1960, 9).
57. Presumably Mortimer Planner.
 58. Hugh Buchanan (b. 1904). His organization of a communist faction within the PPP is described in LSIC Report, July 1961, para 37, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO. Buchanan's informing on Grant to Brown is detailed in the same report para. 42.
 59. "Mr Ashenheim"—*Who's Who Jamaica, 1960* lists six Mr Ashenheims, all of whom were members of Liguanea Club. They were all Jewish, and Liguanea was known as the Jews' club.
 60. Robert Hill supports the Rasta queen's view that Garvey was not a recognized precursor of Ras Tafari, and argues that it was the erroneous assumption of the Report on the Ras Tafari Movement "that it was Garvey who provided the originating impulse of the Rastafari millenarian vision..." (Robert Hill, *Dread History: Leonard P. Howell, and Millenarian Visions in the Early Rastafarian Religion* [Jamaica: Miguel Lorne Publishers, 2001], 14).
 61. Peter Evans, British barrister and *Daily Gleaner* columnist writing as Matthew Strong. Evans's activities in Africa are given in LSIC Report, September 1960, para. 34, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. His association with Hart is reported in LSIC Report, August 1961, para. 25, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO. An account of his being sentenced to nine months' imprisonment at hard labor appears in LSIC Report, January 1962, paras 27 and 28, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 62. Note, we are in Jones Town, where O'Sullivan was in contact with the United Rases Organ.
 63. Mayer Matalon (b. 1922). Business executive and company director; chairman West Indies Home Contractors. Educated Jamaica College (1931–38); religion Jewish (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 331).
 64. A pseudonym.
 65. O. T. Fairclough (b. 1904). Cofounder and editor of *Public Opinion* (weekly) 1937. Treasurer PNP (1944–) (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 171).
 66. Mrs Marion Ballysingh, MBE, Justice of the Peace, BA Born New Jersey, US. Executive Secretary, Council of Voluntary Social Services. (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 47).
 67. For details of Seivright's submission to the Cabinet see endnote 26 this chapter. See also "The Slum Areas of Kingston" Secret, sent to the Premier, N. W. Manley by Governor Blackburne, November 11, 1960. Report located by Professor Robert Hill in the Jamaica National Archive. A copy is in my possession.

68. Eugene Parkinson (b. 1905). Barrister and politician. Educated St George's College (1922–24) and privately; religion Anglican. Chemist and druggist, Annotto Bay (1927–43); called to the Bar, Inner Temple, London, 1946 (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 384).
69. *Report of Mission to Africa* (Kingston: Government Printer, 1961), 3.
70. *Report of Mission to Africa*, 22.
71. David Lowenthal (ed.) *The West Indies Federation: Perspectives on a New Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).
72. LSIC Report, July 1961, para. 5, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
73. A map of unimproved land values in Kingston, compiled from Mr Jacques's data, is found in Colin G. Clarke, *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change 1692–1962* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1975) at Figure 44, 198.
74. Amy Jacques Garvey (b. 1896), second wife and collaborator of Marcus Garvey. Educated Wolmer's Girls School. Author of *Garvey and Garveyism*, 1963; see also Grant, *Negro with a Hat*, 2009.
75. Drumblair was the home of Norman and Edna Manley; its name is commemorated in the title of a memoir written by their granddaughter, Rachel (Rachel Manley, *Drumblair: Memories of a Jamaican Childhood* [Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1996]).
76. Abe Issa (b. 1905). Business executive and legislator. Educated St George's College and Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass, US; religion Roman Catholic. Member of Legislative Council (1958–); Chair Jamaica Tourist Board (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 261–263).
77. Percy Junor (b. 1882). Businessman (produce dealer), financier, and planter. Educated Mandeville Government School; religion Presbyterian. (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 278).
78. Douglas Judah (b. 1906). Solicitor, legislator, and company director. Educated St George's College; religion Roman Catholic. Admitted solicitor 1929. Member of the Jamaica Legislative Council (1942–58); West Indies Federal Senator (1958–62) (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 277).

4 Race, Class, and the Referendum

1. Hart's suspicion that Lawrence was a turncoat and an agent of the Special Branch is recorded in LSIC Report, May 1960, para 11, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO. Lawrence's various political connections in 1959–62 are given in the LSIC Reports, CO1031/3708 and 9, C410239, TNA, PRO.

2. Sydney O. Guntley Leader of the All Jamaica Tenants League, and Executive Member of the CAWIA, LSIC Report, February 1961, para 9, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
3. Dr M. B. Douglas. A representative of the Afro-Caribbean League on the unofficial Back-to-Africa Mission, sent by the Jamaican Government in 1961 (*Report of the Mission to Africa*, 1961). His activities and affiliates in 1959–62 are given in the monthly LSIC Reports CO1031/3708 and 9, C410239, TNA, PRO.
4. Mau Mau was a militant African nationalist movement that originated among the Kikuyu in Kenya and advocated violent resistance to British colonialism. In 1950 Mau Mau was banned by the British, and in 1952 a state of emergency was declared. By the end of 1956 more than 11,000 rebels had been killed, as well as 100 Europeans and 2,000 Africans loyal to the British.
5. Patrice Lumumba was leader of the Republic of the Congo at independence in 1960, but was assassinated in January 1961, shortly before this fieldwork began.
6. Ghana was the first African country to become independent in 1957.
7. Haiti has special significance in the Caribbean, because it was the only country to become independent (in 1804) as a result of a slave uprising against the white master class/imperial regime—which was French.
8. The Jamaican word for dunghill.
9. Archie McNair (b. 1911). Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Social Welfare. Educated Barrow-in-Furness Grammar School, UK; Didsbury College, Manchester University; religion Methodist. [Clifton Neita (ed.), *Who's Who in Jamaica 1960* (Kingston: Who's Who (Jamaica) Ltd., 1960), 371]. A member of the secret Rehabilitation of Rastafarians Committee.
10. Hopeton Caven, TUC leader in 1960s.
11. An incorrect interpretation by me, in the light of Buchanan's clandestine manœuvrings to oust Johnson from the leadership of the PPP.
12. LSIC Report, August 1961, paras. 5 and 8, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
13. LSIC Report, February 1961, para. 2, CO1031/3708, C410239, TNA, PRO.
14. The consuls of Haiti and Cuba in Jamaica were closely associated and were in contact with Katrin Norris, Hugh Buchanan, and Richard Hart, as the Special Branch noted, LSIC Report, April 1961, paras. 15 and 16, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
15. John Vickers left Jamaica for the United Kingdom on August 3 in search of employment, since his association with the PFM made finding work in Jamaica difficult, LSIC Report, August 1961, para. 18, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO. Katrin Vickers departed from

- Jamaica to join her husband in the United Kingdom on September 27. “During her stay in Jamaica Mrs Vickers was closely associated with leading PFM members, members of the Rastafarian cult and other security subjects, including Alfonso Herrera, the Cuban Consul,” LSIC Report, September 1961, paras. 17 and 18, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
16. See memo of meetings of the LSIC on July 14 and 20, and August 9, 1961, item (l) attached to “The Development of Racism in Jamaica,” July 4, 1961, CO1031/3452, C472930, TNA, PRO.
 17. Sam Brown’s attack on Stanley Grant appears in LSIC Report, July 1961, para. 42, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO. The remainder of the hostility toward Grant detailed here is located in LSIC Report, August 1961, paras. 21 (for Winston Munro) and (for others) 47, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 18. “Sam Brown continued his open support for Johnson though secretly agreeing with H. C. Buchanan’s criticisms throughout the month,” claimed the Special Branch, LSIC Report, August 1961, para. 46, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 19. The Hon. Egerton Richardson, CMG. (1960). Born St Catherine, 1912. Education, Calabar High School. Financial Secretary since 1956. Member of Privy Council, Director, Bank of Jamaica. Entered Government Service, Police department, 1933; Principal Assistant Secretary, Agri, 1951–53; Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Lands 1953–54; Under Secretary, Finance 1954–56; on secondment Colonial Office, London, 1953–55; religion, Christian Brethren (Neita, *Who’s Who Jamaica 1960*, 405).
 20. The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was founded by Marcus Garvey in Jamaica in 1914. Garvey arrived in the United States in 1916, and established the first branch of the UNIA in 1917. By 1919 the UNIA had 30 branches and over two million members (Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism* [New York: Macmillan, 1963]).
 21. For the anti-Federation alliance see LSIC Report, August 1961, para. 44, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 22. Leonard Howell, see Robert Hill, *Dread History: Leonard P. Howell and Millenarian Visions in the Early Rastafarian Religion* (Jamaica: Miguel Lorne Publishers, 2001).
 23. A pseudonym.
 24. Cuban refugees in Jamaica numbered 1,251, LSIC Report, August 1961, para. 3, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
 25. Frank Worrell (1924–67). Business manager (in Jamaica) and sportsman. Educated elementary school Barbados and Manchester University, BA. Test cricketer; first black cricketer to captain the West Indies for an entire series (Neita, *Who’s Who Jamaica 1960*, 517).

26. Revd Hugh Sherlock (b. 1905) OBE, JP Methodist Minister of Religion; Chairman Ja. District Methodist Church. Educated Calabar High School and Caenwood Theological College. Founder and Director, Boy's Town, Kingston, and Neighbourhood Club Ebenezer (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 435).
27. Edith Clarke OBE Voluntary social worker. Educated Abbey School, Malvern, UK; London School of Economics (Diploma in Social Anthropology); religion, Anglican. Secretary Board of Supervision Poor Relief (1936–48). Member Legislative Council (1956–59). Author of *My Mother Who Fathered Me*, 1957 (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 118).
28. The Hon. Eric Pengelley (b. 1893) JP, Custos Rotulorum for St Thomas. Planter. Education by private tuition and Denstone College, UK (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 389).
29. LSIC Report, September 1961, paras. 44 and 47, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.
30. Noel Holtz (b. 1903). Business executive and former Government Officer (Under Secretary, Ministry of Finance, 1956–58). Educated elementary school and Wolmer's School; religion, Anglican (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 249–251).

5 Sovereign Jamaica: Post-Colonialism as Neocolonialism

1. With Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago's independence in 1962, the University of the West Indies became free of the "colonial" link to London University, which had previously incorporated it as a University College.
2. Riverton City is located to the south of the Spanish Town Road, close to the junction with the Washington Boulevard. It failed to take off as a middle-income housing scheme because of its location in West Kingston, and was soon invaded by squatters displaced during the 1960s.
3. The latent centrifugality of the PPP was triggered on November 4, 1961, when a "trial" took place at PPP headquarters, 165 Spanish Town Road, resulting in the expulsion of Sam Brown, Hugh Buchanan, S. O. Guntley, and Herbert Whittle. "Following this incident several threats of violence were made against Johnson by Brown and Buchanan. Johnson appealed for police protection. At the end of the month Johnson, possibly partly as a result of his split with Buchanan and Brown, instructed his executive to be cautious in developing arguments on racism and communism during public speeches," LSIC Report, November 1961, para. 39, CO1031/3709, C410239, TNA, PRO.

4. The General Election result in 1962 confirmed the hegemony of the two main political parties, the JLP (50.04% of the vote) and the PNP (48.59%), and the marginalization of the PPP (0.86%) and the Independent candidates (0.51%). Although there were less than two percentage points between the results of the JLP and the PNP, the JLP secured 26 seats to the PNP's 19, and formed the government with a comfortable majority (Trevor Munroe and Arnold Bertram, *Adult Suffrage and Political Administrations in Jamaica, 1944–2002* [Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2006], 276).
5. Walter Rodney (1942–80). Historian and University Lecturer, born in British Guiana and educated at the then University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Rodney rose rapidly to prominence in Jamaica when he was refused reentry to the country in October 1968, having attended a black writers' conference in Toronto, Canada. The Jamaican government banned him on the grounds that he was an undesirable alien, although he was Guyanese and teaching African History at the regional university, UWI, in Kingston. UWI student protests culminated in black power disturbances in Kingston, which also sucked in the black urban poor. The aims of black power were anathema to the Jamaican government of the day: although they were consistent with my own view of Jamaica's social problems, I would not have countenanced violence as a solution. Rodney was assassinated by a bomb explosion in Guyana in 1980; it is thought likely that his killers were agents of the Burnham government.
6. A pseudonym.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Colin Clarke (1966) "Problemas de Planeación Urbana en Kingston, Jamaica," *La Geografía y Los Problemas de Población* (Unión Geográfica Internacional, Conferencia Regional Latinoamericana, Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística). México D. F.: Tomo 1, pp. 411–431.
9. Owen and Minki Jefferson: Owen Jefferson had been a friend of mine at Jesus College, Oxford, where we were both doctoral candidates in the early 1960s. By 1967 he was a Lecturer in the Economics Department at UWI, and his wife Minki, from Trinidad, was on the staff of the University Library. Later Owen Jefferson became a senior lecturer in Economics (1972) before joining the Jamaica Civil Service, where he rose to be Senior Deputy-Governor, Bank of Jamaica, 1985–95. He was appointed to the Order of Jamaica, 2001 (Selecto, *Directory of Jamaican Personalities 2004–2005* (Kingston: Selecto Publications, 2004), 255). Minki Jefferson remained at the University Library until her retirement, rising to become University Librarian.

10. Orlando Patterson (b. 1940). Educated at UCWI, BSc in Economics, 1962, PhD, LSE, London, 1965. In 1968 he was appointed lecturer in Sociology at UWI, achieving a substantial reputation for *The Sociology of Slavery*, 1967, and his novel *The Children of Sisyphus*, 1965. Later he moved to Harvard as a professor of Sociology.
11. After his election defeat in Kingston Western in April 1961, Brown was approached by Buchanan “who attempted to persuade him to run for a seat in the Municipal Elections. Brown replied that he was no longer interested in politics and said if conditions under the new government did not improve he intended to leave Jamaica, possibly for England,” LSIC Report, May 1962, para. 75, CO1031/3710, C410239, TNA, PRO.
12. Millard Johnson’s defeat in 1962 finished off his political career in Jamaica, and he went to live in Africa. In May 1962 Johnson claimed that he had expended £23,000 on the PPP, and owed the bank £1,000. His major problem, financially, was that he failed to secure funds for his party from independent African countries, LSIC Report, May 1962, para. 74, CO1031/3710, C410239, TNA, PRO.
13. Sam Brown, who campaigned on a manifesto of “Twenty-One Points” (Barrett 1977), got 78 votes in Kingston Western in 1962, compared with 249 for the PPP’s candidate, Byron Moore. Their joint share of the vote was 2.88 percent, compared to Edward Seaga’s (JLP) 51.56 percent, and Dudley Thompson’s (PNP) 45.56 percent. The notion that the PNP used Brown to split the PPP vote seems absurd (Trevor Munroe and Arnold Bertram, *Adult Suffrage and Political Administrations in Jamaica, 1944–2002* [Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2006], 278).
14. Donald Sangster (1911–67), Solicitor and penkeeper. Educated Munro College (1921–29); admitted solicitor 1937; religion, Anglican. Member of Parliament 1949 onwards, Minister of Social Welfare 1950–53; Minister of Finance and Leader of the House 1953–55; Deputy Leader of the Jamaica Labour Party after 1950 (Clifton Neita (ed.), *Who’s Who Jamaica 1960* [Kingston: Who’s Who (Jamaica) Ltd., 1960], 422). Minister of Finance in first independent JLP administration (1962–67); Acting Prime Minister from 1964 when Prime Minister Sir Alexander Bustamante became ill; he succeeded Bustamante as Prime Minister in February 1967 only to die in office in April of that year.
15. A Hindu holy man.
16. Gloria Knight, BA, MSc Sociologist and civil servant. Educated St Andrew High School; University of the West Indies, Oxford University, McGill University; religion, Anglican. Served in Ministries of Labour, Housing and Social Welfare, Development and Social Welfare, Finance and Planning 1953 onward). Administrative

- Secretary, Kingston Waterfront Re-development Co. (1966–68); General Manager Urban Development Corporation from 1968 (Roy Dickson (ed.) *The Jamaica Directory of Personalities, 1985–87* [Kingston: Gleaner Company, 1987], 205).
17. Moses Matalon (b. 1921). Business executive, engineer, and company director. Educated Jamaica College, 1931–38, and Manchester College of Technology, UK; religion, Jewish (Neita, *Who's Who Jamaica 1960*, 331–332).
 18. John Issa (b. 1939). Company director and consultant. Educated St George's College and Holy Cross College, USA (BSc); religion, Roman Catholic (Dickson, *The Jamaica Directory of Personalities, 1985–87*, 188).
 19. WISCO was the West Indies Sugar Corporation—a subsidiary of Tate and Lyle, UK.

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