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HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS

Diana Paton and Matthew J. Smith, editors

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For Jamaicans
There, here, on the way.

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Note on Abridgment

Many of the selected texts have been abridged. In these cases, the pages of the original from which quotations have been selected appear in the "Acknowledgment of Copyrights and Sources" section. Where ellipsis marks appear in our text, these are found in the original.



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 $Map\ of\ Jamaica.$

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Introduction

Jamaica is often imagined as two distinguishable and opposite parts. The more attractive part is immediately recognizable. It is the brightly lit Jamaica seen in Hollywood films. This Jamaica is the holiday capital of the Caribbean favored by royalty and global vacationers in search of tropical splendor. It is easy to appreciate the power of this imagined island. Jamaica—a small place, 144 miles long, with 2.8 million inhabitants and fourteen parishes—is blessed with white sand beaches that stretch for miles and are framed by deep green mountains and a warm crystal-blue sea. Its island culture appears removed from the rapid pace and anonymity of metropolitan life. Jamaican tourist posters command you to come to this Jamaica and "feel all right," borrowing a lyric from the 1977 song "One Love" by its most famous offspring, Rastafarian reggae singer Robert Nesta (Bob) Marley. This Jamaica is marketed heavily to the foreigner to encourage tourism, the island's leading industry. The ubiquity of all-inclusive hotels, "Jamaica, No Problem" T-shirts, fake dreadlock caps, uniformed bamboo carvings, and ancillary businesses of restaurants, nightclubs, sex tourism, water sports, makeshift spas, ganja (marijuana) sellers, and hair braiding along the North Coast all cater to tourist needs and indicate the importance of this Jamaica to the local economy.

The other Jamaica is also well-known, though far less promoted. It is urban and gritty. It contains gray narrow streets of oppressive poverty, communities pockmarked by generations of brutal violence. It is the Jamaica that for more than five decades has inspired reggae songs about deprivation, justice, and equal rights. It is the Jamaica of shirtless street children, traffic jams, zinc-roofed self-built houses, loud music, and squalor that sprawls around the capital city, Kingston. This is the Jamaica that investigative journalists search out and document in gripping reportage on the "other side of paradise." It is most commonly referenced by the island's leaders as the setting from which global superstar Bob Marley and his colleagues and descendants rose. Otherwise it draws no lasting attention from the island's elite. The visual distinction between these two parts of Jamaica is striking. Perhaps appropriately it was Bob Marley's son, Damian, a reggae legend in

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his own right, who most famously exemplified the contrast in his 2005 song "Welcome to Jamrock," which differentiated between "Jamaica" as an idyllic concept sold to foreigners by privileged sectors of the society and "Jamrock" as the horrific reality lived by the majority of urban Jamaicans.

Jamaicans habitually position themselves within this neat division of their country. One is either from "town" (generically used to refer to Kingston) or "country" (anywhere outside the capital). Politically one is either a supporter of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) or the People's National Party (PNP), the two political parties. Kingston's urban geography is split between "uptown"—the postwar central business district New Kingston and the wealthy residential areas scattered across the hills surrounding the city and "downtown," the older capital and densely populated impoverished communities close by, the latter widely perceived by middle-class Kingstonians as dangerous spaces to be avoided at all costs. Social classes are broadly divided between a small, privileged, mostly "brown" (of mixed-race origins) middle class and a "black" popular class. Ethnic minority groups on the island—a small population of Indian, Chinese, Jewish, and Arab-descended Jamaicans, and whites born both on the island and elsewhere—are absorbed into these bifurcated social categories depending on language, wealth, and cultural preferences. Even one's choice of one of the two leading daily newspapers can reflect class affiliation.

It is tempting to explain all of Jamaica's outcomes, celebrated or shunned, as a product of the tension generated by these two poles. But that would be quite misleading. To view Jamaica as two distinct halves glosses over the complex processes by which the place and its people were formed. There are in fact many Jamaicas between these extremes.

The island's indigenous residents arrived more than a millennium ago. They left a resonant heritage. The island's most likely original name, Xamaye/Yamaye or Xamayca, popularly understood to mean "land of wood and water," comes from its inhabitants at the time of the Spanish conquest, the Taíno. Spanish marauders first came to Jamaica at the end of the fifteenth century and violently seized the land in the sixteenth, extinguishing the Taíno as a distinctive people in the process and beginning centuries of imperial rule. By the time the English wrested Jamaica from the Spaniards in 1655, it was already seen as strategically valuable in the group of islands that encircle the Caribbean Sea. The English developed their new colony into a place dominated by a plantation economy and worked by the forced labor of enslaved Africans. This past haunts the island. Jamaica became the British Crown's leading sugar- and coffee-producing colony, and by many accounts the most abusively managed.

The racial subordination of the majority of Jamaica's inhabitants, the black Africans and their creole descendants, was central to colonialism. A tiny proportion of resident white Britons ruled over a population that was 90 percent black, made up of people forcibly brought from Africa on a torturous transatlantic voyage. The end of slavery in 1838 modified this situation but left overarching structures of domination untouched. Jamaica's poor majority had precious few rights and remained marginalized from the political process. In slavery and freedom Jamaicans resisted this oppression. Major confrontations took place in 1760, 1831, 1865, and 1938. Resistance also took other forms. Marronage (the process of flight to the interior from the plantations), centuries of migration, and cultural resistance are all important elements of the Jamaican experience.

Independence in August 1962 required the idea of a unified nation. National symbols exaggerated sameness in much the same way the insistence on two Jamaicas exaggerates difference. The 1960s nationalist mission homogenized the varied experiences of Jamaicans into one story of an island's struggle for self-definition. Independent Jamaica's leaders emphasized this single story through the creation of a national motto, "out of many, one people"; national heroes, including rebel leaders Sam Sharpe and Paul Bogle; national holidays, including Labour Day and Independence Day; and the promotion of a national culture, including foodways, dance, and music. Their efforts could not conceal the incongruity in social life. The capital continued to expand. Urban poverty was exacerbated by economic pressures and insecurity. The inability of the independence governments of the 1960s and 1970s to come to terms with the reality of Jamaica's divisions is revealed in the tragic history of those years.

Today, more than a half century after independence, the scars of the past remain and the contests among the multiple parts of Jamaica have become more pronounced. While the national anthem's final stirring refrain, "Jamaica, Jamaica, Jamaica land we love," promises unified patriotic attachment, disenfranchised Jamaicans challenge a vision of "One Love" Jamaica. Reggae legend Burning Spear (Winston Rodney) exemplifies this in the question that closes the chorus of his song "Black Wadada" (1976): "Where is your love, Jamaica?"

This book does not aim to reconcile these alternate visions. Instead, we have tried to illustrate the range of life experiences, the historical and cultural influences, and the creativity of people in Jamaica. Selections enable readers to understand change and development over Jamaica's history, in people's work lives, political engagement, and cultural production, among other themes.

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For most, it probably seems natural or intuitive to consider Jamaica as a single place for a reader like this one, but it is worth pausing to consider why this might be. As an island, Jamaica has been considered a single administrative unit since the appointment of the first Spanish governor in 1510, a year after the earliest Spanish permanent settlement began, although it did not become an independent nation until 1962. Its whole territory did not fully come under European power until the treaties with the Maroons who controlled much of the island's interior until 1739. The treaties allowed the Maroons to retain limited sovereignty but required them to accept a resident representative of the British Crown. Unlike for many continental territories, there has been no significant movement of Jamaica's external borders that might have led to challenges to a sense of essential coherence and self-identity.

The one attempt to form a larger state—the West Indies Federation project of the mid-twentieth century—unraveled on the eve of independence due to populist appeals to Jamaican nationalism and the fanning of fears of economic obligations to smaller and poorer islands. Nevertheless, Jamaica has always been firmly connected to places beyond the island itself. Some connections have been forged through proximity (as with Jamaica's larger neighbors, Cuba and Haiti), while others have been created through colonial history (Britain and the rest of the former British colonies in the Caribbean), cultural heritage and elective affinity (most prominently Africa), and migration (the Greater Caribbean region, plus the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom).

This book is organized into eight parts. The first seven trace a chronological history of the island. Part I introduces precolonial Jamaica and explores its early colonial history as an outpost of the Spanish Empire. The Taíno heritage is treated in readings on their life and culture. This part also presents the English conquest of the island in 1655, which led to more than three hundred years as a British colony. In part II, we examine the emergence of a society absolutely dominated by race-based plantation slavery, which reached its full extent in the late eighteenth century. By that time a tiny minority of white Britons sought to control a much larger population of enslaved Africans. Part III takes the story through the contradictory late slavery period, ending with the achievement of "full freedom" in 1838. The effects on Jamaican society of the global transformations of the early nine-teenth century are addressed through this part's selections.

In part IV we move to the period after emancipation, ending at World War I. From the point of view of the dominant plantation economy, this was

a period of decline. Ordinary Jamaicans experienced considerable economic hardship in these years, but it was also an era of creativity, when the majority could for the first time develop patterns of culture and social organization outside the constraints of slavery. The Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 was a turning point for freed Jamaicans' claims against race- and class-based domination. Among the rebellion's tragic results was a tightening of the colonial grip on the island. Part V examines the mid-twentieth-century decades during which a consistent nationalism developed, culminating in independence in 1962. The part begins with World War I, which initially confirmed Jamaicans' loyalty to the British Empire but by the end undermined it, as Jamaicans, like other colonial soldiers, encountered metropolitan and institutional racism. It moves on to consider the explosive riots of the 1930s, which led to transformations across the British Empire, and in Jamaica stimulated the formation of both of the two main political parties, the PNP and JLP, which continue to dominate Jamaica's politics today.

The period since independence is covered in parts VI and VII. Part VI focuses on the tumultuous years after independence during which Jamaica was strongly influenced by and also contributed to global movements. The Reader pays particular attention to Prime Minister Michael Manley's policy of "Democratic Socialism." Manley's vision responded to urgent demands for social change in postcolonial Jamaica. It fast fell victim to Cold War imperatives and contributed to the ruthless division in the island's politics. The watershed event of this period was the extreme violence during the 1980 election, won by Manley's successor, Edward Seaga of the JLP. More than eight hundred Jamaicans died violently during the election campaign.

Part VII attends to the period since 1980, when Jamaican governments have with greater or lesser willingness acquiesced in the "Washington consensus" of neoliberal reform and "free trade." This part also considers the creative responses of Jamaicans who came of age after the turbulent 1970s. Writers, athletes, and musicians became the dominant voices of the era, rising in international recognition above political leaders. This part highlights the global influence of Jamaican culture.

The final part of the Reader gives full attention to migration and its consequences, one of the most profound constants of the Jamaican experience. This part reveals the many forms of migration from Jamaica, over several centuries, including by those who have returned to the island. Jamaican achievement beyond the island's borders is remarkable. Jamaica's immense contributions to sport, literature, academia, and popular music have brought recognition to the country and its daughters and sons who settle elsewhere.

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Taken together, these selections present the complex relationship Jamaicans have had with their homeland and the human impact of the events covered in the earlier parts.

The narrative threaded through the volume should enable readers to trace the main points of political and economic development in Jamaica's history: from early arrival of indigenous people and European conquest, through slavery and its abolition, then the partial reframing of the postemancipation economy, and on to nationalism, independence, and postcolonial concerns. But we have also attended to matters outside the political and economic that are just as critical for an understanding of Jamaica, particularly the (strongly interconnected) development of religion and of music, both areas in which Jamaican-originated forms have had global reach.

As editors of the volume—one of us from Jamaica, one from Britain, both with long-standing interests in the island's history—we have pieced together a history of Jamaica through the voices of a wide range of the island's residents, both unknown and celebrated, along with many of the country's most important academic analysts. This anthology consciously blends familiar selections with lesser-known texts to more accurately reflect Jamaica's realities. A volume such as this cannot possibly be comprehensive. Nevertheless, we hope the *Reader* will serve as a guide for those new to Jamaica, whether as tourist, visitor, or student, and will also provide food for thought for those who already know the country well.

