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EAST INDIAN CANE WORKERS IN JAMAICA

by
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ABSTRACT

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During the past decade, students of the Caribbean have developed an interest in the social and political analysis of those islands which exhibit a high degree of ethnic and racial variation. Much has been written on the question of social and cultural pluralism in the area, especially since the recent moves by a number of the islands towards political independence and nationhood. The present research represents, in part, an effort to present new materials on this subject.

The major focus of the dissertation is twofold--the study of ethnic adaptation and national identification. The people described in the study are persons of East Indian descent whose forebears came to the island of Jamaica as indentured laborers to work on sugar estates between 1860 and 1917. More specifically, the dissertation centers on the East Indian population in Canelot, a village in the western part of the parish of Westmoreland. Almost all of the East Indians in the village are part of a large rural sugar proletariat which supplies labor to the cane farms of the West Indies Sugar Company.

In studying the interpersonal relationships between Indians and Negroes within the village, it was discovered that their common situation as members of a rural sugar proletariat did not cause differences of race and ethnic membership to be minimized. Strong feelings of antagonism exist between the two groups with stereotyped opinions characterizing the attitudes held by Indians and Negroes vis-a-vis each other. East Indian self-perception, as well as their attitude towards Negroes, is rooted in the racial attitudes and values of the colonial plantation system.

In analyzing the mode of social differentiation, a comparative stance was taken in an effort to try to understand why traditional East Indian culture patterns seemed to play such a minor role in village life. Through a historical comparison with materials on the Trinidadian and Guianese indentureship periods, the interplay of three factors appeared to be crucial in understanding why communities organized around modified Indian culture patterns did not develop in Jamaica. The three factors were: (1) the level of development of the plantation system; (2) the natural environment; and (3) the adaptation patterns of the emancipated slaves. In all three cases, these factors are shown to have articulated with one another in quite distinct ways. In turn, the permutations of the variables led to the concentration or dispersal of East Indian indentured laborers. It is the degree of ethnic concentration

during the indentureship period which the author feels is crucial to an understanding of East Indian cultural retention.

Finally, the question of national identification was investigated with a view toward finding the kinds of political linkages which exist between the national government and the village population. Three such ties were found to be present: (1) political expression to the Parish Council representative; (2) communication with the region's representative to Parliament; and (3) lobbying through labor unions which are linked to the island's two major political parties. In all three instances, these linkages were shown to be extremely weak. Their weakness, however, was not caused by the ethnic and racial attitudes of the villagers; rather, it stemmed from a distrust of the entire political system and all persons associated with it. A sense of pride or identification with the recently declared statehood of the island was absent in the village. Instead, alienation and a sense of utter powerlessness pervaded the political attitudes of the people in Canelot.

PREFACE

During the past decade, students of the Caribbean have developed a strong interest in the social and political analysis of those islands which exhibit a high degree of ethnic and racial variation. Much has been written on the question of social and cultural pluralism in the area, especially since the recent moves by a number of the islands towards political independence and nationhood.[1] The present research represents, in part, an effort to present new materials on this subject.

The major focus of the dissertation is twofold--the study of ethnic adaptation and national identification. The people described in the study are persons of East Indian descent whose forebears came to the island of Jamaica as indentured laborers to work on sugar estates between 1860 and 1917. More specifically, the dissertation centers on the East Indian population in Canelot, a village in the western part of the parish of Westmoreland. Almost all of the East Indians in the village are part of a large rural sugar proletariat which supplies labor to the cane farms of the West Indies Sugar Company.

Guided by the cultural ecological principle that a particular group's adaptation involves adjustment to a cultural environment consisting of surrounding groups as well as to a natural environment, I intend to analyze the condi-

tions under which cultural retentions might be expected to be found. In addition, it will be shown that while rural East Indians in Jamaica appear to have retained virtually none of the culture patterns traditionally associated with northern Indian village life, nevertheless, very strong feelings of social differentiation between Indians and their Negro co-villagers do exist. They involve attitudes and perceptions which are still rooted in the mentality of the colonial plantation system.

In discussing the problem of national identification, I have attempted to investigate the mechanisms by which the Jamaican government might engender feelings of identification with the nation state. The approach used is basically structural-functional, first tracing out the political linkages between the people at the village level and the national polity, and then seeing how these ties are activated in marshalling national sentiment. I believe the conclusions reached in the chapter on national identification have theoretical implications for those political scientists and social anthropologists who assume there are always political inputs by which individuals and groups are plugged into the body politic of a country.

A final purpose of the study has stemmed from a personal comparative interest in the Caribbean. At present, there are a number of studies on the larger East Indian populations in Trinidad and Guyana. Recently, Johan Speckman,

a Dutch anthropologist, published the first account of Indians in Surinam. However, a gap exists in the ethnographic literature when attention is turned to the East Indian population in Jamaica. Hence, it is hoped this research will help fill the existing ethnographic gap. However, equally important, I also hope it will give the reader a feeling for the people of Canelot--their needs, their problems, their way of life.

The present study is based upon field work carried out on the island of Jamaica during the period from August, 1966 to December, 1967. The first month was spent making contacts with the officials of the Jamaican government and professors at the University of the West Indies in the attempt to locate possible field work villages. After renting a car for a week and driving to a number of areas which were suggested, the village of Canelot in Westmoreland was chosen.

The attraction to Canelot as a field work base stemmed from a number of considerations. First, the government census data of 1960 showed that Westmoreland had the largest concentration of East Indians both in terms of absolute numbers and percentage of the total parish population (see Appendix A). Second, since I was interested in the problem of national identification and the ways in which the national government creates political linkages, I wanted to do field work in a village far from Kingston, the political capital of the island. Third, I wanted to do field work among East Indians who were still involved in cane work

since Smith and Jayawardena (1959:325) had noted that in Guyana it was on sugar estates that they found the greatest degree of Indian cultural retention. The village of Canelot met all these considerations.

My wife and I moved into the village at the beginning of September. With the help of a local agricultural adviser, we were fortunate in finding an empty house located approximately midway along the road which ran the breadth of the village. We remained in the village until the beginning of July, 1967.

It should be pointed out that the actual area which I have designated as Canelot consists of what might be considered two separate districts. However, given the fact that they share the use of public facilities such as the postal agency and primary school, that church membership often crosses district boundaries, and that there are no strong localized groups which actively promote any differentiation in identity between the two districts, I have taken the liberty of treating the area as a single entity. This position was decided upon when, after a few weeks of talking with people in the area, it became quite clear that no one really seemed to know where one district ended and the other began--one seemed to merge with the other with no firm boundary between the two. A cue for arbitrarily setting the boundaries of the study to include the two contiguous districts was taken from a discussion by M. G. Smith on the difficulties of identifying

communities in rural Jamaica (1956:303-304).

> Granted that the community has boundaries, or even that we can speak of more and less communality, it is reasonable to begin the search for integrative mechanisms by looking to the agencies and associations which are formally designed to serve and to bind these household units into a distinctive group, or which are based on the assumptions that they form a distinctive group. Governmental agencies such as the school, Post Office, medical or maternity services and the like, could act as foci of common interests; so can the Church.

The zoning of the area into districts appears to serve government administrative purposes--e.g., setting up polling divisions for elections--more than considerations of organic community life. In addition, further justification for treating the two districts in common can be found in the economic fact that the members of both districts face exactly the same problems--their male members form a common pool of of unskilled rural labor to supply the surrounding sugar estates. The economic factor underlying the mode of life is a constant and recognizes no boundary, with the people of the two districts sharing a common lot. It is for these reasons, that the two districts have been treated as a single focus of study and have been subsumed under the single name of Canelot.

The usual techniques of anthropological field work were employed during my stay in Canelot. Participant observation, interviews, and census-taking were all used in collecting data from the villagers. Where possible, relevant material was gathered from official records as well as private papers. Throughout the study, efforts were made to cross-check the

information given in interviews. If I were asked to estimate the number of hard core informants whose statements form the basis of this dissertation, I would put it at approximately fifty persons. I have assumed and personally feel that these persons are a representative sampling of the village and its way of life.

Interviews in the village were conducted in standard English as well as in patois when I felt I could express myself in that idiom. In citing remarks elicited from villagers, I have taken the liberty of transposing them into standard English throughout. In so doing, I have attempted only to make grammatical changes in the passages and not alter their meaning.

In addition to the field research done in Canelot, archival research was undertaken after our departure from the village. In order to get a better grasp of the history of the indentureship scheme in Jamaica, historical research was done in the Jamaica Archives in Spanish Town and the West India Reference Library in Kingston. The former contains papers of the Office of The Protector of Immigrants, while the latter has on file all the newspapers published in Jamaica during the nineteenth century. The historical research was done from July, 1967 until December, 1967.

A number of comments might be made as notes on the study. For the sake of brevity and fluidity, I have used several abbreviations after the initial citation of official

organizations. The abbreviations consist of the following:

WISCO = West Indies Sugar Company
BITU = Bustamante Industrial Trade Union
NWU = National Workers Union
PNP = People's National Party
JLP = Jamaica Labor Party

Throughout the dissertation, I have used the terms "East Indian" and "Indian" interchangeably--there are no persons of aboriginal Amerindian descent in Jamaica. In the use of place names both "Guyana" and "British Guiana" have been employed. When referring to the colonial situation, I have used the colonial name of British Guiana; in referring to the contemporary scene, I have used Guyana.

As for currency, the Jamaican monetary system is based upon the pound sterling. Most of the field work was completed before the recent British devaluation and therefore I have used the following rate of conversion: £1=$2.80 U.S. and 1 shilling =$.14 U.S. Where appropriate, I have inserted the equivalent in United States currency--e.g., £5-10-0 ($15.40). All wages and prices quoted are only for the period of the field work.

I am indebted to a number of persons and institutions for the aid and assistance in completing this research. To the people in Canelot I owe special thanks. Without their help and many kindnesses the study could not have been done; without their friendship the field experience would have been, personally, less meaningful.

Officials of the West Indies Sugar Company at Frome Factory and their offices in Kingston were most helpful in

providing factual material on the state of the sugar industry in Jamaica. The librarians at the West India Reference Library directed me to many historical sources and I should expecially like to thank Mrs. Rema Reckord for her assistance. I also wish to acknowledge the patient help I received at the Jamaica Archives. Permission to reproduce and include archival documents in the dissertation was granted by Dr. Clinton Black, Director of the Jamaica Archives. Thanks are also due to the National Institute of Mental Health. NIMH not only sponsored my doctoral studies at the University, but also funded the field work project as well.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EAST INDIAN INDENTURESHIP

Over a period of three centuries, the Caribbean has had an inflow of numerous racial and ethnic groups from diverse parts of the world. The inflow of peoples was fostered by various colonial policies whose goals focused upon the economic exploitation of the New World colonies. However, mere possession of New World lands often meant little once the emphasis of colonial exploitation shifted from mining activities to agricultural pursuits. The wealth to be taken from the soil of the colonial possessions was great, as was the European competition to establish footholds in the area. The papal bulls of the fifteenth century which divided New World areas between Spain and Portugal were of no significance to other European nations which felt that the New World held riches for them as well.

> This famous division, the first determination of spheres of influence in history, was almost the last imperial or international act of secular sovereignty performed by the papacy. In fact it is probable that the papal act was largely formal, as there is reason to believe that neither the papal chancery nor the pope had any say in the matter, except to give to the decision the papal sanction. In all probability that decision originated in the Spanish chancery. This line of demarcation, which conveyed a monopoly of possession upon two colonizing powers to the exclusion of all others, was never accepted by the remaining maritime governments, who paid no attention to the ban thus placed on their colonial ambitions. England, soon to repudiate the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See, deemed it an infringement on her royal sovereignty and only three years afterward sent out John Cabot on a voyage of discovery. France,

> under Francis I, in despatching Jacques Cartier to the St. Lawrence a little later, told Spain very frankly that the sun gave warmth to her people as well as to others and that she "much desired to see Adam's will to learn how he had partitioned the world" (Andrews 1964, 1:14-15).[1]

Indeed, the Iberian axis in the New World was repeatedly challenged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when there occurred a mad scramble for possessions in the Caribbean. The wealth to be taken from the islands, like marrow sucked from cracked bones, made them highly prized possessions of the European mother countries. The importance of the West Indian islands to European nations, each seeking a place in the colonial sun, readily finds documentation in historical accounts of the area. Perhaps its most pointed exposition is found in Eric Williams' book, The Negro in the Caribbean (1942:13-14).

> All the European wars between 1660 and 1815 were fought for the possession of these valuable Caribbean islands and for the privilege of supplying the "tons" of labor needed by the sugar plantations. Between 1760 and 1813 St. Lucia changed hands seven times.
>
> Tremendous wealth was produced from an unstable economy based on a single crop, which combined the vices of feudalism and capitalism with the virtues of neither. Liverpool in England, Nantes in France, Rhode Island in America, prospered on the slave trade. London and Bristol, Bordeaux and Marseilles, Cadiz and Seville, Lisbon and New England, all waxed fat on the profits of the trade in the tropical produce raised by the Negro slave. Capitalism in England, France, Holland and colonial America received a double stimulus--from the manufacture of goods needed to exchange for slaves, woolen and cotton goods, copper and brass vessels, and the firearms, handcuffs, chains and torture instruments indispensable on the slave ship and on the slave plantation; and from the manufacture of colonial raw materials,--sugar, cotton, molasses. The tiniest British sugar island was considered more valuable than the thirteen mainland

> colonies combined. French Guadeloupe, with a population today of a mere 300,000 was once deemed more precious than Canada, and the Dutch cheerfully surrendered what is today New York State for a strip of the Guiana territory. These islands were the glittering gems in every imperial diadem, and Barbados, Jamaica, Saint Domingue (today Haiti), and then Cuba were, in that order of succession, magic names which meant national prosperity and individual wealth.

The island of Jamaica was discovered by Columbus in 1494 on his second voyage to the New World. Under the leadership of one Juan de Esquivel, Spanish settlement of the island began in 1509 around what is today St. Ann's Bay. It was in this same bay, five years earlier, that Columbus had beached his worm-riddled caravels on his fourth voyage, thereby forcing him to remain on the island a year before being rescued (Taylor 1965:42). The occupation of Jamaica turned out to be of little use or interest to the Spanish whose primary goal was the extraction of gold and other valued metals. Since Jamaica yielded no precious metals, it never assumed a position of great importance in Spanish times.

The marginality of Jamaica to Spanish economic interests in the New World becomes apparent when put into the context of the British invasion of the island in 1655. The accession of Cromwell to power in 1653 brought with it a policy of open aggression against Spanish colonialism in the New World known as Cromwell's "Western design". Under the military leadership of Admiral Penn and General Venables, an expedition was dispatched to the West Indies in December, 1654. The expedition was to land first at Barbados and St. Christopher (St. Kitts) for purposes of recruitment and

supplies, and then continue on to the island of Hispaniola (Haiti, Dominican Republic) which was to be captured through an attack on the town of Santo Domingo. Ill-equipped in its supplies, undisciplined in its manpower,[2] ill-led by its leadership,[3] the expedition was over-ambitious in the extreme in terms of its goal. With the initial 2,500 soldiers added to by some 4,000 men from Barbados and 1,200 from the Leeward Islands, Penn and Venables set sail for the attack on Hispaniola. As if disaster were preordained, the expedition mistakingly landed its attacking force over thirty miles away from the town of Santo Domingo. The attempted British attack rather quickly turned into a total rout by the Spanish.

After the defeat at Hispaniola, the expedition shifted its objective towards the seizure of Jamaica. Historically, the attack and capture of Jamaica is usually seen as an afterthought--an attempt to retrieve the expedition from total disgrace. To return to England empty-handed and face the wrath of Cromwell were thoughts which the officers of the expedition did not wish to contemplate. Jamaica, with its small population and meager fortifications, was decided upon as a consolation prize for the expedition's trials and efforts.

The capture of Jamaica, indeed, turned out to be a relatively easy undertaking. The descendants of Columbus who had filled the position of Marquis of Jamaica since 1536 neither developed the island nor built up defenses for its protection. In the period from the first actual settlement

in 1509 to the attack of Cromwell's expedition in 1655, the island's population grew only to approximately 1,500 persons. Living by ranching and cattle keeping, the people were poor, ill-armed and, in general, no match for the English invaders.

The expedition landed on the island May 10, 1655. Venables met little resistance in his march to the capital, Villa de la Vega (Spanish Town). To the Spaniards who approached him under a flag of truce as to the nature of the expedition's presence, Venables replied that he had come not to pillage, but to plant, and to take possession of the land in the name of the Lord Protector of England (Taylor 1965:55). On May 11th, the capital and the island were in British hands.[4]

Although the Spaniards introduced sugar cane into the Caribbean, cultivation of the crop was never of major importance to Spain's early colonial concerns. The only island on which sugar seems to have been of any importance was Hispaniola, where a mill was constructed as early as 1508 or 1509; during the sixteenth century, Hispaniola was the only island to produce an exportable surplus (Parry and Sherlock 1963:15-16). With Spain's interests focused upon mining activities, there existed a vacuum in terms of the colonial exploitation of sugar. It was England who was to fill this vacuum and reap the riches of sugar production in the Caribbean.

Once in possession of Jamaica, the English were quick to initiate cane cultivation. As early as 1664, the first British plantation was established by Sir Thomas Modyford

(Barnes 1953:4). Modyford, an old Barbadian planter, was sent to Jamaica as its first British governor and brought with him about a thousand Barbadian farmers to settle the island (Parry and Sherlock 1963:69,84). With the arrival of Modyford and the emigrants from Barbados, Jamaica's fate was cast--sugar and the plantation system were to provide the basis of existence of the colony. The general shift in emphasis from mining to agricultural activities led to the rapid diffusion of the sugar cane throughout the Caribbean, an event which in turn was to affect the entire history of the area. The development of the plantation economy saw the rise of a mode of production in which large numbers of persons were to be the primary machines. It was the sweat of human labor which fueled the plantation economy; and it was the need for labor demanded by the plantation system which was to bring new groups into the Caribbean and make it into a mosaic of different racial and ethnic peoples.

The aboriginal Indian populations found on the islands initially were used as a source of corvée. However, their numbers fell quickly when exposed to European diseases and the difficult labor demands which were made upon them. In Jamaica, after the Spaniards failed to find gold in any large quantity, the Indians were employed primarily to raise food. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Arawak Indians had dwindled to the point where their extinction was feared--overwork, disease, and ill-treatment had taken their toll. In 1597, Fernando Melgarejo de Cordova, the governor of the

island and reputed to be one of the most conscientious and efficient of the rulers appointed by Spain, sought to prevent the total extinction of the Arawaks (Newman 1963:29). He proposed that the government settle the remaining Indians in a district of their own. However, the proposal was bitterly protested by the Spanish settlers who believed that it would be impossible to maintain their food supply without the labor of the Arawaks (Ibid.). In the end, Malgarejo's fear became a reality and the Arawak Indians of Jamaica became extinct.

With the Indian source of labor at an end, a new source had to be found. The immediate successor of the indigenous Indian was not, however, the Negro--rather, it was the poor and persecuted white. Under the British several thousand men, women, and children came to Jamaica and other West Indian colonies as servants or bondsmen under a system of indenture. Five kinds of indentureship have been noted (Ibid.:35). First, there were the "free-willers" who signed an indenture contract with a colonial planter. In exchange for transport to the Caribbean, the bondsmen were to labor for a period of five to seven years on the estates. A second group was a variant of the first and known as "redemptioners". This group consisted of persons who signed an agreement with a ship's captain to the effect that within a certain period of time they would find a planter to "redeem" them by taking them into indenture and paying the captain for the fare of the sailing. It has been said that many

captains purposely kept the redemptioners aboard ship until the agreed time had expired and then sold them as slaves at a greater profit. A third group consisted of persons who were kidnapped and then sold in the colonies. This fate supposedly befell many lower class British youth. Political and religious misfits formed the fourth group--i.e., Royalists under the Protectorate, Puritans after the Restoration, Scottish covenanters, Monmouth's supporters, and Irish insurgents after the Battle of Boyne were sent to settle in the New World colonies. Lastly, there were the criminal elements who were sentenced by the English courts to life in the colonies, with the first seven years to be under an indentureship contract.[5]

As has been noted, emigration was quite in tune with mercantilist theories of the day which strongly advocated putting the poor to industrious and useful labor and favored emigration, voluntary or involuntary, as a means of finding more profitable occupations abroad for idlers and vagrants at home (Williams 1944:9-10). It was felt that by indentured emigration England would gain, "'a double commodity, in the avoidance of people here, and making use of them there'" (Ibid.:10). The number of European indentured servants sent off to the New World gradually increased midway through the seventeenth century--between 1654 and 1685 it is estimated that 10,000 sailed from Bristol alone, chiefly headed for the West Indies and Virginia (Ibid.). However, the use of white

hands in the cultivation of cane lasted for but a brief moment in the history of the development of the plantation system in the British Caribbean. The European servants could only be relied upon to supply the estates with labor during their indentureship contracts. After the period of indenture was completed, most of the servants obtained parcels of land and settled in the back country as small yeoman farmers. When the plantation system began to expand, it did so usually at the expense of the very same indentured servants who initially had given their labor to it.[6] By 1671, it was observed in Jamaica that, "the large estates, the major part of the land of which remained idle, had ... driven away the small settler, making white labour both dear and scarce" (Patterson 1967:23).[7] Hence, the move towards a large scale monocrop mode of production had begun in Jamaica before the seventeenth century had come to an end. The manpower needed for the growing plantation system of the Caribbean greatly expanded, and could not be met by the inflow of white indentured servants from Europe. A new source of labor again had to be found. More importantly, the extensive use of hand labor on the sugar estates demanded that the new labor be cheap. As both Guerra (1964:14-15) and Williams (1944:19-23) have been quick to emphasize, the substitution of Negro slave labor for the small scale landholder had nothing to do with theories of race or climate--expense was the major consideration.

> Here, then, is the origin of Negro slavery. The reason was economic, not racial; it had to do not with

> the color of the laborer, but the cheapness of the labor. As compared with Indian and white labor, Negro slavery was eminently superior . . . . The features of the man, his hair, color and dentifrice, his "subhuman" characteristics so widely pleaded, were only the later rationalizations to justify a simply economic fact: that the colonies needed labor and resorted to Negro labor because it was cheapest and best. This was not a theory, it was a practical conclusion deduced from the personal experience of the planter. He would have gone to the moon, if necessary, for labor. Africa was nearer than the moon, nearer too than the more populous countries of India and China. But their turn was to come. (Williams 1944:19-20).

Africa indeed suited the needs of the West Indian sugar interests and soon greater and greater numbers of Africans were brought into the Caribbean to work as slaves on the sugar plantations. At the time, the British planter felt he had found the perfect laborer--the historical knot between slavery, the black African, and the British West Indian plantation system was tied.

With the arrival of large supplies of slaves, the West Indian plantation economy came into its own. The seemingly endless supply of black African hands brought new wealth and power to the West Indian sugar interest. Though the profits from slaving were a bit precarious because of the great risk of loss within the tightly packed cargoes of slaves, nonetheless, the "successful" ships were able to reap large gains. One writer estimates that between 1783 and 1793, Liverpool slavers made a profit of about £ 2,360,000 on the transport of approximately 303,000 slaves (Davidson 1961:67-68).[8] Slaves became a vital factor in the development of the famous triangular trade which saw wealth created

for the mother country at every docking of one of her ships.[9] In the Caribbean, the plantations became so prosperous that the phrase, "as wealthy as a West Indian", became an eighteenth century characterization of any person of great wealth.

In the British possessions, the use of African slaves permitted early expansion of sugar cultivation on the islands of Barbados and Jamaica. The success of the sugar plantation is readily seen by the account of Barbados given by Guerra (1964:12-13).

> By 1647 many sugar mills had already been set up. Nonetheless, the sugars they produced were only muscovados, which contained so much syrup and so many impurities that they were hardly worth sending to England, where they could be sold with difficulty. But by 1650 considerable experience had been gained and increasing quantities of sugar were being shipped to European markets. As a result, the island developed amazingly between 1640 and 1650, though England's trade and industry in the same period remained stationary. In 1666 experts estimated that, since beginning to produce sugar, Barbados had increased its wealth seventeenfold. A contemporary historian points out that a plantation valued at £400 before changing over to sugar was sold in 1648 for £ 14,000.

A period of plantation prosperity followed shortly afterwards in Jamaica--it spanned about eighty-five years, lasting from 1696 to 1780. It was during this particular period that Jamaica became the prize possession of Britain's New World colonies. That the island's successful expansion of sugar was inextricably linked to the newly found source of abundant cheap labor becomes readily apparent when viewing population figures. As seen in Table 1, from the end of the seventeenth century to the close of the eighteenth,

the slave population in Jamaica increased from 40,000 persons to 291,000.[10] The sugar plantation in Jamaica became the black man's burden.[11]

TABLE 1

SLAVE POPULATION OF JAMAICA, 1693-1795

YEAR	NO. OF SLAVES
1693	40,000
1703	45,000
1715	60,000
1730	74,525
1734	86,546
1740	99,239
1745	112,428
1762	146,805
1768	166,914
1778	205,261
1789	250,000
1795	291,000

Source: Patterson 1967:95

For all practical purposes, the slave trade was seen by the planters as a never-ending source of labor. Many writers of West Indian history have noted the fact that it was cheaper to buy an adult slave than to raise one from birth. Henry Coor, a millwright, who lived in Jamaica for fifteen years, between 1759 and 1774, remarked that planters thought it was "'a misfortune to have pregnant women, or even young slaves'" (Patterson 1967:105).[12]

A variety of attitudes and practices of female slaves towards reproduction reinforced the planters' position that

new hands for the plantation were to come primarily from the slave trade. It is reported that a considerable number of slave women disliked the idea of having children, often wishing their plantation-born infants dead (Ibid.:106). Female slaves frequently resorted to abortion and infanticide rather than see their children raised as slaves. Venereal diseases and promiscuity, in addition, were contributing factors to the low rate of reproduction within the West Indian plantation system (Ibid.:108). It is little surprise, then, that the rate of natural increase within the Jamaican slave population was very small. Table 2 reveals how very dependent the plantation system became upon the slave trade.[13]

TABLE 2

ESTIMATE OF POPULATION GROWTH, NET IMPORTATION, AND RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE OF SLAVES, 1658-1778

Year	Slave Population	Net Importation of slaves	Annual rate of increase (%)	Estimated rate of natural decrease
1658	1,400	--	--	--
1673	9,504	--	--	--
1703	45,000	--	--	--
1722	80,000	55,536	--	--
1730	74,525	32,379	0.7	3.7
1734	86,546	19,754	--	--
1739	99,239	20,341	2.8	1.5
1746	112,428	36,510	1.8	2.8
1754	130,000	43,295	1.8	2.3
1762	146,464	54,908	1.5	3.0
1768	166,914	41,472	2.2	2.0
1778	205,261	54,951	2.1	2.1

Source: Roberts 1957:36

To the planters, Africa was "Black Mother", populating the plantation with her children (Davidson 1961:xv). By the end of the eighteenth century, however, there arose in England a breed of men who argued that the time had come to cut the umbilical cord.

The man probably most responsible for initially making the abolitionist cry into a viable movement was Thomas Clarkson. The son of a reasonably well off clergyman, Clarkson had become interested in the problem of slavery as a student at Cambridge University. His first contact with the subject came through a Latin prize competition for the best essay on the subject, Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare: "Is it lawful to make slaves of others against their will?" (Mannix and Cowley 1962:176). Clarkson immersed himself in his research, won the prize, and a few weeks later received what he considered to be a direct revelation from God ordering him to devote his life to the abolition of the slave trade--he was transformed into what Coleridge termed "a moral steam engine" (Ibid.:177).

An inactive Quaker committee opposed to the trade was reorganized by Clarkson and by 1787 the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded. However, Clarkson was not able to present forcefully the case of the Society. For this purpose another voice was sought and it was found in Parliament in the person of William Wilberforce. Together the two men attempted a head-on meeting with the anti-aboli-

tionist forces--Clarkson setting out and meticulously collecting detailed evidence against the slave trade, and Wilberforce presenting Clarkson's evidence robed in rhetoric. The Abolition Society began to attract popular attention and the Society took care to make its presence felt. In its first 15 months, the Society bombarded the British people with a steady stream of books and pamphlets. By 1791 Wilberforce felt the cause of the Abolition Society had grown sufficiently popular to attempt to pass a motion in Parliament prohibiting the importation of slaves into the British West Indies--the motion was defeated by the discouraging vote of 163 to 88 (Ibid.:183).

During the ensuing decade, new voices from another corner were added to those in the abolition movement. Merchants and creditors began to question the economic foundations of the old monopolistic system of mercantilism--discussions of free trade were on their lips. The previously strong influence of the West Indian sugar interest in the British Parliament was now on the wane. Attacked simultaneously from two sides, continuance of the slave trade fell under the weight of the combined arguments. Parliament finally abolished the African slave trade stating that no slaver could clear a British port after May 1, 1807, and that no slave could be brought into a British possession after March 1, 1808 (Ibid.:186).

Originally, it was not the aim of the early abolitionist movement to seek complete emancipation. Wilberforce and

other abolitionists repeatedly disavowed any idea of emancipation--the Bishop of Rochester went so far as to assert that, "the abolitionists preceeded upon no visionary notions of equality and impresciptible rights of man; they strenuously upheld the gradations of civil society" (Williams 1944:182). However, once the slave trade had been abolished, the very same forces marshalled their strength against the whole system of slavery. The attack was total--it was an all out offensive calling for annihilation of the old economic order.

> The attack falls into three phases: the attack on the slave trade, the attack on slavery, the attack on the preferential sugar duties. The slave trade was abolished in 1807, slavery in 1833, the sugar preference in 1846. The three events are inseparable. The very vested interests which had been built up by the slave system now turned and destroyed that system. The humanitarians, in attacking the system in its weakest and most indefensible spot, spoke a language that the masses could understand. They could never have succeeded a hundred years before when every important capitalist interest was on the side of the colonial system. "It was an arduous hill to climb," sang Wordsworth in praise of Clarkson. The top would never have been reached but for the defection of the capitalists from the ranks of slave-owners and slave traders. The West Indians, pampered and petted and spoiled for a century and a half, made the mistake of elevating into a law of nature what was actually only a law of mercantilism. They thought themselves indispensable and carried over to an age of anti-imperialism the lessons they had been taught in an age of commercial imperialism (Williams 1944:136).

On August 7, 1833, an act emancipating all slaves in the British West Indies was passed. For the British planters, an era had come to an end; for the slaves it was "Massah day done."

However, the chain of events leading to the emancipation act of 1833 did not in reality break the economic links

between the plantation system and Negro labor. Built into the emancipation act was an apprenticeship period which, in Jamaica, was to last four years.[14] It was during this period that planters drove the "freed" slaves mercilessly. In commenting on Jamaican apprenticeship, Hall has written the following (1959:19):

> It had been a period in which masters in general had tried to squeeze the last juice out of compulsory labour before the expected ruin of freedom set in; and both masters and apprentices learned only one lesson, namely that when labour had to be bargained for, the labourers would be able to name their price.

In Jamaica, emancipation found the free Negro population capable of bargaining from a position of strength. The alternative to working for estate wages had actually begun to develop from within the framework of the very same estate system which bound the Negro to slavery. It appears that very early in the British occupation and settlement of the island, planters made it a practice to give slaves and servants provision grounds upon which to raise food (Mintz and Hall 1960: 12). The plots assigned to slaves usually consisted of lands which were unsuitable for plantation crops--"Generally speaking, where land was flat and fertile the cane was planted; where it was not, food was grown for the slaves and the dependence on food imports was considerably reduced" (Ibid.:4). The marginality of the lands and the time allowed the slaves to cultivate them--every other Saturday--probably did not affect estate production (Eisner 1961:35). During slavery, then, both planter and slave had been quite amenable to this

system of private cultivation. On the one hand, it was advantageous to the planter in that it cut down the amount of foodstuffs he had to import to feed his slaves; on the other, the slaves were often able to grow surpluses on their provision grounds and sell them in local markets which developed and were held on their one free day, Sundays.

In writing of the origins of the Jamaican internal marketing system, Mintz and Hall have commented that from the very outset, it appears that the planters permitted the slaves complete freedom to grow whatever crops they desired and to dispose of them in marketing activities as they wished;[15] proceeds from the sale of foods grown on the provision grounds accrued entirely to the slaves (1960:5,9,14). The success of the slaves' marketing enterprise is fully revealed by the estimate that in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, twenty per cent of the total currency (£50,000) circulating in the island was in the hands of slaves (Ibid.:15). By the time emancipation came, the internal marketing system was an integral part of the over-all economic development of the island (Mintz and Hall 1960:20).

> But it may be fair to contend that the growth of town populations and of the demand for the products of the slaves' spare time labor encouraged the participation of slaves as sellers and suppliers; that the growth of the market and the emergence of new demands enlarged the quantity and the variety of items which reached the markets; that the activity of the markets increased the slaves' buying power, and led in turn to increase in the numbers of local merchants, retailers, moneylenders, etc., who became dependent on the slaves' surpluses and buying needs for their share of profits from the economy; that free people in the towns gradually grew reliant upon the slaves' marketing activities

> for their daily needs; and that long before Emancipation came, the markets and all of the related institutions which maintained them had become core features of Jamaican society and economy. Such seems to have been the situation in Jamaica in 1834, when slavery ended and the "apprenticeship system" began.

The assumption on the part of many planters that the slave, once free, would remain on the estate because of his emotional attachment to his house and garden turned out to be an instance of severe myopia. The decades of autonomous cultivation on estate-owned provision grounds and autonomous marketing activities in surrounding towns prepared the Jamaican slave for freedom in a way which made estate labor irrelevant to his future existence once slavery had run its course.

Emancipation, then, offered the freed slave the potentiality for continuing to cultivate for profit in local markets rather than for wages on local estates. With freedom a fait accompli, the estate-owners were aware that they would face a severe labor shortage if they permitted the ex-slaves continued free use of marginal estate lands as provision grounds. Their initial reaction was to attempt to create a situation in which the free Negro would be forced to earn estate wages. The answer, the planters thought, **lay** in charging their former slaves high rents for the use of huts and "grounds" (Hall 1959:20). The rents caused a great amount of resentment because Negroes had grown to think of these as their own property (Mintz and Hall 1960: 21-23). Two conditions made the planters' tactics ineffective. Emancipation found many estate owners prepared to sell

land in order to ease their financial problems; secondly, large numbers of ex-slaves had the capital to buy the lands. Historical records on 138 sugar estates dramatically show the rapid withdrawal of labor by the freed Negroes. Between 1832 and 1846, the resident labor force on the estates had dwindled from 41,820 persons to 13,973 (Eisner 1961:193).

That the Negro was successful in the cultivation and sale of crops grown on his own freehold is readily attested by figures on economic growth in Jamaica between 1830-1890. Using 1832 as a base year, Eisner's economic study of Jamaica shows that small settlers' profits increased from £847,100 in 1832 to £999,100 in 1850, to £3,187,600 in 1890 (Ibid:121). The free Negroes could not compete very well with the estates in terms of sugar production; however, they were able to hold their own by growing a wide range of commercial products such as coffee, bananas, pimento, ginger, coconuts, cocoa, limes, and logwood (Ibid.:80).

During the immediate post-emancipation period, the estate owners had hoped to stifle the economic mobility of the freed slaves through the importation of Europeans as settlers and laborers. As early as the end of 1834, the first of the European immigrants began arriving on the island. The two-fold plan of this immigration scheme is clearly noted in the following remarks by Hall (1959:21):

> In order to deny land to the negroes, it was decided to encourage the importation of whites who would fill the cooler interior mountain districts.

> The Europeans began coming in towards the end of 1834. The first lots were brought in by individual planters under a bounty system, but others were to be introduced on a government scheme to settle in a number of inland towns built specially to receive them. Those imported by individual employers were expected to work as labourers on interior estates. Those brought in by Government were to be established as small settlers in the planned townships. The combined effect would be to deny both land and employment in the cooler interior to the ex-slaves and so make it necessary for them to move to the sugar areas in the lowlands. The Assembly, in 1835, appointed an agent to proceed to Europe to recruit settlers.

The attempt to induce large numbers of European immigrants met with little success. Coming from England, Germany, and Madeira, the immigrants' numbers hardly began to meet the needs of the Jamaican plantation system. As is seen in Table 3, during the eleven year period from 1834 to 1845, fewer than 4000 European immigrants arrived (Eisner 1961:142).

TABLE 3

EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION TO JAMAICA, 1834-45

Year	Country of Origin		
	Great Britain	Germany	Madeira
1834 . . .	2	--	--
5 . . .	358	506	24
6 . . .	613	532	67
7 . . .	360	--	--
8 . . .	--	--	--
9 . . .	--	--	--
1840 . . .	--	--	--
1 . . .	1,333	--	--
2 . . .	19	--	--
3 . . .	--	--	--
4 . . .	--	--	--
5 . . .	13	--	--
Total	2,698	1,038	91

In general, the European migration fulfilled neither of the planters' expectations. The immigrants proved unsuited to plantation labor, while disease and illness caused a high mortality rate within their numbers. After an investigation into the hardships alleged to have been experienced by European immigrants who had come to Jamaica on the Robert Kerr, the introduction of Europeans as plantation laborers virtually ceased after 1841 (Roberts 1954:238). In the end, most of the survivors of the immigration scheme either repatriated or migrated to the United States

With the European immigration scheme a failure and the peasant activities of the freed slaves a success, the planters saw in their situation but one chance for survival--yet another source of labor had to be found to replace the emancipated slaves. Using what political influence they still possessed, numbers of the West Indian sugar interest pressed the British government to take some sort of action concerning their labor shortage. The lobby effort led to the appointment of a commission in 1842 to study the problem of labor shortages in the West Indian colonies (Hall 1959:52). The commission, while pleased with the reports of the prosperity of the ex-slaves, expressed sympathy for the labor requests of the planters and recommended that immigration schemes be used in the attempt to alleviate the labor shortage in the colonies. Its members agreed that if local labor would not suffice for the demands of the estate system, then the recruitment of labor elsewhere might provide the solution

to the planters' malaise. The recommendation produced two migrations into Jamaica: one consisting of free Africans and the other of indentured laborers from the Far East.

In trying to induce a voluntary migration of Africans to the West Indies, two distinct categories of persons were tapped. The first category consisted of Africans liberated from ships still involved in the slave trade; the second, consisted of free inhabitants living in Sierra Leone and along the Kroo Coast. The majority of immigrants were of the former category (Roberts 1954:237).[16]

The African immigration was essentually a by-product of the nineteenth century slave trade. British patrol ships which policed the known trading routes, from time to time intercepted slavers. If captured along the coast of Brazil or Cuba, the liberated slaves were sent directly to Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana; if captured off the coast of Africa, they were landed at Sierra Leone and St. Helena and then encouraged to emigrate voluntarily to the West Indies. Initially, liberated slaves were maintained for six months at government expense in Sierra Leone and St. Helena. This practice was discounted in 1843, virtually forcing emigration upon the liberated slaves. As was noted by the Des Voeux Committee, in the main, the African immigrant was "'the rescued slave, the legitimate fruit of the costly African squadron which humanity has so long induced Great Britain to maintain'" (Ibid.).

TABLE 4

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE WEST INDIES, 1834--67[17]

Year	British Guiana	Jamaica	Trinidad	Grenada	St. Vincent	St. Lucas	St. Kitts	Dominica	Total
1834-39	91	1,388	469	864	---	---	---	400	3,212
1840-44	4,404	2,533	2,661	---	---	---	---	---	9,598
1845-49	4,905	3,936	3,277	796	234	365	95	---	13,608
1850-54	2,213	1,324	1,211	261	575	186	137	---	5,907
1855-59	346	362	315	---	---	---	---	---	1,023
1860-64	2,059	1,837	921	485	227	179	223	---	5,931
1865-67	42	11	---	---	---	---	---	---	53
Total	14,060	11,391	8,854	2,406	1,036	730	455	400	39,332

Source: Roberts 1954:259

The number of liberated Africans never amounted to a large influx of laborers for the plantation system--neither did the number from the immigration efforts aimed at settled Africans in Sierra Leone and along the Kroo Coast. In general, the number of immigrants rose and fell with the waxing and waning of slavery in Brazil and Cuba. The largest number of immigrants into the British West Indies arrived during the period between 1845 and 1849 when the Brazilian slave trade was flourishing. African immigration steadily declined after Brazil abolished slave trading in 1852. A slight spurt in immigration did occur in the early sixties when the Cuban slave trade expanded enormously; however, in terms of total manpower, the numbers were inconsequential. All told, from 1834 to 1867, Jamaica received approximately 11,000 African immigrants of whom 1,844 were known to have repatriated (Ibid.:260-261).

The Jamaican planters' cries of a continuing labor shortage persisted in light of the failures of the initial immigration schemes. It had been estimated as of 1842, that the sugar estates alone needed almost 25,000 additional laborers (Eisner 1961:143). Finding the European and African immigration wanting, estate owners made a new request in the form of a petition to organize East Indian immigration. By the middle of 1844, permission had been granted to the planters to import laborers from India and China,[18] in addition to those from Africa. One set of agents were sent to the ports of Calcutta and Madras to supervise the recuitment and embarkation of immigrants,

while others on the island proper were responsible for setting up work arrangements and providing for the welfare of the Indian immigrants.

The first Indians to arrive in Jamaica landed at the port of Old Harbour on the 9th of May, 1845--they numbered 261 persons and all of them were sent out to estates in Vere and Clarendon in the central part of the island (Hall 1959:53). The estates involved had agreed to the following terms: (1) to hire immigrants in groups of twenty-five or more; (2) to pay wages of not less than one shilling per day of nine hours; (3) to provide free housing, as well as medical care; and (4) to supply rice to the immigrants at cost (Ibid.). The first Indians who came into the island as indentured servants to work on the sugar estates were bound to contracts which stipulated that their labor had been contracted for a period of one year, at the expiration of which they had the option of renewing the contract, seeking other employment, or repatriating (Roberts 1957:115).[19]

Between the years 1845-47, 4,550 East Indians came to Jamaica as indentured servants. Historical accounts indicate that their arrival did not create feelings of antagonism on the part of free Negroes (Hall 1959:56). In reporting on one of the earlier landings of a ship carrying East Indian indentured servants, The Falmouth Post clearly shows the lack of hostility of the Negro towards the East Indian (April 13, 1847).

> Some delay occurred last week, with regard to the landing of the Coolies, imported in the "Athenian," in consequence of a misunderstanding as to the wages they are about to receive. The differences having been adjusted, the ship "Athenian" is now pretty clear of its passengers, who, in being taken through the town, in waggons, which were sent from the different properties on which they are to be located, were cordially welcomed by their black brethen, who generously offered them oranges, sugar-cane, and various descriptions of fruit, as well as bread, cakes, and trifling articles of clothing for the children. We are glad to learn that the Immigrants have also been well treated by the Peasantry in the country, who immediately supplied them with food and clothing, and promised to do all in their power "for the strangers who have come to a strange land."

It might be argued that this acceptance was due to the fact that there was no strong basis for antagonism between the free Negro and the Indian. The two groups were essentially exploiting different sectors of the economy--the free Negro, for the most part, had cast his lot with the cultivation of his own freehold eschewing wage labor on the estates, whereas the Indian had voyaged to the Caribbean for the specific purpose of filling that gap in the economy. From an economic viewpoint, the two groups occupied non-competitive niches of the island's economy.

The planters' initial reaction to the East Indian indentureship scheme appears to have been generally unfavorable. From the planters' point of view, the program turned out to be more expensive than had been anticipated. The costs involved in transport, wages, and payment to immigration agents, when linked with the short period of the contracts quickly caused the planters to reconsider the value of whole plan.

> Within the last two years, Asiatic immigration has been extensively tried, but has also proved an utter failure. 4551 Coolies have been imported and located in various parts of the island; but so costly has the experiment proved, so great were the mortality and misery which resulted, and so trifling was the amount of labour obtained, that the House of Assembly, (at the desire of the whole community,) has resolved on its abandonment (The Falmouth Post: June 20, 1848).

After the initial entry of approximately 4,500 indentured Indian laborers, migration from India to Jamaica ceased completely from 1850 to 1860 (Eisner 1961:144). A number of factors, other than the one of cost, contributed to the change in attitude towards East Indian indentureship during this period: (1) a severe drought had temporarily forced many free Negroes to seek wage employment on estates, thereby easing the labor problem; (2) the end of the protective tariff on West Indian sugar in 1846 drastically reduced the planters' credit base; (3) it was claimed that large numbers of the initial groups of Indian laborers were found to be in such poor physical health as to be incapable of performing the work tasks demanded in their contracts--"We owe all the prejudices which have so effectually dammed up the stream of Immigration for many years past to the gross misconduct of the Government Agents in India, who sent us numbers of people more fit for the gaol or the hospital, than for that condition of life for which alone their services were engaged" (The Falmouth Post: June 14, 1859); and (4) cholera had been brought to Jamaica by some of the Indian laborers who had entered the island under indentureship contracts.

The resumption of the indentureship scheme in the 1860's did not lead to a large movement of Indians into Jamaica as was the case in other areas such as Trinidad or British Guiana. Without going into detail at this juncture, one might merely say that history was against Jamaica in her desire for large numbers of Indian indentured laborers. By the time the East Indian indentureship program was fully under way, British Guiana and Trinidad had yet to develop plantation economies and therefore possessed large virgin tracts of fertile land; also, the planters there were not debt-ridden with payments of credit owed to London merchant houses. This was in sharp contrast to Jamaica, where, as has been noted, the sugar industry was in a most precarious economic position. With potential sugar productivity and profits far greater in Trinidad and Guiana, the bulk of indentured Indians were sent to the latter places rather than Jamaica. Jamaica, in essence, paid the penalty of taking the lead.

East Indian indentureship continued into the twentieth century, coming to an end in 1917. As can be seen in Table 5, even during the peak years of the indentureship scheme, the numbers entering Jamaica were small.

In all, approximately 36,000 Indians came to the island.[20] (Cumper 1954:70); of these, nearly one-third chose to repatriate. By the time the final curtain had descended upon the indentureship scheme in 1917, it was estimated that

only 18,000 East Indians remained in Jamaica (Ibid.). It is to the contemporary situation of some of the children and grandchildren of the original indentured laborers that we now turn our attention.

TABLE 5

IMMIGRATION AND RETURN HOME OF INDENTURED LABORERS SENT TO JAMAICA, 1845-1917

Year	Arrivals	Returns
1845-49	4,550	----
1850-54	472	1,547
1855-59	---	126
1860-64	4,635	----
1865-69	3,018	----
1870-74	6,322	1,345
1875-79	3,564	1,576
1880-84	2,327	1,720
1885-89	601	1,205
1890-94	2,620	942
1895-99	1,782	348
1900-04	1,317	1,444
1905-09	2,649	790
1910-14	4,209	502
1915-17	615	414
Total	38,681	11,959

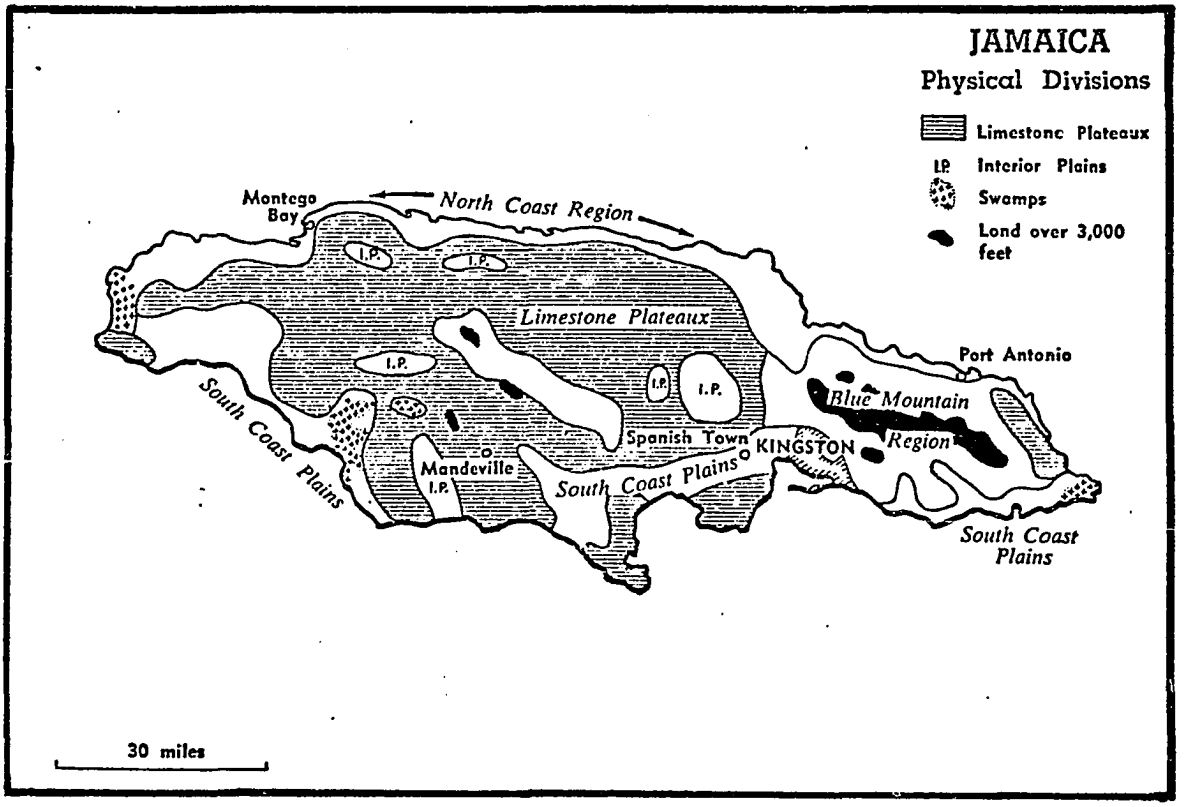
Source: Eisner 1961:144

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

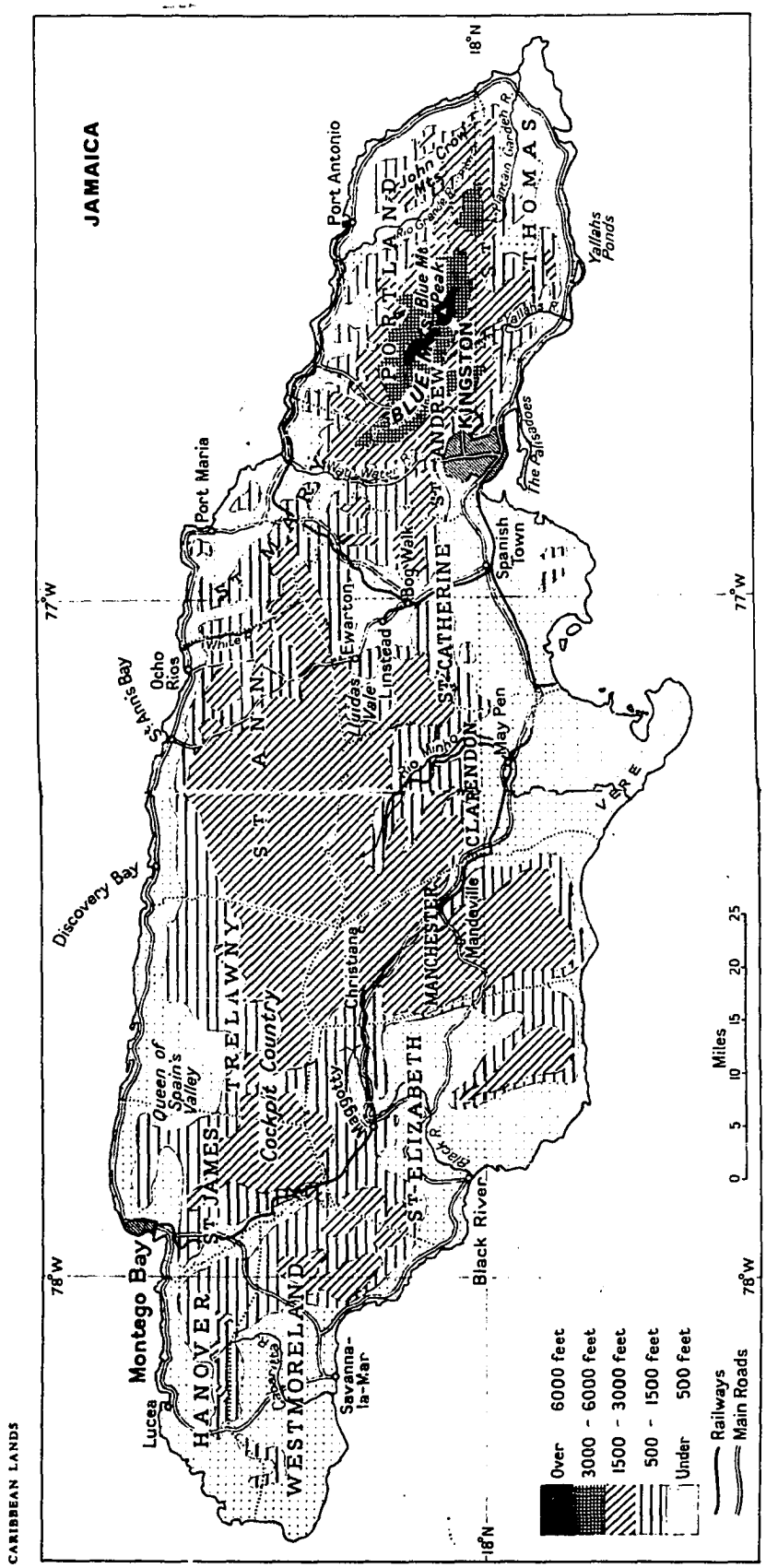
The island of Jamaica is part of an archipelago which includes the Bahamas, the Greater Antilles, the Lesser Antilles, and other islands and which extends 2500 miles from the Yucatan Peninsula and southeastern Florida to northern Venezuela. Jamaica lies approximately 80 miles south of Cuba and is located between 17°43' and 18°32' N latitude, 76°10' and 78°20' W longitude. It is one of the Greater Antilles ranking third in size behind Cuba and Hispaniola. With a total area of 4411 square miles, the island is nearly 150 miles in length and extends 50 miles at its greatest width. The total population numbers 1,600,000 (1960 census).

The physical geography of the island reveals a wide variety of forms. Jamaica is built upon an east-west trending igneous and metamorphic core which reaches its greatest elevation in the Blue Mountains (Blue Mountain Peak, 7402 feet) at the eastern end of the island. To the west and on their northern and southern flanks, these mountains are overlain,at about 3000 feet above sea level, by a limestone plateau. The limestone plateau has been severely dissected with the result that karst topography is widespread. The Cockpit Country of north-central Jamaica epitomizes the karst phenomenon with sinkholes 500 feet deep and a quarter of a mile wide.



Source: Eyre 1964:70

MAP A



CARIBBEAN LANDS

Source: Macpherson 1965:32-33

MAP B

While most of the island is mountainous, half the island being over 1000 feet above sea level, there does exist a series of plains along the south coast of Jamaica (see Map A). It is in these plains largely of rich alluvial soil that the sugar industry has staked out its territory. The territory of sugar in Jamaica becomes readily discernable when it is noted that nearly three-quarters of the island's sugar cane crop is cultivated in the five plains stretching along the south coast (Eyre 1964:71). Also, of the eighteen sugar factories on the island, ten are located in the south coast plains including the only two large centrals of Frome and Monymusk, which together produce half the total sugar output (Ibid.:71-2).

It has been observed that, in general, the low plains in the west do not drain easily, and after heavy rains the land becomes marshy in certain districts around the Black River and the Cabaritta (Newman 1963:9). It is in George's Plain, the most westerly plain of the group, that the Cabaritta River runs, and it is near the Cabaritta that the village of Canelot is situated (see Map B).

The name, Canelot is fictitious. Its counterpart in reality is located in the parish of Westmoreland, an area which is usually described as one large sugar belt. For most Jamaicans, the name Westmoreland is associated with Frome, the largest sugar factory on the island. The village of Canelot is thoroughly integrated into the sugar complex of this westernmost parish. However, to comprehend fully the

present condition of the village and its people, it is necessary to look briefly to the past. For within the village, a large number of persons of East Indian descent resides. Hence, many of the contours and shadings of village life today have been shaped and colored by the earlier system of indentured labor.

Indentureship roots

In general, it can be said that the Indian population living in rural Jamaica represents the interplay of larger historical and economic forces which linked a colonial people and sugar cane into a bitter alliance. The parents and grandparents of the Indians living in Canelot came to Jamaica under contract as indentured servants to work on sugar estates in the parish of Westmoreland. Westmoreland planters generally absorbed larger numbers of indentured servants than did the planters in other parishes (see Plate I for indentureship application). Whenever possible, planters preferred to continue employing Negro labor as caneworkers; however, in many instances Negro labor was insufficient. In a discussion of the working capacity of the free Jamaican Negro versus the indentured East Indian, Eisner points out that the severe labor shortages in Westmoreland encouraged the flow of East Indians to the parish (1961:146).

> The Jamaican was stronger, he was used to the work and he was acclimatized. The East Indian was a reliable labourer, but this advantage outweighed his shortcomings in other respects only where local supplies of labour failed completely such as in the sugar estates in Westmoreland, Clarendon and St. Thomas in the 1870's...

1875

Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879.

Schedule A.—Form of Application.

13th May 1912 19

Sir,

I (a) Frederick Lister Clarke on behalf (b) of my constituent the Trough of Clarke, of Blackheath Estate, in the Parish of Westmoreland am desirous to Indenture on that Estate Forty (40) Immigrants, to be introduced here from , and (c) on behalf of my constituent I hereby express my willingness to accept the Services of so many of such Immigrants as shall be allotted to Blackheath not exceeding the number above applied for, upon the terms and conditions of the Immigration Laws now in force

The above Estate (d) is mortgaged.

(e) My Power of Attorney bears date the 12th June 1909 and is recorded in the Record Office, libro New Series folio 13 folio 95

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

Frad. L. Clarke

The Protector of Immigrants,
Kingston.

(a) Name in full.

(b) When acting for another insert "on behalf of my constituent" fill in name).

(c) Insert "on behalf of my constituent" if the case be so.

(d) Insert "is" or "is not" as the case may be.

(e) Omit this sentence if application is being made by a Proprietor.

PLATE I: INDENTURESHIP APPLICATION

Hall (1959:274) also notes the heavy absorption of East Indian indentures in Westmoreland; however, the statistical material presented on a parish basis spans but a brief three year period (see Appendix B).

The attitudes of the Indian villagers towards their relatives and brethren who had signed indentureship contracts to work in Jamaica ranged from feelings of pity to those of contempt. As has been noted in other areas where the phenomenon of East Indian indentureship has occurred, the general reply to the question as to why the original indentures came, usually emphasized the point that the Indians were lied to by recruiting agents.[1] Informants also mentioned a variety of other reasons for the emigration of their ancestors to Jamaica. That times were hard in India, was emphasized by persons. Others claimed that members of their families were kidnapped from the countryside, put on a train to Calcutta, and then shipped to Jamaica. The most frequent response, however, centered upon the easy money that could be made by working in Jamaica. A recurrent tale supposedly told to the potential laborer was that his work on the estate would be to scare away black birds which came to eat the cane. This story was repeated by many informants in Canelot. In a few cases, it was said that people were told there were money trees in Jamaica. If an East Indian were lucky enough to find one, then he would not have to work again after he had fulfilled his labor contract--he could live off of his money tree. Regardless of the reason given for coming to Jamaica

as an indentured servant, the deceptions of the recruiting agents were always underscored by the people. Today, in Canelot, some of the children and grandchildren of the original Indian indentured servants still speak bitterly about the trickery and deceits used as lures by recruiters.

In talking about the indentureship period, people often spoke of the harsh treatment their parents and grandparents received on the estates. Not only were the wages low, many claiming the pay to have been six pence per day of work, but it was also claimed that the workers were often cheated by the estate owners. In addition, the difficult physical conditions under which the indentured Indians lived was emphasized. Stories abound concerning the physical hardships--dirt floor barracks, straw to sleep on, the wearing of shackles while working in the fields, compulsory attendance of labor on the estate regardless of fatigue or illness. One woman related that her father had told her that if an indentured laborer refused or was ill and unable to leave for work, it was common practice for the overseer to come and pour water over the prostrate worker, wetting the man, his bed, and his possessions. Time undoubtedly has embroidered upon some of the actual indentureship conditions--e.g., the chaining of indentured laborers while at work. That the treatment accorded the Indians was often harsh, however, is clearly shown through materials found in archival records and newspapers.

> We understand that about sixteen Hill Coolies, from one of the estates in Clarendon, were seen walking through the streets of Spanish Town, on Thursday and yesterday, almost in a state of nudity. It is said, that on being asked what brought them into town, they replied that they and their women had been severely beaten by one of the Sirdars, [an Indian spokesman] who has also been interfering with their allowances of money and food, and that the object of their coming to Spanish Town was to complain to Captain Darling, the Agent General of Immigration, who, we regret to learn, has been obliged to leave town for change of air in the mountains, in consequence of severe indisposition (The Falmouth Post and Jamaica General Advertizer: February 10, 1846).

In a case brought to court, the remarks of an estate bookkeeper clearly point to the abuse which indentured laborers received while working on estates (The Falmouth Post: February 3, 1863).

> At the Petty Sessions held at Savanna-la-Mar on Tuesday the 20th instant, George McKenzie, a bookkeeper on George's Plain estate pleaded guilty to the charge of flogging a Coolie indented to the estate, for having drawn off from his work too early; but he said he had only given the man three or four licks with a bamboo switch. The evidence, however, showed that the blows were inflicted with a cowskin cart-whip, the Coolie having on no clothing but a wrapper, and that each lash "wailed him right round." D. F. Thomas, Esquire, the presiding Magistrate, said the Court would have been inclined to deal leniently with the case, had it appeared to them that the flogging had been inflicted with a bamboo switch, but as the evidence was clear that a cart-whip had been used, they fined him fifteen shillings and costs. On hearing this decision Mr. McKenzie, addressing the Court angrily, said he thought it very hard that he was to be punished, who had always tried to protect the Coolies, but that he would not suffer alone, for that he himself would give information against those persons who really had ill-used them.

There is little reason to believe that the indentured servants signing to go to Jamaica were aware that working conditions such as these described would prevail.

Regardless of the validity of the indentured laborers' feelings of being tricked, it should be mentioned that most of the Indians who came to work in cane probably faced a clear choice between signing the indentureship contract or remaining in India under extremely difficult living conditions. The lands of India were simply incapable of yielding sufficiently large harvest to feed the general population. The continuous spectre of famine is quite explicit in Woodruff's description of Indian geography in the book, The Guardians (1964:98).

> India, as everyone knows, is a triangle projecting into the Indian Ocean; more than nine tenths of the rainfall, in most of its vast area, comes in the months of July, August and September, when two sides of the triangle are assailed, one by the South-West and one by the South-East monsoon. In a good year, the two monsoons meet in the middle, everyone has rain, and two crops are taken off the land. In a bad year, the monsoons do not meet, and the centre and the northern part of the triangle seem like a continuation of the Arabian deserts. The devil, the Muslims say, holds an umbrella over Delhi, but there are other parts of the country over which he holds it no less diligently.
>
> In all the central and northern area, the ground for nine months grows harder and harder till it is like dusty concrete, unsympathetic to the foot and impervious to the hoe. Then come the anxious weeks, when, if God so pleases, the rain will come. Sometimes He pleases; sometimes He withholds. If there is no rain, there is no harvest of rice and millet in September and the ground is too hard to sow the wheat and barley that ought to be cut in March. The peasant seldom has grain enough in hand to carry him more than a month or two beyond harvest-time. The grain-dealer of course has stocks, but prices rise and the peasant cannot buy without running into debt. There is scarcity, debt, hunger, and something near starvation. Then perhaps next year there is a poor crop and a partial recovery, then another failure; the dealer's stocks are exhausted and there is no food in the area. This is famine.

Several writers have commented on the frequency of

famine in India specifically during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Woodruff 1964:98-114; Kondapi 1951:4). Kondapi actually lists famine as one of the forces behind the success of recruiters in getting East Indians to sign contracts for indentureship (1951:4). An excerpt from a letter written in 1874 by a twenty-three year old British officer stationed on famine duty in India records the darker side of village life during a famine period (Woodruff 1964: 105):

> 'In one of the villages that I visited the condition of the villagers was such that I thought it necessary to have them fed on the spot with cooked food, rather than trust to their reaching alive the nearest store . . . It is impossible to describe to you the condition of some of the children in this village; after what I saw there I can readily conceive a skeleton from an anatomical museum being able to walk; unless I had seen it myself I could not have believed that anyone could live with so thin a covering to the bones. The very colour of the bone was visible through the thin black film that surrounded it . . .'

It would seem then fair to say that while many of the Indians who went to Jamaica as indentured servants to seek their fortunes were sadly deceived, nonetheless, many must have been quite aware that even should the agents' promises prove to be totally shallow, remaining in India was no real alternative. With famine widespread in India during the late nineteenth century, it was a matter of either going off to a great unknown where one could work and possibly survive, or facing local conditions which seemed to point to extinction.

Those who chose the former path made a momentous decision. They could not know that a temporary five year con-

tract was to be first extended to ten years then to a lifetime, and then to their children's and grandchildren's lifetimes as well. In many ways the indentured Indians were like immigrants, uprooted and transplanted--while most of the old traditional roots withered and died, other attachments gradually developed to stabilize the initial shock of life among a new and different people. The effects of this shock were to persist; reverberations of the initial shock would eventually reach down to generations which had no knowledge of the price paid in the crossing. Much of Handlin's commentary on the traumatic experiences of the passage and arrival of immigrants to America during the 1820-1920 period of massive migrations, must surely describe the experiences of the East Indian laborer bound for Jamaica:

> He who turned his back upon the village at the cross-roads began a long journey that his mind would forever mark as its most momentous experience. The crossing immediately subjected the emigrant to a succession of shattering shocks and decisively conditioned the life of every man that survived it. This was the initial contact with life as it was to be. For many peasants it was the first time away from home, away from the safety of the circumscribed little villages in which they had passed all their years. Now they would learn to have dealings with people essentially different from themselves. Now they would collide with unaccustomed problems, learn to understand alien ways and alien languages, manage to survive in a grossly foreign environment. (Handlin 1951: 38).

It should be noted, however, that the Indian indentured servant came not as an emigré. He had no vision of making the Caribbean his permanent home. Rather, it was a place to sell his labor--a place to earn money temporarily. The

repatriation figures, especially after the termination of the initial indentureship contracts, reveal that for many of the laborers India was still perceived as home. The hardships of the return voyage were preferred to the continuation of work on the sugar estates.

At the time of repatriation, moreover, new deceptions again crept into the indentureship scheme. Many Indians claim that the repatriation figures are deceiving and misleading--that many more of their forebears had desired to return to India, but that indentureship contracts were not honored. When the time came to repatriate, funds for the return passage were withheld. Some informants said that a conditional free return fare was promised--the return fare to India would be granted if the indentured laborer renewed his work contract for an additional five years. In actuality, the residence condition was one of the terms of agreement written into the contracts during the later period of indentureship. Five years of labor fulfilled a person's working obligation, but in order to qualify for a free return passage he had to remain continuously in the island for a period of ten years (see Plates II and III). From statements given by various informants, it appears as if this condition was not fully comprehended.[2] Others remarked that repatriation funds were simply denied with no future promise of return passage. Hence, for many indentured servants a temporary sojourn in a strange and foreign place suddenly became a

Depôt No. [illegible]

COLONIAL EMIGRATION FORM NO. 5.

FORM OF AGREEMENT FOR INTENDING EMIGRANTS.

Particulars of Emigrant executing a contract for service in the Colony of JAMAICA.

Registration.		Emigrants.		Dependents.						Residence.			Successor to Estate in India.		
Date.	Number.	Name.	Father's name.	Name.	Relationship to labourer.	Sex.	Age.	Caste.	Occupation.	District.	Thana.	Village or Town and Mahalla.	Name.	Father's name.	Relationship.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
7/7/91	78	Ram Khelawan	Bahoro	—	—	Male	24	Chamar	Cultivator	Azamgarh	Mahamidabad	Bhagwanpur	Kalim	Harnam	Mother

I agree to emigrate on the conditions of service specified on the reverse.

Executed in my presence.

[signature]
Registering Officer.

Dated at Benares the 7–7– 189 1

N. B.—This form is to be filled up in the Office of the Registering Officer in English in triplicate

FIT TO EMIGRATE.
[signature]
CIVIL SURGEON, BENARES.
5.7.91

CALCUTTA, 4 Aug: 1891.

We have this day explained to this Emigrant that the wages which he will receive in the colony are [illegible] per day.

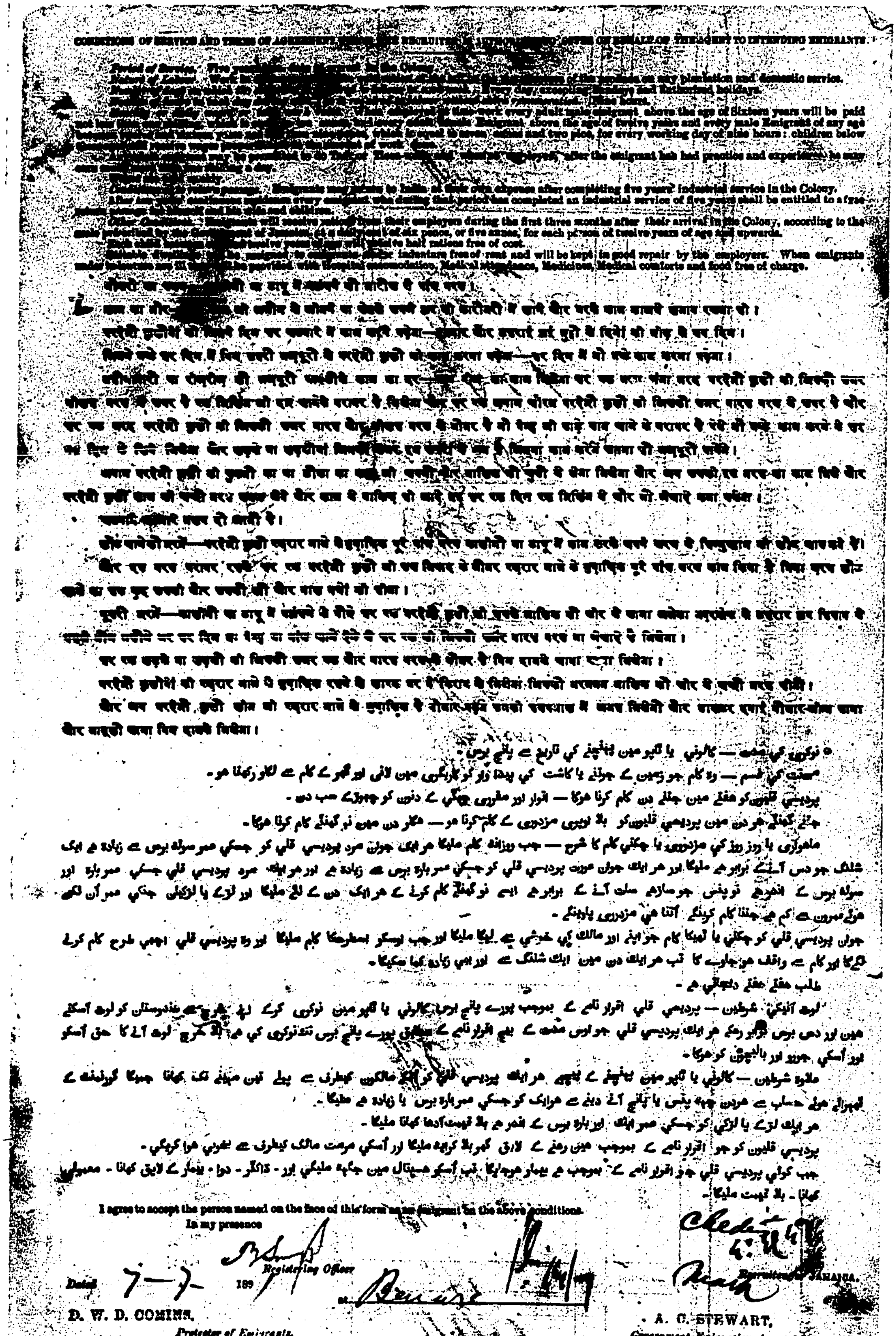
Emigrant.

Protector of Emigrants.

Government Emigration Agent.

P. S. D'Rozario and Co., Printers, Calcutta.—3,000—6.91.

PLATE II: INDENTURESHIP CONTRACT


Period of Service. Five years ... in the Colony.

... plantation and domestic service.

... Every day excepting Sundays and authorised holidays.

... after completing five years' industrial service in the Colony.

I agree to accept the person named on the face of this form as an emigrant on the above conditions.

In my presence

[illegible]
Registering Officer

Dated 7—7— 189[illegible] at [illegible]

D. W. D. COMINS,
Protector of Emigrants.

[illegible]
Recruiter for JAMAICA.

A. C. STEWART,
Government Emigration Agent for JAMAICA.

PLATE III: INDENTURESHIP CONTRACT

a permanent fact of life. Jamaica was to be their new home.

Emergence of the village: A two-crop adaptation.

The initial physical connection between the Indian and the sugar estate was a tie which was not easily broken. Many of the Indians who came to work on the estates continued to live on estate grounds after their indentureships were completed. The move off the estates seems to have been a gradual one--departure from estate grounds depended upon the availability of land and, more importantly, upon the accumulation of capital to purchase plots of land. The low wages paid to the Indians must have hindered them greatly in their desire to become land owners. As late as 1915 in a report to the government of India, the following was noted: "One matter about which complaint was commonly made was not concerned with condition on estates, namely, the difficulty of acquiring land" (McNeill and Lal 1915:213). Most informants whose parents came from India as indentured servants said that their parents continued residence in the barracks provided by the estates for several years after the contracts expired. Evidently, living within the confines of the estate system provided the people with a certain amount of security. The situation appears to have been similar to that of the indentured cane worker in Guyana as recorded by Jayawardena (1963: 27). By remaining on the estate proper, the Indian was provided with free shelter. As long as he continued to supply his labor to the estate, his rent was nil. In addition,

small cultivation plots and grazing privileges at very nominal fees were always made available to the laborers who remained in the barrack dwellings provided them during the indentureship period. These conditions, coupled with the probable scarcity of capital, acted as strong factors in keeping Indians from moving off the estates en masse, once the indentureship contracts were fulfilled.[3]

Nevertheless, movement away from habitation on the estate proper did occur slowly. Indians left the estates under one of three conditions. Some of the more fortunate were able to save part of their wages, investing it in land and moving onto their holdings. Others voluntarily left the estates to live on rented household sites. The third group was simply told by estate officials that estate-residence was no longer available to them. Clusters of households strung along the boundaries of the larger estates emerged as Indian laborers moved off the estates. This sporadic movement over time gradually resulted in the appearance of a chain of small villages each dependent upon employment in the cane fields for its existence. The villages, in fact, were mere appendages to the estate system. The village of Canelot, both in terms of its origin as well as its function, falls into this pattern.

Accounts of Canelot ten to twenty years ago stand in sharp contrast to the villagers' view of it today. Almost, to a man, the people today see their local situation as one

which has undergone serious deterioration. As will be seen subsequently, the severity of the decline takes on its particular emphasis from the fact that a majority of the inhabitants of Canelot are of Indian origin.

Geographical accounts as well as general surveys of the island have noted in the past that certain sections of the western part of Westmoreland have been rice-growing areas. The appearance of rice-production in these areas resulted from the convergence of two facts: (1) the existence of large areas of morass lands which were unsuitable for cane cultivation and, therefore, quite available to any persons who could put them into any sort of productive use, and (2) the presence of groups of Indian cane workers who saw in the marsh lands an opportunity to utilize the rice-growing techniques which they had learned in their native India. The Indians situated in Westmoreland eagerly took to the morass areas to plant rice. The annual reports of the colonial government almost invariably record large numbers of acres put into rice production in Westmoreland. (See Table 6).

To the people of Canelot, existence became dependent upon the cultivation of two crops--sugar cane and rice. In the cultivation of sugar they sold their labor outright; in growing rice they were able to utilize their labor for themselves. The Indians thus channelled their physical energies into two different ecological niches. The rewards from this dual expenditure of energy provided a set of conditions in

TABLE 6

ACREAGE OF RICE CULTIVATION BY EAST INDIANS IN FIVE PARISHES, 1919-43

Year	Westmoreland	Hanover	St. Elizabeth	St. Catherine	Clarendon
1919	53	4	67	1	16
1921	200	n.d.[a]	n.d.	n.d.	2
1923	263	n.d.	n.d.	16	n.d.
1925	302	3	n.d.	10	n.d.
1927	350	15	n.d.	20	n.d.
1929	102	80	n.d.	23	n.d.
1931	130	15	5	20	25
1933	303	30	6	20	25
1935	645	30	9	$4\frac{1}{2}$	25
1937	645	30	9	3	17
1939	700	20	n.d.	10	13
1941	978	20	10	13	13
1943	1200	53	50	180	15

[a]n.d. = no data

Source: Annual Reports of the Immigration Department

which the people felt they could live a comfortable life. The secret of success in the "old days" was to be sure that one had a good foothold in both of these agricultural ventures. Almost all of the Indian families I spoke with used to rent rice lands. There were two major sources from whom land could be rented. One of these was a private landowner who still owns extensive holdings in the parish. He rented out approximately 500 acres of land suitable for rice cultivation. The other source was estate lands which were rented out by the James Charley Estates and then later by the West Indies Sugar Company (WISCO) which subsequently bought out Charley's lands. The latter's rented land amounted to nearly 400 acres. The rentals reported for the rice lands revealed a wide range. It was said that 7 shillings and 6 pence ($1.04) could secure one acre from the Company, while it took 5 pounds and 10 shillings ($15.40) to rent one acre from Mr. Rank, the individual landowner.[4]

It appears that originally, Mr. Rank took part of the rice yield as payment for the rented land. This procedure was advantageous to both the renter and the land owner. On the one hand, the Indians renting from Mr. Rank did not have to pay any money prior to planting since the payment came after the rice crop had been planted and harvested. This meant that if land were available, anybody could undertake to plant an acre of rice regardless of his economic situation at the time of rice planting. No large capital demand was made upon him--only a demand on part of the harvested

rice which represented a portion of his labor input. The practice of paying rentals with part of the rice crop, however, came to an end in 1959. After that, rentals became cash transactions, with the rent money called for prior to sowing. Two reasons were given for the change in rental payment from rice to money. Some of the people remarked that when the price of rice went down, Mr. Rank decided to switch to cash payments in order to be sure of a guaranteed income from the land. Hence, the rental was set at £5-10-0 per acre. Others, however, said that some of the people who planted on Mr. Rank's lands when the rental was still in rice, used to sneak onto the land at night and take their rice crop without leaving Mr. Rank any as payment. These acts of theft, it was argued, pushed Mr. Rank to the decision that cash rentals in hand before any rice was sown was better than promises of part of the rice crop which might be reneged upon. In all likelihood, both of the factors probably converged in the decision to change the form and procedure of renting the rice lands. However, regardless of the amount or type of rentals requested, none of the rice plots went begging for renters. In fact, one of the points noted by the Department of Statistics in doing a census of rice growers in 1954 was that the "[enumeration] procedure proved particularly laborious in the parish of Westmoreland where the major portion of total production is represented by large numbers of small growers" (1955:3).

Table 7 clearly reveals how widespread the dependence upon rice cultivation had become in the parish.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF RICE GROWERS BY PARISH AND ACREAGE, 1954

PARISHES	TOTAL	0-1	1-5	5-10	10-25	25-100	100 & over
ALL "	5,379	2,923	2,197	115	56	77	11
St.Catherine	191	12	80	38	29	28	4
Clarendon	123	12	67	16	10	16	2
St.Elizabeth	904	284	581	23	4	8	4
Westmoreland	2,913	1,629	1,210	36	12	25	1
Hanover	712	525	184	2	1	-	-
Other parishes	(536)	(461)	(75)	-	-	-	-

Source: Department of Statistics 1955:7

Families were quite willing to pay the rentals on small, one-to-three acre plots of land. The lands which were rented were roughly broken down into three grades--first class land which yielded 20 bags of rice/acre, second class land which yielded 14 bags/acre, and third class land with yields of 12 bags/acre. Each bag of harvested rice, in turn, yielded approximately 50 quarts of milled rice.

Rice cultivation, then, became an integral part of the villagers' livelihood. It provided them with the major portion of their food needs, freeing the wages they earned on the sugar estates from large food expenditures. As one man remarked, "Plant an acre of rice and a man's family can live off it for a year." In addition to money saved from estate wages, some of the rice crop was often sold, and thereby provided a second means of capital accumulation. Many families reported that they would keep about half of the rice harvested for food and sell the remainder of the crop. Villagers also were quick to point out that the husks from the milled rice, locally referred to as "cana" or "trash", made excellent feed for pigs. Hence, rice provided the people with food for consumption, a means of capitalization, and the possibility of inexpensive pig-rearing. A woman, in talking of past years when everybody in Canelot had a rice plot, pointed to her house and remarked:

> Rice bought the house we live in. We planted rice and its yield was good. We sold some of the rice and with that money bought some pigs and a heifer. When the animals grew big, we sold them and bought this house. If you have the land to plant rice, life is good--very nice. Rice is a nice thing.

All of the Indian families who, by local standards are well-to-do, achieved their success through rice cultivation. There is uniform agreement among them that without the earlier period of rice growing they would not hold their present economic position in the village.

Rice and cane cultivation can be viewed as the major

activities which molded the pattern of life in Canelot. The rice could be sown in April and transplanted in June and July when the cane crop was coming to an end. Three types of rice were planted by the people. One was a short grain rice called "dobo", while the other two, "buffalo" and "rajol", were long grain rices. All three types of rice were sown in April and transplanted in June and July. Their rates of growth, however, differed in that the dobo rice was harvested in mid-November, whereas the long grain rices were cut starting in mid-December. The long grain rices were preferred, since the dobo rice is considered by some to "taste coarse." Some of the Indians who own rice land today, plant both the long and short grain rices. The differential rate of maturation allows them to spread the labor expenditure of harvesting over a longer period of time.

The harvesting of rice, was near completion approximately at the time when the cane harvest was getting under way towards the end of November. The amount of overlap between the two crops was quite small.[5] The two crops competed minimally for the manpower needed in their production. From the people's viewpoint, rice and cane were mutually complementary--without conflict, one could plant his rice plot and earn sugar wages as well.

In addition to the benefits accrued from the rice itself, there are other benefits which come to people who are involved in wet-rice cultivation. The very cultivation

of paddy rice involves an ecological niche in which floral and faunal life have created an equilibrium state. The niche is a system wherein plants and animals have evolved adaptive adjustments to each other within the environmental conditions presented by the particular niche. This point bears mentioning because the existence of large tracts of swampy areas suitable for rice exploitation actually meant the availability of food sources other than the crop which was purposefully cultivated in the rice niche. Firstly, men frequently were able to kill ducks in the swampy rice-growing areas. Gray and whistling ducks were hunted in the morass, as were baldpates and teals. But of greater importance was the abundant fishlife of the morass, especially crayfish. All the people attest to the fact that fish used to be readily available in the area. The point to be emphasized is that not only were the fish available but they were free. One did not have to go out to the road and wait to purchase fish from peddlers who brought them from the sea or from nearby rivers. He merely went to the marsh lands and set a few fish-pots.

> Man, there used to be plenty fish here. When Mrs. Williams wanted some fish for the next day, I just went out in the evening and set two fish-pots. In the morning both of the pots would be full--full completely. There would be crayfish crawling over the pots, but no room for them to get inside. I'd bring them home and Mrs. Williams would say--"too much fish". I'd go to the neighbor's yard and offer him some of the fish and he'd say, "what do I need your fish for? I've already got two pots full of fish." That's how plentiful the fish used to be when we had all the morass lands and planted rice.[6]

Hence, the morass land niche actually provided the people with a variety of foods.

Today, in Westmoreland, the bulk of the morass lands are no more. The lands the Indians had rented and from which they had brought forth rice crops for many years, no longer exist. The withdrawal of these lands occurred in 1959. In that year the West Indies Sugar Company decided to expand its cane cultivation. The plan for increasing the amount of land put into cane included the lands which the Company, in previous years, had rented out mainly to Indians for rice cultivation. In converting the swampy tracts into lands suitable for cane cultivation, WISCO proceeded to lay pipes and install a pump on the morass lands and drain out the area. As the lands to be drained were adjacent to those owned by Mr. Rank and the drainage pipes had to pass through his property, WISCO asked Mr. Rank permission for the right of passage and offered, in return, to drain off his morass lands as well. The Company was extended permission to pass through the Rank property and Mr. Rank's lands were duly drained along with those of the West Indies Sugar Company.

Thus an ecological niche was destroyed in one fell swoop. The sets of balanced relationships within the niche which supported a variety of wildlife were broken. The basis of the abundant fish and wildlife was shattered the moment the draining activities began. The wet swampy land which was so conducive to the growth of rice seedlings rotted the cane

roots planted in it. Hence, a new environment for promoting the growth of sugar cane was created. Cane was made to spread at the expense of rice through the manipulation of modern technology. The effects of the destruction of the rice growing niche were felt by most of the Indian families living in the area. Suddenly, the adjustment to their environment had been jarred drastically--the conditions of life under which they had existed for many years had been altered radically. One might say their environment had shrunk overnight with the loss of the morass land. Ever since the removal of the rice growing niche, the people have been experiencing hard times. Remarks by the villagers continuously emphasize the difficulties of life in Canelot now that the rice lands have been drained. "Life is hard here in Canelot", or "things were much softer before" are opinions openly expressed time and again in conversation.

> Rice was mashed down in Westmoreland like a wind blowing down banana, and it never came back up. Since the morass land was taken away, the place has become poverty stricken--all mashed up. The people, they're starving. The only thing that can help us is rice. That is Indian living. Holy Jesus, when we used to plant the rice and December came, those were happy times! Good times! Can we live without food? If there were any way we could get back the rice land, we could live. Life today is not better--it is worse.

In talking to families long resident in the village, one finds them quite ready to admit that in the former times of rice cultivation, money was scarce because of the extremely poor wages paid. However, their comments on the good old days show a very strong attachment to them because of the

greater security the people feel they had in the past. One Indian caneworker stated his feelings on the subject in the following manner:

> In "Charley-days" you did not get much money--work a full day for 9 pence and if it rained for even two, three minutes, they took back 3 pence. But things did not cost much either. You could buy a pound of mutton for 6 pence. And we had a rice piece--got 35 bags of rice from it. That was plenty to sustain us and we could sell some too. If you got sick and were not able to work, you did not have to worry. You always had some rice to eat. Not like now when we have nothing. And every Indian family had had at least one cow. You could put him on Charley's land for 1 shilling a month--12 shillings a year. That wasn't bad. So every Indian family had plenty of milk. The children grew up healthy. You could go into any yard and get a quart of milk free. People were glad to share. If you had hard times you could get enough rice on trust from someone for three months. People always had plenty of rice in their "battrys" [storage houses]. Those were nice times.

Still another man complained that the area had become so poor that now people in Canelot could not even affort to have proper celebrations. In referring to weddings in the village, he spoke out:

> It used to be when there was a wedding everybody had a good time. You go to the house, eat some curried goat, drink a little "waters" (overproof white rum) and have a good time. You'd leave with a full belly. Now, nobody knows when there's a wedding. You have to learn about it. People are ashamed, because they can't have weddings like before.

As is evident from the villagers' words, their hearts lie with past--to "Charley-days", when everybody could rent a rice plot, parley part of the yield into an animal or two, catch plenty of fish, and feel secure with a "battry" full of rice. "Charley-days" have an air of paternalism for the people--the Company, on the other hand, is all business.

One old Indian man who is now a self-employed farmer, had worked for WISCO in his younger days. He spoke quite freely, expressing his feeling about the difference between "Charley-days" and the Company in relating the following incident:

> I worked for the Company--I did all kinds of work. I worked hard, sometimes all through the night. After I quit working for the Company, I went to the office and asked about a pension. They asked me when I quit and I told them in 1942. They said I had not worked long enough--real abrupt, they told me. I took off my hat, said, "thank you", and left. But honestly, I worked hard--very hard--for WISCO. They should have given me something. That would not have happened in "Charley-days". I would have gone to see Mr. Charley and he would have taken out the blotter, looked at it, and decided about the pension. He would have given me something. He had sympathy for the workers.

It is said that Man tends to romanticize the past and see yesteryear events of his life in a mellower light than they really were. Even allowing for a certain amount of romanticism in people's accounts of the village's past and of their roles in that past, I think one is hard pressed not to conclude that the elimination of rice cultivation has cut deeply into their mode of life. Most obvious of the effects is that it has virtually forced the villagers into a state of complete dependence upon the sugar industry and proletarianized them by imparting a stronger cash-orientation to their lives.

When I pointed out the villagers' sentiments to a member of the managerial staff of WISCO, he shook his head negatively and told me they were just leading me on--telling me hard luck stories:

> Things are much better now. The wages which WISCO pays the people allow them to buy things. In "Charley-days", things were very cheap--you could buy a shirt for 5 shillings, but who had five shillings? Do you know how many days you had to work for Charley to accumulate 5 shillings? Today prices are higher, but at least people are earning money--a man gets a minimum of 13 shillings and 6 pence for a day's work. And the living conditions? During "Charley-days" they were terrible! People didn't live in board houses--all you saw were mud shacks and the ground served as the floor.

None of the people would deny the fact that they are living in better homes today and getting higher wages. When I mentioned these facts to one man, he smiled and acknowledged their truth. But then he asked, "Is it better to live in a mud shack with a full belly or in a board house and be hungry?" In that one sentence, the man had presented the villagers' case against the present. Almost all would deny they are better off now.

While it is difficult actually to assess the differences in caloric or protein intake during the period of "Charley-days" and the present, nevertheless, materials published on nutrition and food availability for the island as a whole reflect the poor quality of the village diet today. It might be initially noted that in 1962 a nutrition consultant from the F.A.O. advised the government that Jamaica had a serious nutrition problem which was partially caused by the inadequate local production of protein foodstuffs (Five Year Independence Plan 1963:185). The F.A.O in assessing the quality of national diets has tended to focus upon

the ratio of per capita calories derived from cereals, starchy roots, and sugar to total per capita calories. It is argued that, "where this proportion is high, for example, where these foods furnish over two-thirds of the total calorie supply, clear evidence is afforded of nutritional imbalances" (F.A.O. 1952:14).[7] The food balance sheets of Jamaica for 1958 and 1962 clearly show that the average Jamaican diet draws heavily upon the three groups of foodstuffs mentioned by the F.A.O. Table 8 shows that in 1958 the starchy staple-sugar ratio was 66.4 and in 1962 it was 63.5 (Beckford and Brown 1968:62,66). Hence, according to the F.A.O. criterion, Jamaica appears to be on the threshold of a nutritionally unbalanced situation.

Among the foods classified as cereal and cereal products, the main items are wheat flour, corn, and rice while green bananas, breadfruit, and yams are the main items under roots and other starchy foods (Ibid.:62). The bulk of the foods consumed in Canelot consist of foods from these categories. The staple food in the village is rice which forms the basis for at least one, and sometimes both, of the meals prepared during the day. An example of the degree of dependence on rice can be cited in the case of a woman neighbor who regularly went to the nearby town every Friday to buy 25 lbs. of rice which was used to feed seven persons, three of whom were young children. Invariably, before the week was out, the woman had depleted her rice supply and

TABLE 8

AVERAGE DAILY PER CAPITA CALORIE AVAILABILITY IN JAMAICA, 1958 & 1962

	1958		1962	
	Calories	%Dist.	Calories	%Dist.
Meat Fresh and Processed	125	4.8	139	5.5
Fish	89	3.4	95	3.8
Dairy Products	147	5.7	200	7.9
Fruits	134	5.1	199	7.9
Cereals & Cereal Products	811	31.0	732	28.9
Vegetables	14	.5	15	.6
Pulses	35	1.4	34	1.3
Roots & Starchy Foods	520	19.9	337	13.3
Sugars & Syrups	405	15.5	539	21.3
Fats & Oils	272	10.4	187	7.4
Other Products	60	2.3	53	2.1
	2612	100.0	2530	100.0

Source: Beckford and Brown 1968 :66

bought a few more pounds locally at the rice mill to tide her over through the end of the week.[8] Yams also are an important and regular part of the villagers' diet, as are breadfruit, when in season. In addition to these foods, which

are consumed in large quantities at mealtimes, sugar cane taken from the fields forms an indispensible part of the people's diet, especially for the children who consume cane between meals.

Studies on national food consumption have shown that the starchy staple portion of a people's diet is normally cheaper per 1,000 calories, whether in market price or in labor cost, than is the non-starchy staple fraction of the diet (Bennett 1954:218). Given the low level of income in the parish (see Appendix C), I think it can be reasonably argued that a substantial portion of the village population depends on starchy foods and sugar to a much greater extent than is indicated in the national averages.

In looking at the malaise of the Indians in Canelot, it has been argued by the government that production figures show it behooves Jamaica to import rice from Guyana rather than grow it locally, because Guyanese rice can be grown so much more cheaply.[9] Again, this factual statement can easily be shown to be true. Yet it does not follow, as I have heard said, that the people are better off buying Guyanese rice because of its lower cost of production. This is a meaningless line of argument <u>at the village level of economics</u>. It must be emphasized that any price the people in Canelot have to pay for rice is far more costly than if they grew it themselves.

Labor can only be thought of as having value if there are available alternatives to which it might be put. Alter-

natives, however, do not exist in the village or in the general area. The seasonal cane work provides employment for approximately six months; once the crop is finished the marketability of a person's labor is quite low. It is not a situation in which one can sit and rationally calculate how to manipulate one's labor so as to gain the greatest profit. During the six month dead season, one must use his labor for profitable gain in whatever way he can. To the villagers, the dead season, indeed, marks an end to their labor as a wage-earning asset. Like so many other people in the world of the underdeveloped, their labor and time become meaningless variables in the economist's macroscopic analyses of cost production at the national level. Time may be money to persons involved in a viable economy, but it is not in Canelot. That rice from Guyana can be marketed more cheaply than island-grown rice is of little matter to the people in Canelot. What matters is that they must pay 4 shillings and 6 pence ($.62) for every 6¼ lb. bag of rice every time they go to one of the stores in Market Town. When families had rice lands, their rice came from their own labor which cost them nothing. With the rice lands withdrawn, that same potential labor lies idle; there is no other economic activity into which it might be channeled.[10] And so the people sit things out half of their lives. As a man remarked, "Half of the year, you just ping-pong. You sit and talk a little, play some dominoes, drink, find a little day work, and just jump around from one thing to another--just ping-pong."

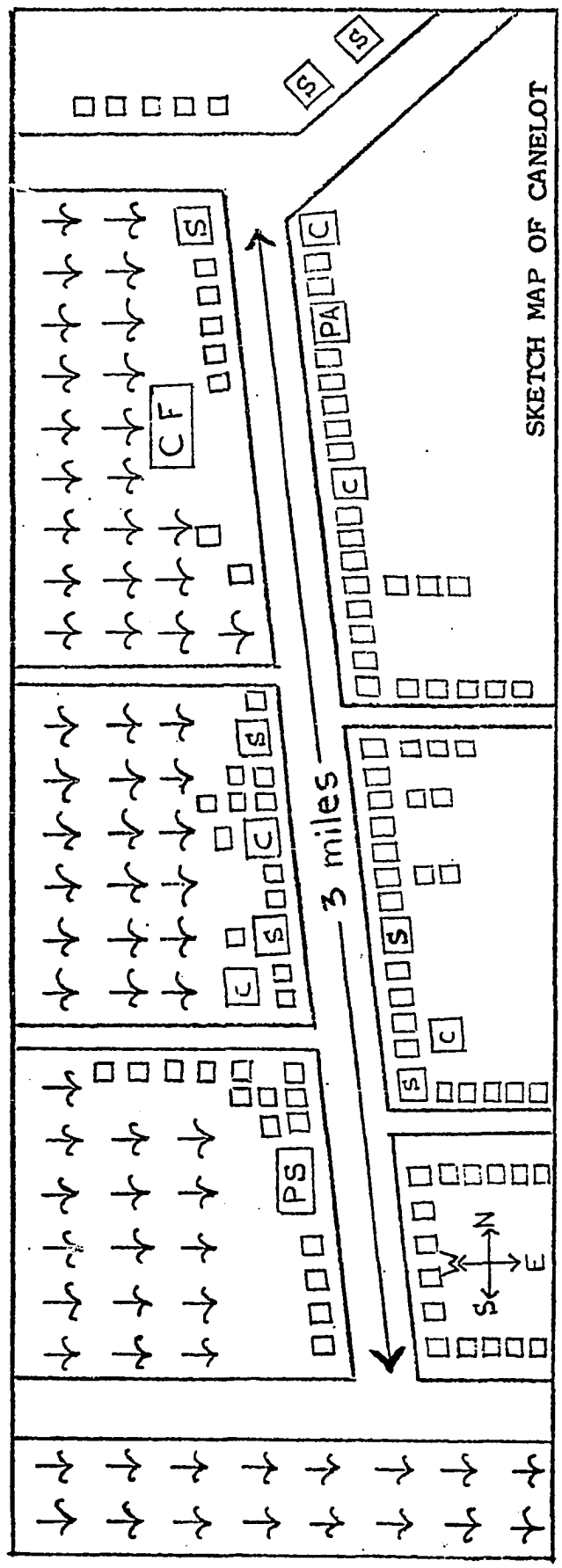
The people's despair of the present and their attachment to the past plainly revolve around the lack of lands to cultivate.

> If we had the land to cultivate, we could maintain ourselves, but we can't get the land. Everything here is cane--it spreads everywhere. You want to know why I'm living up to now? Because of the rice. But that's all gone now, that's all gone.

The village today

The village of Canelot consists of approximately one hundred and seventy-five households with a population of about 775 persons. Of the households in the village, roughly sixty per cent are Indian, thirty-five per cent are Negro and five per cent are mixed.[11] Most of the houses are strung along a dirt road which covers a distance of three miles; a few of the homesites are tucked away on little dirt paths which wind deeply into adjoining bush areas. Although the village appears to be rather densely populated and close to a number of larger towns in the parish, its name is one which most Jamaicans have never heard of, and its exact location can be found on only some maps of the island.[12]

The main road is under the control of the Parish Council and its condition reflects the poverty of funds which the Parish Council has at its disposal for local projects.[13] It is said that formerly the road was in good condition, with bus service running right through the village to carry the people as far away as Montego Bay. Today, the road is in poor condition, literally deteriorating daily and



C. = Church
C.F. = Cricket Field
P.A. = Postal Agency
P.S. = Primary School
S. = Shop
= Sugar Cane
= House

MAP C

in desperate need of repair. There are large holes and entire stretches with protruding stones. Christmas time brings on the great Jamaican government act of yuletide charity known as "Christmas work" in which the government finds little jobs for the poor so they can have some money to enjoy "The Christmas." In Canelot, this work consisted almost wholely of what is hesitatingly called "road repair." Christmas work involved both men and women. While men, for the most part, cleaned off the sides of the road which were being **invaded** by various local flora and cut water ditches into roadbanks, women toiled mainly in road repair gangs. This latter work involved sitting in the road with hammers and smashing stones which government trucks had dumped near holes. The smashed stones were then carried and placed in the holes, thereby filling them up until the next strong rain strewed the crushed rock all over the road. Due to the poor condition of the road, the bus service which used to be available to the people has been discontinued. Owners of local buses refuse to maintain a regular route over such a poor road. Now the people in Canelot must walk about a mile away to catch the nearest bus.

I have dwelt upon the condition of the road at the outset of the physical description of the village for two reasons. First, the villagers themselves have very strong feelings about the road. One need be in Canelot for only a few weeks to discover how often conversations are turned to

discussions of the road. People who seem shy or uncertain in their willingness to speak to a stranger, readily speak out when the subject of the road's condition is brought up.

> Look at the road--maybe twice a year the government sends somebody to work on it. But they really never fix it. Look at the water in the road [pointing to a puddle]. Mosquitoes live there. We can't sleep at night without a net or 'destroyer'.[14] We pay taxes. Why doesn't the government do something for us? It not right to have such a poor road for an area with so many people living in it.

I think it is fair to say without being criticized for crude psychologizing, that to the people of Canelot the road serves as a symbol--a symbol of the lack of governmental concern for the village which exists in the people's minds. It would be easy to point to other amenities lacking in the village--electricity, indoor sanitary facilities, a good water supply--and cite these as issues upon which to argue governmental neglect. However, the road bears the brunt of the feelings of resentment. The other lacking amenities are things the area has never had whereas the road is something tangible and the people have seen it deteriorate before their very own eyes.[15] The deprivation of something already possessed as opposed to something desired but not received, aids one in trying to understand why the road has come to be the symbol of the people's resentment towards the government.

The second reason for the discussion of the road and its condition is because, metaphorically, the road is really the village. When the road was in repair, so, too, was the village. In turn, as the road has suffered, general conditions in Canelot and its way of life have declined. The road, is

the embodiment of the fate of the village with the vicissitudes of one mirroring the vicissitudes of the other, hard times having fallen upon both.

As one heads down the three-mile stretch of road, signs of poverty are everywhere. Houses in the area show little variety, with the mode consisting of unpainted wooden shacks in various stages of disrepair. None of these has any indoor plumbing. Each yard has its own privy constructed either of wood or zinc. A few of the wooden houses were built as large multi-room dwellings; however, they are in a small minority. In contrast to the wooden structures, there are but four concrete houses in all of Canelot.[16] Their presence seems misplaced, as if some local contractor had lost his bearings--they do not fit into the dominant landscape of poverty. One of the houses is occupied by an elderly couple who own the one operating rice mill in the village; another is possessed by the family of a private farmer who works his own cane and owns some woodland and pasture as well as some rice lands. Both families are Indian. The two other concrete houses are owned by Indian store owners.

Scattered throughout Canelot one also finds a few remaining thatch houses. The walls are made of wooden or bamboo poles around two feet apart with pieces of slit bamboo laced between the poles. The pieces of slit bamboo are cemented in place with mud. The slanted roofs are made of thatch while the floors are usually wooden. This type of

house is considered by the villagers to be a sign of extreme poverty. During the period of fieldwork only one such house was constructed. The man who built the house complained he had no money to buy lumber. (Many people in the village considered him a sort of dim-wit.) The general expectation when one builds a house is that it be constructed of plank boards, with a galvanized metal roof, and glass windows and louvres.

The houses are usually constructed on contracts with local carpenters and are built at fixed rates. Often, the houses are bought on time with a down payment comprising about three-quarters of the total cost. The price of a two-room board house runs about £180 ($504). This price covers nothing more than the unpainted two-room structure-- no extra luxuries such as a verandah are included. The price of a one-room house runs £60-65 ($168-182). The carpenter with whom I spoke said he would not take less than £140 ($392) as down payment for the larger house and £40 ($112) for the smaller one. When I said that a lump sum of £140 seemed like a very large amount of money for anyone in Canelot to have, he smiled and answered that he only sold one large house and two small ones last year.

Once the house is constructed, the owner must make arrangements to transport it to his home site. The houses are carried on carts drawn by a team of three mules. At the home site, the house is set upon several piles of rocks,

one at each corner of the house, and number of piles under the center and the sides. The task of house-transport involves two types of payment for the purchaser. He must pay the owner of the mule cart a straight cash fee; friends who have helped in the moving effort, receive liberal libations of white overproof rum. Hence, the plank houses are mobile pieces of property which owners may take with them, if and when they desire to move elsewhere.

This latter point is a most important one in the people's minds, in that a large number of persons in the village do not own the land on which their houses rest. They pay what is called a "peppercorn rent" of one shilling per year to the Company. Although many of the villagers have lived at particular house sites for long periods of time, the fact that they do not actually own the land seems to have bred a type of transient mentality. Without actual ownership of the land, a sense of insecurity prevails. Instances were mentioned in several interviews pointing out that persons were forced off their house sites by the Company when the sites were in the path of new lands being put into cane production. The people had no alternative but to seek new places to live. The fear that a similar thing might happen to the villagers presently living on Company land strongly inhibits some forms of self-improvement which might occur if the people owned their own house sites. This fact of life was underscored in a conversation with an elderly caneworker.

"I have a little money saved," the man remarked. "I would build another room and a nice cement porch, but I'm afraid. I don't own the land." So Mr. Anansingh continues to live in his small wooden house making no improvements on it which might hinder its mobility. His mind is that of a transient; his decisions reflect an attitude of impermanence. Yet he has lived in Canelot at the present site for the past eighteen years.

The mobility of houses creates a small amount of population shifting. While living in Canelot I noticed a total movement of five houses--four houses moved into the village and one moved out. Reasons for moving are diverse. The man who left said he was moving because his in-laws had offered him some cultivation lands with a house site in a nearby community. A woman who moved into the area did so because her bad reputation involving theft had made life unpleasant in the village where she had been living.

Other persons revealed the deep sense of insecurity and transiency in the village when talking about planting around the house plot. In discussing how the Company had dislocated some of the people, it was pointed out that many of the families had planted fruit trees around their houses and these were bulldozed without any recompense to the families. Hence, the prevailing attitude is that it is foolish to plant something permanent, such as fruit tress, on a rented house plot--one may not be around to reap the rewards of

one's labor. The local living conditions, then, discourage investment in anything of a permanent or immobile nature.

In general, people's yards are clearly demarcated. Wooden and barbed wire fences, as well as high growing shrubbery mark off the boundaries of the yards. Within each yard there are usually one or two houses, though as many as five were observed in one yard. Multiple houses within a yard, with a few exceptions, provide shelter for close relatives living side-by-side.[17] Renting house plots within one's own yard to non-kin is rare. In each yard there is a small plot of garden vegetables growing.

To talk of the average number of rooms per house is meaningless. Many houses, after purchase, are further partitioned with pieces of thick cardboard resulting in rooms that need only a bed and a small table to become crowded. Furnishings are kept to a minimum and are best described as sparse. Possession of a breakfront for dishes is a major aspiration in setting up a household. Wallpaper usually consists of plastered newspapers and magazines, with colored pictures and advertisements the preferred choice. These walls of poverty preach an ironical message. Many consist of printed lures to inhabitants of the affluent West to visit far-away places with large luxury hotels, beautiful swimming pools and white sand beaches decked with bevies of blonde, blue-eyed women. The irony is that all this exists in Jamaica, but not for the people of Canelot. They are in no position to take advantage of the "sea and sun, rum and fun", to

"take a calypso vacation."[18]

Virtually in every house there is at least one visible expression of religiosity. Pictures of Christ, crucifixes, framed Biblical verses and religious expressions such as "The Lord is My Shepherd" and "Bless this House"--all of these abound in the people's homes.[19] Non-expression of one's religious convictions by such overt signs is interpreted as a type of deviance. Without the presence of these religious expressions a house is not a home.

Almost all the houses in Canelot have small separate structures used for kitchens. The kitchens are made like the thatch houses described earlier, with one exception--mud is not usually used to plaster the walls. Instead, the slit bamboo is simply interlaced between the bamboo poles, leaving open spaces. In essence, the kitchens are wattle without daub. No daub is applied so that the smoke from cooking may readily escape through the walls. In one case, I found the survival of the East Indian practice of spreading cow dung over the kitchen floor. The woman who did this jokingly referred to the dung as "cow cement." She emphasized how clean and cool it kept her kitchen. However, other persons with whom I discussed this practice, including some of her children, laughed at it and thought it to be out of step with the times.

The water supply in Canelot, until recently inadequate, further reveals the condition of life in the village. In 1953 the

government put a water pipeline into the village. Individuals paid to have pipes leading from the water-main put into their yards. Dependent upon the same water source as the nearby growing town of Market Town, the village supply proved to be insufficient. Water pressure was notoriously poor and people bitterly complained of the yearly eighteen shilling ($2.52) water tax. Since so little water was actually reaching Canelot, they claimed they were really paying a pipe tax. When we first came to live in Canelot in September, 1966, water could be gotten for a few hours every evening. However, when the dry period set in (November to April), water came through the village pipeline for a few hours in the night once every week to ten days. Without exaggeration, one could get up any hour of the evening and find children and adults wandering around with kerosene lamps and cooking oil tins checking to see if any water had found its way to their pipelines. Most of the nightly trips proved to be dry-runs. About midway through the fieldwork period, Canelot's pipeline was linked to a new well dug in nearby Market Town with money given by AID and water could be gotten, almost daily, from 10:00 A.M. through 7:00 P.M. However, in a place like Canelot where the worst is always expected and usually comes to pass, the water situation proved itself to be no exception. When the pipeline had been connected to the new well and the pump was set into motion, water came gushing through the village water line as it had never done before--so much that

the water pressure proceeded to burst pipes all along the main and suddenly water was everywhere. Needless to say, the pipe leading to the well then had to be disconnected for several weeks and the area remained without water while men from the local water commission came to inspect the damage and to repair the pipelines.

Within the village proper there are seven shops servicing the people. Three cluster together at a crossroad leading to Market Town while the others are interspersed between homes heading southward down the road towards one of WISCO's pay-stations. The inventories of the stores are small, consisting mainly of non-perishable goods--canned, packaged, and bottled goods make up the bulk of the shopowners merchandise. Much of the business done in the small stores involves debulking--e.g., selling merchandise such as cigarettes "one-one", half-bottles of rum, crackers and biscuits on an individual basis, small amounts of sugar and flour. All the shops except one are owned and run by local Indian families. The sole exception is a small shop rented by a Negro storekeeper.

The area is supplied with perishables by local vendors. Peddlers on Hondas and bicycles come into the village daily with fish caught in nearby rivers or the sea at Negril. Only on Fridays and Saturdays is meat peddled. During the weekend, a variety of fruits and vegetables pass through Canelot, usually on the backs of small donkeys. There appears to be a very strong division of labor in vending.

Whereas vegetables and fruits are almost exclusively sold by female higglers, fish and meat seem to be peddled primarily by males.

Although it might appear that the combination of local shops and itinerant vendors could provide the people with adequate supplies of food, it is interesting to note that each weekend most families go into the nearby town, four miles away to buy the majority of their staples in bulk quantities--e.g., $6\frac{1}{4}$ lb. bags of rice and flour, 4 lb. bags of sugar, 6 lb. bags of cornmeal, etc. These purchases are made at the larger stores in Market Town. In addition various types of scarce produce are bought in the large market place there. All the village women complain that the higglers do not have the variety of produce which one finds in the market place and that the produce they do have is more expensive.[20] The brisk business done in Market Town on Saturdays is facilitated by a small truck which shuttles passengers round trip for two shillings. Many, however, make the trek by foot and bicycle, and can be seen carrying large boxes, balanced delicately on their heads in traditional Jamaican style. Should the bulk purchases made at the "supermarkets" not last through the week, they are supplemented by small-quantity purchases made at local shops

I stress these purchasing activities to underscore the emphasis of a cash orientation in Canèlot. Exchanges of food locally grown or exchanges of labor services are unim-

portant and occur infrequently in the round of life in the village. Cash is the common denominator and it is money which one expects to receive when performing a service or offering some goods for sale. There is nothing comparable to the reciprocal relationships found elsewhere in the island where labor exchanges referred to as "morning sport" and "day for day" occur (Edwards 1961:76). When I asked a fish vendor living in Canelot if he ever traded his fish for other commodities should the buyer be short of cash, he laughed and remarked, "Oh no, I couldn't do that. He [the buyer] must give me money." My question did not make sense to the man. He was selling fish not for bananas, or coconuts, or yams, but for money. While in the village, I never saw barter occur. As one elderly woman succinctly summed up the situation, "It is money which makes things turn." Because money is a very scarce commodity in the village, "things do not turn" very much in Canelot.

In addition to the itinerant vendors and local shopkeepers, the village is also able to draw upon a wide variety of services performed by its members. A butcher, a dressmaker, a men's tailor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a fish-pot and basket maker, a welder-mechanic, and a man who runs a rice mill all reside in Canelot. Categorizing any of these persons as full-time specialists is difficult, in that almost all of them have some auxiliary source of income, be it a few cows, cultivation lands (rented or owned),

or additional employment outside of their specializations. The lack of capital in the area severely restricts full-time specialization.

The religious needs of most of the people are met by five different churches in the village. These include Baptists, Presbyterians, Seventh Day Adventists, and two smaller groups called the Holiness Church and the Grace Mission. There is one ministers resident in the village. Billy Graham and Oral Roberts are well known especially to members of the Holiness Church and the Grace Mission who regularly listen to their sermons on the radio. The largest congregation in the village is that of the Baptist church. Only the Baptist and Holiness churches can be considered to possess permanent structures, the former having built its own generator for electricity in April, 1967. This was the only church in the village with electricity during the field-work period. The other three churches are large rectangular structures made of wood or sheets of galvinized metal. As noted earlier, church affiliation of some sort is a cultural imperative in the village.

The village, per se, has no police station. However, three men resident in Canelot hold constable positions and have the power to arrest. Their tasks mainly involve breaking up fights, remarkably few of which came to my attention while in the field, and stopping persons riding bicycles without lights after darkness. The latter offence is commonplace

and when caught brings with it a fine of twenty shillings.

Within the village there are two public buildings. A postal agency is situated near the head of the road and services Canelot as well as a number of other neighboring districts. It performs the usual functions of posting all local letters and packages and selling postage to the villagers. It lacks facilities for transmitting or receiving telegrams which, in Jamaica, is the differentiating criterion between a post office and postal agency.

At the other end of the road the one primary school, with over 500 students and 7 teachers, attempts to prepare the village children for the all-important nation-wide examinations for scholarships. Most will have to pass these exams if they are to receive a secondary education. Parents, in most cases, make personal sacrifices for the education of their children. Receiving one of the educational certificates is a desperately hoped-for goal for the children. Education is seen as the key unlocking the trap of Westmoreland. There is no land to become a farmer and working in the cane is considered degrading. Westmoreland is seen by the villagers as a dead end. The child has got to get an education and with it make his own way out of this parish of no opportunity which offers a decent standard of living only to a privileged few--"My parents did not know much about education, so I didn't go to school. Education is important. I want my children to get school certificates and leave Canelot."

Another parent summed up the general attitude of the village towards education while playing with one of his granddaughters who, though of school age, remained at home because it was claimed there was not sufficient clothing to send her to school regularly.

> The poor man's children should have the chance to learn just like the rich man's. But it costs money for the books, and the clothes to send the "pickneys" to school. And many don't have the money to send the children on to the secondary school. Things are bad, but I'm an old man and near the end. For the children, things are going to be much worse. Education is important these days, but a hungry child cannot read.

These are the thoughts which run through the parents' minds as they try to get together enough money to buy their children the necessary school uniforms, books and other supplies at the beginning of the school year. Unfortunately, it is commonplace to see students going off to school for whole terms with few or none of the necessary text books.

In the classroom proper, learning by rote seems to be emphasized. Most parents feel the extra push needed to pass the scholarship examinations lies in "special lessons". These are lessons in which students are tutored in small groups after classroom hours. They call for extra payments, a sum of two shillings a week paid in advance--"money makes things turn." The child whose parents cannot afford these lessons will have to take his chances on passing the exams with what he has learned in the large, noisy, impersonal classrooms.

Every day one sees small groups of children returning home from school an hour or two after regular classes have

been let out. These are the privileged, private-lesson children. They are the embodiment of hope for better things in the future. Unknowingly, they are preparing for what is to be, for most, a terribly dreadful day in their lives when they will sit for the scholarship examinations and fail them.[21] They will fail them not because of any genetic weakness or mental insufficiency. There is no reason to believe that there is any deficiency of average and high I.Q.'s among the children of Canelot. They will fail them because private lessons are no substitute for the knowledge and learning skills which they should be absorbing during the regular classroom day and are not, while their peers competing on the examinations from smaller private schools, where learning does not begin after regular classes are over, are way ahead of the pack in the learning process. They will fail them because there is always water to be fetched, chickens to be fed, rice to be dried, and a host of other chores which children are expected to perform once they are home. They will fail them because most parents, though willing, are unable to help their children understand the lessons taught at school. They will fail them because by 6:30 in the evening it is too dark to read a book or do what little homework has been assigned. With no electricity, night effectively envelopes and suffocates school work. In the end the children will fail the examinations because they have had the misfortune to have been born in Canelot.

CHAPTER III

WORK IN THE CANE

Historical background to cane in Westmoreland

A brief temporal overview points to the direction in which sugar cane cultivation has proceeded in the area. Historically, the open level lands of Westmoreland have been inviting to men hoping to make their fortunes in sugar. Hence, the roots of the present-day legacy of sugar production in the parish extend back over two centuries (Hall 1959: 82).

The economic history of sugar cane has been one dominated by the fact that the juice of the cane must be extracted soon after the cane is cut--it cannot be exported in a raw state. Differing from planters of coffee or cocoa, sugar entrepreneurs had to be prepared for a sizeable initial investment for the purchase of machinery and equipment required in extracting the cane juice. The estates of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were built and organized as autonomous economic uits, each possessing its own tools of production. On the grounds of each estate was a factory powered by cattle or large water wheels for driving the mills-- relics of these past days can still be seen around the island.

The problem of centralization was one which received the attention and consideration of estate owners almost

immediately after the abolition of slavery. It has been argued that the crux of the problem lay in the lack of capital possessed by estate owners on the island. The manufacturing side of sugar production was qualitatively different from the agricultural, when it came to capital expenditure. As Hall has noted, the agricultural expenditures involved units of equipment which were small and relatively cheap--e.g., additional plows on harrows, were purchases easily made; however, the greater expense of new factory machinery raised the very real question of the ability of individual estates to make the purchases without incurring inescapable debts (Ibid.:76). It was this difficulty which eventually led planters to discussions of the possibilities of centralization of the manufacturing side of the sugar industry.

As early as 1847, Thomas Jelly of Westmoreland wrote (1847:53):

> Westmoreland within the last four years has done much, not only in her canefields, but in efforts at improved manufacture; larger boilers have been imported, furnaces on an improved scale constructed, and other minor adjuncts employed. She has much yet to undergo, viz., to get rid of her manufactories altogether, and learn how to subdivide, and thereby economise labour.

Jelly put forward a series of arguments for the centralization of sugar production in Westmoreland which received the attention of a number of other planters in the parish (Ibid.: 56-59). Following up on Jelly's suggestions, a group of Westmoreland planters attempted to raise funds to implement

Westmoreland, 10th June, 1847.

WESTMORELAND
Central Factory Company.

CAPITAL £40,000, IN 800 SHARES, OF £50 EACH.

DEPOSIT, £2. 10s. PER SHARE.

Provisional Committee.

(Previous to Public Meeting.)

THE HON. H. A. WHITELOCK. | THOMAS TATE, ESQUIRE.
BENJAMIN VICKERS, ESQUIRE. | WILLIAM H. COOKE, ESQUIRE.

JAMES JENKINS, ESQR., *Honorary Secretary.*

THIS COMPANY will be formed for the immediate Establishment of one or more CENTRAL FACTORIES

On the Banks of the Cabaritta.

With TRAMWAYS, connecting the Estates adjacent thereto.

The facilities afforded by the Locality are highly encouraging for such Establishments, and cannot be surpassed by any other District in the Island,—the Estates being situated on a rich, level plain, and possessing a navigable River, on which at present, Iron Boats of 15 Tons Burthen, are used.

On reference to the Map it will be observed, that taking BELLE-ISLE ESTATE as a centre, there are *five* other Sugar Properties adjacent, which could be connected by tramways, in no instance exceeding one mile and a half in length; and by the construction of proper Wharf premises, water carriage could be secured, not only for the Estates in question, but might be made the outlet for the produce of twelve other properties.

The Crops of the six Estates proposed as the ground on which the operations of the Company should commence, may this year be computed at 1000 Hogsheads, which with the facilities of an improved expeditious mode of manufacture, could be doubled, and much as this is to be desired, it is but a small proportion of the real advantages ultimately to be obtained, namely, the bringing into cultivation of several thousand acres of rich cane land, at present constituting the Great Morass; as also other ruinate lands not now in cultivation.

The locality of the intended Factory, affords the most economical means of carrying out the intentions of the projectors.—The banks of the CABARITTA are composed of excellent brick mould, and abound with logwood, the heart of which, used as sleepers for the several Tramways, will be imperishable

The success of this undertaking, promoted as it is, by parties most deeply interested in its prosperity, will afford some guarantee to Shareholders, that the most favorable results may be anticipated, whilst the site proposed for its erection is peculiarly adapted for it.—The most perfect level lands in the Island—the richest possible soil—the fine river, navigable to the harbour—combined with *Capital*, energy, and the *most improved system of manufacture*, cannot but convince the most sceptical, of its feasibility, as a profitable investment.

One third of the capital required for this undertaking has already been subscribed by Proprietors, and other parties, residing in the immediate neighbourhood. The remaining two-thirds is offered to the public, and as soon as one-half the Capital is subscribed, a PUBLIC MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS will be called to appoint DIRECTORS, and to arrange the necessary preliminaries, for carrying out the objects of the undertaking, as well as to prepare a Bill for incorporating the Company, and limiting responsibility, &c. &c.

Early applications for shares, are requested to be made in the annexed form, to JAMES JENKINS, ESQ, Honorary Secretary, Savanna-la-mar Post Office, or in Kingston, to Messrs ELIN, WRIGHT & Co.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

TO THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE WESTMORELAND CENTRAL FACTORY COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

I request that you will allot me ——— shares of £50 each, in the above Company; and I hereby undertake to accept the same, or such lesser number as you may allot me, and to pay the deposit of £2. 10s. per share thereon, also to sign the necessary deeds when required.

NAME _____

Source: The Falmouth Post and Jamaica General Advertizer: June 10, 1847

PLATE IV: WESTMORELAND CENTRAL FACTORY STOCK OFFERING, 1847

the idea of building a central factory. A Central Factory Company was formed with a projection of £40,000 capital necessary to begin the project (The Falmouth Post and Jamaica General Advertizer: June 10, 1847). The money was to be raised through the sale of 800 shares in the company at a price of £50 per share (see Plate IV for notice of stock offering). Although it was reported, "From private sources, of the most authentic nature, we are informed, that the applications for shares are numerous, and that the interest evinced in the matter by several respectable and influential gentlemen, augurs a successful, and favorable result" (The Falmouth Post and the Jamaica General Advertizer: August 10, 1847), nevertheless, the organizers evidently were not able to raise the £40,000 and the central factory projected for Westmoreland was not built.

As the vicissitudes of the Jamaican sugar industry raged on during the nineteenth century, two very clear patterns emerged vis-a-vis the estate system. First, the actual number of estates began a steady decline. Estates which had been profitable during the earlier period of the sugar boom began to go under as competition became keener, with a type of economic natural selection pushing the less efficient estates into extinction. Figures on this decline in the parish of Westmoreland reveal a marked reduction in the total number of estates (Hall 1959:82).

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF SUGAR ESTATES IN WESTMORELAND, 1772-1854

Parish of	1772	1791	1804	1834	1844	1848	1854
Westmoreland	73	66	68	48	48	46	34

It is interesting to note that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the number of estates in western Jamaica continued to decline in spite of the fact that the island's sugar interest was literally moving in that direction. In writing of the post-emancipation situation of the sugar estate system in Jamaica, R. W. Beachey has commented, "The shift of sugar cultivation in Jamaica was towards the western and drier parishes of the island and even in these districts the number of estates was much reduced"(1957:123). He remarks, specifically of Westmoreland, that by 1897 there were but fifteen remaining estates (Ibid.).

The second pattern which appeared was the actual growth in size of those estates able to survive the difficult period of the nineteenth century--a century in which two of the sugar industry's supports, slavery and protective tariffs, were abolished by the British parliament. Eisner, in a study of the economic development of Jamaica between 1830 and 1930, also points to the general reduction in the number of sugar estates as well as the concomitant increase in acreage of the surviving estates (1961:203). Although her data are descriptive of the island as a whole, nevertheless, I think it is not unreasonable to assume that

the surviving sugar estates of Westmoreland were following the same pattern of becoming larger and larger as were the estates of the other parishes. In this light, Eisner's figures on the increase in size of estates are presented (Ibid.).

TABLE 10

NUMBER AND SIZE OF SUGAR ESTATES, 1836-1930

Year	No.	Size Acres
1836 . .	670	n.a.[a]
1846 . .	513	n.a.
1852 . .	427	n.a.
1865 . .	300	n.a.
1869 . .	266	n.a.
1880 . .	202	185
1890 . .	162	187
1900 . .	111	196
1910 . .	74	294
1920 . .	66	368
1930 . .	39	661

[a] n.a.= not available

It would appear that some of the estates which financially went under were eventually amalgamated into the surviving sugar estates.

It has been reported that by the early 1900's all the small factories previously scattered on the various estates in Westmoreland had been replaced by a total of seven factories (Buchanan n.d.:1). In the adjacent parish of Hanover there were but two factories and the whole group of nine

factories were owned and controlled by six individuals (Ibid.). The largest number of factories were on the James Charley's Estates.

Prosperity came to the sugar industry during the time of the First World War. The increased demand for sugar forced the price up to the high of over £100 per ton. However, shortly after WWI, the bottom fell out of the international market and sugar fetched the incredibly low priced of £3-12-6 per ton (WISCO 1963:8). A period then followed when many estates went into liquidation and were taken over and run under receiverships. In 1924 the James Charley holdings were taken over by Barclays Bank D.C.O.

It was in 1938 that WISCO entered the western part of the island by purchasing the properties of James Charley which consisted of eleven estates and three factories--Frome and Masemure factories in Westmoreland and Prospect factory in neighboring Hanover. At the same time, WISCO purchased in Westmoreland an additional six estates with four more factories (Buchanan n.d.:2). The Company then proceeded to destroy the seven separate factories and replace them with a single centralized plant at Frome. With a cane crop of 213,184 tons entering Frome Factory in 1938, the tonnage proved to be inadequate for the centralized plant which went into operation for the 1939 crop (Ibid.). At this point WISCO began to expand their cultivation as well as to try and encourage more cane cultivation on non-estate

properties. The latter was done by offering private cane farmers technical assistance and new seedlings free of cost. By 1953, the situation had reversed itself and the factory capacity could not absorb all the canes reaped in Westmoreland and Hanover. Improvements were quickly made in the factory to meet the increased production demands. Later, in 1960 when cane production still continued to increase, the Frome Central was expanded a second time by the addition of a second tandem and added boiling capacity. These improvements and additions have made Frome the largest sugar factory in Jamaica today and the only one with two tandems.

From 1938, when the factory produced 21,856 tons of sugar, Frome has expanded to a production of 106,049 tons in 1965. Table 11 shows the strong growth of sugar production at Frome Factory.

TABLE 11

SUGAR PRODUCTION AT FROME FACTORY, 1938-65

Year	Tons
1938	21,856
1941	30,251
1944	33,325
1947	40,108
1950	50,494
1953	63,669
1956	69,713
1959	84,163
1962	96,322
1965	106,049

Source: Frome Office Records

Undoubtedly, stimulated by the presence of WISCO's factory at Frome, other landowners in the area began to turn more and more of their properties into the cultivation of sugar cane. Available figures on cane brought to the Frome Factory reveal over-all increases not only in the absolute amounts of non-WISCO cane, but also in the percentage of cane ground. This is readily revealed by the figures in Table 12.

Today, the Company's Westmoreland holdings cover some 26,571 acres with almost half, 12,730 acres, occupied by cane cultivation.[1] Lands in the area available for cultivation are scarce. The heavy concentration of large tracts of cane lands in the hands of a relatively few producers appear to be supported by WISCO's own discussion of the achievement of making a 100,000 tons of sugar in the year 1963 at Frome Factory (Buchanan n.d.:3).

> It will be observed from the above that the farmers have made great strides in that they have not only caught up with the estate's production, but have now surpassed same, thereby making a great contribution to the Central's magnificent achievement in making over 100,000 tons of sugar. A point worthy of mention at this stage is the economic aspect of the Central in this parish: in that, the farmers' supply is not confined to large growers, as of the 3,834 farmers who made this contribution, 3,387 represent small growers who delivered 100 tons of cane and under.

Out of 474,784 tons of cane delivered to the factory by private farmers in 1963, 80.29 per cent was delivered by the 447 farmers who delivered over 100 tons of cane-- the remaining 3,387 small growers produced only 19.71 per cent of the

TABLE 12

CANE DELIVERIES TO FROME FACTORY BY PRIVATE FARMERS

Year	Total Cane Ground	Farmers' Cane Deliveries	Percentage of Total Canes Ground
	Tons	Tons	%
1938	232,310	66,501	28.60
1939	183,383	54,664	29.72
1940	149,341	53,060	35.41
1941	275,781	102,369	36.99
1942	338,492	130,280	38.38
1943	283,288	107,101	37.35
1944	261,999	99,389	37.81
1945	238,035	79,767	33.37
1946	319,138	100,298	31.35
1947	355,677	103,031	28.89
1948	320,411	100,383	31.28
1949	391,930	120,722	30.74
1950	413,598	139,267	33.83
1951	400,832	135,559	33.78
1952	436,856	165,031	37.73
1953	595,816	251,089	42.12
1954	696,182	334,508	48.05
1955	636,578	333,880	52.45
1956	590,222	279,390	47.32
1957	779,490	367,397	47.11
1958	673,395	328,155	48.71
1959	845,367	443,110	52.40
1960	853,721	440,153	51.54
1961	827,134	428,098	51.75
1962	851,236	453,393	53.25
1963	883,026	474,780	53.77
1964	912,584	497,212	54.48
1965	923,422	520,687	56.39
1966	931,830	530,987	56.98
1967[a]	770,858	414,665	53.78

[a]The drop in cane deliveries in 1967 was due to a strike

Source: Frome Office Records

1963 crop delivered to Frome Factory by private farmers. However, even these statistics are somewhat deceptive. To assess the high degree of concentration of productive cane lands in the general area, the figures on farmers in Hanover and Westmoreland who delivered over 1000 tons of cane really tells the tale. In the year under discussion, the small number of 54 farmers, from out of the 3,834 who grew canes for the factory, delivered 288,829 tons of cane or 60.84 per cent of all canes delivered by non-estate producers.[2]

In brief, the configuration of the sugar industry in Westmoreland today is one which is composed of the following features: (1) large units of land, concentrated in the hands of relatively few owners, (2) a centralized land and factory system for cultivation and grinding of the canes, (3) foreign ownership and corporate organization providing the capital for the industry, and (4) a technological orientation towards production which seeks ways in which the costs of production can be rationalized. This mode of agricultural production has been labelled by some anthropologists as a "factory-in-the-field". Certainly the operations of the sugar company are characterized by an aura of business.

The cultivation of sugar cane

The previous remarks briefly point out the land-holding situation in the area. However, to gauge the full impact of this mode of agricultural production, one must try

to see the manner in which the people fit into the land-and-factory system of sugar production. With the island's sugar industry commanding an estimated 200,000 acres of Jamaican soil, sugar continues to be the largest single employer of labor (Brewster 1967:6). The cultivation of sugar cane is an economic activity involving some 39,000 Jamaican men and women (Ibid.).[3] Of the 163 households canvassed in the village, 134 of them had at least one or more persons who either worked for WISCO or were on a sugar pension. However, even this rather high figure does not fully reveal the villagers' dependence upon the Company. While not actually in the employment of the Company, nevertheless, the men who cultivate cane privately or who own carts for hauling are also very strongly hooked into the decision-making apparatus of the Company and dependent upon WISCO for the bulk of their livelihood. The organization of cane cultivation is one well known to all the people of Canelot. There is a set pattern in which various cultivation activities follow one upon the other. The serial round of these activities controls as much the lives of the villagers as it does the success of cane cultivation.[4]

The sugar cane is a member of the grass family botanically known as Saccharum officinarum. It is one of the larger grasses and consists of roots, stalk, and leaves. It achieves a height of ten to fifteen feet and its stalk is a tube about 2 inches in diameter consisting of an outer hard rind

filled with a softer fibrous tissue in which the sugar is contained. The cane juice extracted by huge rollers which hydraulically apply a pressure of 500 tons to the canes passing through them contains about 13% sugar. The average composition of a mature sugar cane is approximately 70% water, 14% fibre, 13.5% sugar, and 2.5% other solids (Barnes 1953:339).

The propagation of sugar cane in Jamaica is mainly based on a system of ratooning. To "ratoon" refers to the practice of leaving the cane roots in the ground after the crop has been harvested. In reaping the canes, the workers chop them off a few inches from the surface of the ground, leaving portions of the stalks and roots intact. The segments of the cane stalks and their root systems which are left in the ground after reaping are called "stools", and it is from these remaining stools that the succeeding growths of canes known as ratoons issue forth. The underground portion of the cane stalk consists of closely spaced joints each with its own complement of bud and root points (Figure 1).

From the buds or "eyes" of the stools, new cane shoots (ratoons) develop, each with its own root system. Hence, a number of sugar cane stalks may develop from a single stool and form a clump of canes. This development is illustrated in Figure 2. In essence, ratooning is a self-perpetuating system of propagating canes. Once a field has been planted, the canes after the initial reaping leave stools which

produce new canes (ratoons); the ratoons, in turn, yield the stools which will produce successive crops of ratooned sugar cane. The ratooning procedure is kept up until the yield begins to fall, at which point the field is plowed under and re-seeded. The word "seed", though used by persons involved in cane cultivation, is a bit misleading. What is actually planted is a nine inch piece of cane which is cut from the top of the cane stalk during the harvest. This nine inch piece of cane is called a "dibble" and usually has two or three joints (nodes)with buds.

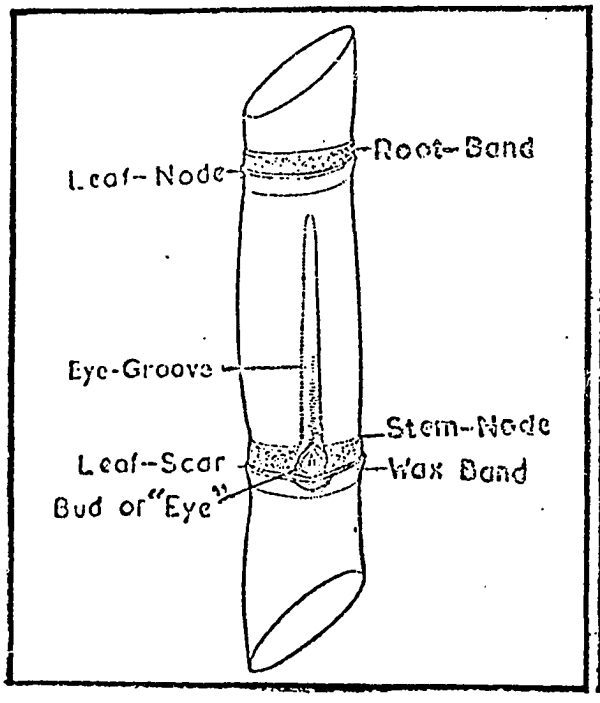


FIGURE 1
FEATURES OF THE CANE STALK

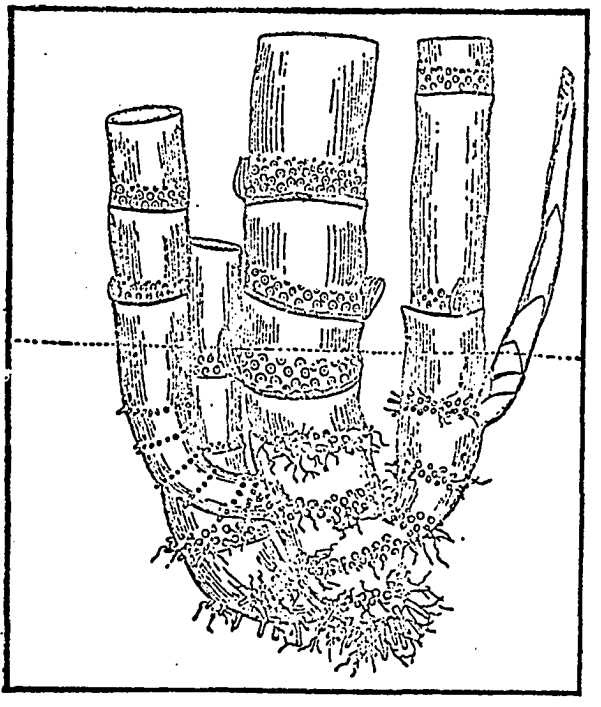


FIGURE 2
DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY SHOOTS

On WISCO lands, the breaking point for plowing under a field is usually when the canes produce a yield of less than 30 tons per acre. Once this occurs, it is felt the loss of production is more costly than the expense involved in replanting the field. The length of time a field can be ratooned is surprisingly long. In talking with officials at WISCO, I was informed that fields had been successfully ratooned for as long as 12-15 years before replanting was necessary. At least three ratoon crops are expected when a field is planted. Cane grown by the ratoon system takes about twelve months to be ready for harvesting. Hence, the ratoons of a field harvested in January of one year should produce cane ready for harvesting by the following January. After the field is cut, the following year's crop begins to sprout within a few weeks. The system of cultivation, as described, eliminates any sort of crop rotation. The fields bear sugar cane all year round, one year after the other. In the past, some of the lands were left to lie fallow, however, this practice has now been eliminated completely. Fallowing was said to be uneconomical, with little or no gain resulting from periodically taking cane fields out of cultivation.

The replanting of whole blocks of land, as well as most of the other field tasks, is done manually. There are persons who cut the nine inch dibble, others who supply it to those areas where it is needed, and gangs of workers who

do the actual planting of the dibble. This latter task involves thrusting a metal rod into the cane bank so as to make a deep hole and then inserting the dibble at about a 30° angle. It is imperative that the eye of the dibble is underground if the dibble is to send forth cane shoots. In addition to the fields which are completely replanted, those fields left for ratooning are replenished. A few weeks after being harvested, the fields are inspected to see if there are any areas in which the ratoons are sparse. These sections are then filled in with what is called "long top"--it is like dibble, but longer, averaging around eighteen inches. The "long top" is used instead of the shorter dibble because it is felt the latter would not be able to compete with the already existing ratoons and would not grow as well.

Experimentation is continuously going on in the effort to determine which of the varieties of cane is the most suitable for the Jamaican situation. To date, the most successful breed of cane has been one called B4362. The name abbreviates the following facts about this variety of cane: (1) that it came from the island of Barbados, (2) it was bred in the year 1943, and (3) it was the sixty-second variety bred that year. Most of WISCO's lands are planted with this variety of cane.[5] In experimenting with numerous varieties of cane, some of the following features are sought: (1) a cane which is not too fibrous, hence facilitating its milling, (2) one which sheds its leaves easily, grows straight,

and possesses few prickles, facilitating its cutting, (3) a high sucrose content, and (4) resistance to disease.

To aid their growth, fertilizer is applied to the young canes. It consists of the chemical compound ammonium sulphate and is spread by hand; potash and phosphate, also hand-thrown, are sometimes applied to the fields. When laboratory tests show the land in a field is deteriorating, the field is spread with a substance called "filter press mud". This consists of a dark gray scum which comes from the cane and is separated from the juice in the milling process. It is rich in lime and is used as a mulch for the canes, adding a small percentage of nitrogen and phosphate to the soil. In addition, the fields are sprayed with fertilizer, insecticide, and weed-killers. The fertilizer and insecticide are sprayed over the fields by a small single-engine airplane, while the weed-killers are applied with small tank sprayers which are strapped to men's backs. In spite of the use of chemical weed-killers, it is still necessary to supplement the chemical sprays with some hand-weeding. Also, the removal of competitive grasses growing in the cane banks has to be done by hand. Chemicals for the removal of these grasses is not feasible, given the fact that the cane is a type of grass. I was told by a WISCO official that the Company was afraid that any chemical which could choke out the competing grasses might also injure or kill the canes as well.

In the early stages of cane growth, tractors are brought into the field to deepen the furrows and build up the cane banks. The tops of the banks are kept about eighteen inches above the furrow bottoms. The furrowing operation is not only important in creating optimal conditions for the canes to root properly, but also in terms of the general system of irrigation which is used in the fields. In the act of deepening the furrows and building up the cane banks, the tractors are remodelling the drainage system. Essentially, each row of cane has a field drain on either of its sides. During the wet season, which usually lasts from May until the end of November, the furrows act as drainage run-offs. The drainage system in the fields consist of an intricate system of interconnected ditches. The furrows between the cane banks feed the rainwater into larger ditches which, in turn, feed large channels running into local rivers (e.g., the Cabaritta River and the Alma River). The clay soil of the estates in Westmoreland requires a considerable amount of drainage work.[6] Hence, one of the manual jobs in which WISCO utilized a large number of man-hours is in the task of keeping drainage ditches clear of debris. While moisture does aid the growth of sugar cane, too much water around the cane roots causes them to rot. Therefore, great precaution is taken in making certain that the water runs off the lands smoothly. On the other hand, during the dry season, water is pumped from nearby rivers

and used in overhead irrigation to compensate for the lack of rain. The bank-and-furrow method of cultivation, currently used in Jamaica, was developed in Louisiana and is known by the workers as the "Louisiana method."

Once the activities focusing upon replanting, weeding, fertilizing, and cleaning the drainage network are completed, the amount of labor needed until the time of harvest is small. With the completion of these rounds of activities, a long waiting period ensues until the crop is mature and ready to be cut.

The canes grow to their full height within a period of 9-12 months while taking a complete year to become fully mature for reaping. With the onset of the harvest, employment sharply rises; the bulk of employment in the fields centers upon those tasks involved in the cutting, loading, and transporting of canes to the factory. As these jobs are performed, the work involving the replanting and replenishing of fields also goes on.

During the crop of 1967, the Company initiated some innovations in the reaping of its cane fields in Westmoreland. In the past, WISCO had lost canes due to fires set to the fields. Fires, in and of themselves, are not detrimental to the canes. However, if set on fire, a cane field must be cut within a three-day period after the fire, otherwise the sugar content of the canes falls drastically. It is argued that, previously, laborers out of work attempted

to create employment for themselves by setting cane fires in the hope that the Company would hire additional men to reap the burned cane so as to avoid loss of its sugar content. Also, by setting fire to the cane fields, all the thick cane trash is burned away.[7] The burning away of the trash permitted the worker to cut the cane far more quickly. Hence, cane fires meant the task work assigned to a cutter could be completed more easily and in a briefer period of time.[8] Because of the losses incurred by the Company during the crop of 1966 a system of controlled burning was instituted with the 1967 crop.[9] Once a field is burned, the cane is quickly removed. The cutters work in teams of two. Each pair of men work as a team, first cutting the cane a few inches from the bottom and then bisecting it. The halves are then thrown into piles for loaders to pick up. Until 1967, the loading of the canes into carts was completely done by hand. Men who performed the task of loading worked in teams of four. Three men remained on the ground picking up the cut canes, putting them into neat bundles, and handing them up to the fourth man who was in the cart. In a move towards bringing greater mechanization into the field operations of the sugar industry, WISCO brought mechanical loaders (referred to as "the grab") to three of their nine farms in Westmoreland. It is argued that the mechanical loaders insure a more steady supply of cane to the factory than does the same operation performed manually. Once they

are loaded, carts are linked to tractors, and the canes are taken away to be ground at the factory. When all the fields have been reaped, activities emphasizing those tasks which promote the growth of young canes (weeding, spraying herbicides and insecticides, hand manuring, etc.) again come to the fore. The cycle of field operations is completed, only to start again.

Earning a living in the cane

The production of sugar is also usually divided into two broad divisions--those of field and factory. The great majority of men in Canelot earn their livelihood from work in the fields. Though lumped in the general category of "cane worker," they labor at a wide variety of jobs. Most of the men who work in the fields perform specialized tasks. Although many claim a knowledge of all the field tasks and the ability to perform most of these jobs, few actually work many man-hours outside of their particular specialties. The workers see themselves as cutters, loaders, spade and fork men, suppliers, and refer to themselves by these categories. Most of the workers seemed to feel that cane loading was the hardest job in the fields. When there is no work in a man's specialty, he will seek work in whatever field task is available. However, it appears that the plentiful supply of labor in the area strongly restricts the possibilities of getting work outside of one's specialty.

An exception to this situation occurs at the very beginning of the harvest period, when the farms usually employ extra men as cutters in order to get a large amount of cane cut initially.[10] The mills at Frome Factory have a grinding capacity of 180 tons per hour; hence a large supply of cane must be immediately harvested in order to allow the grinding machinery to be started, as well as to keep a steady supply of cane flowing into the tandems. Therefore, men who specialise in other field operations often work as cutters at the start of the crop in order to pick up some extra money. The whole harvest period is based upon the plan that once the mills begin grinding, they are to be kept in operation around the clock, seven days a week, until the harvest is completely finished.[11] The overseers of each farm (or "bushers" as they are called in Jamaica) must coordinate the cutting, loading, and transporting of cane in a manner which will guarantee against any interruption of the grinding process. Each morning the factory sends out quotas of cane to be cut on each of the farms and the overseers are then held responsible for supplying these amounts.[12] All the pronouncements are filtered from the factory's main office, through the busher, and then on to the workers. The only other time a man works outside of his specialty is during the dead season. The Company attempts to spell the workers on a two week basis, thereby spreading the limited amount of work during that period among as many different men as possible.

During the dead season, the laborers take any kind of work the Company has to offer. The plentiful supply of labor in Westmoreland which WISCO can draw upon stands in sharp contrast to the continuously reported labor-shortage which the Jamaican sugar industry is purported to face.[13] As one overseer bluntly remarked to me, "Labor shortage? As I see it, a labor shortage is no problem in Westmoreland. It is not relevant at all to a discussion of the problems of the sugar industry here. On my farm, I have more workers than I can use. WISCO has all the labor it needs to run its nine farms." The surplus of labor which seems to exist in Westmoreland can be attributed to the monolithic economic situation of the parish. Earning a living outside of employment in the sugar industry is very difficult. Canelot epitomizes a village of land-hungry people. The most frequent response to the question, "What do you think would be most helpful to the people here in Canelot?", was that the government should get the people some lands to cultivate.[14] Land scarcity provides the basis for understanding the economic leverage which the Company possesses in the area. One of Davison's generalizations regarding the labor shortage in the Jamaican sugar industry is worth quoting here simply to set off the markedly different circumstances in Canelot.

> On every estate visited the managements agreed that there is a marked seasonal pattern in the labour supply. From a fairly plentiful supply of labour at the start of the crop the labour available dwindles

> slowly until Easter when the supply plunges downwards. Everyone also seems to be fairly agreed about the causes of this variation-at the beginning of the crop last year's bonus is spent, the men may be in debt, they are rested and fresh and ready to work. As the weeks pass the money position eases, they become tired and general physical as well as social fatigue sets in. The crucial factor, however, is the fact that the great majority of the workers have a small holding somewhere in the hills and this is their first love and loyalty. When rain comes around April, the planting time has arrived and at Appleton estate, for instance, the author was told that after a shower of rain as many as 60% of the field workers will depart. "Gone ground" as the saying goes. (1965:24-25).

On the contrary, I found most of the people living in the village to be landless. Approximately three-quarters of the families (121) said they owned no cultivation lands. As pointed out earlier, the Indians in the village had, indeed, adapted to the exploitation of two ecological niches; however, both of these were lowland niches. The hill-and-valley type of adaptation to which Davison refers simply is not applicable to the cane workers in Canelot.

While most of the villagers do have a square or two of land[15] around their homes in which they have planted some of the local ground provisions--calilu, badu, yam, coco, okra, gunga peas, dasheen, and, other local foods--these gardens can hardly be thought of as income-producing units. The quantities of produce grown are too small to think of them as "crops". They are simply the fruits of minor efforts at trying to cut down on cash expenditures for food. In actuality, the few patches of ground devoted to garden foods hardly begin to make a dent in the consumption needs of the people.[16]

The population of Canelot is not part of the often referred to "small plot peasantry of Jamaica" (Mintz 1959b:43; Wolf 1959:143); rather, it is a landless, wage-earning, unionized, rural proletariat.[17] The land situation in Canelot fits quite well into the type of society which has been characterized as one with closed resources. In describing such a society, Nieboer has written the following passage (1900:42):

> Here subsistence is dependent upon material resources of which there is only a limited supply, and which accordingly have all been appropriated. These resources can consist in capital, the supply of which is always limited; then those who own no capital are dependent on the capitalists. They can also consist in land. Such is the case when all the land has been appropriated; then people destitute of land are dependent on the landowners.

In Canelot, capital and land have merged to form the economically powerful corporate land-and-factory combine. Hence, the land-holding situation in combination with the lack of economic diversity in the area causes a set of conditions to prevail which is continuously forcing persons to seek employment in the sugar industry.

The presence of a surplus of labor can be documented further by the system of labor registration which WISCO has recently put in force. In 1960 the Company decided to register all persons working on its farms by giving each person a number and a photo-identification card. The registration of workers accomplished a number of things. First, it localized groups of workers on particular farms, guaranteeing each farm an assured nucleus of labor. If a cane worker

received what is known as his "photograph card" from the Shrewsberry Farm, then it meant he was registered to work only on that Farm--he could not go to any of the other WISCO farms to seek employment. This move was rational economically, since it eliminated the problem of one farm's having a surplus of workers at the same time another had a shortage. Once this was accomplished, WISCO stopped issuing new identification cards. By this second maneuver, the Company was able to freeze the labor pool. Hence, on the one hand, the registration system allocated farms with sufficient amounts of labor to carry out their operations, while on the other, it allowed WISCO to control the mobility as well as the size of its total labor pool. It sharply restricted the number of persons with whom WISCO had to deal. Only persons with a pass need come to the Company Office for employment--no pass, no work.

At this point, an obvious question would seem in order: "If the sugar industry is characterized as having such a labor shortage, then why restrict the number of persons upon whom you might potentially draw for employment?" The logical answer appears to be that the WISCO farms in Westmoreland, indeed, do not really experience any drastic shortage of labor. In fact most of the men in Canelot complain that they do not get enough work even during crop time. It was not unusual to find cane cutters working a 2-3 day week during the crop, and on those days returning home at noon-

time. By mid-day, they had cut their quotas and the farms did not need any more cut canes. Many of the men interviewed stated that they would be quite willing to work a six and seven day week if the Company would only give it to them.[18] I have no doubt that the local cane workers would be surprised with the tenor of the Davison report on the sugar industry and, in particular, with the following statement attributed to an official of the Sugar Manufacturers Association (1965:6, footnote 3).

> It is also stated that in recent years, during crop, cane cutters, loaders, and other workers engaged in reaping operations are invariably in short supply. Provided they are willing to work, therefore, it is believed they can almost always get employment for 7 days a week for the duration of the crop.

In addition to the problem of registered workers who feel they cannot get enough work, there are unemployed men in the area who would be very glad to work for WISCO if the Company would only hire them. However, they lack the one all-important credential--the Company identification card. Thompson's contrast between situations of open and closed resources, pointedly describes the plight of the cane worker in Canelot. In the case of open resources, two masters are running after one laborer; in the case of closed resources, two laborers are running after one master (1932: 21).

However, it should be underscored that there is a point at which most of the men will not work regardless of the availability of work. That point is when the wages for

the labor to be performed are below the union-negotiated wages paid by the Company. Most cane workers feel very strongly that the wages they receive from WISCO are too low and that working for wages below those by paid by the Company would amount to giving their labor away.

The wage-scale of the workers is a topic frequently discussed in the village. All the men speak bitterly on the subject.

> You cannot live in what the estate pays you. I have six "pickney" and there's not enough money to buy food or clothes for them. I go to work in the field seven in the morning, and the sun is bright with no shade. The only way to keep cool is to splash water on my shirt. Then, when you go to the paybill, they only give you a few pounds for all the hard work you've done. And each week you work, they take out a shilling for the union and one and six for the national insurance. People who depend on the cane are in trouble. I know--I work in the cane and live in the trash.

This particular caneworker brought out several of the pay-bill receipts he had kept in his house. From a bonus payment which was given to the workers after the completion of the 1966 crop, it was possible to calculate his wages during the January-June period of harvest. For those six months of work, the man earned £72-13-4 ($203.46). If one estimates that a man earns approximately one-third of his crop-time wages during the off-season, then the man earned about an additional £24-4-5 ($67.81) during the remainder of the year. This man, then, known to be a conscientious worker, was attempting to support a family of eight on annual earnings totalling but £96-17-9 ($271.27).[19]

The discrepancy between the payment given the people for their manual labor and the wages paid to men in administrative jobs is readily perceived, and deepens the resentment of the workers towards the Company and their attitude towards work in the cane. With a certain note of ambivalence, the cane workers refer to the latter as "pencil men", and question the wage gap which exists between the field laborers and the "pencil men".

> You work all day out in the boiling sun like a brute and the Company pays you a few shillings. The timekeeper, the headman, the busher, they come out in the morning, look around, give orders, and then go back inside where they have nice meals and drinks. They don't do anything else, while we're out sweating in the field and eating some flour cakes and nothing else for lunch. We get little money for all the hard work we do while the others, they get big money for doing nothing. But if we didn't work, those big men wouldn't have those jobs. It is our hard work that pays for the salaries of those men. They get big money because they have to use their brains in their work. But just because they have good brains, doesn't mean we have no brains at all!

With no land to cultivate and subsidiary economic activities scarce to non-existent, the villagers are in an economic squeeze.[20] A war of words is waged over pay rates and results in a stalemate of mutual contempt between workers and "pencil men".[21]

To the people, the Company is an oppressor, cunning in its efforts to trick them. In 1966, when there was a prolonged three-month strike at Frome, several fields were set on fire. Most persons in the island saw it as an effort by the cane workers to force the Company into contract agreements with the negotiating labor unions. However, some of

the villagers offered a very different interpretation of the cane fires and, in so doing, also revealed their basic distrust of WISCO.

> They always have a secret plan. You cannot outsmart them. Last year during the strike, they set fire to cane--you see a jeep going into a field, zip-zip, they were in and out and then there's a fire. They tried to force the men back to work. When the men did not go back, they tell the newspaper that they're losing money by the cane fires and can't afford to pay the workers a bonus. No matter how much you plan, the Company has a better plan.

While the men complain of the low wages paid to them, the Company officials counter with complaints of their own to the effect that the workers are basically lazy and do not appreciate what WISCO is doing for them and the country. In general, the Company officials seem incapable of showing any empathy for the complaints of the workers--the workers were often depicted as ingrates.

> The workers don't want to work hard--they're lazy--that's why they're so poor. If they worked harder, they'd earn more. I've seen Americans out here on oil contract work--they know how to work. They strip to the waist and go to it. But the people here just expect to get paid for doing nothing. WISCO is doing good things for the country. It is raising the standard of living here--giving people opportunities. The government's budget is £75 million. WISCO's is £7.5 million. Without that money, a lot of people in Westmoreland would be a lot poorer.

The problem with a statement such as this is that is full of half-truths. Without the WISCO payroll, indeed, Westmoreland might suffer extreme hardships and the government might lose revenues. Yet, it does not follow automatically that the existing pay scale is a reasonable one upon

which to ask men to support their families. It is also true that WISCO is offering economic opportunities to persons--but these opportunities are for skilled workmen and men trained as accountants, chemists, and engineers. The opportunities offered by WISCO are unattainable for most of the rural population of the island. That the Americans seen working appeared more industrious in their work than Jamaican laborers may well be true; but the undoubtedly large difference in wage scales might be a starting point in trying to get at the factors underlying the difference in work output. One man, formerly a caneworker for WISCO readily admitted that a lot of the men do not put out their best efforts when working for the Company because of the low wages.

> Jamaicans don't work hard for the estate. They don't work as hard as they might, because they're not paid well. In America, they get good wages and they must work hard because they want good reports so they can return the next year. But, here, the workers get slave wages.

Admitting that the cane workers might not be working at their maximum output does not, however, justify blanket allegations of laziness among the workers. The local situation, as is the case with so many of the other problems facing the country, appears to be one in which a breakdown of communication has occurred. The two sides completely bypass each other. The arguments are all black and white--there are no gray shadings of communication in the confrontation.

The two unions which act on behalf of the workers as wage-mediators--the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and the National Workers Union--fare only mildly better in the workers' minds than does the Company. There is little esteem for the unions. They are seen as being lax in pressing the people's economic needs upon the Company. The reason for this attitude is one which, I am sure, would surprise most Company officials--the people feel the unions and the Company are in a joint conspiracy against the workers.

> The unions and the Company, they're like this [holding together the index and middle fingers]--they're all the same thing. The unions tell everybody how they're trying to help us and get better wages and then when the people turn around, the unions and WISCO shake hands behind the people's back. If I know your secrets and you know mine, then we must be friends. There are no secrets between the unions and WISCO--just secrets from the people. I heard that WISCO has secret permission to bring in the mechanical harvesters soon.

Another villager claimed that the union officials were corrupt and, therefore, the workers really could not expect much help from them. The workers, he declared, would be shortchanged regardless of the nature of negotiations with the Company.

> The unions don't take care of the workers like they should. They take plenty "grease-palm".[22] The unions and the Company negotiate for increased bonuses for the workers. The unions may get £1000 settlement--they don't give the £1000 to the workers. Instead, they say the Company gave them £500 and keep the other £500 for themselves.

As illustrated by the informants' statements, mistrust of the unions is quite marked. The seed of suspicion

which has led to the growth of strong anti-union hostility among the workers can be found in the check-off system of union dues. It is from this negotiation that a wedge has been driven into the workers' loyalty to the unions. In 1963, the unions got WISCO to agree to automatically deduct union dues from the workers earnings. The worker going to the pay-bill on Friday morning was to receive his wages minus one shilling taken out for his weekly union dues. The advantages of the check-off system are obvious. It provided the unions with assured revenues, and it freed union personnel from the time-consuming task of having to collect dues. The resistence to paying union dues comes to light when some of the union statistics for the period prior to the check-off system are scrutinized. Figures published for January, 1956 are presented in the following table (Phelps 1960:463):

TABLE 13

UNION MEMBERSHIP IN JAMAICA, 1956

UNION	MEMBERSHIP	PER CENT OF TOTAL FOR YEAR
B.I.T.U.	65,164 (46,601 paying)	53
N.W.U.	41,517 (12,502 paying)	34
T.U.C.	12,840 (5,440 paying)	11
Other	3,015 (1,874 paying)	2
Total	122,526 (66,417 paying)	

As one can see from the statistics, approximately 30% of the B.I.T.U.'s membership and 70% of the N.W.U.'s consisted of non-paying individuals. The opportunity to

insure the payment of union dues from the largest segment of the two unions' memberships (the factory and field workers in the sugar industry) must have seemed like a panacea for the unions' treasuries. However, in assuring themselves a certain degree of economic stability via the check-off system, the unions have severely undercut the allegiance of the cane workers.[23] The system has eliminated a certain amount of the personal contact which existed between the workers and union officials and has substituted an impersonal, bureaucratic, efficiency in its place. But even more deadly, as far as union esprit de corps is concerned, is the fact that it is now the Company which does the actual collecting of union dues. This had led to the association in the minds of the cane workers of a working partnership in which the unions and the Company are one. As many of the workers argued, the Company would not be doing the unions a big favor of collecting union dues for them, unless the unions were not also doing favors for the Company. Some men said they would not mind paying the dues if they received some sort of benefit from the money collected, but these individuals numbered only a few. Dissatisfaction with union representation is sufficiently high that without a closed shop situation at WISCO, many of the workers in the village would rescind their union membership. In the end, the caneworkers in Canelot have come to have little faith that the unions are going to be of any major assistance to them in their demands for a higher reward in return for their toil in the

canes.

Often in their complaints over the wages they were receiving, workers commented that if they could find a job that paid them a small steady salary all year long, they would readily quit their jobs at the Company. As one cane worker in his late twenties commented, "Mr. Allen, if I could get a job that paid £4 ($11.20) every week, I would leave the cane. I could live nice on £4 every week all the year." However, almost to a man, the workers in the fields are unskilled laborers. While most would prefer to leave the canes, they are unable to do so--they lack the skills for other types of employment. Cane work is all they really know, and selling their labor elsewhere is not an easy task.[24]

Familiarity with the island's state of unemployment quickly reveals the economic bind in which the Jamaican worker finds himself. Government figures spanning the years 1942 to 1960 reveal the following picture (New World Group 1967:3):

TABLE 14

UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS FOR JAMAICA[a]

Per Cent of Unemployed	Year	Labor Force	Of Which Unemployed	Of Which Had Never Worked
27%	1942	514,000	139,000	50,000
18%	1953	625,000	111,000	20,000
18%	1957	649,000	120,000	not available
13%	1960	648,000	82,000	45,000

[a] Jamaicans who were fourteen years of age and "'who at the time of the census had some occupation whether or not they were then employed'" were classified as being part of the island's labor force (Francis 1963:7-3). Persons who were part of the classifiable labor force were considered unemployed if they met the following two conditions: (1) they were not employed during the week preceding the census, and (2) they wanted work but could not find any (Ibid.:7-19).

The unemployment rate, then, has ranged between a high of 27% in 1942 and a low of 13% in 1960. The decline in the rate of unemployment between 1957-60 is attributed principally to the large emigration to England which took place during those years, and led to an actual net decrease of 1000 in the size of the island's labor force. There have been no government surveys on unemployment since 1960, however, it is estimated that as of 1966 the rate has risen to approximately 15% with 105,000 out of a labor force of 701,000 presently unemployed (New World Group 1967:3).[25] Furthermore, it is estimated that the labor force is increasing at a rate of 20,000 persons per year, while the growth of new job opportunities is expanding only at a rate of 10,000 per year.

However, even these figures somewhat distort the magnitude of the problem in that they do not take into consideration the very important characteristic of much of the labor scene in Jamaica, namely, underemployment. It is estimated that one out of every four persons listed as employed is, in actuality, underemployed (Ibid.). Cane workers illustrate this quite well in that there is, effectively, work but six months of the year for them. In the general survey, however, they would not fall into the category of unemployed, yet they are certainly not fully employed.

Given the opinion that, "at least one out of every two people who every year start looking for work will not find it"

(Ibid.:4), it is no surprise that the men working in the canes see little hope of ever leaving them. Jamaica, with its high rate of unemployment, has a full-scale glut of unskilled labor. (See Appendix G). In discussing rural employment in the sugar industry, a union representative spoke out, "'If a man in Westmoreland doesn't want to work with WISCO, he starves, because there is nothing else to do'" (The Daily Gleaner: January 24, 1967). For the people of Canelot, the cultivation, harvesting, and transporting of sugar cane form the only major avenues of employment--these are the jobs which provide the villagers with virtually all of their cash income. To most, a job in the canes is better than none at all.

In closing the chapter, is should be pointed out that the existence of these quite difficult conditions of life should not lead one to conclude that the people in the area, bound to the factory- in-the-field system of sugar production, form a strong united front. Presently, there is dissension and division within this proletariat. In pointing to internal division within the rural proletariat, I am referring not only to the presence of the two national labor unions, which compete for the membership of the sugar workers and thereby create partisan loyalties. Rather, I am referring to the overlooked feelings and attitudes of the rural Indian cane workers in terms of their self-perception vis-a-vis their Negro counterpart in the village

and the cane field.

Although the majority of the Indians and Negroes in Canelot work in the same cane fields, perform the same manual unskilled tasks, face similar problems in life due to their low occupational status, belong to the same labor unions, and even attend the same churches, nonetheless,--as will be shown--there are very strong feelings of animosity which divide them. Facing the common problem of making a living from work in the cane and combatting the same economic forces which are shaping their lives has not yet caused feelings of ethnic or racial differences to disappear or even be minimized. Differences, in the eyes of both sets of inhabitants of Canelot, are still seen to exist. These feelings of difference involve attitudes of racial and ethnic superiority and inferiority which, at present, inhibit a meaningful unity of action.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND ETHNICITY

East Indian retentions in Jamaica

In Jamaica, the historically created pattern of linking the Indian to the sugar estate did not produce the phenomenon of self-contained villages with strong retention of traditional East Indian customs as witnessed in Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam. In commenting on the East Indians' influence in Jamaica, John Hearne was correct when he wrote, "Broadly speaking, they have lost all cultural 'separateness' and are completely absorbed into the mainstream of Jamaican rural life" (1963:32). Culturally, the Indians of Canelot appear to be assimilated into the general lower class of the island. There are no clusters of activities around which the Indians can overtly exhibit their ethnicity.

Not too many years ago, however, an Indian celebration known as "Hussay" did take place. In origin, the Hussay festival was linked to Islam. It corresponded to the celebration of Muharram which, in India, is a day of mourning observed by Shiite Moslems. Hussay, is a corruption of the name Husein, one of Mohammed's grandsons who was killed on the tenth of Muharram (the first month of the Moslem year) in 680 A.D. by government troops who thought he was leading a group of followers against the Ummayyad caliphs of Baghdad (Niehoff 1960:141). In Jamaica, the name Hussay applied not only to the festival, but also to the elaborate tomb con-

structed from bamboo and colored paper which was carried in a procession on the final day of the celebration and thrown into a river or the sea (Beckwith 1924:1,8). The bamboo and paper tomb was symbolic of the tomb of Husein.

Beckwith noted in her paper on the festival that the Hussay celebration often led to hostile acts on the part of Indian factions from various districts--"Since any man may set up a Hussay for himself and different families or 'castes' think it desirable to have their own Hussay, several processions may start out on the same day in some one district and if they meet there is likely to be a bloody fight, each company trying to get the right of way for his Hussay over the others" (Ibid.:2). In speaking with a few informants in the village who had participated in the Hussay procession, I got the distinct impression that brawls were a frequent phenomena during the celebration. One rather quiet and shy man broke out into a wide smile when I began asking him about the Hussay and remarked--"The one time I was put in jail was during Hussay. We drank lots of rum and had a big fight and the police took me to jail for one night."

In the only published research on the Hussay festival in Jamaica, Beckwith describes the celebration as essentially a religious affair. A monograph on the East Indians of Trinidad, however, gives a rather different account of the nature of the festival (Niehoff 1960: 54-55, 71-72, 141-145). The latter account emphasizes the non-religious nature which

the Hussay festival has come to assume (Ibid.:71).

> There is a considerable amount of display and gaiety involved in the fete. The element of mourning is hard to detect, and, compared to India where the mourners go so far as to slash their chests and backs with knives until they are dripping with blood, the Trinidad rites are pallid indeed.... However, of all Indian festivals, Hosse is undoubtedly the most secularized one on the island, to such an extent that the Indians themselves hardly accept it any longer as a serious religious rite. It is among the Moslems especially that this fete is rejected as having no religious significance nowadays.

From the shreds and patches of material I was able to collect on Hussay from Indians in Canelot, it would appear that the festival, in recent times, had also lost all of its religious overtones in Jamaica. Upon inquiring why Hussay was no longer observed, the recurrent answer was that the church was against the celebration. Evidently, various ministers admonished those Indians who participated in the procession and called the Hussay festival a form of idol worship. Hence, the celebration of Hussay came to an end.

Today, with Hussay nothing more than a remembrance, the general round of life of the Indian in Canelot differs very little from that of the Negro villager. Caste, panchayat, Hindu or Islamic beliefs, East Indian languages, patrilineal extended families, village exogamy--all these traits are absent in Canelot. There is not even a shred of their retention. For all practical purposes, one may say that the traditional culture patterns associated with rural India are dead. The Indian villager has none of these to fall back

upon as a source of ethnic identification or differentiation. The sole remnant of the people's Indian heritage appears to be manifest in the foods they eat--they pride themselves on the art of currying foods, whether it be chicken, fish beef, crabs or, especially, goat.[1] The last mentioned item is considered to be their pièce de résistance and is only made with the flesh of a ram goat. Negroes in Canelot joke that the Indians will curry just about any food they can get. Many of the women in the village go to the trouble of grinding their own curry powder. They buy the spice mixture from one of the passing higglers and grind it to a fine powder which they call masala. A yellow color is then given to the mixture by adding tumeric which the Indians grow themselves. Most people prefer this mixture to the commercially packaged curry powders available at the supermarket. Their home-made curry powder, it is claimed, is "real Indian curry" while the store-bought curry is but an inferior imitation.

Other foods which the Indians claim as their own are dahl, roti, dahl poori, and powah. These are, respectively, a mildly curried split pea puree, a fried bread made of flour and water similar to a tortilla, the tortilla-like bread made with a pocket and filled with split peas and garlic, and a flour and water pancake sweetened with sugar, cinammon, nutmeg and vanilla. These dishes, however, are gradually disappearing from the culinary expertise of Indian housewives. Many of the women expressed their inability to prepare dishes

such as dahl poori or powah, remarking that their mothers knew how to make them, but they had never learned. In another generation, many of these Indian dishes will also be but memories of the past.

It also might be noted that the curried goat which the Indians identify as their own ethnic dish has become an island-wide favorite. Indeed, by no stretch of the imagination is curried goat confined to the palates of Indians. One can go into almost any restaurant in Jamaica and find this dish as one of the listings on the menu. Hence, by virtue of its general popularity, even this supposed Indian speciality does not lend itself as an exclusive ethnic feature.

This being the case, one might legitimately ask what, if any, are the ways in which the Indian differentiates himself from his Negro counterpart in the village. In answering this question, we must try to come to grips with the Indian's perception of himself and the Negro.

Indian-Negro attitudes and relations

With none of the overt cultural baggage of traditional East Indianisms with which to garb themselves and set themselves off as a separate ethnic entity, the Indians have turned to features from another social and cultural system.[2] They have found a means of differentiation by attaching themselves to the colonial system of social distinctions based upon racial segmentation. It is to this system of social strati-

fication that the Indians in Canelot cling most tenaciously and which provides them with the initial basis for social differentiation from Negroes.

The social system of the plantation was one which emphasized racial differences. With whites in control of the ownership and managerial aspects of the plantation and Negroes providing the slave labor, a social system quickly emerged which made color and class mutually inclusive entities. Color became correlated with wealth, power, and social status. Widespread miscegenation produced a population of brown-skinned persons which came to occupy an intermediate position in the system. Historically, these persons eschewed any identification with the darker-skinned slaves. This pyramidal social structure, rooted in race, was in force long before the East Indians' entry into the island. Upon arrival, the indentured laborers in turn readily accepted the established colonial-racial basis of social stratification. It still provides the raison d'etre for their self-perception as being different from the Negro.

The casual visitor passing through Canelot might report to friends that he had visited a rural Negro village, failing to differentiate the Indians, many of whom are quite dark-skinned, from the Negroes. Such a mistake would be highly insulting to the Indians of Canelot. They perceive themselves as not only different from the Negro villagers, but superior to them as well. To back up this claim, most

Indians are prepared to dig into the colonial bag of arguments of racial superiority and inferiority. Black physical features are intrinsically bad while white ones are seen as good. The Indians merely point to their Caucasoid physical features as proof of their superiority to the Negroes. However, equal emphasis is not given to "thin lips," "narrow nose", "light skin"[3] or "straight hair" in arguing for their differentiation from Negroes and association with whites. Rather, it is the last feature, that of straight or "good hair", which is most continuously singled out by the Indians. It is the "straightness" of one's hair which appears to be used as the great differentiator. The positive value put on this physical characteristic quickly became apparent when talking with Indian informants about intermarriage. One woman summarily stated:

> I don't want the children to marry Niggers--I don't like Nigger hair. Some of the girls, they don't have hair an inch long. It's all curly and not nice like Indian hair.

An Indian cane worker was a bit more lengthy and dramatic in his analysis of the distance which he felt should be maintained between Indian and Negro.

> Indians should marry Indians and Niggers marry Niggers. That's the way things should be. I don't like to see Indians marrying Niggers. It's not right.

At this moment he pointed to a picture hanging at the rear of the room where we were sitting. He rose and brought the picture to me, so that I might inspect it more closely. There, in a frame painted bright red was a picture of Jesus

Christ, clothed in blue robes, with shining golden hair falling towards his shoulders. The man blurted out--"He's just like us!" He then jerked off his cap, revealing a full head of straight graying hair and grabbed one of my hands bringing it to his head.

> Look at it! Touch it! It's not like Nigger hair! You ever see Niggers who have hair like Jesus? No, man! They don't have nice hair like us. Only Niggers should marry Niggers.

When I attempted to voice a protest that the type of skin color one is born with does not automatically make him a good or bad person, the man and his wife disagreed. They inquired if whites married Negroes in America. I answered that it was not a general practice, but that such intermarriages were definitely on the increase and gradually becoming more accepted. They shook their heads in astonishment and disbelief. They then gingerly asked if my wife was white--I replied that she was. For the moment, at least, they appeared relieved.[4] The adult Indian's attitude toward intermarriage is fixed. As there is little chance for upward mobility through marriage with whites and Chinese,[5] Indian families have taken an endogamous stance--"Indian should marry Indian, Nigger should marry Nigger." Thereby a certain amount of in-group feeling of solidarity is encouraged and, theoretically, the Negro is kept away from the household door.[6]

The racial cleavage which pervades Indians' relationships with Negroes has led to the development of attitudinal

concomitants vis-a-vis the two groups. Much stereotypical thinking goes on in people's minds. The Indians characterize Negroes as being lazy, argumentative, wasteful of their resources, and only wanting to sport and drink rum; the Negro villagers' stereotype of Indians is that they are prolific, frugal, and always hiding their money so that others will not know how wealthy they really are.[7] These attitudes were expressed openly and seriously during interviews.

The negative opinion of Negroes generally held by Indians was revealed to me early in the fieldwork period, while talking to an Indian boy around fourteen years old. He had come to the yard to inquire if I believed that there was a man in the moon. That day, evidently one of his classes at junior-secondary school had had a lesson on the solar system. I answered that, as far as I knew, all the scientific information concerning the moon seemed to indicate that life on the moon does not exist. I then mentioned, jokingly, that I had heard plenty of people say the moon is made out of cheese. He laughed and told me he had not heard that before. Then he burst out, "Those Niggers, when they have a full belly, they say all sorts of foolish things." Needless to say, he had no idea that what I had told him was a popular American folk belief. To him it sounded stupid; ergo, I must have heard it from a local Negro.

On the other side of the coin, Negro villagers continuously pointed to the Indians, called them "Coolies" in

in anger and half-jest, and claimed they were stingy with their money. To the Negro villager, being Indian means having money. The stereotype does not allow the existence of a poor Indian. When I pointed out that, indeed, many Indian families in the area appear to be quite poor, I almost always got a similar response. One Negro man answered:

> Many of the Indians have plenty of money, but they don't show it. They have a humble, poor look; but they're tricking you to make you think they're poor. They have money in the bank. Indians have brains when it concerns money. They're good at saving--they know how to keep money.

An often heard gibe which is nation-wide in scope is, "Pay an Indian £1 a week and he'll save £1-10-0."

Awareness of the Negro villager's attitude towards the Indian became very apparent when one Indian woman attempted to understand the reasons for the domestic trouble she was having in her yard. One of her sons had tried to take a calf out of the yard at night and the police were notified of the attempted theft the following morning. She was perplexed as to why her son had acted so erratically and, in the end, came to the following conclusion: "He's living with a Nigger woman in Market Town. The Niggers think all Indians have plenty of money, so she sent Ronald to take away the calf."[8]

As one might suspect, the Indian and Negro perceptions of each other do not lead to a particularly harmonious atmosphere. At the day-to-day level of experience there is surprisingly little overt hostility. However, when talking

to individual Negro and Indian villagers, one is led to the covert feelings of mutual animosity. An air of suspicion permeates life in the village and underlies the attitudes of the groups vis-a-vis each other--each tolerates the other, but distrusts the other as well.

In talking with a Negro cane worker about the problems of earning a living in Canelot, he was quick to point out that things would be a lot better if there were fewer Indians in the village. He argued that the Indians stick together and only care for themselves--"You will find few fair-minded Indians. They care only for themselves. They will help one another and step on someone else." He went on to say that he would like to live in another place where Indians did not outnumber the Negroes as in Canelot. However, he was living on WISCO property and only had to pay the peppercorn rental of one shilling a year and probably could not find a houseplot that was as cheap elsewhere. Hence, he was stuck--"I must live here with all the Coolies."

Hostility of the Negro towards the Indian came to the surface in an incident involving an argument over an alarm clock. Horace Varma, an Indian, struck a Negro boy on the arm with a metal bar when the Negro attempted to take the clock which he claimed belonged to him. At the time, the Negro boy's brother was living with an Indian girl and the boy had often visited their house which was located in the same yard where Horace was living. The yard contained a

total of three houses, most of the occupants being Indian. After the fight, the Negro boy, holding a swollen forearm, came to my yard where I was sitting and talking with another Negro. When the story of the fight had been related, the Negro with whom I had been talking spoke to the boy reprimandingly, "That's what happens when you spend so much time with Coolies. They licked you. Who's going to take care of you now--the Coolies?[9] The point of the reprimand was straightforward--if you do not stay with your own kind, then you are looking for trouble. One cannot trust those "other people."[10]

Distrust, however, can be a two-edged sword. In general, the Indians were far more verbal in their distrust of the Negro than vice-versa. There were few Indians with whom I spoke who did not, at one time or another, reveal antipathy towards the Negro. The first inkling of their distrust came shortly after settling in the village when an Indian woman concerned with our well-being and comfort summarily inquired. "Are you getting along well? The Africans aren't troubling you, are they?" We were then also warned to be sure to put bolts on our doors for protection against Negro thieves.

As I interviewed Indian families, their distrust of Negroes became readily apparent. One man with whom I had set a time to sit and chat in his yard, requested that I wait a bit until one of his sons finished talking with a Negro neighbor. When the Negro boy had left the yard, the

man turned to me and said, "I don't want to talk with a Nigger man in the yard. I don't want him to know my business. I don't trust Niggers at all."

Another informant verbalized quite clearly the way in which distrust of the Negro is kept covert and masqueraded. This particular Indian possessed cultivation lands and he often had to hire Negro laborers. He spoke out and warned me:

> It's not every man you can trust--you can't go and shake every man's hand. When I see them [Negroes], I say "How-dee-do". I must do that, otherwise they're not going to work for me, to cut cane and rice. But I don't talk much with them. They vex easily--too easily. They always want to argue--you can't tell Niggers anything. And the black men, they're covetous. They want to be paid for doing nothing. If they come to cut cane and ask you how many tons are in the field, you can't tell them. You must simply say, "There's enough for me and the family". If you tell them thirty tons, then they'll steal from you!

Hostility towards the Negro often came out when discussing situations in which the Indian worker was in a subordinate position to the Negro. Many of the Indian cane workers resent the fact that Negroes now hold important staff positions with the Company. Several of them made statements to the effect that they feel the Negroes have allowed their important positions to go to their heads so that it was impossible to present a grievance to them. They feel the Negro lords his position over the workers and that he is prejudiced against the Indian. Indian cane workers continuously remarked that they would much prefer to have dealings with white overseers and personnel in the WISCO offices--that

they received more sympathy from white personnel and got along better with them.

Also, in cases where animals belonging to Indians were stolen, mistrust was always voiced through accusations that the thieves certainly must have been Negroes. The Indians would not even consider the possibility that another Indian had taken the animals. Suspicion was always directed towards the Negro. One old Indian woman who reported the theft of two cows immediately laid the theft to Negro hands:

> Those people are bad, Mr. Allen--you can't trust them. The Niggers sleep during the day and at night they walk around and steal. Stealing and killing--that's their work. When they come at night to steal, if you speak they'll kill you. They're the last people God made. They're an evil race. It's hard to find even one good one.

This last statement returns us to the subject of the ideological component of the racial-ethnic cleavage in Canelot. As mentioned before, the values of the plantation system which bred such strong prejudices towards racial differences is certainly still alive and plays a most important role in the way the Indians perceive themselves and their Negro village peers. However, the colonial system of stratification and differentiation is strongly reinforced by religious beliefs. The old woman just quoted was positive that the Negro's evilness stemmed from the fact that God created the Negro race last, after he had created all the "good races." Time after time, when interviewing Indians and talking of Negro-Indian relations, I was told that the Bible proves not

only that Negroes are a separate people, but one which is inherently evil. The following version of Biblical proof was presented to me with slight variations by several Indian informants.

> The Blacks, they're evil--it says so in the Bible. I have a big Bible in the house. It says that Cain killed Abel. The Lord banished Cain from the Garden of Eden and made him live in the land of Nod, where he married and had children. The land of Nod--that's Africa. Cain married a Nigger woman there and had Nigger children. The Blacks are descended from Cain and the Whites come from Abel. The Whites, they're good people; and the Blacks, they're evil like Cain. Niggers are impertinent just like Cain. When the Lord asked Cain where Abel was, he answered, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Cain was impertinent to the Lord. The Niggers carry that bad seed of Cain and nothing can remove that evil. The children of Cain and the children of Abel are separate peoples--they shouldn't mix. The children of the mixed bear a curse, because they're not pure.

It is interesting that the Indians are able to hold such a notion, while at the same time attending the same churches as the Negro villagers, and even being led in services by Negro preachers. The ability to decompartmentalize the ideological sphere of life from that of day-to-day personal interactions appears to be central to Indian existence in Canelot. One might say that in relation to the Negro residents, life is a game Indians play. It is one hugh charade. Masks are put on and pulled off according to the color of one's costume of skin. It is a twenty-four-hour-a-day masquerade ball being held in a rural slum.

The fact that strong negative feelings are openly expressed towards race mixing between Indians and Negroes, should not lead one to conclude that such unions do not exist. There are a number of adults and children living in Canelot who are offsprings of unions between Indians and Negroes. The point to be stressed, however, is that people of mixed parentage identify themselves as Indian. I am certain that these persons do so because of the prevailing Indian attitude of superiority towards Negroes. As mentioned before, Indian blood is to be valued as some positive genetic asset. Reaction to the inter-racial unions usually evoked a similar response on the part of Indian adults. While expressing strong dislike of mixed unions and marriages, most Indian parents felt helpless in attempting to prevent their occurrence--"If Errol starts to go with a Nigger girl, what can I do? If they love each other, I can do nothing. But I would not like him to marry a Nigger."

Three cases were found in which parents actually refused to allow their sons to reside in the same yard with them because the boys wanted to live with Negro girls. One of these parents remarked that she would not allow the Negro girl with whom her eldest son was living to enter her kitchen, or use any of her cooking utensils. The woman told me quite bluntly--"She [the Negro girl] cooks and eats pork and beef and all those things. We don't eat pork or beef--we're Indian. We come from the Singh nation. That's a high nation.

We're not going to eat the food that Nigger girl cooks."[11]

Another Indian parent who had two sons living with Negro women spoke sadly of these unions. In discussing his family, Mr. Ranjari singled out his eldest son's situation as one of the bigger disappointments in his life.

> Roy lives and works in Kingston. He lives with a Nigger girl from Westmoreland. We don't like what he has done. We tried hard, very hard for Roy--he was our first son. I would prefer all the children to marry Indians.

As has been shown, the adult Indian population of Canelot has a very strong and uniformly negative attitude towards Negro - Indian miscegenation. For the most part these persons are third-generation Jamaicans--it was due to the decisions of their grandparents to come and work as indentured servants that they presently find themselves living in Jamaica. Whether their racial attitude of superiority will continue to exist with equal force, only time will tell. However, one can already see signs of its weakening. When talking with Indians in their teens and early twenties, I received the impression that the opinions of adult Indian villagers are not equally shared by all of their children; nor are they promulgated with such vigor. Within the village one sees young Indians and Negroes living consensually.[12] In general, younger Indians do not appear to place a stigma upon such behavior as do their parents. Many of them openly expressed the opinion that their parents were still living in the past. One Indian boy around twenty years old made

the following comment on his parents' views.

> The older people, like our parents and grandparents, are prejudiced against the Negroes. They stick more to their own race--just talk with them and you'll see how prejudiced they are. With us [younger Indians] things are different. We don't know about the old Indian ways. We're all mixed up.[13]

Before such an attitude becomes prevalent in Canelot, however, there will have to be considerable mellowing of the rather rigid stereotypic attitudes which exist there. At the present time, the village knows only a mechanical solidarity. Negro and Indian families live side-by-side, each, in the same way, trying to eke out an existence from laboring in the cane fields. Organic solidarity involving the integration of all members in the village still seems far off.

At first blush the last statement may seem to contradict some of the conclusions of Mintz's research on cane workers who formed a rural sugar proletariat on the south coast of Puerto Rico. In setting the framework for his findings, Mintz begins with the following statement (1956:351).

> The present study purports to demonstrate the reality of a class culture, or subculture, within the larger society. Because of certain economic, social, and historical forces, the writer holds that the people who are the subject of this study form not only a class, but a class with a culture, a way of life, an ethos and ideology fairly distinct from that of the members of other classes.

At the end of the study of Canamelar, he leaves the reader with the conclusion (Ibid.:416),

> The present study has sought to establish the reality of a subculture, as observed in Barrio Poyal, which obtains among members of a specific

> socioeconomic segment, or class. This class has been defined in terms of a number of like characteristics: its members are almost uniformly landless, propertyless (in the sense of income-producing property), wage earning, store buying, and corporately employed. They differ little in their economic resources and share an inability to change fundamentally their economic status. Economically and socially, they stand in a uniform relation to one another and in uniform relations to members of other classes. They have common experiences and interests, their children learn class ways of behaving, and they may be said to have a class ideology--some measure of class-consciousness. As noted in a previous chapter, these aspects of rural proletarian life make for a distinctive homogeneity among the people who share them.

Certainly a feeling of homogeneity does not arise from the ethnographic data presented on the problems of social differentiation and ethnicity in Canelot. The homogeneity which Mintz sees resulting from a people's state of dependency upon the land-and-factory system appears to be incomplete. As has been noted earlier, the mode of production in Westmoreland is certainly a crucial variable in understanding life in the village; however, the adaptation of this particular system of land and capital holding has not been all-pervasive. In actuality, the material presented on racial and ethnic differences in the village does not contradict Mintz's contention that the corporate land-and-factory combine system sets the boundaries for a specific type of ecological adaptation with a concomitant subculture of a nation. The people living in Canelot do manifest most of the patterns which Mintz has attributed to the subculture of a rural sugar proletariat. Indeed, the people's relation to

the West Indies Sugar Company permeates their lives. The study of Canelot, however, reveals the strong interplay which sometimes occurs between economic and historical factors in the study of cultural adaptation. It is the insertion of the historical factor between the population and the dominant economic form which leads to the development of a differentiated village such as Canelot, as opposed to a homogeneous one like Barrio Royal.

Mintz himself, who has a keen sense of the importance of the historical factor in comparative studies, provides the material for understanding the homogeneity found in the Puerto Rican setting and the differentiation in the Jamaican village. In his essay, "Labor and Sugar in Puerto Rico and in Jamaica, 1800-1850", Mintz charts out the different historical paths which the development of the sugar plantation economy took in the two islands. When large scale sugar production was begun in Puerto Rico at the turn of the nineteenth century, the island was not highly segmented nor did strong racial cleavages exist as was the case of Jamaica in particular and the British West Indies, in general:

> Puerto Rico at the beginning of the nineteenth century was unusual in the West Indies in these regards--an island almost entirely devoted to present agriculture; a population which was substantially of European rather than African provenience, with a large group of free men of color; and a social system which did not rest on slavery and to which slavery was not of great importance. Needless to add, in all of these regards, Puerto Rico was the very opposite of Jamaica (Mintz 1959a:276-277).

Hence, the homogeneous nature of the population in Puerto Rico at the onset of the island's turning to large scale sugar production helps one to understand the homogeneity and cohesiveness which were later found in Mintz's study of Barrio Poyal. In looking at the situation of the Jamaican case, two points can be raised: (1) the East Indians' entry to the island has been fairly recent; (2) historically, the Jamaican system of social stratification has been divisive because of its underlying racial philosophy. Both of these factors undoubtedly have been instrumental in establishing lines of social demarcation between the Indians and Negroes who work together in the cane fields and, indeed, form a rural sugar proletariat vis-a-vis the dominant corporate land and factory system. The villagers of Canelot have become proletarianized but at the same time a certain amount of social heterogeneity continues to be maintained.

Towards an understanding of East Indian adaptation in the British West Indies

Before leaving the topic of ethnic adaptation, a few thoughts might be inserted comparing the East Indians of Jamaica with the larger Indian populations of Trinidad and Guyana. Research done on the latter two Indian populations indicate far greater retention of traditional East Indian culture. A number of essays by R. T. Smith and Chandra Jayawardena have recorded the presence of an Indian mode of life in rural Guyana (1958:178-194; 1959:321-376; 1967:43-92).

Niehoff (1960) and Klass (1961) have published monographs which give the reader the impression that much of the culture of rural northern India is flourishing in the countryside of Trinidad. Why, then, one might ask, have traditional Indian culture patterns not survived the Jamaican indentureship experience?[14] I cannot say that I am able to answer the question fully; a comparative overview, however, does allow one to sift out possible causal factors and point to the markedly different conditions underlying the particular adaptations under discussion.

A number of factors may be quickly eliminated as being relevant to the problem. These factors are: (1) economic differences among the indentured servants, (2) geographical origins of the indentured servants, and (3) caste distinctions of the indentured servants. The Indian populations living in the rural areas of the three countries all have their origins in the indentureship system. There is no evidence to show that groups of Indians indentured to different islands possessed different economic statuses. Rather, the opposite would most likely seem to hold, namely, that the Indians who came to the Caribbean as indentured laborers were generally uniformly poor and of lower economic status.

> 'Emigration agents of the British Colonies appointed professional recruiters, who were generally very unprincipled men. They frequented the Indian villages where the crops had failed and also the pilgrim centres where thousands of illiterate and extremely poor people congregated. Here the wily and most unscrupulous recruiters cast their net....' (Klass 1961: 12).

The migrants also appear to share similar geographic origins. The majority of the indentured servants to the three British possessions were recruited in northeastern India. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Utter Pradesh) and Bihar were the areas from which they came. R. T. Smith estimates that these areas provided approximately 85 per cent of all the indentured laborers sent to British Buiana (1959:36). In Trinidad, the northeastern provenience of indentured laborers is also noted by Niehoff (1960:17) and Klass (1961:10-11). The materials found on the geographic origins of indentured servants to Jamaica (Table 15) appear to follow the same pattern. Hence, consideration of differences of geographical origin would not seem to be particularly pertinent to our discussion of ethnic adaptation.

The same conclusion is arrived at when turning to the possibility that caste distinctions among the three Indian groupings may be an important variable in understanding the different patterns of adaptation. The materials found in the colonial government records and presented in Table 16 do not indicate that one of the countries received larger numbers of indentured servants of high castes while others received larger numbers of persons of low castes. The distribution of caste in all three places appear to have been similar. All show the largest proportion of indentured servants were of "agricultural castes" because official recruiting policy mistakenly equated agricultural experience with agricultural caste (Smith and Jayawardena 1967:48).

TABLE 15

GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF INDENTURED SERVANTS TO JAMAICA, 1900-15

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
1. Orissa [a]	--	--	--	8	--	--	--		--	1	--	--		80	--	--
2. Bihar	24	--	--	17	--	--	32		34	104	--	93		--	--	--
3. Bengal	1	--	--	1	--	9	2		--	2	--	--		--	--	--
4. North West Provinces [b]	329	--	--	--	--	--	--		--	--	--	--		--	--	--
5. United Provinces, Agra	--	--	--	163	--	332	387		184	551	--	351		373	--	--
6. and Oudh [c]	250	--	--	143	--	301	250		188	385	--	309		280	--	--
7. Central India	3	--	--	34	--	46	62		2	26	--	10		16	--	--
8. Central Provinces and Berar	--	--	--	183	--	25	8		2	1	--	2		2	--	--
9. Punjab	17	--	--	40	--	15	33		--	5	--	13		26	--	--
10. Native States	42	--	--	40	--	48	59		4	39	--	34		44	--	--
11. Mixed Bombay and Madras	2	--	--	2	--	1			2	2	--	--		2	--	--
12. Ajmere	--	--	--	32	--	7	1		--	1	--	4		1	--	--
13. Assam	--	--	--	--	--	28			--	--	--	--		--	--	--
14. Other Places	2	--	--	--	--		1		--	--	--	--		--	--	--
Total [d]	670			663		812	835		416	1117		816		824		

No Data

Source: Papers of the Protector of Immigrants
The Jamaica Archives

a After 1911 the statistics for Bihar and Orissa are merged.
b It seems that after 1900 the North West Provinces were called the "United Provinces of Agra".
c Oudh statistics are separated from Agra though the documents label them "The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh."
d My totals do not jibe completely with those cited earlier from Eisner's account.

TABLE 16

CASTE DISTINCTIONS AMONG INDENTURED SERVANTS SENT TO BRITISH GUIANA, TRINIDAD, AND JAMAICA, 1900-15[a]

	DEMERARA						TRINIDAD						JAMAICA					
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1915	66	112	15	149	79	-	73	216	12	217	105	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1914	80	163	10	159	82	-	62	130	20	156	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1913	229	395	46	367	239	-	245	389	29	388	181	4	156	277	27	234	130	-
1912	No Data						No Data						No Data					
1911	383	780	81	532	342	2	536	719	77	568	338	4	178	246	23	266	103	-
1910	201	502	133	434	346	-	346	568	166	578	346	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
1909	220	829	224	759	483	-	268	705	180	1005	319	3	160	305	104	369	179	-
1908	51	605	109	792	240	-	247	668	171	1083	277	1	54	105	56	119	82	-
1907	No Data						No Data						No Data					
1906	346	688	173	786	344	-	420	692	184	797	420	1	147	257	46	240	143	3
1905	501	779	192	807	457	1	434	716	182	676	378	4	157	235	49	244	127	-
1904	251	394	95	348	255	5	196	386	100	346	208	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1903	433	934	218	952	395	5	442	785	141	700	381	-	140	192	30	198	103	-
1902	174	753	161	528	352	-	353	769	141	689	389	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1901	619	1272	277	1422	686	-	426	1099	145	1086	358	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1900	565	1676	258	1286	803	-	266	631	127	599	255	-	106	264	43	145	112	-
Total	4129	9882	1987	9321	5103	13	4314	8473	1675	8888	3960	19	1098	1881	378	1815	979	3

Source: Papers of the Protector of Immigrants
The Jamaica Archives

a
1. Brahmins and High Castes
2. Agriculturalists
3. Artisans
4. Low Castes
5. Musalmans
6. Christians

With these factors eliminated from the discussion, I should like to focus upon demographic and ecological considerations. Initially it might appear that the differences in adaptation simply lie in numbers. Trinidad and British Guiana did not really have full-blown plantation economies by 1838 when slavery came to an end in the British Caribbean (Williams 1962:86). As has been noted earlier, both areas had large tracts of open fertile soil whereas Jamaica's soil had already felt the brunt of over a century of sugar production. Planters in British Guiana and Trinidad were in a far better position to get credit and--with slavery at an end--much of the credit was used in contracting East Indian labor and the introduction of new sugar technology. Jamaica became the victim of the law of evolutionary potential--she blazed the trail for the plantation production of sugar in the British islands only to fall behind at the succeeding stages of its development. Hence, Jamaica never received the large numbers of indentured servants which Trinidad and British Guiana absorbed. During the period of the indentureship system, British Guiana imported 238,960 East Indians, Trinidad brought 143,900 to the island, while Jamaica was only able to contract approximately 36,000. I think, however, to conclude that the larger numbers of East Indians in Trinidad and British Guiana explain the differences in adaptation would be an oversimplification. For one can reasonably argue that the absolute number of persons in an area, in and of itself, does

not explain the phenomenon of cultural retention. The concentration or density of the ethnic population would appear to be of greater importance. A large ethnic population spread over a wide geographical area would not, in all likelihood, maintain its ethnic links as well as a smaller population, highly concentrated.

Historically, when looking at the cultural ecological conditions of the three areas under discussion, one sees very different sets of conditions affecting the variable of population density among the East Indian indentures. At the time of emancipation, Trinidad had a sparse population with only 17,439 slaves on its plantations (Williams 1962:86). The island had large areas of hill country--running east to west, there was a range of mountains along the northern coast, as well as two lesser ranges, the Montserrat Hills and the Trinity Hills, located in the center of the island and along the southern coast respectively. The availability of lands in the hills upon which the small number of emancipated slaves could squat allowed a movement away from the plantation. The Negro population, for all intents and purposes, withdrew its labor from the plantation economy and in so doing, also withdrew from the plantation's social system (Niehoff 1960:14-15). When East Indians entered the island to work on the sugar estates, they found unoccupied lands nearby which were often marginal to sugar production. Plantation owners were quite amenable to having the indentured servants own plots and grow

food on lands near the estates. The arrangement kept the desired labor supply close at hand once the indenture contracts expired.

> Because of the long "slack" season in Trinidad, many estates preferred to have a source of non-resident labor. The East Indians could usually wrest only a bare subsistence from their own plots and were eager to work on the estates during crop-time, but the estates were spared the expense of providing for them during the non-crop season (Klass 1961:22).

More important, however, is the point that the set of conditions extant in Trinidad during the indentureship period provided the very basis upon which villages composed of free Indian laborers could be established. Given a base of land ownership, former indentured servants, indeed, did cluster together in ethnic villages; the villages, in turn, provided a receptive environment for the perpetuation of Indian culture (Ibid.). The cultural ecological situation in Trinidad was one which, therefore, permitted the East Indians to nucleate and build ethnic communities based upon the language and customs common to their area of origin in northeastern India.

In British Guiana the cultural ecological conditions were quite different from those in Trinidad. After emancipation, the small manumitted slave population of approximately 70,000 Negroes did not have the alternative of running off to the hills and living on subsistence plots. Almost all of the cultivable lands were located on a narrow coastal strip, two to ten miles wide between the Essequibo River in the north and the Courantyne River in the east. South of the coastal

plain was a forest region composed of stands of hardwood trees. The soils of the interior were for the most part, sandy and infertile. The difficulty of moving out of the coastal zone is readily grasped when it is noted that the forest region occupies 83 per cent of the area of Guyana. In two interior areas, the tropical forest belt gives way to some savannah grasslands. Here, too, the quality of the soils and the grasses they support are poor. The freed slaves, then, had the sea in front of them and the forest interior at their backs. There was little choice but to remain in the small but relatively underpopulated coastal plain. However, the Negro population desired to have no part of estate labor--"The emancipated slaves were willing to work after 1838, but positively not as wage earners. This aspiration to peasant proprietorship was clearly more easy of attainment in British Guiana, with its open spaces, than in Barbados, where all land was appropriated" (Williams 1954:377).

Williams cites the purchase by emancipated slaves of a number of plantations ranging in price from £2,000 to £16,000 (Ibid.:377-378). In the essay, "Rise of a Peasantry in British Guiana," Rawle Farley also documents the purchasing power of the freed slaves, noting that often groups of men pooled their savings from the sale of foodstuffs and apprenticeship wages and bought large tracts of land corporately, the land being worked in shares or divided into distinct lots (1954:97-98).

The expansion of the Negro into the open coastal lands by outright purchases and squatting rather quickly led to the development of freehold villages (Ibid.:91).

> Labour, scarce under slavery, became even more so after slavery was abolished. It organized itself under the new conditions which were in turn used to extend the acquisition of village freeholds. The experience which slave labour had gained on the provisions grounds prior to 1838 found full outlet. The Abolition Act was, therefore, important in that one of its major results was to accelerate the development of the village settlements.

By the time large numbers of Indians had been imported to British Guiana, the plantations upon which they worked were already ringed by land-owning Negro communities. The Negro population had fairly well filled the available land in the coastal niche. In marked contrast to the Trinidad situation, it was far more difficult to offer the indentured servant in British Guiana a plot of land he might purchase or rent as an inducement to remain in the host country. In their desire to keep indentured laborers in the country, Guianese planters did offer Indians various privileges if they would remain on as a landless, but free, labor force on the estate.

> ... to the coolies the plantation has been not merely private property or a place of work, but a land from which they drew their sustenance in many ways besides wage labour. They collected timber and planted fruit-trees on unused land and fished in the flooded fields and canals. Management set aside lands for their rice-fields and pastures and employed 'cow-minders' to look after their cattle. Their parents were buried in the plantation cemetary and their children were born in the plantation hospital (Jayawardena 1963:27).

Of the two-thirds of the total number of indentured laborers who remained in British Guiana, the great majority became attached to estates.[15] Thus, the large ethnic population became confined by a double boundary--(1) restriction to remain within the narrow coastal strip, and (2) habitation on the coastal estates due to the prior freehold expansion of emancipated slaves. Living together in large numbers on plantations and isolated from the rest of Guianese society (Jayawardena 1963:16-17), indentured laborers were able to retain part of their former way of life. Although much of the traditional culture brought by the indentured Indians had to be radically altered to adapt to the new conditions of life, they were not "completely stripped of their culture" (Smith and Jayawardena 1967:54).

> ... they [indentured servants] were free to preserve whatever customs they wished so long as these did not conflict with the requirements of the organization of production.... It is on the sugar estates that the greatest conservatism in "coolie culture" is to be found... (Smith and Jayawardena 1959:324, 325).

The historical material, then, indicates that in British Guiana, for reasons very different from those in Trinidad, the Indian population became highly concentrated within an environment conducive to the retention of Indian forms of culture.

When turning to the Jamaican case, a third arrangement of the factors of slave population, land availability, and plantation economics is found. As has been previously noted, at the time of emancipation Jamaica was the only one

of the three places which possessed a full-blown plantation economy. The island's slave population far outdistanced all the other British West Indies counting 255,290 adult working slaves of which 218,455 were used as field slaves (Augier, et al. 1964:183). Similar in attitude to the ex-slave populations in Trinidad and British Guiana, most of the freed slaves of Jamaica preferred to opt out of the plantation system. However, due to the physical topography of Jamaica, the larger number of slaves were able to establish freeholding peasant areas in both the niches of the low lying plains of the sugar estates as well as in the marginal hill areas of the island.

Sires, in discussing the problem of Negro labor in post-emancipation Jamaica, comments upon the inviting environment of the hills to the freed slaves--"The hilly and mountainous areas that had never been subjected to the plantation economy lent themselves well to the development of an independent peasantry" (1940:493). On the other hand, several authors have pointed to the fact that large numbers of the former slaves either squatted or bought plots of land on dismantled sugar plantations. Cumper, in particular, notes the phenomenon of pooling capital to purchase large areas to be later subdivided as was done in British Guiana (1954:50). Mintz documents the founding of a whole free village system sponsored by the Baptist and Methodist churches through the purchase and resale of defunct estate lands (1958:49-50).

All of this was occurring in Jamaica during a period when the island was finding it continuously more difficult to compete with other British and non-British sugar-producing areas, and the island's output of sugar had begun a rapid decline. The planters were in hard straits as far as receiving credit and complained bitterly of their inability to finance Indian migration to the island without ever-increasing public support through taxation (Augier 1967:22-25). Hence, the numbers of Indian laborers sent to Jamaica were small. By 1846, when the sugar duty equalization act was passed, the Jamaican plantocracy lost what, a short time ago, had been a whetted appetite for East Indian indentures.

> At the end of the following month, November 1846, the Assembly sent a message to the Colonial Office "intimating their desire to abandon Asiatic Immigration" because the Island could no longer afford it. In reply, the secretary of state for the colonies hoped that the new sugar duties would not be as ruinous as the planters anticipated, but he agreed that the expense of Indian immigration was too much for Jamaica (Hall 1959:89).

Even when the planters reconsidered the economic feasibility of introducing large numbers of Indian laborers, the colonial government was most hesitant to have the immigration to Jamaica resumed.

> In the beginning of 1858 the new governor, Mr. Darling, who had once been agent general for immigration in the island and since been abroad as governor of other colonial territories, wrote to the secretary of state for the colonies to ask if Jamaica would be included in new proposals for Indian and Chinese immigration to British Guiana and Trinidad. The attitude of the Colonial Office was not encouraging. Jamaica had "committed gross

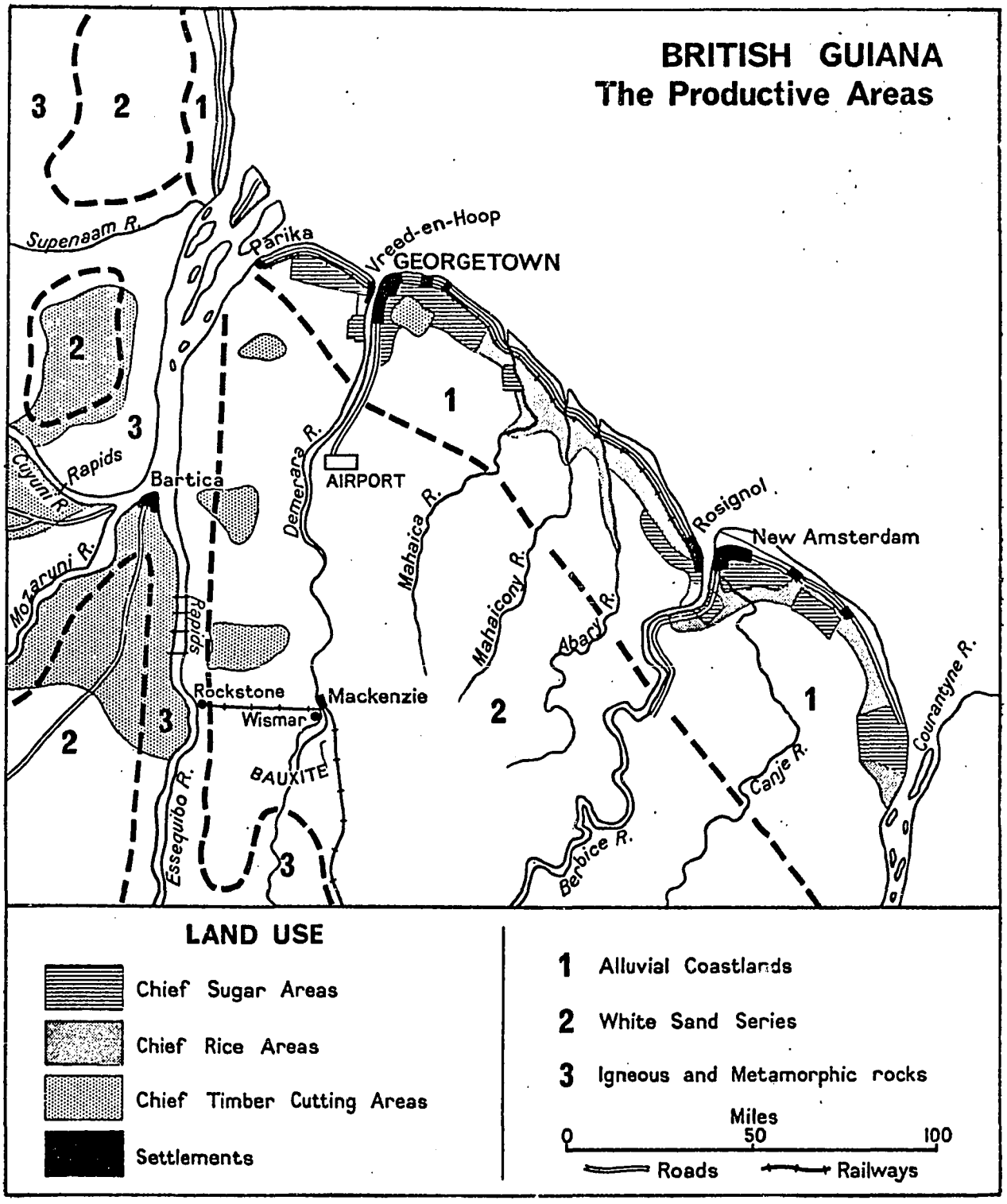
> breaches of faith" in the matter of repatriation of immigrants who had not wanted to settle after their indenture. Jamaicans had frequently changed their mind about the desirability of immigration, and new schemes could hardly be tried with such "shifting counsels." Crown colonies were far better suited for experiments of this sort, and if the plan worked in Trinidad and British Guiana and if Jamaica still wanted immigrants and would observe the conditions, the Island would then be included in the scheme (Ibid.:108-109).

When Indian indentureship to Jamaica finally resumed, the annual number of arrivals to the island tended to be of an irregular nature right up to the year 1917, which marked the cessation of the immigration scheme (Eisner 1961:145-146). The reception of the East Indian indentureship scheme was, at best, lukewarm in Jamaica.

In terms of their adaptation vis-a-vis the free Negro population, the Indians' situation in Jamaica would seem to have been more similar to the Guianese case where they found communities of ex-slaves well settled in large freehold villages near the remaining estates. However, the similarity ends at that point. As noted earlier, the Indians in British Guiana were tightly concentrated in a single small ecological zone--the coastal plain in which the sugar estates were located. In Jamaica sugar plantations dotted the whole island--estate demands for indentured laborers must have caused their dispersal over a much wider area than in the other two cases. What scanty historical data I have at hand seems to support such an inference. Hall's material on the geographical distribution of indentured labor to Jamaica from 1862 to

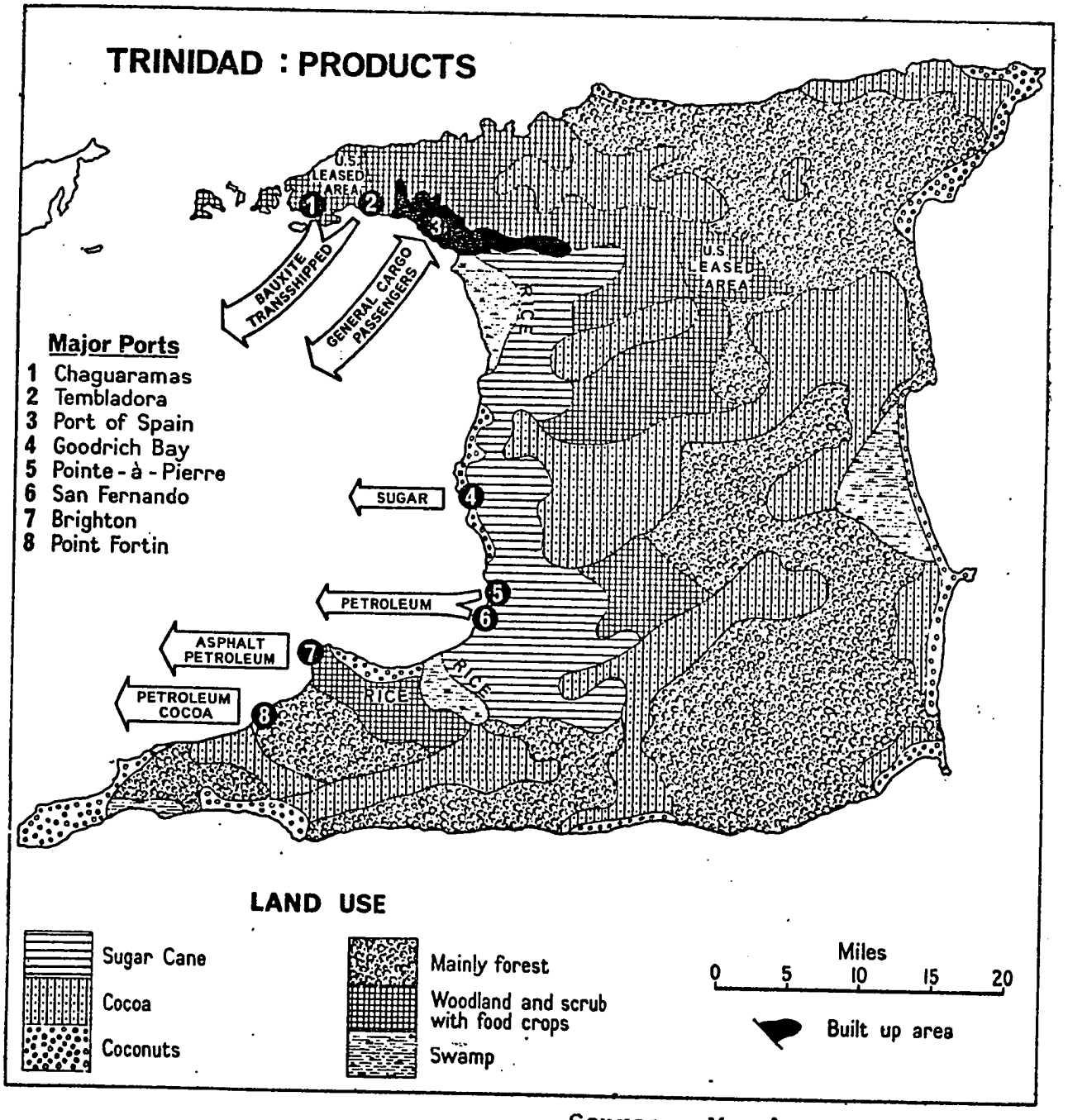
1865 (Appendix B) points to the same conclusion. During these first years of the resumption of the indentureship scheme, the only parish which showed a semblance of a concentration of indentured servants was Westmoreland. While nearly a quarter of the total of the 4,067 Indian laborers were located in Westmoreland in 1865, the remaining 3,000 were fairly well distributed in a number of other parishes. However, by 1865, the disproportionately heavier concentration of Indians resident in Westmoreland had been evened out. In general, the figures in Appendix B indicate that the few thousand Indians brought to Jamaica during this period were sent to work on estates which, indeed, were situated in a large number of different parishes all over the island.

Should one cite Eisner's comment that due to severe labor shortages, East Indians brought to Jamaica tended to be sent to sugar estates in Westmoreland, Clarendon, and St. Thomas in the 1870's and to banana estates in St. Mary and St. Thomas in the 1890's (1961:146), I think one can counter the suggestion that it represented any type of a concentration of Indians comparable to those which occurred in British Guiana and Trinidad. In the former, the coastal zone occupies only 4 per cent of the total land area of 83,000 square miles. It was to the plantations located in this small area that the 238,000 indentures were sent to work (see Map D). In Trinidad the cultivation of sugar cane tended to be concentrated in a narrow belt of gently rolling land along the



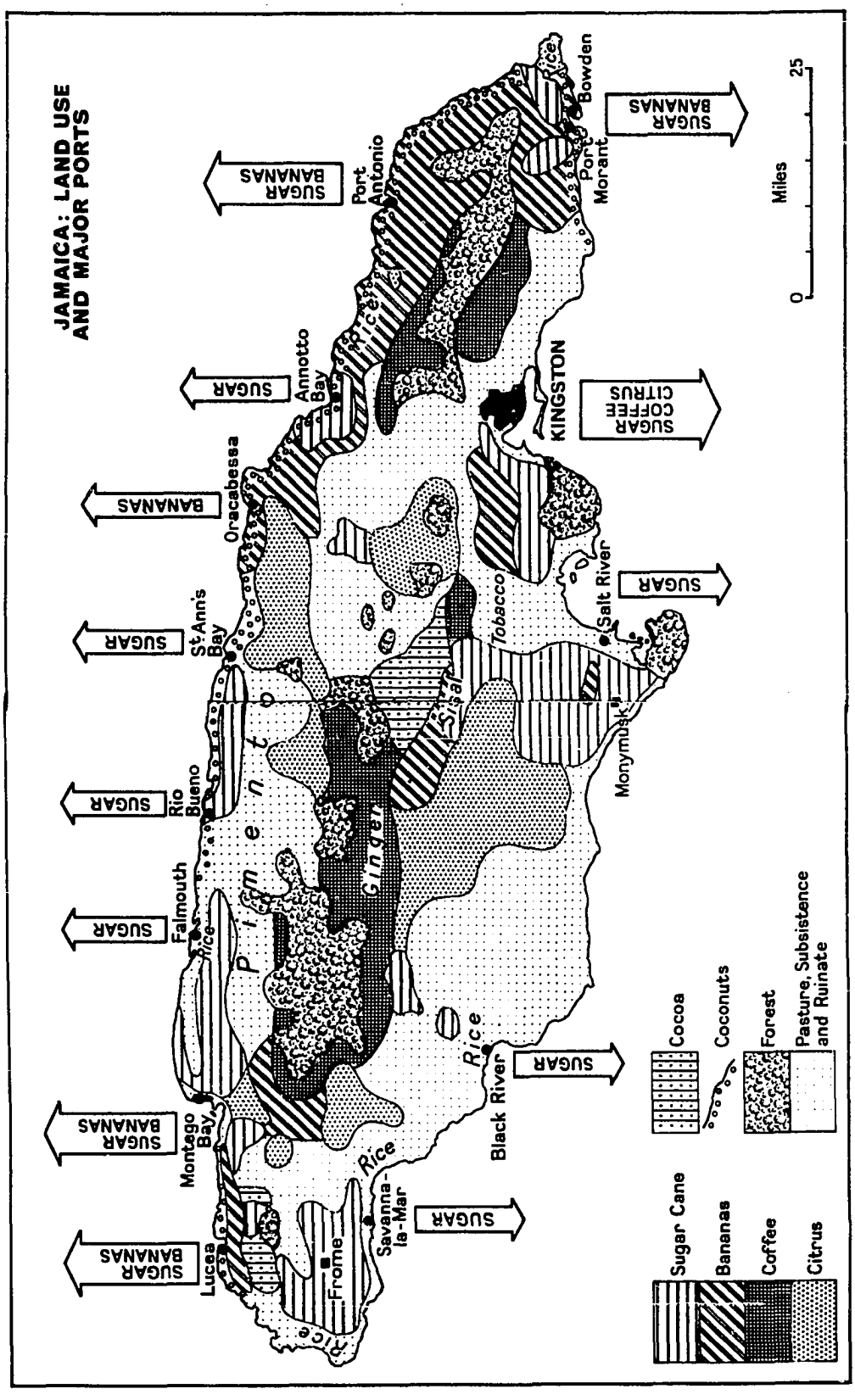
Source: Macpherson 1965:170

MAP D



Source: Macpherson 1965:59

MAP E



Source: Macpherson 1965:40-41

MAP F

CARIBBEAN LANDS

western side of the island, extending approximately thirty miles in length from the Caroni Plain in the north to the Oropuche Lagoon in the south (see Map E). Hence, a large proportion of the 143,000 Indians who came to Trinidad was highly concentrated even during the period of indentureship, before any of the movement away from the estates had begun. These situations contrast sharply with the Jamaican case. The land area of the two largest sugar-producing parishes (Westmoreland and Clarendon) totals approximately 800 square miles of which, it is estimated, one-quarter of the area is suitable for cane cultivation (see Map F). This area alone is greater than those into which the larger numbers of Guyanese and Trinidadian indentured laborers were absorbed. Therefore, although increasing numbers of Indians were sent to particular parishes during certain periods of the indentureship scheme, there is little evidence that a high degree of ethnic density resulted. In Jamaica, indentured Indians were fewer and the area of absorbtion larger.

In further support of this position, the numerical breakdown of the distribution of indentured servants from ships docking in Jamaica might also be cited. If the distribution of indentured laborers from one of the later ships is indicative of the general proportions of the allocation of Indians to estates, then again one feels safe in speculating that there was little opportunity for heavy Indian concentration to occur in Jamaica. As can be seen in Table 17,

TABLE 17

DISTRIBUTION OF INDENTURED SERVANTS FROM THE S.S. INDUS, NOVEMBER 11, 1907

Estate	Number of Adult Indians
Fontabelle (St. Mary)	10
Golden Vale	108
Wentworth	12
Osborne	15
Orange Hill	20
Phillipsfield	24
Belvidere	30
Grays Inn	15
Newry and Greencastle	56
Cold Harbour	10
Iter Borealis	48
Konigsberg	10
Chovey and Agualta Vale	29
Riversdale	9
Halcot Farm	13
Nutsfield	29
Hopewell	10
Colerance	27
Quebec	10
Escher	28
Fontabelle (Westmoreland)	15
Hyde	10
Fort Stewart	8
Gibralter	20

the 571 adult Indians who came to Jamaica on the S.S. Indus were divided among a total of 26 different estates. More telling from our viewpoint, however, is the apparently thin spread of Indian laborers. With the exception of Golden Vale Estate, Indian workers seem to have been parceled out to the estates in rather small groups. The high frequency in which groups of twenty or less persons were sent to estates emphasizes the diffusiveness of the allotments. Whatever strength might have existed within the Indians' small numbers was effectively shattered by the manner of distribution.

At this juncture several comparisons can be made. First, the very nature of the historical development of the plantation system in the three areas directly influenced the reception of the indentureship scheme. Simply stated, during the indentureship period sugar was in a state of expansion in Trinidad and British Guiana, while in Jamaica it was steadily contracting. In the former areas, sponsorship of indentured laborers was economically viable and took on large proportions; in Jamaica, the economic fetters of the past confined the flow of indentured servants, limiting it to a trickle.

Second, the flow of East Indians into Jamaica was not only quantitatively different, but qualitatively different. While it never took on the proportions of the other two areas, more importantly, the inflow was intermittent. The continuous reinforcement coming from the steady arrival of new

migrants was present in Trinidad and British Guiana--in Jamaica, it was not

Third, the cultural ecological conditions extant in Jamaica severely hampered the possibility of the East Indians being able to nucleate in ethnic pockets within the larger population. On the one hand, they were in no position to compete for land with the substantially larger Negro population which had already become well entrenched in freehold villages both in the hill and coastal areas. Hence, the adaptation pattern of village settlements, as in the Trinidadian indenture experience, does not seem to have been an option available in Jamaica.[16] On the other hand, the configuration of the plantation system in Jamaica so differed from that of British Guiana that it did not permit the development of heavy concentrations of Indians even though it confined them for a long period of time within the framework of the plantation. In fact, as I have attempted to argue, the plantation organization in Jamaica actually seems to have accomplished the very opposite by causing a wide dispersal of indentured servants. Few in absolute numbers, only sporadically reinforced with new arrivals of indentured laborers, divided into small groups, legally bound to the estates during the indentureship period, influenced by the colonial social system emphasizing British colonial values--the rural Indians in Jamaica simply were not able to form and maintain viable communities in which their culture, or at least parts of it,

might be perpetuated. In contrast to the cultural ecological adaptations of the Indians in British Guiana and Trinidad who remained in the Caribbean, the descendents of the Jamaican indentured servants do appear to have become "stripped of their culture."

It is not surprising, then, that the Indian population of Jamaica has always been passed over lightly in discussions of ethnic and racial integration in the Caribbean. The larger, more traditionally-oriented Indian populations in Trinidad and Guyana were obvious to the eye and received the attention of students of the Caribbean interested in problems stemming from the mosaic of peoples living in the area. In publications discussing the Indian population of Jamaica, rural Indians are always differentiated from their urban, store-owning counterparts in Kingston and Montego Bay. However, the rural Indians, whose roots lead back to the indentureship system, are treated as if they are part of some general, undifferentiated lower-class, embodied in the rural masses spread over the Jamaican countryside. Such impressions are readily found in the literature on Jamaica.

> Although the immigration of indentured laborers from Indian contributed consequential numbers of persons to the populations of British Guiana and Trinidad, probably no more than 14,000 East Indians stayed in Jamaica out of the estimated 36,400 brought in between 1845, when they first arrived, and 1917. Considerable miscegenation took place with this group and the group expanded in absolute numbers. By 1960, 1.7 per cent of the Jamaican population was classified as East Indian with another 1.7 per cent classified as Afro-East Indian. East Indians were assimilated racially to a considerable extent, and

> they became fairly well assimilated socially and culturally into the particular social classes of which they were part (Bell 1964:9).

In a pamphlet entitled, "National Identity and Attitudes to Race in Jamaica", Nettleford emphasizes the point that the various racial and ethnic groups on the island have not shed their particularistic loyalties. It is interesting that in the discussion of the "togetherness" of the various groups, Nettleford does not even mention the East Indians. It is as if they have been totally assimilated--as if self-identification as an Indian were non-existent.

> There are people 'Negro' enough to feel a sense of personal affront when reports of discriminatory acts against a black American college student are reported in the local press. There can hardly be any difficulties of identification. There are people 'Syrian' enough to want to return to Lebanon for a spouse. The bond among the Chinese of Jamaica may be said to be a racial Chinese one and not a sophisticated Jamaican one. And there are 'English' or white people who are English or white enough to want to help out people who look like themselves when it comes to the matter of a job. Whether this kind of differentiation is strong enough to rend the society apart is doubtful outside the framework of purely private individual relationships. But this is where the shoe pinches, and a localized pain can affect the entire body (Nettleford 1965:12-13).

It is hoped that the earlier materials presented in the course of this discussion have shown that the treatment of the rural East Indian in Jamaica as an assimilated entity is a simplification of the existing situation. The reality is far more complex. What is lacking at the overt level of cultural differentiation in terms of retention of traditional East Indian customs is made up at the covert level through

self-perception and ideological factors. Culturally, the village of Canelot shows very little differentiation; socially, however, it is fraught with all sorts of differentiators falling along an Indian-Negro axis of ethnicity. The assimilation process still has a long course to run--it must fight what appears to be very deep-rooted patterns of stereotypic thought which act as social barriers and nurture attitudes of distrust and hostility.

In printing the Five Year Independence Plan, the Jamaican government proudly commented, "Racial integration, in our society, is not merely an ideal: it is in fact a part of life" (1963:3). If this be true, then it must be stated categorically that it is a part of life which the Indians in Canelot wish to forego.

CHAPTER V

POLITICS AND NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

Politics, most villagers will tell you, is at the root of the problems of living in Canelot. If it were not for existing arrangement of political forces, life would not be as hard. It is said that Westmoreland is being treated by the government like a poor unwanted child--the people of the parish being purposely kept down and impoverished. The government is out to spite the citizenry of Westmoreland. So the argument goes.

The general feeling is that there is little reason to hope that conditions will change for the better in the very near future. The local situation is seen as being one of steady deterioration and hardship. To understand the people's attitude, it is necessary to place the village and the parish within the context of national politics, for it is from this context that the prevalent attitude of pessimism takes on its meaning.

In Jamaica there are presently two major political parties--the Jamaica Labor Party and the People's National Party. The former has been in power since 1963, and was recently re-elected by a large majority in February, 1967. For the people of Canelot no further facts need be cited in explaining their problems. The village, as well as the political constituency in which Canelot is located, has

tended to be a PNP stronghold. This fact of life, it is claimed, relegates the people in the village and in the area as a whole to a type of second-class-citizenship. It is felt by most of the villagers that the needs of an area are given secondary consideration to voting patterns. If one votes "right" in terms of the winning political party, then the area can expect assistance in its problems from the politicians who control the strings which can release or hold back the flow of funds in the national coffers. It is the old story, "to the victor go the spoils"--jobs, as well as government aid. Westmoreland has a record of voting "wrong". It has a predominantly PNP parish council and it gave three of its four parliamentary seats to members of the PNP in the last election. As a result of its PNP affinity, bitterness towards the government and its representatives is readily expressed in conversation.

> The government only knows how to spend money which you and I pay. The politicians do nothing and we pay their salaries for doing it. It is we, they always forget after the election. How else can you explain the conditions here in Canelot? This road is not fit to travel on, the water supply is very bad, people live in homes fit for hogs. Yes, we're treated like hogs, not like people. The government, it's no good. It doesn't do anything except spend money. All the politicians want to do is get elected so they can put tax money in their pockets while they keep us poor. The government doesn't help us at all. It has a grudge against us because Canelot is almost all PNP.

Much of the villagers' hostility stems from the existing high levels of unemployment and underemployment. As mentioned earlier, the sugar industry provides only seasonal

employment for most of the people. A cane worker is lucky if he gets six full months of work. In looking at their problem of unemployment, many of the villagers see tourism as a way towards easing the situation. On the west coast of the island, about fourteen miles from Canelot, is situated Negril Beach. The beach is considered by most Jamaicans to be the finest on the island--seven miles of beautiful white sand gradually sloping into the clear blue waters of the Caribbean. When the PNP was in control of the government, it sponsored a project to build up the Negril area into a large tourist attraction to complement the popular north coast tourist development. The PNP also drained out large areas of morass lands near the beach in addition to building a first class road into Negril leading down from the north coast area. However, when government control switched parties in 1963, and the road was completed, all work on the Negril project came to a halt. Here again, the people claim spite was involved in dropping the Negril project. It is argued that the then newly elected JLP government wanted nothing to do with the PNP-conceived project, especially in a parish which had not backed the JLP in victory. Hence, up to the election in February, 1967 no major build-up for tourism at Negril had taken place. The road to bring tourists to the area is there, the big open beach is there--only the hotel facilities for a tourist industry are absent from this travel poster scene of tropical beauty. The people's hope of tourism creating

employment in the area remains still a hope.

At first blush, it might appear that due to the difficulties of earning a living in the area, the people are merely exhibiting a type of communal paranoia wherein all sorts of imagined forces and people are seen to be constantly moving against them to keep them in a state of poverty. When one cannot see light, everybody and everything impinging upon his life becomes cloaked in black. After all, one can counter-argue that governments always have limited resources available for their use and that perhaps, in the case of Negril, it was felt that sectors of the economy other than tourism were in greater need of assistance. However, after witnessing the election campaign of 1967 and its aftermath, it must be admitted that the reasoning behind the political attitudes of the villagers came into sharp focus. Concrete events gave credence to the wariness they project towards politics and the government. For as the election approached, the people became quite vocal in their opinions towards the government; in turn, the election, through the series of campaign speeches in the village, revealed the types of relationships and attitudes which exist between the rural populace and their representatives in the government.

The National Election of 1967

At the outset, it should be stated that a large number of the men who were sent by the political parties to speak in the village grossly miscalculated in their

attempts to interpret the mentality of the people. Issues of importance to the area, too often were bypassed for argumentum ad hominem declarations and revivalistic-type exhortations claiming that doom and damnation would come to Jamaica if the other party were elected to power.[1] During the very first political meeting held in the village, the level at which "discussions" were going to be held became clearly established when an elected member of the government attacked the socialist leanings of the Leader of the Opposition by calling him a communist and a sympathizer of Cuba. In Jamaica, "Castro", Cuba", and "Communism" are volatile terms, highly charged with negative sentiment. Being linked with any of them is political death. The speaker, after making the allegation of communist sympathy, then proceeded to point out how the Church had been suppressed in Cuba, and concluded by exclaiming that a vote for the PNP was a vote to close the doors of the churches in Jamaica. All the villagers knew the election had begun.

For every barb which was thrown by one party, the next political meeting found time for a counter argumentum ad hominem attack. The PNP attempted to lay the blame for all of the rioting and shooting which took place in Kingston around the time of the election to a JLP candidate who was accused of organizing a gang of thugs to insure his re-election. In a series of newspaper attacks,

each party accused the other of job victimization and preferential treatment in the awarding of government contracts. By the end of the three weeks of electioneering, the heavy barrage of personal attacks had become an integral part of the meetings. For the villagers, the main disappointment of the speeches lay in the fact that the meetings had focused upon personal attacks rather than upon economic discussions related to earning a living in the western sugar belt.[2] The villagers in Canelot wanted to hear specifically what the politicians had to say about western Westmoreland and its particular problems. Interestingly, the JLP candidates generally tended to avoid discussion of the pressures being put upon the government to allow the sugar industry to mechanize, which would affect employment in the area drastically.

When harangues focusing upon the ineptitude of the opposition candidates and their party were put aside, it appeared as if the JLP promised the people of Canelot essentially nothing. This was due to the fact that the JLP's approach was one which asked the voter to stand back and assess the development of Jamaica as an independent nation. Hence, the party ran much of its campaign on its achievements over its five years in office, since independence. This approach left a rather flat note in a village where almost everybody felt the government had been remiss and had not done anything or very little to make their lives

easier. In stating how many miles of road had been paved, how many classrooms and teachers' cottages had been constructed, how many new businesses and factories had been started--all accomplished during the JLP's five-year tenure of office--the local situation, by contrast, became more depressing in the people's minds. The obvious response to the JLP's facts and figures was, "But look, our road is dirt and full of holes. Our teacher's cottage is in a delapidated state and falling apart, while our school is overcrowded and poorly staffed. Why doesn't Westmoreland get any of the new industries which are being built? If all these accomplishments were made during the past five years, why have we received none of these benefits"? The answer, at all the meetings was the same--"The government cannot do everything at once. Be patient". When asked what had happened to the Negril Project, the question, at that time, was answered with another question--"Do you expect the government to build hotels and go into the tourist business"?[3]

In actuality, the party in power could have pointed to a concrete example of improvement which had been undertaken and of benefit to the village, namely, the new well which had been dug nearby and was providing the village with a steady water supply for the first time in many years. However, the way in which the opening of the new water source was handled, ironically, caused even greater hostility towards the government rather than feelings of gratitude.

When the author and his wife first moved into the village, everyone was talking about the well being dug near Market Town which would supply the whole area with water. First, in mid-November, it was announced that the water supply would be fed into the village pipeline. Everybody excitedly looked forward to this event. The date then switched to the end of November. When November was over, the rumor spread that the water would come to the village by Christmas. Christmas came and passed as did New Year's. Finally, in mid-January, the village began to receive a regular supply of water from the newly dug well. However, by that time, all the false water dates had worn the villagers' patience to a frazzle. Each postponement engendered bitterness. As has already been mentioned, water in late November and December was coming to the village quite infrequently--about once every seven to ten days and then only late at night or very early in the morning. One morning in December as a group of people sat around the yard complaining about the water situation, one woman was heard to remark, "That's a song we know very well. We have sung it for many years now--we know it by heart. Every year the government tells us it's going to help us, but we're still singing the same song, and the government does nothing". By the time the water was finally turned on, the JLP had announced that they were calling for an election to be held in February. The villagers' interpretation of the

series of events leading up to the opening of the water supply was simple and blunt--the water supply had been purposely held back until a few weeks before the election. The water, in the end, was perceived as a political bribe for votes.[4]

It must be said that that the JLP's decision to campaign straight across the island on its past achievements rather than attempt to discuss present problems facing particular areas and how solutions might be sought approached absurdity at one meeting. The first speaker to address the people stood up and announced he had a list of achievements which he felt showed the great strides forward Jamaica had made under the JLP. In presenting this list, the first achievement he chose to cite was that the island now had its own national airline, Air Jamaica. What, it may be asked, could be less meaningful to a group of poor, rural proletariat families, most of whom will never set foot inside either the Montego Bay or Kingston airports, let alone actually fly in a plane, than the fact that the island has its own chartered national airline. One really wonders if the speaker expected to suddenly see the people's chests swell with national pride upon mention of this achievement. After the speech it was apparent that two different worlds had come together, personified in the speaker and the audience--the two worlds, however, had completely failed to touch.

Upon leaving the meeting, one man turned, spoke out, "These meetings, they're ignorant. The men, they talk stupidness", and then walked away. The man's open criticism found empathic nods of agreement among others standing at the meeting.

In contrast, the PNP ran a very different kind of campaign. The party's tack was to point out and emphasize things which the JLP had failed to do during its five years in office.[5] In campaigning through an area such as western-Westmoreland, the latter approach was, indeed, the politic route to take. However, the problem was that the PNP travelled down this particular road a bit too enthusiastically. They fell victim to a phenomenon well known in American politics, namely, the credibility-gap. The PNP delivered political speeches which made it sound as if they were going to completely change the face of Jamaica for the better. Whereas the people in Canelot felt the JLP had made no concrete promises of aid to them, it appeared that the PNP was promising them everything. In addition to promises such as rural electrification, improvement of the school system, and cheaper construction materials through nationalization of the cement factory, the PNP had a very strong land reform plank in its platform. In an area marked by a scarcity of available land, the promise of land reformation was an extremely appealing proposition to the people. The central feature of the PNP land reformation program proposed to limit private land holding to

maximum units of 500 acres ("Policy of the PNP" 1965:4).

> The ultimate goal of a socialist society in which agriculture figures as an integral part of the economy, is a contented and stable countryside. This can only be achieved in a climate of true social equality and sound economic planning. Accordingly, we propose an absolute legal limit of 500 acres to landowning by any single person whether individual or company and we pledge ourselves to the practical realization of this objective throughout Jamaica as rapidly as the capital resources, economy and agricultural know-how will permit.[6]

A few persons in the village expressed a firm belief that the PNP, if elected, would bring about widespread changes in the parish--"There's no land room here in Westmoreland. That's the thing that's killing us. Soon we're going to capture the Company and then we'll have some lands to cultivate". However, an expression such as this was rare. Although most people expressed the feeling that things might be better if the PNP were elected, (many caustically remarking it was impossible for them to get worse)nevertheless, they also felt that most of the PNP campaign promises were just so much political rhetoric. As far as the residents of Canelot were concerned, the PNP talked a better game; nevertheless, the villagers were quick to emphasize, it was all talk. Few believed that the PNP, if elected, would force WISCO into selling its lands to the government.

One woman in stating her displeasure with the way the two parties were running their respective campaigns most pointedly revealed the personal breach which exists

between the people and politicians. In a serious and bitter voice she made her feelings clearly understood.

> I'm not going to make the "x" in this election. What for? They [politicians] don't care about us poor people. Every five years they come to the crossroads and promise us all sorts of nice things they're going to do for us. But, Mr. Allen, if they really cared about us, they would walk up and down the road, visit with us, and sit and talk with us in our homes. Then they could see how we poor live, and what we need. But the politicians don't want to sit in our homes and see we are needy. They only want the vote--I'm not going to make the "x".[7]

The general nature of the association between the woman and the politician is true for most villagers. It is one in which the affective facet of the relationship has become completely overshadowed by the instrumental. In a discussion of the nature of instrumental friendships in power relationships, Wolf has emphasized the need for the appearance of affective links in the relationship (1966:13).

> Despite the instrumental character of such relations, however, a minimal element of affect remains an important ingredient in the relation. If it is not present, it must be feigned. When the instrumental purposes of the relation clearly take the upper hand, the bond is in danger of disruption.

In essence, the woman was saying that she was going to break the bond of the instrumental relationship in the only way possible for her--"I'm not going to make the 'x'".

After the election was over and the JLP was announced victorious, the people's attitudes towards politics

and the government only became further reinforced. This was accomplished via a four-day victory motorcade in which members of the JLP travelled across the island to thank the people for their political success. The motorcade made a stop in nearby Market Town where the late Sir Donald Sangster, then Prime Minister of the island, proceeded to castigate the people for their PNP vote. In a brief speech, the people were told that they had not voted wisely. Westmoreland, he said, had many problems to be solved--problems which were like a lock waiting to be opened. The JLP had the key with which to open that lock, but it could not yet give the key to the parish. Help would first be given to those areas which had supported the party. The people of Westmoreland could expect help with their problems only after the other supporting constituencies had been taken care of and if there were still funds available.[8] The people left the meeting unsurprised at the political message that had been delivered. They heard exactly what they had expected to hear. Nothing as far as national politics was concerned, had changed.

Political Attitudes and National Identification

The important point which became apparent while observing the campaign of the national election was that the people really felt a sense of alienation from the political power structure of the island. To them, the government was a fact of life they had to live with and they were going

to be forgotten regardless of the political party which controlled the government. That Canelot might represent a PNP stronghold during a JLP-controlled government only meant that the screws might be put on a bit tighter, but in either case the screws would be applied to the village body. Many of the people could only express feelings of despair when talking about the two parties and the election. Some felt there was no politician or party which could really be trusted.

> If you ask me, both men, Mr. Busta and Mr. Manley, they lie to the people. The JLP and the PNP, they're the same thing.[9] They can't fool me again. They promise you this and they promise you that and when the election is through, they forget everything.

It might be noted that the feeling of alienation from the government and its officials has produced a strong overt psychological reaction among the people. It has led to a particular mode of self-perception whose form is essentially a type of self-debasement. The villagers see themselves as being totally impotent vis-a-vis the political structure--what they think or say is of no interest; their ideas or opinions can find no audience with elected officials. In a very real sense, there is no vehicle for village expression and, hence, it has become stifled. Feelings of political isolation run rampant in the village. In turn, as humans, the villagers feel they are of no signifcance--they do not count. They are Lilliputians in a land where Gullivers rule. In a phrase of self-description and

self-diminution used continuously by the villagers, they are "just little people".

In revealing the attitude of the people towards themselves, one person described quite incisively the resentment held by the people towards elected officials.

> We knew Mr. Fielding when he was a teacher here. He taught the children in the village and we little people elected him because he knew the problems here. But after the election, he turned his face and let us down. Politicians forget about us little people after the election. But it is on the shoulders of us little people that the politicians stand to look so big.

Perhaps the height of despair was expressed in the remarks of one man who argued that the government did not care at all how the people lived--it only was interested in how they died.

> When you're alive, the government doesn't care about you. Man, you could be starving to death, and it would not matter to the politicians in the government. But when you die, then they care and send police to investigate how you died. That's the kind of government Jamaica has. It worries about the dead.

With pronouncements such as these, it is apparent that the discussion of national politics is inextricably linked to the question of national identification. For the statements emphasize not so much the people's attitudes towards particular parties, but rather their attitude towards the total political structure.

The Jamaican government, during the year and half the fieldwork was undertaken, actively attempted to generate nationalistic enthusiasm and pride via the use of the

mass media. Reference to the national motto--"Out of many, one people"--was made frequently on the radio and in the newspapers. Various economic and social improvements were pointed to in noting how the island was developing. Appeals were made to the people of the need to work together--that each person must be prepared to put his shoulder to the wheel if Jamaica was to continue in its development and be able to provide a better life for all of its people. Perhaps, the high point of this drive towards a greater sense of national belonging came during the activity known as "Festival Five".

"Festival Five" was a government-sponsored celebration in honor of the fifth year of Jamaican independence and involved a series of contests throughout the island. Entries were solicited from all parts of the island to compete in contests such as culinary arts, drama, music, dance, speech, art, photography, crafts, and a wide array of others talents and skills. The newspapers devoted whole pages to coverage of the Miss Jamaica Beauty Contest. The radio filled the air waves several hours a day with the various songs competing in the Festival Song Competition. During this period, the annual Denbigh agricultural show was held in the parish of Clarendon. The independence celebration was to be the embodiment of "Jamaicaness". A celebration in which the talents of all of Jamaica's sons and daughters could be exhibited, admired, and rewarded.

In essence, a celebration in which all Jamaicans could feel a sense of belonging--a sense of national identification.

To what degree of success the government is having in promoting broader ties of identification over the island as a whole is difficult to assess. However, if the village of Canelot is any sort of a reflection of the sentiments of the people of the parish then it must be said that in Westmoreland, the government is failing in its efforts to engender a feeling of national pride and a sense of belonging to the larger nation-state.[10] The crux of the situation is that the people of Canelot simply do not feel they belong.[11]

In expressing the frustrations of facing what appears to be a lifetime of hopelessness, the people have little patience with expressions of national pride. This was made quite clear by many of them who openly stated that they thought Jamaica would be much better off if it were not an independent nation. Such expressions understandably follow from the hostile attitudes which have developed towards the government. In a very real way, there is a strong sense of distrust of Negro Jamaican leadership. Much of this attitude has the strong imprint of colonialism upon it. Among Negro villagers as well as Indian, there still exists the stereotypic attitude that the Negro is less competent or able to rule a nation. A government is seen as a complex organization needing the white man's "big brain" to run it efficiently. Negro rule is equated with

poor leadership. Strong feelings which revolve around racial attitudes cause many to be quite ambivalent about Negro rule. Part of the ambivalence stems from the belief that once the Negro takes office, he asserts all the authority of the office he can muster and pulls rank so that no one will be confused about his status because of the color of his skin.[12] The end result is that the villagers both Indian and Negro, generally prefer a white taskmaster to a black or brown-skinned one.

With such views widely held in the village, it is not surprising to find little sense of identification with the national political structure. Several men looked to the past and remarked that they thought the island had been more prosperous as a colony of England. One was heard to remark, "When England used to send a Governor to Jamaica, things were better--much better. Since independence everything's mashed down. I like the white man's rule better". In a similar vein, another caneworker complained that independence had improved the lot of the wealthy, while it only made life more difficult for the poor--"Things were much better before independence. Only the big men have benefited from independence. We small people, are suffering more--suck salt".

Other persons in the village expressed their lack or pride in independence in a very different way. Instead of looking to the colonial past, they found a ray of hope

in a type of future-oriented political fantasization. Jamaica's problems, it was reasoned, stemmed from its political state of independence. These problems could be overcome if the stars and stripes of the United States were to fly over Jamaican soil. A young unemployed Indian boy assured me that, "If America comes and takes Jamaica, no Coolie or Nigger would be P.M.--he would be a pure white man and Jamaica would prosper". Another informant, an elderly Negro man who during his life as a cane worker could not have had much contact with Americans, made the following interesting statement on the solution of Jamaica's economic problems:

> It would be better if America came and took over Jamaica. Money is here, but it's idling. Americans use money--God bless America. If rich men in Jamaica would spend their money like Americans, it would help all of us.[13]

The disillusionment and seeming hopelessness of the local situation runs deep, forcing words of bitterness for the motherland from the mouths of her children. For many of the men who only know work in the cane fields, Jamaica has become a place which would best be left behind--if that were only possible.

> I tell you Jamaica is no place to live. A man wants to work, but he can't get work. A man wants to build a nice a little cottage for himself and his family and he can't do it-- even after he's worked a long time in the canes, he won't have the money to buy the lumber and tools. Anything you get paid, your expenses are going to be higher. Young men all around who want to work and are capable, sit around doing nothing half of their lives.

> People come here to Jamaica and say, "What a pretty place!" If they asked me I'd say "O, what a pretty Hell!" The government says Jamaica is independent and we should be proud. But I don't feel independent. I'm as dependent as I ever was. Since independence, the government has not helped me. No man, I was born in Jamaica and Jamaica is my home, but I'd leave tomorrow if I could get work elsewhere.[14]

Some of the men in the area try to go to the United States or Canada on a farm labor exchange which usually lasts about six months. However, only a handful succeed even in this temporary escape from Jamaica.

Even the national symbols which were struck in 1962 to foster an identification with the sovereignty of Jamaica as an independent nation-state have not succeeded in creating a sense of nationalistic empathy among the villagers. Both the national motto and the national anthem get their share of rebuke in Canelot.

When I mentioned the national motto and the P.M.'s call for all Jamaicans to work together, the man with whom I was talking promptly took me to task.

> Man, that's nonsense. Jamaica is not one people. No, man! If Jamaica were one people, would you have a few rich men living on the work of all us poor people? If Jamaica were one people, then the big man would help us a little instead of keeping us in oppression. But they don't help us. The government is talking about human rights--I read it in The Gleaner. It's only talk.[15]

As for the national anthem, it is held with little respect. A poll of the village, I am sure, would reveal that few of the people know most of the words. In addition, those villagers who do know them often change lines

to show their hostility--e.g., the last line of the national anthem especially carries the brunt of the people's ill-will reading, "Jamaica (3), land we love", whereas such paraphrasing as "Jamaica, land we hate", or "Jamaica, land of slavery" are often-heard variations. During the national election, in particular, it became readily apparent that the national anthem was not a rallying point around which differences might be laid aside even momentarily for the sake of an appearance of national unity. Much to my surprise, only the JLP concluded their meetings with the singing of the national anthem. When the national anthem was sung at the conclusion of these meetings, most of the people talked or made fun of the person leading the singing. On the other hand, the PNP, interestingly, chose to conclude their political meetings not with the national anthem, but with the American civil rights song, "We shall Overcome". Without any desire to dwell upon this PNP decision at great length, it does, nevertheless, merit further attention, in that it highlights the divisiveness which the two-party system seems to encourage in Jamaica. Ordinarily, it would be thought that a country's national anthem would be held with a certain amount of respect by all political factions that are peacefully working within the existing framework of the country's political structure. However, it should be remembered that the national anthem, the motto, as well as the other symbols of national identification came

into existence under the JLP when it led the island into independence much to the disappointment of the PNP which was committed to the proposed federation of the British West Indies. Political wounds appear to be still open and the PNP action during the campaign would seem to indicate that its members want nothing to do with the JLP-created national anthem. Hence, the very symbols of political independence and national unity have become severely undercut.

Political Linkages to the Village

In pointing to the lack of nationalistic empathy generated from the rural village out towards the urban political center, a good deal of the antipathy becomes further understandable when a structural view of the situation is attempted. For by looking at the structure of the local political organization, one can see the manner in which various segments of the population are ideally supposed to be linked to the larger national body of the government. It is through the successful political concatenation of various ethnic and economic interests that broader loyalties to the state are encouraged to develop. Yet, as has been clearly revealed by the ethnographic material collected in the village, the broader nationalistic loyalties are extremely weak. On paper, it appears as if there should be three avenues through which the rural population is linked to the national government. These may be diagrammed in the manner shown in Figure 3.

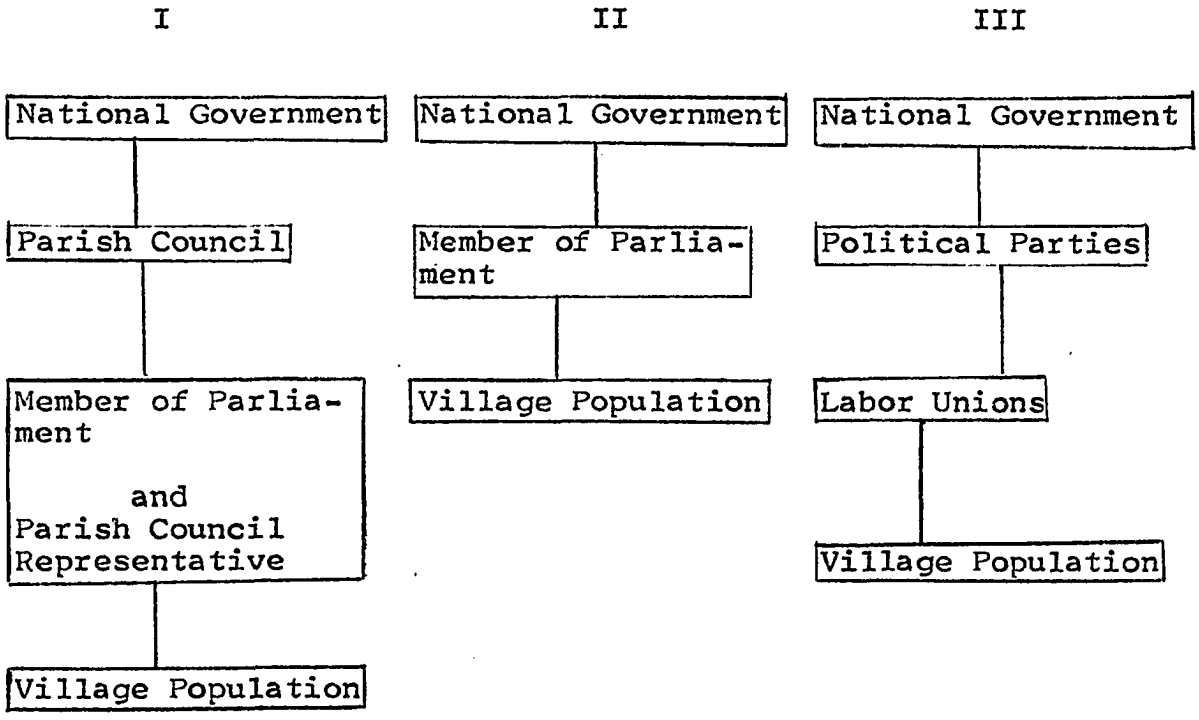


FIGURE 3
POLITICAL LINKAGES OF RURAL VILLAGE TO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The causes for the failure of the first two series of political linkages have, for the most part, been covered in the general discussion of the villagers' attitude towards politicians. As long as sentiments of distrust and victimization constitute the main emotional responses of the people in their relationship to the national government, then the representatives of the national government at the rural level of political organization cannot help but be ineffective in the task of forging broader links of national pride and identity. At the present time, it does not appear as if the people's view of politics and of their national officials, are going to become any less hostile. In fact, a series of post-election events seem to indicate that the heated views of distrust expressed in Canelot are being fanned yet further. In addition to the victory motorcade speeches which possessed very strong overtones of political victimization, other incidents triggered off ill-feelings towards the newly-elected government. First, in July, 1967, when the national budget was outlined, the House of Representatives passed a sum of £16,000 to meet claims from members for the hiring of chauffeurs. Previous to the budget meeting, no such allocation of funds for chauffers had been accessible to all members of the House. In the past only Ministers had such funds available to them.[16] Later, this act was followed in August by an entourage of government officials flying off to Montreal to visit Expo '67 for Jamaica Day. No one in Jamaica denied that the government

should have made representation at the affair. However, the decision of the government to send a large group of officials to the World's Fair, all at the tax-payer's expense, seemed unnecessary as well as extravagant to most of the people.

Occurrences such as these, when combined with the post-election difficulties the PNP-dominated Westmoreland Parish Council claims to have had with the national government over appropriation of funds (The Daily Gleaner: August 2, 1967), lead the people to conclude that their particular interests or needs will not find expression to the top of the political power structure through the official political linkages as diagrammed in the first two instances. The individual member of Parliament is seen as being elected by the people, but not of the people. On the other hand, the Parish Council is viewed as an ineffective input to the national government and, therefore, as having no real power to ameliorate local problems. With the recent national election still fresh in the villagers' mind--an election in which it was claimed that between 150,000 to 300,000 Jamaicans qualified to vote were disenfranchised by the JLP voter registration procedure--a feeling of personal participation in the national government has failed to be achieved through the ballot.[17] The voting discrepancies reported for the last few elections tend not only to undermine the participatory effect of voting, but they also

further weaken the effectiveness of the formal political structure in which the member of Parliament and the Parish Council are supposed to act as linkages between the village people and the national government.

The third type of linkage--that which finds the trade unions bridging the gap between the rural population and the central government--requires lengthier scrutiny. For the reader unfamiliar with the historical development of trade unionism in Jamaica, some prefatory remarks of a background nature might be presented because recent historical events leading to Jamaican self-government have strongly influenced the relationship between national politics and labor unionism in the island.[18]

In Jamaica there are two major labor unions--the Bustamante Industrial Trades Union (BITU) and the National Workers Union (NWU). The rise of the trade unionism movement can be pinpointed to the year 1938 which saw few celebrations in honor of the 100th anniversary of emancipation. Jamaica, as well as the rest of the islands in the Caribbean, were in the throes of a severe economic depression. Unemployment was widespread, having been aggravated by the long-standing attitude of the colonial government that, if left alone, the island's economy would somehow straighten itself out.

> The approach of the Crown Colony bureaucracy to the severe economic problems precipitated by a sharp drop in world sugar prices in the 1930's was in the

> laissez-faire tradition. The "invisible hand" would eventually reduce the mounting numbers of unemployed on the big sugar plantations and related enterprises. In the mid-1930's the average weekly income of the bulk of the employed population, concentrated heavily in agriculture, fell below twenty-five shillings (Bradley 1960:377).

What appear to be always referred to euphemistically in British accounts as "disturbances of the 1930's" were actually a series of labor revolts within the Caribbean chains of islands extending from Jamaica in the northwest at one end, down to Guyana on the mainland at the other.

In Jamaica the situation came to a head in 1938. Riots began to break out in various parts of the island. Large groups of unemployed workers gathered before the colonial governments headquarters and demanded jobs "'that would last long'" (Phelps 1960:425). In addition, strikes for better wages by cane workers in the country parishes and by dock workers in Kingston added fuel to the fire of the laboring class' discontent. In May, a general strike of the West Indies Sugar Company's estate at Frome in Westmoreland attracted attention as far away as London, bringing an inquiry from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Frome dispute saw a mob of workers armed with sticks and cutlasses stop traffic, set cane fields on fire, charge the general offices, and attack company officials. The strike quickly brought to a halt the harvesting of cane and manufacture of sugar, as well as the construction work involved in the building of the company's new centralized

plant. To quell the strike, the Governor, Sir Edward Denham, sent out an order that large police reinforcements from Kingston be dispatched to Frome. Within two days there were four men dead, thirteen in the hospital, one hundred five in jail, and the demonstrations ceased (Ibid.:423). From the background of these events in the first half of 1938, two men emerged who were to become the island's first national leaders. The two men were Alexander Bustamante (later knighted) and Normal Washington Manley.

During the crisis of unrest, Bustamante became the recognized leader of the laboring classes. A moneylender at the time of unrest, the 54 year old Bustamante, energetically took up the people's cries for more work and better wages. Appearing at a decisive moment in the island's turmoil, Bustamante led the inchoate proletariat forces. The depth of his mass appeal was unchallengeable. Known simply as "Busta" to his followers, he became their standard-bearer and spokesman--their charismatic leader.

> With his towering height, shock of greying hair, emphatic stride and unquestioned verbal flair, he proved a dramatic leader of the desperate unemployed, sorely in need of a bold and aggressive spokesman. Governor Denham met the crisis of the general strike by arresting its leaders, including Bustamante. The latter's popularity with the masses flourished. (Bradley 1960:377).

Norman Manley, on the other hand, stood in sharp contrast to Bustamante. A Rhodes Scholar and Oxford-trained barrister, Manley had established himself as an outstanding member of his profession by the time of the outbreak of the

riots. His reputation had been extended to England after his successful defense there of a Jamaican charged with murder. However, by 1938 he also had become very political-minded in viewing the problems facing the island--"To Jamaican politics in 1938 Manley brought a first-rate mind, a comprehensive diagnosis and remedy for Jamaica's ills based on Fabian Socialist postulates and a marked ability in presenting this prescription in a polished oratorical style" (Ibid.:396). In the end, it fell to Manley's lot to act as legal adviser and mediator in the formal presentation of the workers' grievances. A summary of Manley's contribution towards ameliorating the disturbances of 1938 were duly reported by a Commission of inquiry appointed by the Governor. In a rather one-sided report which omitted mention of Bustamante's role in helping to re-establish law and order, praise for Manley's efforts bordered on being effusive.

> "Perhaps no one man in the Island did more to re-establish confidence and restrict the growth of the disorders than Mr. N. W. Manley, K.C., who came forward almost immediately after the beginning of the disturbances, placed himself unreservedly at the disposal of the working classes and undertook to submit, on their behalf, their claims for better pay and better working conditions to the proper authorities. He appreciated that what was desired could only be obtained by constitutional means and that if the disturbances were to continue, the chief sufferers would be the labouring classes themselves. Both sides were gainers by his intervention. Employers had some one...who knew what demands could reasonably be made and what could not. On the other hand, the labourers had at their disposal and working wholeheartedly on their behalf one of the best brains in the country and one of the most disinterested. Mr. Manley toiled unceasingly for almost a month addressing meetings throughout the Island, negotiating with

> employers, conferring with various groups of labour on the subject of their demands and finally representing them before the Board of Conciliation. We think that his services to the community as a whole were invaluable" (Phelps 1960:431).

The report of the Governor's Commission not withstanding, during the weeks of the striking and rioting, the team of Bustamante and Manley became a common sight throughout the island. By the end of May, both men were satisfied with the progress achieved by their combined efforts.

> Striking employees on estates of the West Indies Sugar Company at Frome and Vere were reported eagerly awaiting formation of the "Labour Union"; they were granted pay raises of 12½ to 15 per cent. Bustamante was reported as prophesying "a better day...in sight for the toilers", and Manley observed that the time was ripe for a Labour Party in Jamaica. It was a satisfactory conclusion to a troubled week (Ibid.:427-428).

Indeed, the time had arrived, and the two leaders proceeded to put flesh onto the skeletons of their projected organizations. Shortly after the riots, Bustamante made his move, working at the recruitment and organization of the union in the latter part of 1938. By January 23, 1939, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union was officially recognized and registered under the Trade Union Law of the island. The flamboyant labor leader was acknowledged as "Founder and Life President" of the BITU. During this period, the first national political party, the People's National Party, was officially organized under the leadership of Manley. Later, in September, 1940, when Bustamante was interned for sedition for a period of seventeen months,

a working alliance between the BITU and PNP developed. These ties however, were quickly dissolved upon Bustamante's release from jail. The major reason given for the breakdown of the working relationship between the labor union and the political party has been suggested by many to have been a matter of personality clash.

> For a time he [Bustamante] shared the limelight with Manley, but the partnership soon faded. Bustamante always found co-operation difficult, and there was never any basis for agreement between the logic of the barrister's thinking and the kaleidoscopic contraditions of Bustamante's personality and programme (Ibid.:439).

With Bustamante-Manley co-operation at an end, the two organizations parted. Bustamante sent union representatives around the island telling the membership "'not to have anything to do with any political organization'" (Ibid.:449-450). Hence, up to this point, the development of local trade unionism and politics can be seen to have occurred simultaneously. Out of the same state of economic unrest, they had merged briefly and then separated, each going its own way. The separation, however, was to be a temporary one.

Under the leadership of the PNP, a growing discontent with the Crown Colony system was voiced. By late 1943, England had agreed to the Jamaican demand for governmental changes. It was announced that as of November, 1944, a new constitution would come into effect inaugurating limited self-government under British tutelage with universal adult

suffrage granted, and a popularly elected House of Representatives. In anticipation of the election, the Jamaica Labour Party was formed in 1943 in order to give Bustamante a political springboard from the trade union base he had organized. Bustamante, the labor leader, suddenly became Bustamante, the political leader, as well. In this way the JLP and BITU became firmly joined and have remained so up to the present time.

The first election under the new constitution was held on December 14, 1944, and the results were to determine the future course and shape of national politics. As the election approached, little attention was given to the JLP by the local press. It was generally viewed as a hastily conceived idea by Bustamante to try and gain a foothold in the government--an idea which was doomed to failure in view of the PNP's sustained and well-organized political activities over the six years of its existence. Sitting on top of the union membership of over 32,000 persons and standing on the simple political platform of the unity of labor, Bustamante shocked the local election prognosticators by leading the JLP to a sweeping voctory. The election returns showed that the PNP had been slaughtered at the polls, winning but four seats, while the JLP carried off twenty-three out of thirty-two seats, with the final five seats going to Independents. For many, the hardest reality of the election to accept was that Manley, himself, who had worked so hard for self-government in the island,

failed to win a seat and was not a member of the first popular government in Jamaica.

In defeat, Manley and the PNP had learned a simple lesson: the man with the largest trade union support had won. Furthermore, he had won without even developing a political platform concerning non-union activities. By the time the 1949 election came around, a conglomerate federation of fourteen small unions represented by the Trade Union Council and led by PNP leadership, was changed into a single general trade union and registered as the Trade Union Congress. The PNP now had its own official trade union base and the lesson that had been learned five years earlier immediately began to show results. In the 1949 election, while the JLP still received a majority of seventeen seats, the PNP captured thirteen seats, and two were won by Independents. However, the tie between the PNP and the TUC also was a short-lived one. Dissension within the TUC over charges of Communist indoctrination and affiliation with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions produced a split in its membership and led to a purge of some of the union leaders by the PNP. With the purge completed, the PNP's union base was damaged politically beyond repair and it was decided that a new associate union would have to be formed. Out of this decision, the National Workers Union was conceived and officially formed in order to counter-balance the support built into the JLP by its connection with the BITU. The new labor union, the NWU, came into

existence officially on October 17, 1952 and continues to be the PNP's tie with the organized laboring classes of the island. Through these events, starting with the period of unrest in 1938, national politics in Jamaica has become firmly linked with trade unionism and it has become a truism of Jamaican politics that successful competition for mass electoral support can be achieved only by party association with a well-organized trade union base.[19] The two have become inseparable bed partners.

With trade unionism and national politics tied together so strongly, it might lead one to suppose that the labor unions would be powerful vehicles for political expression at the grass roots level. Most of the male adults living in Canelot, are members of either the NWU or the BITU. The geographical distributions of large-holdings of cane cultivation and trade union membership heavily overlap--the Westmoreland Plain is sugar cane as far as the eye can see. In order to work on one of WISCO's farms or in its factory, it is mandatory to be a member of one of the unions. Indeed, when first moving into an area where a high rate of union membership was known to exist, the author thought that political linkages would be easily perceived and the ways they tied the local population to the national political structure, readily analyzable. It might be said a great myth exists in the urban centers of Kingston and Montego Bay, namely, that the labor unions' local

branches in the countryside are foci of political activity within the rural population. After a short period of living in the village, much to my surprise, it became quite apparent that unions were doing very little in terms of creating a climate of political awareness or activism. Regularly scheduled meetings were unknown during the ten-month stay in Canelot. Some workers confided that they could not recall when they had last attended a union meeting. Political education has, historically been one of the major roles of the world trade unionist movement.[20] However, it can be categorically stated that no such function is performed by the labor unions in the area around Canelot. In fact, it seems as if political education for their rural membership is an activity avoided by the local branches of the unions. If anything, the unions take on a rather conservative appearance when viewed against a background of political education. By virtue of their inactivity, the unions have become a force for maintaining the status quo. They do not provide a channel for debate and dissection of national policies. They provide no structured situation, other than in the ephemeral strike situation, wherein the workers might gain a glimpse of their collective strength. Politically, the unions atomize rather than collectivize the political potential of the rural proletariat in the area. The present arrangement with official ties existing between the labor unions and the national political parties,

ironically, seems to have produced a situation which has led to the unions being apolitical in functioning at the grass roots level. The national party speaks the official policy line; the labor union speaks the economic. The union's purpose is to get more money into the worker's pay envelope, and the division of labor appears strong. While the union forms the base of support for the political party, it is not, however, supposed to rock the boat of national politics in any way. A semblance of political harmony, then, is achieved by divorcing a program of political education from the trade unionist movement, per se, and substituting for it an official tie with a political party. In this way the political frigate calmly sails from one election to the next. However, from the situation observed in Westmoreland, it may well be the calm before the storm.

As mentioned earlier, most of the men in the village hold the unions with little esteem. Union membership, like the government, is seen as a necessary evil. The government takes money from their small earnings through taxation, whereas the unions do the same through the collection of dues. Fatalistically, it is said by the workers that there is no choice but to join a union. Any semblance of loyalty to the unions has strong historical overtones. The people still remember the 1938 riots at Frome and Bustamante's appearance to lead the workers in their strike. That was the shining hour of trade unionism for them--however, it transpired

thirty long years ago and the remembrance of it has now become tarnished with the passage of time. Today, the predominant feeling towards the unions is one of mistrust. Most of the men in Canelot expressed the opinion that the unions do not have the interests of the cane workers at heart. Rather, the union officials are out for themselves.

> The unions aren't any good. The unions are with the government and the government is with the unions, and they play hand-in-hand with WISCO. If a case is presented against WISCO which the company is going to lose, then WISCO pays off some union official so that they won't lose. They're all against the workers.

The combination of the people's attitude towards the unions and, in turn, the unions' own lack of any type of political, educational, or social program for its members leads one to conclude that the political linkage provided the rural worker through union membership is also totally ineffective. The unions at the village level provide no meaningful set of structured relationships between themselves and the workers which might help to create an atmosphere conducive to the development of a positive attitude towards the unions and, hence, towards the national political parties with which the unions are associated. In the end, both the political parties and the unions are accorded suspicion and resentment by the workers.

By virtue of the lack of political activity at the local level on the part of either the national political parties or the labor unions, political activity is amorphous

and ephemeral. A grass roots political organization is not a functioning part of the overall political structure. It might be pointed out that in its original organization plan, the PNP instituted what was called a "Group system" which was to provide for permanent and regular political activity at the village level--essentially, it was an endeavor in grass roots politics (Bradley 1960:403, 404).

> The PNP had habitually devoted far more attention to organizational detail than the charismatically oriented JLP. Its initial constitution, adopted in 1938, provided for the creation of an elaborate Group structure at the grass-roots level in different parts of the island....The Group system, however, has never attained the degree of effectiveness originally anticipated by the party leadership. The Groups were organized at the local level with the hope of attracting large numbers of persons to a permanent commitment to the party goals. A neighborhood area was considered a convenient clustering point for party supporters. At the frequent meetings of the separate Groups, party doctrine was to be regularly expounded, albeit simplified by Party Leaders.

It is interesting to note what is reported as some of the major functions of the Group system meetings (Ibid.:405).

> 2) They give their party a democratic flavour by providing a degree of decentralization in party organization. This is especially so in areas where the Groups are sufficiently numerous and cohesive to influence the choice of PNP candidate for the House or Representatives from a given constituency.
>
> 3) They serve an educational function, assuring a wide distribution of campaign manifestoes and other party propaganda.
>
> 4) They frequently engage in what Jamaicans call "parish pump politics" by circulating petitions and arranging deputations to call on town councillors for a complex of reasons, such as insisting on improved local public works.

6) Finally they serve a psychological function by supplying a valuable group identification for members. The regular meetings are a place for gossiping and exchange of views. The Group may render personal aid to members who fall ill or require help in finding a job, which is important in a society with limited social welfare resources.

What has happened to the Group system, the investigator cannot say. However, that it no longer functions in Canelot, though the whole area is a PNP stronghold is, today, a political fact of life. The existence of such an organization would greatly ameliorate the hostile political situation in the village. With no real grass roots political structure, politicking has developed into a type of crowd-activity: a political meeting at one of the crossroads or in front of one of the stores is announced, the villagers assemble to hear the speaker, the speech is delivered, and the meeting breaks up. Political activity in the village begins and terminates within the span of the speakers opening and closing remarks, and will not resume until the announcement of the next political speech. Such is the stuff that political life in Canelot is made of. There is no sense of continuity and permanence in the political life of the village. In the end, the present political arrangement, as it works at the village level, actually immobilizes the potential development of local or grass roots power bases through the incorporation of the labor unions into the two-party national political organization.

With the breakdown of the existing political link-

ages, feelings of alienation from the national political structure run high. In a way meaningful to the people, positive affective linkages from the political power center do not seem to exist. A complaint continuously heard in the village is that the people have no one to speak on their behalf.

> The best thing the government could do for the people here would be to talk to all the big landowners. Without land, we cannot live. The politicians, they should speak to the landowners for the people, but they don't.

To the people, the effort taken to raise one's voice to political representatives is an effort wasted. It is an act doomed to failure. Perhaps the people's feelings of inferiority and being left out of the political system came through most clearly when a worker remarked that I, a white outsider, would receive a political audience before the villagers would.

> We can't complain--the big people stick together. One big man is not going to trouble another because we small people complain. Plenty of us could complain and nothing's going to change. If you were to complain, they would listen. But they're not going to listen to us.

Doom and cynicism color the villagers' outlook. They are like shadows in the Jamaican sun. Their existence has no substance while at the same time it is very real. They are the forgotten.

In Canelot, one finds none of the expressions of rampant nationalism usually associated with emerging nations. The previously cited expressions of preference for

colonial rule underscore the alienation and feeling of non-representation among the people. As long as a sense of political isolation provides the dominant theme of political life in the village, then the existing national political organization must be prepared to scrutinize itself thoroughly, if, indeed the raison d'etre of the organization is to incorporate segments from all parts of the island and all walks of life into a broader identification with the nation state. The problem is clearly seen in the conclusion of an essay written by a contemporary Jamaican writer (Morris 1965:25-26).

> Perhaps I understand, too, the subtlety of being West Indian. And I learnt the fundamental lesson of nationalism. I learnt this half an hour away from England, approaching the cliffs of Dover. There was excitement among the English on board. I looked, but the cliffs seemed very ordinary to me. And then I realized that of course the cliffs are not cliffs; to the Englishmen they are a symbol of something greater, of the return from a land of strangers, of the return home. Nothing is more important in nationalism than the feeling of ownership. The definitions may be of intellectual interest but they cannot hold a nation together. The important thing about the West Indies, or Jamaica, is that it is ours. We need now to persuade all our people that this is really so.

The present study would argue that such a persuasion cannot be achieved under existing conditions in the island. Unless changes of a radical nature are instituted in the political and economic sectors, the people of Canelot will continue to lack the sense of ownership to which Morris alludes--there simply is no basis for it. They work the

land, but it is not theirs; they vote in elections but their voices are silent. A very real gap exists between the people and the government. It is the gap to which social scientists continuously refer--the difference between the ideal and the real. Theoretically, there appear to be multiple chains of political representation linking the rural village to the body politic of the state. Yet, in reality, the linkages are as if they were bent and burst--the people act as if they are non-existent. To the degree that Jamaica hopes to weld a strong and unified nation from its human resources, to that extent will the national political organization have to insure that the political linkages incorporating the voices of all of its citizens are permanently strengthened and available for use. The greatest task facing the emerging nation of Jamaica in its effort to create a sense of national belonging and identity lies in transforming the inherited chains of slavery into new chains of communication.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, this study has been concerned with East Indian adaptation in Jamaica. Brought to the island as indentured servants, the Indians were able to evolve a way of life which depended upon the expenditure of energy into two distinct ecological niches. The adaptation involved selling their labor in the cane fields for cash, and using their labor in cultivating rice for subsistence and sale. With the entry of the West Indies Sugar Company into the parish of Westmoreland, the very nature of the Indians' adaptation came to be challenged. In addition to the change in estate-worker relationships--a shift from a basically paternalistic relationship to a highly impersonal one--the most drastic change occurred when WISCO decided to drain their morass lands and put the area into cane. With that single decision, the very basis of the Indians' adaptation crumbled and has caused the proletarianization of their ranks. A concomitant result of this decision has been the emergence of a temporal orientation which is backward-looking, desirous of a return to former times. This perspective now pervades the life of the Indians in Canelot.

In studying the interpersonal relationships between Indians and Negroes within the village, it was quickly discovered that their common situation as members of a rural

sugar proletariat did not cause differences of race and ethnic membership to be minimized. Rather strong feelings of antagonism exist between the two groups with stereotypical attitudes characterizing statements made about each other. The Negro is viewed by the Indian as being lazy, argumentative and generally wasteful of his resources; the Indian is seen as being prolific and frugal, with his money hidden away to disguise his true wealth. In addition, the Indians possessed a marked sense of superiority vis-a-vis their Negro neighbors. The basis of their attitude stems from the retention of colonial values which underpinned the plantation system.

In analyzing the mode of social differentiation, a comparative stance was taken in an effort to try to understand why traditional East Indian culture patterns seemed to play such a minor role in village life. Through a historical comparison with materials on the Trinidadian and Guianese indentureship periods, the interplay of three factors appeared to be crucial in understanding why communities organized around modified Indian culture patterns did not develop in Jamaica. The three factors were: (1) the level of development of the plantation system: (2) the natural environment; and (3) the adaptation patterns of the emancipated slaves. In all three cases, these factors are shown to have articulated with one another in quite distinct ways. In turn, the permutations of the variables led to the concentration or dispersal of East Indian in-

dentured laborers. It is the degree of ethnic concentration during the indentureship period which the author feels is crucial to an understanding of East Indian cultural retention.

Finally, the question of national identification was investigated with a view toward finding the kinds of political linkages which exist between the national government and the village population. Three such ties were found to be present: (1) political expression to the Parish Council representative; (2) communication with the region's representative to Parliament; and (3) lobbying through labor unions which are linked to the island's two major political parties. In all three instances, these linkages were shown to be extremely weak. Their weakness, however, was not caused by the ethnic and racial attitudes of the villagers; rather, it stemmed from a distrust of the entire political system and all persons associated with it. No sense of pride or identification with the recently declared statehood of the island existed among the villagers. Alienation and a sense of utter powerlessness have effectively blocked the development of such sentiments.

APPENDIX A

PERCENTAGE AND ABSOLUTE NUMBERS OF SPECIFIED RACIAL GROUPS IN SELECTED PARISHES, 1943, 1960

	Kingston		St. Andrew		St. Mary		Westmoreland		Clarendon		St.Catherine	
			Chinese					East Indian				
1943	2,472	(2.2%)	1,262	(1.0%)	3,906	(4.3%)	3,877	(4.3%)	3,169	(2.5%)	2,960	(2.5%)
1960	2,358	(1.9%)	4,309	(1.4%)	3,336	(3.5%)	5,290	(4.8%)	4,672	(2.9%)	4,086	(2.7%)
			Afro-Chinese					Afro-East Indian				
1943	1,682	(1.5%)	823	(0.6%)	832	(019%)	522	(0.6%)	345	(0.3%)	729	(0.6%)
1960	2,092	(1.7%)	3,543	(1.2%)	2,248	(2.4%)	2,359	(2.2%)	2,431	(1.5%)	3,066	(2.0%)

Source: Francis 1963:4-7

APPENDIX B

INDENTURED LABORERS IN JAMAICA, 1862-65

	1862		1863			1864			1865	
Parishes	*Total*	*Africans*	*Indians*	*Total*	*Africans*	*Indians*	*Total*	*Africans*	*Indians*	*Total*
Hanover	101	19	153	172		146	146		146	146
Westmoreland	1,011	304	1,021	1,325	296	921	1,217	273	633	906
St. Elizabeth	124	—	113	113	—	126	126	—	26	26
St. James	176	—	276	276	19	240	259	—	240	240
Trelawny	427	57	522	579	56	504	560	—	476	476
St. Ann	64	16	61	77	15	61	76	15	68	83
Manchester	156	5	159	164	5	123	128	5	123	128
Clarendon	470	13	488	501	13	277	390	—	334	334
Vere	320	38	291	329	35	292	327	25	298	323
St. Dorothy	120	74	56	130	76	92	168	30	84	114
St. John	75	12	65	77	11	60	71	—	59	59
St. Catherine	103	102	—	102	185	—	185	52	28	80
St. Thomas-Vale	165	—	221	221	—	214	214	—	220	220
St. Mary	376	43	295	338	32	253	285	32	216	248
Metcalfe	366	130	204	334	11	243	254	11	249	260
St. George	271	119	102	221	55	97	152	55	87	142
Portland	56	13	40	53	—	46	46	—	98	98
St. Thomas-East	376	434	—	434	411	—	411	232	—	232
St. David	28	96	—	96	86	—	86	68	—	68
Port Royal	32	65	—	65	66	—	66	32	—	32
St. Andrew	67	126	—	126	105	7	112	46	2	48
Kingston	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTALS	4,884	1,656	4,067	5,723	1,477	3,802	5,279	876	3,387	4,263

Source: Hall 1959:274

APPENDIX C

INCOME OF MALE SUGAR ESTATE WORKERS IN WESTMORELAND, 1960

Income	No. of Workers
Under £50	4,575
£50 - £99	4,518
£100 - £199	3,286
£200 - £499	1,530
£500 - £999	332
£1000 - £1999	93
£2000 & over	19
Not Stated	330
Total	14,683

Source: Francis 1963:9-25

APPENDIX D

CANE DELIVERED BY PRIVATE FARMERS IN WESTMORELAND TO FROME FACTORY, 1959-66

YEAR	Tonnage	No. of Farmers Delivering Cane	Tons of Cane Delivered	% of Total Cane Delivered
1959	0-100	2193	73,464	26.67
	100-500	288	52,870	19.19
	500-1000	22	14,837	5.39
	over 1000	32	134,267	48.75
Totals		2535	275,438	
1960	0-100	2551	70,043	26.15
	100-500	250	47,020	17.56
	500-1000	20	14,365	5.36
	over 1000	31	136,430	50.93
Totals		2852	267,858	
1961	0-100	2583	75,217	28.13
	100-500	255	47,442	17.74
	500-1000	21	14,448	5.40
	over 1000	31	130,306	48.73
Totals		2890	267,413	
1962	0-100	2629	76,486	26.75
	100-500	240	45,718	15.99
	500-1000	19	12,340	4.32
	over 1000	31	151,350	52.94
Totals		2919	285,894	
1963	0-100	2889	79,792	26.52
	100-500	262	54,236	18.03
	500-1000	18	11,456	3.81
	over 1000	33	155,348	51.64
Totals		3202	300,832	
1964	0-100	3280	86,464	26.54
	100-500	332	66,722	20.48
	500-1000	23	14,821	4.55
	over 1000	32	157,758	48.43
Totals		3667	325,765	
1965	0-100	3339	94,117	27.38
	100-500	362	74,404	21.65
	500-1000	33	21,374	6.22
	over 1000	37	153,844	44.75
Totals		3771	343,739	

1966	0-100	3492	91,523	26.69
	100-500	336	63,683	18.57
	500-1000	32	21,777	6.35
	over 1000	36	165,931	48.39
		3896	342,914	

APPENDIX E

JOBS IN CROP

1. Preparing Land by Hand
2. Preparing Land by Tractor
3. Tillage by Tractor
4. Making Furrows by Tractor
5. Making Furrows by Hand
6. Procuring Seeds/Dibbles
7. Supplying Canes
8. Planting Canes
9. Drainage by Tractor
10. Drainage by Hand
11. Control of Pests and Diseases
12. Overhead Irrigation
13. Weeding Mechanical
14. Weeding by Hand
15. Manuring Artificial
16. Manuring Organic
17. Digging and Heading Paragrass, (John's Grass)
18. Cutting Canes
19. Loading Canes
20. Hauling Canes to Factory
21. Padding Field Trenches
22. Maintenance of Roads, Intervals, and Bridges
23. Maintenance of Paths and Surroundings
24. Ranger
25. Maintenance of Fields and Pastures

APPENDIX F

JOBS OUT OF CROP

1. Weeding Mechanical
2. Weeding by Hand
3. Weeding by Herbicide
4. Supplying Canes
5. Drainage (Fork and Spade Work)
6. Supplying Water (Irrigation)
7. Digging and Heading Paragrass
8. Making Culvert Bridges
9. Maintenance of Roads and Intervals
10. Maintenance of Paths and Surroundings
11. Erecting Field Huts
12. Making Culvert Pipes
13. Repair of Harnesses and Saddles
14. Maintenance of Pastures and Fences
15. Control of Pests and Diseases
16. Ranger

APPENDIX G

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN CLASSIFIABLE LABOR FORCE, BY OCCUPATION GROUPS AND SEX FOR PARISHES

PARISHES	MALES									FEMALES								
	Total in C.L.F.	Professional	Supervisory	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen & Technicians	Manual Workers	Service Workers	Not Specified	Total in C.L.F.	Professional	Supervisory	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen & Technicians	Manual Workers	Service Workers	Not Specified
JAMAICA	100.0	0.6	6.7	2.9	4.0	21.2	59.6	4.5	0.5	100.0	0.1	3.0	3.4	14.0	13.2	29.7	34.6	2.0
Kingston	100.0	0.2	6.6	6.7	8.9	42.8	20.9	12.3	1.6	100.0	-	2.2	4.7	16.3	17.7	8.9	46.4	3.8
St. Andrew	100.0	2.0	10.3	6.1	7.6	35.5	29.4	7.9	1.2	100.0	0.3	2.9	7.2	15.3	16.4	10.2	44.7	3.0
St. Thomas	100.0	0.1	4.9	1.7	2.3	12.8	75.9	2.1	0.2	100.0	-	2.6	3.3	14.8	9.2	42.5	26.6	1.0
Portland	100.0	0.2	4.6	1.8	2.3	12.0	76.1	2.9	0.1	100.0	0.1	2.4	1.9	13.9	9.1	40.9	30.8	0.9
St. Mary	100.0	0.1	5.8	1.8	2.6	14.5	72.1	3.0	0.1	100.0	-	3.4	1.7	16.8	9.4	35.7	32.5	0.5
St. Ann	100.0	0.3	8.9	1.3	2.1	18.2	65.5	3.6	0.1	100.0	-	5.3	1.9	10.6	9.3	36.4	35.6	0.9
Trelawny	100.0	0.2	4.6	1.6	1.8	13.0	76.0	2.6	0.2	100.0	-	2.9	1.4	8.2	6.8	54.4	25.9	0.4
St. James	100.0	0.4	5.9	2.7	3.4	23.6	56.6	7.1	0.3	100.0	-	2.9	2.9	10.9	9.2	29.7	42.9	1.5
Hanover	100.0	0.1	6.2	1.2	1.7	14.1	74.3	2.2	0.2	100.0	0.1	4.3	0.9	9.3	9.1	51.8	22.2	2.3
Westmoreland	100.0	0.2	5.0	1.5	2.9	15.2	72.9	2.1	0.2	100.0	-	2.6	1.1	12.2	9.2	48.0	26.5	0.4
St. Elizabeth	100.0	0.2	5.5	1.2	2.9	12.5	75.9	1.7	0.1	100.0	-	2.8	0.9	10.4	16.3	51.1	17.4	1.1
Manchester	100.0	0.6	8.2	1.6	2.9	16.8	67.3	2.4	0.2	100.0	0.1	5.1	1.9	15.4	10.6	38.1	27.3	1.5
Clarendon	100.0	0.1	5.1	1.4	2.1	13.8	75.2	2.0	0.3	100.0	-	3.2	1.1	11.7	11.2	46.1	24.2	2.5
St. Catherine	100.0	0.3	4.7	2.0	3.0	16.7	69.9	3.2	0.2	100.0	-	2.6	1.3	16.7	14.8	36.2	27.1	1.3

Source: Francis 1963:6-33

NOTES

PREFACE

1

In 1959, a conference on the question of social and cultural pluralism was sponsored by the Research Institute for the Study of Man. The papers delivered at that conference which were later collected and published (see Rubin 1960) marked the beginning of what was to become an ever-increasing interest in these problems.

CHAPTER I

1

By the latter half of the sixteenth century, England had taken a position of unequivocal challenge to Spain's New World sphere of influence as delineated by the earlier papal bulls.

> At first England seems tacitly to have accepted Spain's sphere as extending south of the 44th degree of northern latitude, but as time went on and the great freebooting expenditions of Elizbeth's reign followed, one after another, her attitude changed, and after 1576, a peaceful policy toward Spain gave way to one of open hostility. Even in 1562 Sir William Cecil told the Spanish ambassador that "the Pope had no right to partition the world and to give and take kingdoms to whomsoever he pleased," and in 1580 the English government declared that it could not acknowledge the Spanish monopoly claim to the new world, "either because of donations from the pope or because of occupations touching here and there upon those coasts, building cottages, and giving names to a few places; that by the law of nations such occupations could not hinder other princes from freely navigating those seas and transporting colonies to those parts where the Spanish did not actually inhabit; that prescription without possession availed nothing" (Andrews 1964, 1:20).

2

Of the recruits picked up in Barbados, Venables was to have said, "'so loose as not to be kept under discipline, and so cowardly as not to be made to fight'" (Parry and Sherlock 1963:60).

3
Of the other officers picked for the expedition, Venables commented,"'a large portion of pride but not of wit, valour, or activity'" (Taylor 1965:10). Venables, himself, did not escape criticism (Ibid.:16).

> The fact that Venables had brought his wife with him caused much unfavourable comment. He had married for the second time a few months before the expedition sailed. It was said in effect, that he was more concerned with prostrating himself before the throne of Venus rather than harkening to the dictates of Mars.

4
It should be noted that the small band of Spaniards and loyal slaves, under the leadership of Christóbal Isasi, held out for several years in the hills on the northern side of the island, harrassing the English by raids. In 1660, Isasi and his men finally gave up the fight and left the island, while the slaves remained in the cockpit area of Jamaica where they formed what became known as maroon communities.

5
An interesting side point might be mentioned in connection with this initial indentureship scheme, namely, it was later to provide the core of men who were to become well-known for their adventurous acts of piracy. Groups of indentured servants became transformed into feared buccaneers.

> Sir Henry Morgan was the most notorious English buccaneer leader. His origins were typical of the men he led. An indentured servant from Bristol, he found life too hard in Barbados, so he wandered through the islands in search of better fortune. He finally arrived in Tortuga where he graduated in buccaneering before he moved on to Port Royal (Augier, et al. 1964:54).

6
For a brief account of the destruction of small plot diversified agriculture at the expense of the plantation system, the reader is referred to Sugar and Society in the Caribbean (Guerra 1964:9-20) wherein the early expansion of sugar plantations on the island of Barbados is described.

7
It should be noted that elsewhere in his book, Patterson argues that a substantial number of indentured servants not only survived the plantation expansion, but actually became an important part of the planter class (1967:48):

> By the 1760's the society had been finally moulded.... The original Scottish and Irish servants, and their descendants were already dominating the senior positions of the community, more and more so as the wealthy English planters left the island to become absentee owners. Thus by this time Jamaica had a dual elite system: one, an absentee elite, predominantly English, who lived in splendour in England and who formed there a part of the powerful West India interest; and the other a resident plantocratic elite which was predominantly Celtic in origin.

8

For the reader interested specifically in the slave trade, the following works are suggested: (1) Black Cargoes (Mannix and Cowley 1962) and (2) The African Slave Trade (Davidson 1961).

9

In Capitalism and Slavery, Eric Williams has argued that it was slavery and the mercantilist policy of trade monopoly which provided the capital for the Industrial Revolution; in turn, industrial capitalism destroyed the slave and plantation systems when they became economic fetters upon the new capitalist system.

10

Although I could not find comparable year-by-year figures for other colonies, nevertheless Pitman does present some comparative figures on the growth of the slave population on a number of other British West Indian islands (1917: 77).

	1720	1755
Antigua	19,186	31,428 (1756)
St. Christopher	7,321	21,891
Nevis	5,689	8,380
Montserrat	4,192	8,853

The figures clearly show that slave trading in Jamaica was on a much larger scale than on the other British sugar islands.

11

For the reader interested in the tribal origins of Jamaican slaves, such information may be found in Chapter V of The Sociology of Slavery (Patterson, 1967:113-144).

12

Later, as the abolition movement gained momentum, the planters realized their supply of labor was in jeopardy and a change occurred in their attitude towards the general treatment of slaves and the specific care of pregnant women and children (Patterson 1967:76-77, 106).

13

It might be noted that the dates and numbers in Table 1 and Table 2 do not exactly jibe. The tables represent compilations put together by Patterson and Roberts from a number of different sources and it is assumed that this is the cause of the discrepancies. In general, the accuracy of the figures may be called into question, in that some of the figures represent estimates rather than actual historical records.

14

A great amount of variation existed in the British islands regarding the enforcement and the length of apprenticeship. For a discussion of the subject, see "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies" (Furley 1965:3-16). Sires deals specifically with the Jamaican situation in the essay, "Negro Labor in Jamaica in the Years Following Emancipation" (1940:484-497).

15

Today, there still exists a strong internal marketing organization into which foodstuffs grown on small plots in the countryside are funneled. Women, living out in the countryside and known as higglers, act as links between small, isolated peasant communities and markets. Material on the contemporary Jamaican internal marketing system can be found in two essays by Margaret Katzin--"The Jamaican Country Higgler" (1959) and "The Business of Higglering in Jamaica" (1960)--and Mintz's essay, "The Jamaican Internal Marketing Pattern" (1955).

16

All material dealing with this particular immigration scheme, unless otherwise noted, comes from Roberts' essay, "Immigration of Africans into the British Caribbean" (1954).

17

Some of the totals in Table 4 differ from those in Roberts' table wherein the years 1834-39 were excluded in the final totals.

18
The number of Chinese brought to the Caribbean under indenture was very small. Roberts estimates that they numbered approximately 18,000 (1954:254). From the archival work done, it appears that of all the groups which entered Jamaica as plantation laborers, the estate owners found the Chinese the least satisfactory.

19
Later, in 1858, the contract was extended to a two year period, and then to five years after 1863.

20
The reason for the estimate of 36,000 Indians is that included within the tabulation of indentured servants (Table 5) are indentured Chinese as well. The government records evidently lumped both Indian and Chinese laborers as "Asiatic laborers".

CHAPTER II

1
See Klass' study of an Indian village in Trinidad in which a similar attitude about recruitment methods of the indentureship scheme is recorded from informants (1961:9-10).

2
There were no Indians in Canelot who had come to Jamaica as indentured servants. However, I did manage to speak to one old Indian man in another parish who had come under the indentureship scheme. He claimed that the contractual promise of free return passage to India was not fulfilled when he finished his five-year work contract. He was then told that free passage would only be given to him if he stayed in Jamaica for an additional five years working on one of the sugar estates. In the end, he remained to live on the island: "When the ten years were finished, I had a wife and family. I didn't go back to India." The establishment of a family was repeated many times as the reason why indentured laborers stayed on in Jamaica rather than return to India.

3
This stands in strong contrast to the Indians in Trinidad who appear to have moved from off the sugar estates onto land of their own after completing first the original five-year labor contract and then the additional five-year renewal. Built into the renewal contract was the alternative of applying the return passage money towards the purchase of land. In theory land grants in lieu of return passage were to be given to Jamaican indentured servants as well.

4
These prices were given to me for rentals in 1958.

5
This statement needs some elaboration in that it must be viewed temporally. Over the past thirty years there has been a continuous reduction in the competition for labor between cane and rice cultivation. This stems from the fact there has been a continuous reduction in the total number of man-hours needed in the fields. As the methods of cane cultivation have improved, the amount of labor needed has decreased; and this is especially true once the six month harvest is completed. All the people remark that during "Charley-days", there used to be plenty of work even after the crop was harvested. However, with recent moves at rationalizing the sugar industry in Jamaica, today the two crops could be grown with few problems as far as overlap of labor demands.

6
In discussing the extensive drainage system of the sugar industry in Guyana, Beachy makes the same point concerning the irrigation ditches as a source of fish for the Indian workers: "The open trenches teemed with fish, which provided a staple food for the coolie labourers" (1957:97-8).

7
"Dependence on cereals, starchy roots and sugar involve various nutritional risks. High quality animal protein will be short. Calcium and vitamins are likely to be inadequately supplied" (Allen 1962:39). Diets which are based on rice consumption are usually short in vitamin B (Ibid.).

8
A very unadaptive feature appears to be taking hold in the village, especially among young adults, in the attitude towards locally grown rice. I heard several persons comment that they did not like the cheaper locally grown rice because it was too gummy. This negative attitude reached the extreme in the action of one young man who, in selling all nine bags of rice he had harvested from a half-acre of rented land, was heard to make the following comment: "I don't like this rice--I'm selling it all. The rice I grow is too starchy and not good for the body. You know Uncle Ben's Rice? I like that kind of rice and buy it at the store."

9
For a comparative discussion of rice cultivation in the area, the reader is referred to the essay, "Rice in The British Caribbean Islands and British Guiana, 1950-75" (Kandu 1962).

10

One might ask why the villagers do not go fishing off the nearby coast. A number of factors mediate against such activity. It might be noted first that the island is surrounded by a coastal shelf which is characterized by shallow seas of no more than 100 fathoms at the deepest points--beyond the shelf, there is a precipitous drop to great depths. At the western end of the island, the shelf is generally rather narrow extending from 2 to 6 miles in width. In addition, the technology for fishing is of a primitive nature--boats are small and non-motorized. These two factors when combined with a third, namely, the absence of a strong interest in fishing, have sharply delimited the amount of fishing activity in Jamaica. As Comitas has noted in his work on fishing co-operatives in the island, "Lack of seafaring tradition, limited navigational skills, and rudimentary fishing craft confine Jamaican fishing to the shallow waters of the coastal shelf and to a few banks within short distances from land. Deep water fishing beyond these limits is rare" (1962:14). A study done in 1945 on the fishing potential of Jamaica concluded with the interesting statement that rural Jamaicans are not at home on the sea--"they are more like agriculturalists who go fishing" (Ibid.:17). Finally, it should be noted that the beach area at Negril where such fishing activity would center has become an extremely valuable area because of its tourist potential. Men coming to fish and squat simply would not be permitted to remain there.

11

A census completed towards the end of fieldwork covered 163 houses and revealed a population of 720 persons. The ethnic breakdown of the households showed that 98 were Indian, 57 Negro, and the remaining 8 were mixed. There were relatively few female-headed households in the village. Among the Indians, there were 8 such households, 6 of which had widows as their heads. Of the Negro households, 9 were female-headed with only 1 resulting from widowhood. In terms of ethnic-racial composition, the census population consisted of 416 Indians, 256 Negroes, and 48 persons of mixed descent.

12

While I cannot give a population density figure for the village, per se, nevertheless, the figure of 342 persons per square mile for Westmoreland should give the reader some indication of the population pressure in Canelot. The population density for the island as a whole is 365 persons per square mile.

13

In a local political speech, it was mentioned that the Westmoreland Parish Council had the small amount of £26 per year for maintenance of the road.

14

"Destroyer" refers to coils, consisting of a chemical substance, which are burned during the evenings in order to drive away mosquitos.

15

The deterioration of the road is attributed to a political shift in control of the Jamaican government. The parish council, which is dependent upon the national government for funds, feels it is being discriminated against because of its alignment with the political party presently out of power.

16

There was one house which was a type of hybrid between the wooden and concrete houses. It was a combination frame-stucco house. This house was owned by a shoemaker and its condition was also much better than the surrounding wooden houses.

17

In her study of family patterns and land tenure in four rural Jamaican communities, Edith Clarke noted the greater tendency for house clustering in the community dependent upon sugar employment--"In Sugartown land has a special value for the workers as house sites and when left to 'all the family' soon becomes a congerie of homes of brothers and sisters and their children" (1953:94).

18

These are lines from a song "Calypso Vacation", which was very popular during 1966-1967 and could be heard blasting from the transistor radios in the village as people walked up and down the road.

19

Second only in number to pictures of Christ were those of John F. Kennedy. In Canelot, there existed a type of "Kennedy-mania." Perhaps this mania is best summed up by an informant's remark, "Kennedy -- he was sent to earth with a special mission." Upon the recent assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, I received a letter from a villager extending his deepest sympathy and memorializing Robert F. Kennedy in a manner reminiscent of the way the people spoke of his brother.

20

From the comparative shopping done during our stay in Canelot, my wife and I found the local women's complaints to be valid. In addition, I am quite certain that another reason why village women preferred shopping in Market Town was that credit in larger amounts could be obtaind from the merchants there.

21

I do not recall the total number of students in the village who took the scholarship examinations in 1967; however, I do remember reading in the newspaper that only one student from the Canelot school had passed them.

CHAPTER III

1

The balance of land, as broken down by WISCO, consists of the following: 6,185 acres in grass for rearing of a beef herd, 1,028 acres tenanted to farmers for food purposes at peppercorn rental (1 shilling per year), and the balance in roads, housing compounds, swamps, forest and woodlands (WISCO 1963:11). The Company, it might be mentioned, has sold marginal lands to the Government at nominal prices for the construction of public buildings--e.g., schools, police stations, post offices, etc. At the end of the 1967 crop, WISCO added to their cane acreage in Westmoreland by purchasing an estate adjoining Frome. The purchase of George's Plain Estate involved the transfer of 2,067 acres to WISCO.

2

A yearly breakdown (1959-1966) of cane deliveries by farmers in the parish of Westmoreland to Frome Factory is presented in Appendix D.

3

The use of female labor in cane cultivation is, today, a very small percentage of the total labor force. The past thirty years have seen a continuous decline in the number of field jobs allocated to females. While the writer was in Jamaica, the only tasks he saw performed by women were the following: spreading fertilizer by hand, cutting and carrying the nine-inch pieces of cane to be used for replanting, and the auxiliary job of cooking lunch for the men in the fields. Previously, women laborers were used quite extensively in hand weeding the cane fields.

4

For a complete listing of jobs available both "in crop" and "out of crop", see Appendices E and F.

5

During the crop of 1967, there was a discussion of perhaps switching over to a new variety of cane (B41123) as the yield of the B4362 variety was starting to fall. This point is mentioned to emphasize the fact that WISCO is a rational, technologically oriented operation with funds allocated for scientific investigation and experimentation.

6
For the reader interested in the subject of the various types of soils suitable for sugar cane cultivation, such a discussion can be found in Chapter 4 of A.C. Barnes' book, Agriculture of the Sugar Cane (1953:52-65).

7
"Cane trash" refers to the leaves and stunted stalks around the mature canes.

8
Field work is categorized as either "task work" or "day work". In task work, a laborer is given a certain amount of work to perform and he is paid a flat sum of money for each such assignment he completes, regardless of the length of time it takes him to complete the work. An example of task work is cane cutting where a man gets paid 5 shillings and 10 pence ($.80) for each ton of cane he cuts. Day work involves laboring in the fields at a rate of 13 shillings and 6 pence ($1.88) per eight hours of work.

9
The Company claimed to have lost approximately 1,000 acres of cane in 1966 due to canes which were burned and could not be reaped in time to get them to the mills. It was said that a total of over 8,000 acres of cane were burned due to fires of undetermined origin (The Daily Gleaner: October 15, 1966). Cane fires, to the sugar industry as a whole, were purported to have caused a £300,000 loss, and prompted the Minister of Agriculture to set a special Cane Fire Committee to examine the problem (The Daily Gleaner: December 19, 1966).

10
The terms "farm" and "estate" are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation. WISCO has its lands divided into nine sections and uses the term "farm" exclusively. I assume the Company eschews any use of the word "estate" because of its historical association with slavery.

11
The factory did, however, stop grinding for a three day break during Christmas.

12
In addition, the factory gives out quotas to private cane farmers to assure a steady flow of cut canes. The factory, through the quota system, exhibits strong control over the harvesting activities on all the cane lands, WISCO and non-WISCO, in Westmoreland and Hanover. In essence, the Company tells all the cane farmers when the cane is to be cut and how much of it is to be cut at any given time.

13
Early in 1965, the Sugar Manufacturers Association of Jamaica approached the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of the West Indies in Mona and requested the Institute to undertake a study on the industry's problems of labor shortage and productivity. An investigation was carried out from April 26, 1965 through June, 1965 and the report, "Labour Shortage and Productivity in the Jamaican Sugar Industry," was submitted by R. B. Davison of the Institute. It confirmed the position that a labor shortage problem does exist in the industry.

14
It is interesting to note that in the 1967 national when the Jamaica Labour Party won a majority by a large number of seats, three of the four constituencies in Westmoreland were won by the People's National Party whose platform had a strong land reformation plank.

15
Twenty squares equal one acre.

16
Within Canelot there are a few wooden barrack-type buildings owned by people resident in the village. These buildings usually contain three single rooms and are rented to persons coming down from the mountains who work in the cane during crop time. Many of these persons own cultivation lands in the mountains, standing in contrast to most of the villagers. Their number in Canelot was quite small, being about a dozen men.

17
In using the term "rural proletariat", the author wishes to convey the same configuration of features which Mintz alluded to in his Puerto Rican community study, "Cañamelar: The Subculture of a Rural Sugar Plantation Proletariat." In calling the people representatives of a rural proletariat, he noted the following characteristics: (1) landless, essentially propertyless, and lacking any means of production other than their own labor; (2) wage earners; (3) predominantly store-buying, unable to produce more than a small part of their basic commodities; and (4) prevailingly employed by corporate entities, rather than engaged in self-employment (1956:351-352).

18
This is a very thorny point. Many officials at WISCO claim that most workers will not work more than a $4\frac{1}{2}$ day week. They argue that the men refuse to work Friday afternoon after getting paid at lunch time. Friday evening

is a big night for celebrating at the village rum shops (which is quite true) so that they are in no condition to work on Saturdays. Also, it is argued that the men refuse to work on Saturdays in the hope that the farms will fall behind in supplying canes to the factory and have to call out men to work on Sundays which pays time-and-a-half. I do not have any data, in sufficient quantities, to comment on the argument critically. However, I have, on a number occasions, gone to visit informants on Saturdays only to find them out to work. It would be interesting to check the records of the estates on the turn-out of men on Saturday when employment has been offered.

19

Another worker who was helping to support an outside child said that he made approximately £105 ($294.00) during the year--£80 ($224.00) during the harvest and £25 ($70.00) out-of-crop.

20

The situation in Canelot is in strong contrast to the sugar community described by Mintz in Puerto Rico where a variety of economic activities subsidiary to cane earnings was reported (1956:360-367). Also the occupational multiplicity which Comitas has reported for segments of rural Jamaica are not characteristic of Canelot (1964:41-50).

21

It should be said that village antipathy towards the Company does not solely stem from the conflict over wages. Three other points were often brought up in discussing the people's ill-feelings towards the Company. These are as follows: (1) the Company has planted cane everywhere it could at the expense of the villagers' welfare; (2) the Company, by removing the barrack-housing for the workers have now made the back roads devoid of population and people, especially women, are afraid to use the back roads --"Today, people don't walk and visit any more like the old days"; and (3) people complain that it is the Company's fault that retired workers do not get their pensions immediately upon retirement. One woman, when interviewed, said that she had applied for her pension over a year ago and had received no money. Another man had a much sadder tale: "My father died in April, 1963--he's buried in the back. About five weeks ago (August, 1966) two men came to the house in a car and said they wanted to talk with my father. I told them he was dead. They had come to have him sign papers for the sugar pension."

22

"Grease-palm" is a commonly used phrase for a bribe.

23
Mintz also mentions resentment of the workers in Cañamelar towards the check-off system which was instituted after the settlement of a rather unsuccessful strike (1956: 398).

24
That some persons do attempt to seek work elsewhere is evidenced by the internal migration data collected during the census of 1960. The census showed that Westmoreland, with a total population of 109,606, had a net movement of 16,411 persons out of the parish to other parts of the island (Francis 1963:2-3).

25
The potential growth in size of the labor force from 1961 to 1966 was again held down by emigration to England. In the early 1960's, a large number of Jamaicans rushed to migrate to England in order to beat the 1962 restrictions which were put upon immigration from the British Caribbean (Francis 1963:7-19). Hence, from 1961 to 1966, there was a net out-migration of 93,400 persons. It is estimated that as of 1966, this out-migration had caused a loss of 68,000 persons to the Jamaican labor force (New World Group 1967:3).

CHAPTER IV

1
A few months before Christmas all the Indian families make strong efforts to purchase a small goat in order to fatten it up for Christmas dinner. An Indian family which is without curried goat on Christmas Day is considered to be in very difficult straits.

2
I should like to make one point quite clear, namely, while the Indians in Canelot have little knowledge of East Indian culture, it does not mean their valuation of it is negative. In an essay by Smith and Jayawardena (1959:325), it is stated that the conflict between European and Indian value systems caused Indians in the British Caribbean to view their traditional customs somewhat disparagingly. According to the authors, this attitude reached its extreme in Jamaica--"This attitude is very clear in Jamaica where the majority of Indians have come to despise things Indian and made every attempt to become wholly Jamaican" (Ibid.). My fieldwork experience in Jamaica does not bear out Smith and Jayawardena's assertion. The Indians in Canelot most certainly did not "despise things Indian". In sharp contrast,

their attitude was essentially one of shame for not knowing very much about their ancestral culture--they wished they were more knowledgeable about it.

3
Women of both groups, when going to shop in the nearby towns or visit the doctor, often apply liberal amounts of white powder on their faces in the attempt to lighten their skins. At times, an almost ghost-like appearance is affected by the powdering.

4
Another informant, in emphasizing the separation which he felt should be maintained between Indians and Negroes spoke words startingly familiar to an American.

> If you went into your house and saw a Nigger man sitting there with your sister, wouldn't you ask him what he's doing there. You don't expect a Nigger man to be in your house with your sister.

5
There is a small but economically very important Chinese population in Jamaica. As of 1960, there were 19,318 persons of Chinese and Afro-Chinese descent living on the island. The closest nucleus of Chinese are in Market Town where most of the stores and other businesses are owned by Chinese families. In general, the Chinese in Jamaica have been very successful as merchants throughout the island.

6
Also, in respect to marriage, Indian parents viewed with disdain the mating pattern of consensual unions associated with the Negro, and, generally, see the Negro as being promiscuous--"The Niggers are so plentiful, because they don't care about bastardy. Indian women might have one or two, but the Nigger women, they have thirteen-fourteen, all with different men."

7
Similar stereotypical characteristics for the Negro and the Indian have been reported for Trinidad (Freilich 1963: 21-39). As is the case with all stereotypes, there are a sufficient number of individuals who fulfill all or a portion of the imputed behavior to permit the stereotypes to persist. However, in observing the day-to-day life of the village, I did not see dichotomous patterns of Negro and Indian behavior as would be indicated by the stereotypes.

8

It might be noted that the capacity to accumulate wealth attributed to the Indian is viewed by the Negro villagers as if it were a genetic trait of the group. However, through association with the Indian, it is felt that the "saving-trait" may be acquired. In discussing marriage, a Negro cane worker around twenty-five years old commented, "The Indians have brains with money. I would like to marry a nice Indian girl. Then I know I would save money because she could teach me how to save."

9

Negro ambivalence towards the Indian is revealed in this statement in that it was spoken by the same cane worker who had earlier confided to me that he would like to marry an Indian girl so he could learn how to save money.

10

In discussing my fieldwork with a headmaster of one of the schools in the parish, he mentioned that he noticed resentment on the part of the Negro students towards Indian teachers, especially in reprimand situations.

11

This was the only instance I found in the village where a family claimed to know their status within the traditional East Indian system of caste. These particular people made it a point in several interviews that they were Kshatriya.

It might also be mentioned there were a handful of families which stated that they observed some type of food abstinence because they were Indian. In general, however, food tabus traditionally associated with Hinduism or Islam were not observed in the village.

12

In the village, I personally knew four Indians in their twenties who were living consensually with Negroes. This figure, however, glosses over the actual amount of intercourse which occurs between younger members of the two groups without formally establishing a household. As noted earlier, living consensually is viewed negatively by Indian parents. In Canelot there were only 3 Indian households involving consensual unions. Among the Negro households there were 20 such unions, while 6 were found in households categorized as mixed.

13

A real generation gap is beginning to appear in Canelot. With many of the children viewing their parents as old-fashioned and openly expressing this opinion, parents are often heard complaining of the children's lack of respect. In addition, a very real difference in the attitude towards frugality has developed along generational lines. This became quite clear when I asked an Indian man of twenty-six who was selling 33 bags of rice while keeping but 5 bags for himself why he did not keep more of his rice for consumption. I mentioned that old man Bennet and his family kept all the rice he grew. He replied simply, "They're the type of Indians who eat rice twice a day. We only eat rice once a day."

14

It might be noted that in Kingston there is an organization called the East Indian Progressive Society which promotes an awareness of traditional Indian culture. However, few members of this organization are descendents of indentured servants. They arrived after the indentureship scheme had ended, coming as professionals and business men. Hence, they represent a distinct and separate Indian migration from the one which brought Indians to the island as cane workers.

15

This continues to be the situation in contemporary Guyana--"Today almost 20 per cent of the total population of Guyana reside in plantations, and the great majority of these are Indians" (Smith and Jayawardena 1967:45). In Jayawardena's research on two plantations, Indians composed 89 and 99 per cent of the households studied (Jayawardena 1963:10).

16

It should be noted that the land grants which indentured laborers were supposed to have received in lieu of return passages to India, evidently, were not allocated with great regularity in Jamaica--"Law 23 of 1879 authorised the grant of 10 acres of land to each immigrant in lieu of return passage, but until its repeal in 1897 the law remained inoperative" (McNeill and Lal 1915:215).

CHAPTER V

1

With church membership of such importance to rural communities, most of the people are quite well versed in Biblical scripture. Hence, Biblical allusions were employed throughout the campaigning. One of the parties continuously employed the Biblical names of Moses and Joshua in reference

to its two main spokesmen who were going to lead the Jamaican people to the promised land if the party won the election.

2 The author would like to say that an exception to the type of political meeting which has been described was held the Saturday evening before the election on February 21, 1967. The main speaker not only devoted a major part of his speech to the specific problems facing cane workers, but also encouraged a personal rapport via a question-and-answer period after the speech. The main speaker of that evening now holds the position of Prime Minister.

3 Interestingly, three months after the election, it was announced by the Minister of Trade and Industry, that the government had decided to spend 12.1 million on encouraging the development of hotel-building at Negril.

4 Prior to the election, government supplies of building materials to some of the people in the parish for home improvement was also seen in a similar vote-buying light.

5 It might be noted that both of the candidates for the parliamentary seat in the Canelot area were Negroes. Race and ethnicity did not appear to be important in the Jamaican election which is in marked contrast to reports of elections in Guyana and Trinidad.

6 It should be stated that when "The Policy of the People's National Party" was drafted, it was not seen as an election platform; "This is not a blueprint for the socialist society, nor is it an election programme. This is a Policy Programme....The election programme is still to be written" (1965:15). The land reform segment of the policy statement, however, did become part of the PNP election platform, and therefore it has been quoted from in the context of the PNP election campaign.

7 It is interesting to contrast this statement with one made on political attitudes in rural Puerto Rico. In discussing the political success of Luis Muñoz Marín, one large landowner made the following remark:

> "Who can stand up against Muñoz? He went out into the country. He drank black coffee with the jibaros. He slept in their hammocks. How many people can say, 'In this hammock slept Muñoz!' People do not forget this. I would not forget it, if I were one of them" (Wolf 1956:212).

As Wolf and the other investigators in the Puerto Rican study have noted, the Popular party of Muñoz Marín has been most successful in developing strong affective political linkages between the rural Popular voters and the central party organization, and it is these affective linkages which have made the party so very powerful in the rural communities of the island.

8

During the motorcade, evidently similar statements were made in speeches delivered in other areas of the island, as well, which resulted in several letters of protest being written to the local newspapers.

> THE EDITOR, Sir:--In yesterday's issue of the Gleaner, the Prime Minister, Mr. Sangster, in replying to Mr. Laurie Ramson's criticisms of his victory motorcade exercises made the following statement:--
>
> "In addition we wish to let those who did not vote for us know that we bear malice to none and that our concern is to work for all the people of Jamaica!"
>
> On Friday, 3rd. inst. however, Mr. Sangster in a speech made at Brown's Town, St. Ann, grossly insulted and abused the people of North Western St. Ann for not having elected his JLP candidate and proceeded to pronounce such dire punishment and penalties that he intended to inflict on the Constituency for having dared to assert their constitutional rights that at a largely attended meeting held at Brown's Town on the following evening his actions were subjected by speakers and audience alike to severe and unanimous condemnation (The Daily Gleaner: March 13, 1967).

9

The feeling that the two political parties are really not different is reinforced by a bit of kinship data. It is invariably pointed out, that the leaders of the two parties, Norman W. Manley and Sir Alexander Bustamante, are first cousins.

10
There was no formal celebration of the fifth anniversary of Jamaican independence in Canelot or nearby Market Town. A small celebration was held in the parish capital, Savanna-la-Mar; however, it is interesting to note that several of the dignitaries who were to speak did not make it to the affair, while the police force of the parish was transferred to Kingston and Denbigh for the larger celebrations there.

11
A similar opinion was expressed by one of Westmoreland's members of Parliament in a speech delivered at Gordon House (The Daily Gleaner: June 23, 1967).

> Mr. Maxwell Carey (PNP, South-eastern Westmoreland) said there was no real evidence of independence in Jamaica. The people of the country had no visible manifestation of independence, and needed something that would indicate to them that they were part and parcel of an independent nation--that they had a stake in the country.

12
It is akin to the rough treatment often given to domestics by colored and black middle class housewives who want to make sure that their maids "know their place". For a brief discussion of the racial problem of self-confidence and self-contempt see pages 13-14 in Nettleford's, "National Identity and Attitudes to Race in Jamaica".

13
People in the village made strong differentiation within the category of "white man". Generally, they expressed a favorable attitude towards the American seeing him as being generous and easy-going. On the other hand, negative characteristics such as stinginess and stiffness were attributed to the Englishman.

14
Jamaica, unfortunately, is presently experiencing a drain not of its unskilled labor but of its people trained in the professions and its skilled workers. Figures released on immigration to Canada during the first half of 1967 revealed that 1,487 had left the island as compared to 463 persons during the same period in 1966 (The Daily Gleaner: May 8, 1967). Also with immigration quotas to the States loosened, undoubtedly there will be a large increase of immigration to America. During the fieldwork period, a serious shortage of trained nurses and teachers was developing.

15

In February 1967, the island was host to a United Nations seminar on human rights. "Coincidental" with the seminar was the governmental announcement that it was giving to twenty-three persons whose passports had been seized, permission to apply for new ones. The seminar almost did not get off the ground due to the somewhat ludicrous announcement that some of the delegates were refusing to discuss problems of human rights and were threatening a strike against the seminar unless their per diem allowances were increased.

16

The bone that really stuck in the people's throats was that the members of the House made it a point to have a special discussion as to who was to pay the chauffeurs' national insurance premium (like social security payments in America)--government or the individual members of the House (The Daily Gleaner: August 5, 1967).

17

It might be noted that in 1959 and 1962, when the PNP was in charge of the national election, the very opposite occurred, namely, there were more votes cast than persons theoretically eligible to vote. Bogus voting through padded voter lists led to charges that 160,000 false votes were cast in 1959 and 120,000 in 1962 (The Daily Gleaner: March 4, 1967).

18

For a more detailed account of this subject, the reader is referred to the following essay: "Rise of the Labour Movement in Jamaica" (Phelps 1960:417-468).

19

It might be pointed out the present Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Honorable Hugh Shearer, also holds the position of President of the BITU, while the son of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Michael Manley, heads the NWU, and is considered by most Jamaicans to be next in line to lead the PNP when his father steps down. The strong tie of the major political parties with trade unions also underscores the total lack of success of independent candidates in recent elections.

20

For purposes of unambiguity, political education will be used simply to mean the following: "One of the aspects of Political Education is the development of what is usually termed 'Citizenship Education', by which is meant assistance to citizens to enable them to discuss in an informed manner the bases of Government and other matters which affect citizens in public life" (Wynter 1963:3).

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