

**REPRESENTING BLACKNESS: MARCUS GARVEY
AND THE POLITICS OF MUSEOLOGY IN POST-
COLONIAL JAMAICA**

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Historically Black people in the Western Hemisphere have lacked power to represent their stories to themselves, from their perspective in museums. In spite of the fact that African Universities, like 14th century Djenne University in Timbuktu, with thousands of volumes of books and manuscripts, existed before the rise of Western civilizations; Black children in the Western Hemisphere learn that Africans did not have a written history justifying the burden of Europeans to write Africa's history. African history books from the perspective of enlightened Black scholarship have been written for centuries but are not widely known in Black communities and are not routinely a part of the curricula in western educational systems. The result is wide scale historical amnesia among Black people about their ancient histories. Through extensive desk research and exploration of issues of self-identity in the course of my work as Director of Liberty Hall, I am able to pose answers to the questions of where and how do we make a start at stimulating memory, and in representation of these memories in museums?

This study explores the historical bases upon which representation of Black histories have been made in the educational system and in museums in post-colonial Jamaica; and proposes that when representation draws on the work of enlightened scholarship it reveals a historical legacy of strength, innovation, and resilience that makes a powerful contribution to Black education and to that of others. More importantly, it affects and reinforces positive self-identity, one of the cornerstones of modern museology. The Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum is an exercise in memory, modern museology, and in involvement of the surrounding communities in charting the museums' developmental course. Reinterpretation of Liberty Hall, a national monument, facilitates a comprehensive approach to representation of 'our' story, with the museum as its central educational tool.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The significant characteristic of museums as learning centres is a consistent element in the development of museums throughout the world (Lidchi 1997). A report by the American Association of Museums states:

The community of museums in the United States shares the responsibility with other educational institutions to enrich learning opportunities for all individuals and to nurture an enlightened, humane citizenry that appreciates the value of knowing about its past, is resourcefully and sensitively engaged in the present, and is determined to shape the future in which many experiences and many points of view are given voice (American Association of Museums 1992: 25)

The connection between learning in museums and the shaping of identity is also highlighted in research (Gable 1996; Hooper-Greenhill 2007; Golding 2009) and practice¹ reinforcing the role that museums the world over can and do play in identity creation. Eoe notes the importance of museums to the construction of ‘national’ identities, especially for developing countries:

If there is anything that museums should be proud of, it is the Museum’s contribution to the issue of “national identity” at least this is true for many developing countries... (Eoe 1995: 15).

Hooper-Greenhill suggests identity is experienced at a personal level, yet it is validated through its connectivity with the community:

Identity gives a stable core to the individuality of a person. At one level, it is about belonging, about being able to feel at home and to recognise that home as your place. Being able to make connections to local knowledge may be very important for the reinforcement of individual identity (Hooper-Greenhill 2007: 179).

¹ www.dusablemuseum.org, www.thewright.org, www.moadsf.org, for example.

Delving deeper, Hall situates identity within the historical framework that characterizes society, which he describes as the process of subjectification to discursive practices, and the politics of exclusion. In other words, identity is arrived at through difference and exclusion, rather than through unity in sameness, without internal differentiation (Hall 1996: 4). Identity, then, is contingent upon history, the content of the historical materials, and the manner in which it is imparted. These are important points of exploration for this study.

It has been suggested that little has been written about the connection between learning, identity and culture (Hooper-Greenhill 2007). It has, however, been established that education is one of the mechanisms by which cultural alienation and annihilation occur:

The way in which education has been transmitted (teaching style) and the content of educational materials (curriculum) have discounted Black people's social and cultural capital (consciously or subconsciously), and have, therefore, minimized the culture of Black populations globally (Freeman 2005: 142).

This observation describes the basis of critical race theories in regard to Black education. Since museums are integral to the education process, in this study I utilize critical race theories in analysis of post-colonial museums in Jamaica to determine from whose perspectives narratives are presented in exhibitions of African material culture. People of African descent in African Diaspora communities are concerned about the manner in which their histories are being represented in museums, from whose perspective, and the effect representation may have on their identity.

For example, controversies have resulted from exhibitions of African material culture in the following exhibitions: In Washington D.C., the US National Museum of Natural History's 1960's African exhibits; in New York, the Museum of Modern Art's 1984 "*Primitivism*" in 20th Century Art: *Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*; in Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum's 1989 *Into the Heart of Africa*; and in London, the Royal Academy's 1995 *Africa: Art of a*

Continent (Philips 2007: 80-100). In reflecting on the Royal Ontario Museum's *Into the Heart of Africa*, which may be applicable to all of the exhibitions noted above, Butler suggests:

[the exhibition] raises questions about legacies of empire and the representation of black identities, history, and culture that extend beyond national borders (Butler 1999: 5).

Extending critical race theories to museums in a post-colonial society like Jamaica allows us to raise the following questions: To what extent has Britain's philosophy of cultural imperialism permeated, and continue to influence, representation in museums in general and of Blackness in particular? Simply put, has the roots and branches of Jamaica's education been decolonized?

I contend that for decades Eurocentric perspectives have produced renditions of African Caribbean history with limited and partial knowledge of the subject and without acknowledgement of differing points of view outside of those based in Eurocentrism. African, Caribbean, and other historians who are not themselves of African heritage, have played a critical role in deconstruction of five centuries of European concocted African/Caribbean histories and in the reconstruction and representation of those histories from perspectives of African/Caribbean people, a perspective that I call enlightened (Woodson 1945; Ben-Jochannan 1970; Williams 1970; Lynch 1971; Rodney 1972; Diop 1974; VanSertima 1976; VanSertima 1986; Bernal 1987; Diop 1991; Inikori 2002; Walker 2006). However, these books are not widely taught in schools at the primary or secondary levels to children of African heritage, or utilized as the basis for representation of African/Caribbean histories in museums.

While it is generally understood that history refers to occurrences in the past as well as to representation of that past by historians who are influenced by their abilities to make sense of their sources as well as the context of the time in which they write (Kavanagh 1996: 4); for the purposes of this thesis I agree with Haitian writer Michel-Rolph Trouillot that there are 'silences' of history that 'privilege one side as if the other did not matter' (1995: 22). That is, all historical

narratives are uniquely created clusters of ‘silences’ that serve specific interests, and that their deconstruction will require a variety of approaches. In my analysis of Jamaica’s museums I privilege the historical narratives of post- and anti-colonial writers whose sources are the memories and perspectives of African/Caribbean peoples.

With respect to museums, there has been little opposition to, or challenge of, the historical foundations of representation in Jamaica’s museums. One can only surmise that, either visitors themselves have been the subjects of colonial educational paradigms which have been accepted as truth; visitors lack critical analytic tools with which to question historical representation; or, visitors to museums see no need to question the veracity of exhibitions. I argue that the manner in which ethnographic exhibition is constructed in Jamaica’s main ethnographic museum, the People’s Museum of Craft and Technology, subtly reinforces colonial narratives and does little to inspire or excite visitors to seek additional or alternative knowledge.

This research sets out to positively affect Black self-identity in museums by first deconstructing the Eurocentric African/Caribbean narrative represented in Jamaica’s major ethnographic museum; and second presenting exhibition narratives of Jamaica’s first national hero from the perspective of enlightened scholarship. The intention of the research is to acknowledge that, notwithstanding independence in 1962, Jamaica stands at a crossroads between the ‘normative gaze’ of post-colonial society that de-valorises non-European people, history, culture, and experience; and, Garvey’s African fundamentalist perspective that rescues and reveals the silenced histories of African origin people all over the world.

1.1 Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, it aims to deconstruct colonial narratives about the peoples who as a consequence of the European economic system of chattel slavery and colonialism constitute the Caribbean, paying specific attention to the initial encounters between them. This exercise is considered important to the study as it establishes that the colonial enterprise in Jamaica was based on racist historical narratives constructed to create identities that conformed to a European colonial construct.

Further, because Jamaica was a prized British colony great lengths were taken after emancipation to ensure that the history taught in schools and churches be imbibed as truth, and, its majority Black population identify with Britain as its mother land and their identity as British. Centuries of erasure of African Caribbean history ostensible came to an end in 1962 with Independence, but in fifty years have the historical foundations of museum exhibitions changed?

Second, the study aims to present a post-colonial approach utilized in creation of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM), where it is demonstrated that culture, identity, education, and community development are integrally linked. That is, the MMGMM and its programmes facilitate interconnections between these critical elements that I believe are necessary to produce a transformative epistemology to counter the miseducation of Jamaican people. The Museum was developed to widely disseminate the philosophy and opinions of Jamaica's first national hero, from his perspective, and to use his philosophy and opinions to inspire, educate, and raise the self-identity of Jamaican people.

1.2 Research Questions

In this thesis I develop an argument relevant to the development of museums that represent histories of people of African origin. Drawing on theories of post-slavery/post-colonial societies, as well as critical race theories with respect to the education of Black children, I pose the following questions:

1. From whose perspectives are African Caribbean histories taught in schools and presented in Jamaica's museums?
2. If history museums are considered part of the educational system, are Black children being comprehensively educated by them? That is, does Jamaica's primary history museum, the People's Museum of Craft and Technology, represent Black history from the perspective of enlightened scholarship as described above and below?
3. How does the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum represent itself as a model for post-colonial museums in Jamaica?

1.3 Significance

In answering the questions, the possibility of transforming museum education to unlock the energies of Jamaican youth and adults for their social transformation is explored. And, the possibility of creating museums to provide an education that is based on Garvey's creed of 'African Fundamentalism' is presented. The essence of Garvey's philosophy with respect to politics, literature, history and culture is 'Race Independence'. That is, people of African origin must create their own heroes, write and criticize their own literature, and build their own strong nation (Martin 1991: 2). Garvey's elucidation of African Fundamentalism is summarized as follows:

The time has come for the Negro to forget and cast behind him his hero worship and adoration of other races, and to start out immediately, to create and emulate heroes of his

own. We must canonize our own saints, create our own martyrs, and elevate to positions of fame and honour black men and women who have made their distinct contributions to our racial history... Africa has produced countless numbers of men and women, in war and peace, whose lustre and bravery outshine that of any other people. Then why not see good and perfection in ourselves? We must inspire a literature and promulgate a doctrine of our own without any apologies to the powers that be. The right is ours and God's... Opposition to race independence is the weapon of the enemy to defeat the hopes of an unfortunate people. We are entitled to our own opinions and not obligated to or bound by the opinions of others (Martin 1991: 4).

The essence of Garvey's African Fundamentalism is that five centuries of Euro-centric perspectives on African Caribbean history have inculcated in the minds of Black and white people the idea that the African is synonymous with 'savage' and that if Black Jamaicans identify with Britain as its 'mother', they would then be imbued with white values and therefore civilized. The psychoanalytic work (Fanon 1967: 141-210) required to tackle the unreality of many beliefs that Black people hold, i.e. hero worship and adoration of other races, cannot be tackled with nuanced approaches to teaching Africa's history. I argue in support of Garvey's position that Black people must first see perfection in themselves through Afrocentric historical perspectives in order to raise positive self-identity, and, that museums can be strategic tools in this exercise.

1.4 Definitions

The following paragraphs define important terms utilized throughout the thesis. I present them here to underscore their importance to the arguments presented in the thesis.

Politics of Post-Colonialism: I refer here to western renditions of history that are rarely challenged in classrooms or in museum exhibition narratives. For example, the established and largely uncritically accepted narrative of the Americas is of Columbus' *discovery* in 1492. This widely taught notion has been refuted by fifteenth century explorers, historians and priests

(VanSertima 1976: 19-33) and anthropologists writing in the twentieth century (deQuatrefagas 1905; VanSertima 1976), yet the narrative persists in Jamaica's primary schools. The politics of post-colonialism therefore is the politics of omission, restitution, and erasure.

Enlightened Scholarship: I use these terms to refer to post- and anti-colonial research by African origin and other social scientists that provide alternative narratives to those widely proffered by Eurocentric writers. It is not only meant to indicate refutation of 'racist' narratives, but to present historical perspectives that provide deeper and wider analyses of events, historical epochs, and African origin peoples that have been consistently revised, overlooked or silenced by western historians. The perspectives of enlightened scholars are also freed from the hegemony of Eurocentric educational paradigms that make them victims of their own identity crisis.

Afrocentricity: an analytic approach coined by Prof. Molefi Asante (1987) according to whom, 'The Afrocentric analysis re-establishes the centrality of the ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) civilization and the Nile Valley cultural complex as points of reference for an African perspective in much the same way as Greece and Rome serve as reference points for the European world. Thus, the Afrocentrist expands human history by creating a new path for interpretation, making words like *negro* and *colored* obsolete and anachronistic. *African* is identified with time, place and perspective. Without the Afrocentric perspective the imposition of the European line as *universal* hinders cultural understanding and demeans humanity'[author's italics] (Asante 1987: 9-10).

Transformative Education and Research Practice: Similar to the two previous definitions these terms challenge hegemony and racist forms of knowledge. According to King '...a goal of transformative education and research practice in Black education is the production of

knowledge and understanding people need to rehumanize the world by dismantling hegemonic structures that impede such knowledge' (King 2005: 5).

Self Identity: Garvey's concept that Black people must be arbiters of their own destiny is the foundation of self-identity. The idea that one must have confidence in oneself to accomplish whatever one puts one's mind to is achievable through knowledge of, and identification with, a history that chronicles Africa's past and present greatness.

Blackness: I utilize this term not to relate to skin colour but to recognition of people of African origin North and South of the Sahara whose history spans some 195,000 years as opposed to the five hundred years, beginning with the European transatlantic trade in Africans, taught in schools. It refers to political allegiance, culture, history, and a plethora of accomplishments and challenges faced by them that have been systematically devalued and/or erased but which can be retrieved.

1.5 Jamaica: Setting the Stage

Like many English speaking post-colonial societies, Jamaica will celebrate its fiftieth birthday in 2012. While contradictions abound in the psyche of the people, there have been demands for changes in the educational structure – curriculum and teaching methodologies - and pronouncements regarding the importance of teaching the philosophy of Marcus Garvey in primary and secondary schools².

² www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20120203/lead/lead91.html

Historians have rewritten colonial histories relevant to Jamaica and the Caribbean (Curtin 1970; Williams 1970; Patterson 1973; Nettleford 1978; Hart 1985; Mintz 1985; Mansingh and Mansingh 1989; Bryan 1991; Wynter 1991; Higman 1995; Beckles and Shepherd 1996; Marshall 1996; Johnson and Watson 1998; Hall 2000; Moore and Johnson 2004; Moore and Johnson 2011) with the aim of widely disseminating it to people of African descent in schools. However, access to education in the Caribbean is not egalitarian, and these books are mainly written at the tertiary level.

It is surmised that these enlightened perspectives would positively affect the self identity of the majority Black population and contribute generously to African regeneration. However, there has been little effort to filter the knowledge at the level of primary schools where poor children in rural and urban inner-city areas who may not achieve tertiary level education can get access.

This supposition has not heretofore been extended to Jamaica's museums, which during colonialism, were the bastions of promulgation of Eurocentric histories for the consumption of the ruling class and their progeny. With the imminent arrival of Independence in 1962, colonial authorities set out to create the Folk Museum in 1961 (later renamed the Peoples Museum of Craft and Technology) as the first museum to represent, though not clearly stated, Blackness in Jamaica. With this effort colonial authorities sought to recalibrate the self-identity of Jamaicans away from being British towards adaptation of its new identity as Jamaican. The Folk Museum therefore was integral to the re-education process of Jamaican peoples in preparation for the estrangement of its revered 'mother country'.

The role of museums as interpreters and preservers of culture is also not new; in fact museums have had to change from elitist to being more inclusive institutions to remain current, relevant, and sustainable. Hooper-Greenhill explains that:

Looking back in the history of museums, the realities of museums have changed many times. Museums have always had to modify how they worked, and what they did, according to the context, the plays of power, and the social, economic, and political imperatives that surrounded them. Museums, in common with all other social institutions, serve many masters, and must play many tunes accordingly (1992: 1).

The Institute of Jamaica (IOJ), established in 1879 for the encouragement of literature, science and art, is responsible for development of museums throughout Jamaica. Its early colonial paradigm limited access to the mass of Jamaican people and its subject choices for representation fostered their further alienation. Since the late 20th century, the IOJ operates small community museums but without the necessary professional and financial resources to ensure widely researched representation; inclusion of communities surrounding museums in the representation process; or to create blockbuster exhibitions that attract new audiences. Further, a limitation of the IOJ's small spaces is that its vast collection of Jamaica's material culture languishes in its storerooms. The IOJ's divisions include:

Museums of History and Ethnography: People's Museum of Craft and Technology; Taino Museum of the First Jamaicans; Fort Charles Museum; Hanover Museum; and the Museum of St. James

The Programmes and Coordination Division (Junior Centres)

Natural History Museum of Jamaica

The National Gallery of Jamaica

Jamaica Music Museum

African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica/Jamaica Memory Bank; and

Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey: Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum

The educational role of the museum, which is largely concerned with education, interpretation and communication (Hooper-Greenhill 1999), also seeks answers to questions of what counts as 'knowledge' in museums. Specifically, research proposes that because race is a significant factor in 'the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled' (Omi and Winant 1994: 56); then it is a significant factor in museum representation in post colonial societies like Jamaica that has to be challenged and overcome.

This study will demonstrate how museum education can expose hidden histories that establish the continent of Africa as the cradle of human civilization, and its people as important contributors to the development of world civilization. Museum education, from this perspective, can contribute to loosening what Marcus Garvey referred to as the bonds of mental slavery existing in the minds of Jamaican people and form the basis for greater self-understanding, increased consciousness and self-identity (Garvey 1986). The thesis will focus on the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum in Jamaica as an example of development of a community museum that inspires, excites and educates; while raising the self-esteem and self-identity of its majority viewers.

1.6 Research Methods & Design

Historical desk research is used to address the first two research questions. I consulted books and articles written between the 1800's and the twenty first century that espouse colonial views of the world, and, that refute such views with facts. I combed stacks of The National Library of Jamaica which is a repository of such documents as well as the archives of the IOJ to obtain operational files pertaining to the activities of its Council, particularly correspondence having to do with the then Governor's inputs in establishment of the Folk Museum.

In order to interrogate from whose perspective history is represented in Jamaica's museums, I focus on the Folk Museum as a case study. In addition to desk research, I interviewed its 1980's curator to determine if there were any attempts to alter the narrative presented since its opening in 1961 and to get his perspective on the Museum within the context of museum development in Jamaica.



Figure 1.1: Exterior of Folk Museum (Photo by author)



Figure 1.2: Interior of Folk Museum (Photo by author)

With respect to the final question, the making of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum, as its founding Director/Curator I strive to recall the activities surrounding its construction and representation to the best of my ability, relying on information stored in files and testimonials in visitor's books. I draw on informal surveys with children conducted in the course of my work and testimonials of adults in answer to questions about self-identity, also

gained in the course of my work. Information gleaned from visitor's books over the years attest to the impact of the MMGMM and the value of its trajectory.



Figure 1.3: The Entrance of Liberty Hall which Houses the MMGMM [Note: Photo by author]



Figure 1.4: Visitors inside the MMGMM [Note: Photo by author]

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the methodology and research design. It includes the broad methodological approach, and the guiding methodological strategy. The latter sets out the data gathering and desk research approaches.

Chapter 3 introduces an epistemological debate. That is, ‘modern’ history books perpetuate centuries old White/Black binaries by resisting the voices of enlightened historians who refute these conventionally accepted theories. I begin the analysis by highlighting the racist narratives of human development that have perpetuated the myth of Africa’s backwardness.

I then turn to the notion of ‘race’ as a justification for Europe’s ‘civilizing’ mission as well as the necessity to contrive history to serve the interest of Europe and to denigrate Africa. I interrogate the encounters between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans to demonstrate that Western history has been racialized and suggest different epistemologies from the perspectives of enlightened scholarship.

I undertake this analysis to contrast the difference in narratives and examine whether teaching Black youth their history from a non-Western perspective, would empower them to think differently, more positively about their capabilities and future prospects. This could be undertaken by museums.

Chapter 4 examines the colonial stage, capitalism and slavery, and the integral role of race and racism in 17th Century Jamaica. The chapter explores the assertion of Black self-identity through wars of resistance, the manipulation of identity through colonial education, and establishment of the Creole and Creolization of Jamaicans.

Chapter 5 focuses on the journey from colonization to the politics of decolonization and explores who constitutes the national motto ‘Out of Many One People’, and how they came to be in the island. This chapter also looks at the Browning of Independent Jamaica and the assertion of Blackness as representative of Jamaica’s self identity.

Chapter 6 provides an overview of museums in Jamaica which sets the stage for the case study that follows. The colonial creation of the Institute of Jamaica was guided by the view that ‘white’ Jamaicans required exposure to ‘high’ British culture of which museums were to play an integral part.

Chapter 7 presents a case study of The Folk Museum, the first Museum in Jamaica created to represent ‘Blackness’ although not specifically stated. Opened in 1961, it heralded Jamaica’s Independence in 1962, and I argue was conceptualized by the British Governor as a vehicle by which the nation could recalibrate its identity from British to Jamaican. The Museum is analysed in two parts: 1960-1975; and its change of name to the People’s Museum of Craft and Technology in 1979 to 2010.

Chapter 8 introduces Liberty Hall and explores its significance at 76 King Street. The Museum’s audience is analysed and the early years of **Liberty Hall: *The Legacy of Marcus Garvey*** as a community museum and a cultural educational institution is reviewed.

Chapter 9 is specifically concerned with Representing Blackness: The case of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum; while *Chapter 10* concludes the dissertation by addressing the strengths, weaknesses and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Developing a Critical Race Theory of Museums Methodology

Everyone remembers their past
Building monuments, museums
Writin books
So that their children children will never forget
We must all learn from de past
So as not to repeat those things
That have kept us back for over 500 years

Mutabaruka, "Killin", Track 4, *Melanin Man*, Shanachie 45013, 1994

2.0 Introduction

There has been little contemporary focus on the relevance of existing museums to Jamaica's cultural landscape, although there has been a flurry of interest in the twenty first century in establishment of new museums for example of sports and music. While historical research will show that museums were positively viewed by the colonial government and the ruling classes, there has been no analysis of how and why the first ethnographic museum in Jamaica was created and therefore no question as to whose interest it was made to serve.

This chapter develops a framework for analysis of representing Blackness in post-colonial museums in Jamaica. I argue that museology in Jamaica has varied little from approaches and

historical perspectives used in the colonial period that subtly reinforce Eurocentric hierarchical constructs of society and re-inscribe a limited historical evolution for people of African descent.

2.1 The Qualitative Mixed Research Methodology

The purpose of my research is to explore representation of Blackness in post-colonial museums in Jamaica by focussing on Jamaica's first ethnographic museum, the Folk Museum, and by using interpretation and representation of the life and work of Marcus Mosiah Garvey in the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM) as a benchmark.

Jamaica is a component of what Wynter refers to as post-1492 Caribbean (Wynter 2002) in which three vastly separated populations came together (violently) to open up 'spaces of transculture' where 'their cultural matrices/fields and genres/modes of being human, [are] each incommensurable with the other (Wynter 2002: 7). The uniqueness of this meeting and the centuries of history resulting in creation of the 'they' and the 'them' opened a portal that cannot be fully understood by a positivist approach, but requires the varied tools of qualitative research analysis.

Mason sets out the components of qualitative research as follows:

1. Its stated philosophical position is 'concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted' (2002: 4);
2. Its methods of data collection is contextual and not ahistorical, as it takes into consideration 'real life' experiences rather than rigidly prescriptive approaches; and

3. It gives importance to many varied forms of data and places emphasis on ‘more holistic forms of analysis and explanation [...] than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations’(Ibid: 4)

Mason describes a reflexive or multivocal ‘way of arguing’ which ‘shows a sensitivity to a range of interpretations and voices, and a willingness to critique and question my own as well as others’(Mason 2002: 177). In this chapter, therefore I first establish the influences on my own voice as researcher, and then outline theoretical perspectives that act as bridges to my analysis.

By reviewing the scholarship of theorists who are concerned with how Black children are educated in the education structure of the United States I determine whether parallel approaches in Jamaica’s museums are warranted and could garner positive results. I draw on the work of critical race theorists to extend the arguments of museum education practitioners while acknowledging that the latter have addressed diversity in museum audiences with multicultural, antiracist, and inter-cultural approaches to learning in museums (Golding 2009: 140-142).

Using qualitative mixed research methodologies – historical desk research, juxtaposition of Eurocentric with Afrocentric pre-colonial narratives, compiling data from biographical information in historical publications of Jamaica’s colonial ruling class, interrogating notions of race, shades and class in Jamaica, and analysis of the educational structure that subtly perpetuates denigration of Blackness and deification of Europeans - I raise the question of whether exhibitions of Jamaica’s history in museums have benefitted from the work of African Caribbean and other scholars who have deconstructed colonial narratives and offered opposing

perspectives. I put forward the view that through its exhibitionary practice, museums in Jamaica can and should contribute to raising the self-esteem and self-identity of its majority population by representing Jamaica's history from an Afro-centric perspective.

2.2 Case study

As set out in Chapter 1, the case study approach to the Folk Museum and the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum is particularly important to this thesis because the former was concerned with recalibration of identity, and therefore a product of the social and political machinations within colonial society. The latter came out of the efforts of the community and their allies, within a post-colonial context, whose interests are grounded in Black pride and development of Black youth. Yin makes a point that anchors the utility of this method for my work:

The case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries (Yin 1989: 14).

A major component of my methodology then, is an in-depth look at the Folk Museum which was opened in 1961 on the eve of Jamaica's Independence as representative of African Jamaican material culture. In this case study I explore how the museum was designed as an attempt at recalibrating the identity of Jamaica's majority population in line with their soon to change national identity. The research further demonstrates that the historical perspectives underpinning the exhibition are decidedly Eurocentric as the curators' seeming intention was to represent what, from their perspective, constituted Blackness. Their own class position explains

their approach as well as the absence of involvement of the people they were representing in the museum's design.

The case study approach allows consideration of the context of development of the museum. Therefore the 'real life' relationships between the white colonial ruling class and Jamaica's Black majority, the decision to locate the museum in the stables of King's House; the choice of the curators and the architect; and the process of obtaining the artefacts have relevant analytic purposes (Yin 1989).

In seeking to counter the Folk Museum's approach I then undertake a case study of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum which was designed from an Afrocentric perspective in that it employs narratives based on the work of African Caribbean scholars, and, with the collaboration of members of communities that surround Liberty Hall: *The Legacy of Marcus Garvey*.

2.3 Positioning the Researcher

The idea of Afro-centricity was first discussed with fellow students of African heritage in 1977 while in pursuit of a Masters Degree in Economics at the New School for Social Research in New York City. Studying for a course in political economy, a group of us questioned the universalizability of concepts put forward by European 'enlightenment' philosophers, Hobbes, Locke and Adam Smith; of 'man', social contracts, and efficient systems of economic organization. We questioned whether the counter arguments of capitalism's major critic, Karl Marx, that foretold inevitable economic transformations to socialism and communism; were in fact relevant and applicable to African peoples and societies. We reasoned that European

enlightenment thinkers were consumed with and by their empirical conditions, and took for granted the fact that the pace and integrated - ness of their development was integrally linked to their present or former African colonies; thereby concocting what we viewed as a Eurocentric perspective.

Africa's march towards independence beginning in 1951 with Libya (Britain, Italy, France) quickly spiralled in the 1960's with 33 countries; 8 in the 1970's, 1 in 1980, and 3 in the 1990's. Like the Caribbean, colonization left Africa with little to build on, with its pace of development decidedly different from their former European 'mother' countries, and, integrally dependent upon them for technology and development finance. We questioned whether Africans, given their new freedoms, would demonstrate the acquisitive, individual, and other precepts of 'man' described by the enlightenment theorists, that would propel them into capitalist economic formations; or whether Africans were essentially different, and as such, would attempt to reconstitute the philosophical and economic foundations of 'traditional' African societies based on the African philosophy of Ubuntu (Hord and Lee 1995) – I am because we are - and forge other paths to economic development. As students, we concluded that there was dire need for an Afrocentric view of the concept of man, as well as an Afrocentric paradigm of economic organization for future development of Africa and its Diaspora.

In retrospect we were unaware of the critical role globalization played in economic structures, the control of former colonial powers of the resources and financial arrangements of newly independent nations, the power of European states to determine the political leadership and direction of their former colonies, the role of religion (Christianity and Islam) in traducing

African spiritual beliefs; and of the effects of colonial education on the decisions made by new leaders of state as well as historical perspectives taught by educators of the nation's children.

Development of an Afrocentric view of 'man' requires in-depth knowledge of pre-colonial African societies to determine what political and cultural methods, belief systems, approaches to economic organization could be harvested to create an African paradigm for a path forward. The work of many scholars would be useful here (Diop 1974; Bernal 1987; Diop 1987; Diop 1991; Davidson 1992; Walker 2006) and I contend that museums also have a critical role in this formulation.

These works challenge the universalizability of European concepts particularly of 'rational man' as, among others, within it is justification for the 'irrational human others classified as Indians/Negroes [... who] would be coercively made to produce wealth intended to serve only the well being, development and other emancipatory purposes of the dominant population' (Wynter 2002: 9).

I will begin with the issue of epistemology and explore it by summarizing some of the debates which frame the questions of race, colonization and identity and then move to a discussion of debates about how critical educational practice might serve as a site of intervention in this process of identity construction. I will then pull out the implication of this for my methodology. More specifically I will draw on ideas from Critical Race Theory (CRT) to create a framework from which I am able to critique and interpret the work done by museums in post colonial Jamaica. I will then add to the same framework to build an alternative approach.

Discussed above, construction of the liberal individual subject was the point of interest to us as graduate students. This concept of ‘man’ was created through a racial hierarchy that guaranteed bourgeois heterosexual males rights while excluding everyone else’s, a construct that was greatly convenient for colonization. Rights, particularly property rights, was underpinned by colonial exploitation creating Césaire’s equation: colonization = ‘thingification’(Cesaire 1972: 21). What Césaire means is that stripping colonized subjects of humanity through ‘forced labour, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness...’ rendered them ‘things’ in the eyes of the colonizer and at the same time transforms the colonizer himself into a thing (Ibid).

Structuring the world along the lines of white supremacy, creation of a transnational white polity such that in 1914 ‘Europe had a grand total of roughly 85% of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths’(Mills 1997: 29) laid the foundation for a world built on a racial contract, a hierarchy in which whites represent civilization and modernity at the top while all ‘others’ are less than, and therefore made to support their initiatives at the bottom. The implication for the majority Black population in Jamaica is played out in issues of identity. That is, African Jamaicans come to know themselves through processes of violent ‘othering’, state sanctioned and constructed identity manipulation at all stages of their sojourn on this island, and as Grossberg quotes Hall’s description of racism as being ‘directed to secure us “over here” and them “over there” to fix each in its appointed species place’ (Grossberg 1996: 99).

Agency and identity are important to analysis of Jamaican people’s engagement with museums. In the former participation and access are limited for the majority of Black Jamaicans who

constitute the poor for whom possibilities of moving into and belonging to particular sites of activity and power are nonexistent (Grossberg 1996). However, all of Jamaica's public museums are within communities occupied by poor people, yet there is little identification with exhibitions. The Folk Museum is a case in point as its intent is to represent Blackness, yet for the Black population surrounding the museum there is little identification with, attachment to, or ownership of the museum.

Identity in Jamaican society is contested space. There are continual debates and calls in the media for re-introduction of civics in the curriculum. This signals recognition of a problem with citizenship. In other words, the need for individuals to define Jamaica for themselves and others as a place to which 'we' belong, find our way to, and at the same time acknowledging and respecting the differing ways in which people participate in social life (Grossberg 1996).

The call is also for the teaching of Garvey in schools mainly to attack issues raised by the lack of acknowledgement of Blackness as a source of pride demonstrated by the increased prevalence of skin bleaching among and across the population. Ambivalence with regard to skin colour, shape of nose and other body specific traits are tackled by Fanon and Garvey (1963; 1967; 1986) and is elucidated in the course of my work at Liberty Hall.

2.4 Developing Afrocentric Method

The work of Temple University Professor Molefi Kete Asante, who developed the Afrocentric concept as a serious method of analysis of African and Diaspora experience, is a major influence. His book (Asante 1987) challenges Eurocentric notions of universalism, objectivity, and classical

traditions as approaches to understanding social and economic development among people of African origin, and constructs a transcultural analysis that privileges African concepts, issues and behaviours (Asante 1987: 3-8). According to Asante:

The Afrocentric analysis re-establishes the centrality of the ancient Kemet (Egyptian) civilization and the Nile Valley cultural complex as points of reference for an African perspective in much the same way as Greece and Rome serve as reference points for the European world. Thus, the Afrocentricist expands human history by creating a new path for interpretation, making words like *negro* and *colored* obsolete and anachronistic. African is identified with time, place and perspective (Asante 1987: 9).

In this thesis I use the term Afrocentricism interchangeably with enlightened scholarship, and enlightened transformative scholarship, to refer to publications of books and materials that present stories of African heritage people, from their perspective. After emancipation in 1838 the colonial intent at dehumanization and negation of African Jamaican humanity did not result in an edifying educational structure, or in a colonial administration that was democratic. Therefore, re-interpretation of history taught in public schools and represented in museums, is critical for re-education of Jamaica's majority population for development in the twenty first century. Asante's approach is similar to that of Marcus Garvey in that they both are anchored in an analytic framework that is specific to the African 'race'. Critics of Asante's methods (Spillers 1991; Carby 1992; Collins 2000) focus on his narratives of nation, reversals of binaries, and re-inscription of biological determinism rather than development of an inclusive methodology that liberates all peoples.

My work also engages with critical race theorists which offers a more general critique of how race is constructed through legal and education discourses.

2.4.1 Critical Race Theory

CRT was developed in the United States in the 1970's (post-civil rights to the present). Its major goal is the elimination of racial oppression as part of the larger objective of eradicating all forms of oppression (Matsuda, Lawrence et al. 1993). CRT is used to examine the success of the courts and legal remedies to address racial injustice, and to build upon the legal scholarship and activism of the civil rights movement (Tate 1997: 206).

Considered one of the main proponents of CRT, Derrick Bell's work presents a challenge to traditional discourse on civil rights (Bell 1987; 1992) through his use of allegory to expose the philosophical undergirding of matters of jurisprudence. Referred to by Tate, Bell presents the dual purpose of his scholarship as to 'contribute to intellectual discussions concerning race in American society; and to promote political activism to achieve racial justice'(Tate 1997: 211).

Bell builds on three cogent arguments that recur in the writings on CRT. They are: the constitutional contradiction that establishes that racial identity and property are interrelated concepts (Harris 1993); the interest convergence principle that suggests that advancement of African American interests is only achievable when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of whites (Bell 1980); and finally, 'the price of racial remedies' wherein whites will not support civil rights policies that appear to threaten their superior social status (Bell 1979).

2.4.2 Critical Race Theory of Education

Black educators utilized approaches taken by CRT theorists as analytic tools for understanding school inequity in the education of Black children (Dixon and Rousseau 2006). That is, starting

from recognition that racism is endemic in US society, educators raise the question of ‘how do traditional interests [federalism, values, standards, established property interests, and choice] and cultural artefacts serve as vehicles to limit and bind the educational opportunities of students of color’(Tate 1997: 234)? They challenge the US school system’s claim of neutrality, objectivity, colour blindness, and meritocracy by introducing ‘voice’, or privileging the stories of the reality faced by Black people (as teachers, parents, administrators, students, and community members) in the educational system (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006: 22).

CRT of education further explores the intersection of race and property (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006: 22-24) and undertakes critical analysis of the multicultural paradigm which, although expanded to include gender, ability, and sexual orientation, seems more focussed on ‘acceptance’ by white society of ‘difference’ but without interrogation of the tensions between and among these differences (Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006: 24-26). CRT of education explores the limitations of multicultural perspectives and questions how they can be reinterpreted to the benefit of people of African heritage.

2.4.3 Developing a Critical Race Theory of Museums Methodology

Spurred by many developments, including reduction in annual museum earnings and funding, a plethora of new and attractive outlets for entertainment, and the lack of contact between museums and the communities surrounding them; museum administrators sought to attract new audiences by giving greater attention to issues of multiculturalism and diversity, which were important to cultural theorists including Stuart Hall and Paul Gilmore (2000; 2004) in the early part of the twenty first century.

Ideally, a multicultural approach means attracting new audiences by reflecting on museum collections taking into consideration the racial and ethnic composition, and the accomplishments and contributions of communities surrounding museums; seeking the involvement of community members in building exhibitions; and addressing the critique that for some groups museums were considered elitist and unwelcoming (Crew 1996: 85-90). While new focus was put on the relevance of museum collections to 'new' audiences, unfortunately the idea of partnerships with communities to create exhibitions and installations, in effect, the curatorial practice of traditional museums were largely unexplored or unchanged (Philips 2007).

Multiculturalism opens the dialogic field in traditional museums that lead to some changes in approach to exhibition design, particularly in museums in communities where people of African descent live and work (Crew 1996: 86-87). Further, teachers are required to respond to the demands of their students who come to them from multiple cultural realities and need to be prepared to communicate and interact with an increasingly diverse student population.

Thus multicultural education is first of all a process through which individuals develop ways of perceiving, evaluating and behaving within cultural systems unlike their own. Second, multicultural education requires a consideration of the forces that exert powerful influences within local, national and global settings. In the final analysis multicultural education is education for all students in what is reality today – a multicultural society (Suina 1999: 105).

Critiques of multiculturalism within the field of museology include 'antiracists' who attack the seemingly superficial and tokenistic approaches to diversity (Golding 2009: 142) and 'interculturalism [...] promotion of a sense of 'belonging' and 'inclusion' rather than marginalisation' (Golding 2009: 141) which are critical elements in creating cohesive communities. This latter terminology is more in line with my efforts at forging another pathway.

The methodology of the Commission on Research in Black Education (CORIBE), a specialist research initiative of Black educators who are members of the American Educational Research Association (AERA)³ and the tenets of its *Declaration of Intellectual Independence for Human Freedom* consists of Ten Vital Principles for Black Education and Socialization, two of which (#s 6 & 7) are relevant here are stated below:

The priority is on research *validity* over “inclusion”. For research validity, highest priority must be placed on studies of: (a) African tradition (history, culture, and language); (b) Hegemony (e.g., uses of schooling/socialization and incarceration); (c) Equity (funding, teacher quality, content, and access to technology); and (d) Beneficial practice (at all levels of education, from childhood to elderhood).

Research informs practice and practice informs research in the production and utilization of knowledge; therefore, context is essential in research: (a) cultural/historical context; (b) political/economic context; and (c) professional context, including the history of AERA⁴ and African people (King 2005: 20-21).

The collective survival and prosperity of people of African origin throughout Africa and its Diaspora requires access to knowledge that is empowering and informative outside of the confines of European hegemony. Museums, are adaptable to representation of the history of African people from their perspective; substituting or improvising alternatives that are more sensitive to our culture; and resisting exhibition representation and representational styles that are destructive to the best portrayal of our people (King 2005).

To make a parallel analogy between CRT of education, multiculturalism in museums, and to suggest a critical race methodology of museums, I posit the notion that multiculturalism in museums is limited in that the primary focus is on inclusion. That is, ‘students from diverse racial, ethnic, and other social-class groups will experience educational equality’(Banks 1993: 3) by viewing identifiably ‘typical’ examples of ‘their’ material culture in museums.

³ www.aera.net

⁴ American Educational Research Association

Through qualitative research techniques and case study analysis the central focus of this thesis is on the historical narratives used in production of museum exhibitions representing the material culture of people of African origin. I propose that application of CRT to exhibition design in museums would, among other things, challenge the inherently hierarchical dimensions of social Darwinist approaches and facilitate examination of the veracity of underlying historical premises of exhibition narratives; explore whose interests is served in utilizing Eurocentric narratives; and opens the door to the work of Afrocentric historians who present oppositional perspectives.

2.5 Employing Critical Pedagogy

In prescribing a method of re-education required for people who have been oppressed and colonized in his native Brazil, Paulo Friere poses the concept of ‘critical pedagogy’ or ‘problem-solving education’ as a teaching method that ‘demythologizes’ past colonial authority and mindset while empowering people to reflect upon a narrative, their history, that is useful to them to transform their world (Freire 1973: 66-68). Similarly, adapting Freire’s problem-posing education for African American students CORIBE⁵ proposes the concept of a ‘culturally nurturing transformative education and research practice’ for the education of Black children. It is defined as follows:

A goal of culturally nurturing transformative education and research practice, then, is to reconnect students to their *identity* as members of the global African family in ways that also increase their *motivation and engagement* with the learning process. Teachers with this orientation and understanding are able to create powerful learning opportunities that build on students’ prior funds of cultural knowledge as well as the untapped knowledge that is available *within their communities and their cultural heritage* [my italics] (King 2005: 5).

Contemporary museologists have added another layer to Freire’s critical pedagogy by placing this concept in the context of museums, formulating critical museum pedagogy (Giroux 1993;

⁵ www.coribe.org

Hooper-Greenhill 1999; Appleton 2001; Golding 2009) that questions the education role of museums and suggests methods to be utilized as the vehicle not only for its democratization but also for antiracist and antisexist work.

I substitute 'visitors' and 'curators' in the reference above where 'students' and 'teachers' appear to indicate that the educational role of Jamaica's museums should be to engage the community and the work of enlightened transformative scholarship to create exhibitions about Blackness that inspire, excite and positively affect the self esteem of all visitors to the museum.

To illuminate my above stated research hypothesis; I apply these concepts to my work in the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM) which is my primary case study site, and I have justified this focus at my own workplace with substantial reference to the Folk Museum.

2.6 Crossroads and Case Study

I develop the view that Jamaica's museums are at a crossroads in its determination of whether the path described above is consciously pursued, or, curators continue to refrain from undertaking a critical examination of whose voice is favoured in historical narratives of representation. I believe that a fountain of work has been done (Lynch 1971; Nettleford 1972; Diop 1974; Garvey 1986; Walker 2006) that debunk colonial narratives that overtly reinforce superior/inferior binaries, and encourage negative self-identification, deeply inculcated in the psyches of Jamaican people.

My examination of the congruence of the MMGMM with contemporary museum emphases on access, community participation, and relevance utilize critical museum pedagogy concepts to analyze narratives in selected exhibitions to highlight the educational role that Hooper-Greenhill suggests lead museums forward (1999), and which I believe is particularly important in Jamaica's museums.

The research proposes to use my work as Director/Curator of the MMGMM as a case study to demonstrate that because the MMGMM represents the life, work and philosophy of Marcus Garvey from the perspective of enlightened scholarship, it is possible to explore the museum's power to instil pride in Blackness and reintroduce into collective memory Garvey's exhortation that people of African descent should:

Be as proud of your race today as our fathers were in the days of yore. We have a beautiful history, and we shall create another in the future that will astonish the world (Garvey 1986).

Conversely, the fact that race and colour stratification in society continues to affect the self-identity of Jamaican children, museums that reinforce positive representation of the people and their communities could be vehicles for its eradication.

In the Spanish language the notion of 'crossroads' has the figurative meaning of 'dilemma' – a situation in which a difficult choice has to be made between two or more alternatives (Oxford Dictionary:1999). In African cosmology the crossroads is a sacred place, a strategic place; where ceremonies are performed; where troubles are buried; where the limitations of ordinary vision becomes acute (Thompson 1993). In the cosmography of Haitian myth the crossroad is the most important of ritual figures.

It is the point of access to the world of the les Invisibles, which is the soul of the cosmos, the source of life force, the cosmic memory, and the cosmic wisdom (Deren 1970: 35).

The study employs the concept of ‘crossroads’ as being the defining moment in Jamaica’s post colonial decolonization. Crossroads becomes the metaphoric point where we choose to bury the Eurocentric modality through which African Caribbean history is elaborated and return to a path of Africology that escapes racist binaries and re-embraces African history from the perspective of enlightened scholarship. This is a point of renewal, re-invention, and rebirth, which requires a fundamental change in mindset and world outlook, therefore changes in the material conditions in which we constitute institutions and processes of intellectual, political, economic and cultural governance.

Through the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM) I therefore seek to redefine Jamaica’s concept of museum at the crossroads of the twenty first century to speak to the needs stated above to inspire, excite and raise consciousness and confidence, particularly in African Jamaican visitors to the museum space. Further, in the spirit of Garvey, the work of Liberty Hall combines culture with opportunities for economic regeneration, as the two processes are required for achievement of true freedom.

2.7 Broad Methodological Approach

The study will be undertaken using a qualitative research strategy with its wide range of philosophical underpinnings as well as methodological techniques and practices (Mason 2002). It is concerned with representation of Blackness in Jamaica’s post-colonial museums. Using historical and documentary evidence, I interrogate social theories, particularly racism, and the manner in which British colonial authorities, after emancipation, pursued transformation of the Black Jamaican character through its ‘civilizing’ and Christianizing missions – improvement, by

British standards, of the morals, manners, character and behaviour of the people of Jamaica (Moore and Johnson 2000).

The formulation of Black self-identity within the boundaries of the cult of monarchy and empire that sought to mould Jamaicans into British colonial subjects will be explored as contributory to roots and origins of contemporary notions of self-identity. Further, the fact that the ideology of colonial education, that was the norm in Jamaica's schools in the late nineteenth century, reinforced Black subordination within the white hegemonic socio-political system, begs the question of whether this history and Britain's philosophy of cultural imperialism, permeated representation in Jamaica's museums in general and of Blackness in particular?

The research will analyze the transforming power of enlightened African/Caribbean scholarship that flourished at the turn of the twentieth century, using the life and works of Marcus Mosiah Garvey as a core example. Garvey's demonstration of the power of knowledge, led him to creation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) the largest Black organization ever. I consider, therefore, whether in the processes of representation in Jamaica's post-colonial museums, there is broad paradigmatic utility in the philosophy of Marcus Garvey as demonstrated in the making and operation of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum. And further, whether use of such a paradigm could positively affect the social and economic development of communities that surround museums.

Using Mason's (2002: 27-29) outline as a mechanical model for the construction of qualitative research I ask the following research questions:

1. During colonialism, Caribbean history was not taught in Jamaica's schools from the perspective of the colonized. In exploring the impact of the legacy of slavery and colonialism, to what extent has Britain's philosophy of cultural imperialism permeated Jamaica's educational system and therefore influenced representation in museums in general and of Blackness in particular? From whose perspectives are African Caribbean histories taught in schools and presented in Jamaica's museums?

2. If history museums are considered part of the educational system, are Black children being comprehensively educated by them? That is, does Jamaica's primary history museum, the People's Museum of Craft and Technology, represent Black history from the perspective of enlightened scholarship? Since Independence, African heritage and other historians have placed academic focus on re-writing European interpreted African Caribbean histories. Has the educational role in Jamaica's museums kept pace with these developments?

3. We know museums can play a role in production of self identity and in community development. What role does the MMGMM play in production of positive self identity? Does Garvey's philosophy of pride in Blackness and Pan Africanism offer a saltatorial methodology for Jamaica's future museum development? How does the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum represent itself as a model for post-colonial museums in Jamaica?

2.8 Guiding Methodological Strategy

2.8.1 Desk Research

Desk research will analyse theories of colonial society, the complexity of the relationships between the actors, and the resulting notions of identities imbued in Black people will be

explored through the works of Marcus Garvey (1986), Frantz Fanon (1963, 1967), Aime Césaire (1972), Paulo Freire (1973, 1994), Stuart Hall (1996) and Rex Nettleford (1972, 1978). On theories of post-colonialism the writings of Sylvia Wynter (2002) will principally be utilized, and the importance of a critical pedagogy that confronts racial stereotypes in education will be addressed through the works of Carter G. Woodson (1933/2005), Paulo Freire (1973; [1974] 2008), Dr. Joyce King (2005) and Dixon and Rousseau (2006); and considered as applicable to education in museums.

The teachings of Marcus Garvey (Garvey 1986; Hill 1987) with respect to acquisition of knowledge, positive self-identity, economic upliftment, and Pan-Africanism – the principled unity of people of African descent throughout the world - will form the philosophical argument for re-representation of Blackness in post-colonial museums in Jamaica.

The tenets of the UK Museums Association (2005) suggest that, among other things, museums should serve their communities. The research will explore how the MMGMM and Liberty Hall engages its communities through representation of histories and issues of interest to them, particularly the youth, as sources of inspiration, education and of positive self-identification for the nation.

2.8.2 Data Gathering at the primary case study site

The research will highlight how the MMGMM constitutes a radical departure from Jamaican museology by analyzing how the museum's narrative was constructed, whose interpretation was privileged, and the method chosen to represent the history. Data collection includes reviews of MMGMM's visitor books to analyse responses of visitors to the exhibition.

Under my Directorship the MMGMM has compiled data across age groups on self perception and preferences with respect to skin colour and concepts of beauty. Analysis demonstrates what value Jamaican children assign to Black skin colour in relation to white; and what if any connection they believe they do or do not have to the continent of Africa. Further, MMGMM has collected stories of adults about incidences that impacted their self-identity during childhood and these too will be presented. This data will reinforce my hypothesis that museums in Jamaica can and should contribute to raising the self-esteem and self-identity of Jamaicans of African descent.

Since the opening of Liberty Hall in 2003 as a cultural educational institution, and throughout the course of my work as Liberty Hall's Director/Curator, data has been collected on visitors to the MMGMM and on students, adults and children, who participate in Liberty Hall's (LH) programmes. The purpose of the data collection is to determine what communities are served by the projects and programmes of LH; what age groups and gender mix avail themselves of the programmes; and the responses of adults, when asked about their experiences with issues of self-identity. Analysis of the data reveals the extent of the need for transformative narratives and the effectiveness of LH's programmes to raise consciousness and positively influence individual's self-identity.

In undertaking a critical analysis of representation of Blackness in museums, the thesis looks at the IOJ's Museums of History and Ethnography's principle Museum, the Peoples Museum of Craft and Technology (Folk Museum) to determine whose voice is privileged. The proposed methods/techniques of data generation will include the following:

1. Historical Archival and documentary evidence - to identify how the museums developed over time.

2. Sampling – I will present answers to questions posed, in the course of my job, to students, ages 3-18 who have visited the MMGMM during school tours overtime, to ascertain their perspectives on Blackness. Also, the stories of adults in our adult programmes will also be sampled.
3. Stratification of the sample – Since representation is based on people’s perceptions, I will interrogate how Blackness is perceived and projected by pre-and post independence governments. Analysis will include the formal mechanisms used to frame perceptions of Blackness, the prevailing worldview taught in educational institutions, the utterances of pre-independence politicians, racial classifications for the purposes of statistics; and privilege based on these; access to political and financial structures, and the like. Concretely, analysis will be undertaken of: minutes of the Special Committee for Independence in which the national symbols were established; and report on the discussions held on national symbols in the 1990’s.
4. An interview will be conducted with a past curator of IOJ’s Museums of History and Ethnography to determine how representation of Blackness in The People’s Museum of Craft and Technology was viewed.

2.9 Conclusion

I am aware that my own Pan-African perspective, knowledge and thought processes will greatly affect the course of action taken in the study. However, the fact that my position is shared by many African heritage and other scholars with whom I have discussed these ideas provides an impetus to continue in this vein. I believe that museums that serve African origin communities must include opportunities to address the social, educational, and recreational needs of the people while building positive self-identity.

In embarking on this study I will engage in a process of deconstruction of the critical terms – representation and Blackness – as they are utilized in national discourse and influence museum text. This process of deconstruction is to uncover the points of contradiction associated with the critical terms, as well as to highlight the ideas and movements that countered the accepted concepts and re-represented Blackness from the perspective of enlightened Black scholarship. In accomplishing the latter, a process of reconstruction of Blackness will take place, the efficacy of which will be demonstrated in the MMGMM, that could inform the perspectives of future museum narratives with the goal of educating and inspiring generations of Jamaicans to come.

Chapter 3

The Pre-Colonial Narrative: His-Story-Vs-An-Other Story

3.0 Introduction

A review of the literature presents the work of scholars who are critical of widely disseminated Eurocentric renditions of world history and who present an ‘other’ history from the perspectives of alterity. These scholars include Bernal (1997), James (1989), Anta Diop (1991), and Walker (2006) on African History; Cesaire (1972), Fanon (1963, 1967) and Wynter (1995, 2002, 2004) on post-colonial societies; and Blyden (1971), Du Bois (1990), Woodson (1933, 1998), Garvey (1986, 1987), Freire (1973,2004,2008), and Joyce King (2005) on Black education.

In Jamaica, as in other newly independent countries, education is viewed as necessary for economic and social development. Advancement is linked to industrialization which is believed as only possible through attainment of skills, technologies, adoptions of western values and attitudes to work, as first steps. The importance of this chapter to the thesis is to challenge Western hierarchical knowledge systems particularly those that place Europe at the apex of a pyramid of human development and Africans at its base.

In this chapter, with reference to the literature, I contend that racism created an historical totalitarianism in which world history, chronicled in widely used history books in schools, until the latter part of the twentieth century, in the West, Europe and in Africa reduces the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Africans to primitive, cannibalistic, and uncivilized beings, while

presenting images of Europeans as adventurous, technical, and scientifically motivated, and their geographical conquest as inevitable and humane.

Scholars (Fanon 1963; Cesaire 1972; Nettleford 1972; Freire 1973; Garvey 1986) have demonstrated that these raced views of the world ‘help support a legitimating ideology and specific political action’ (Tate 1997: 199) which continue to have negative effects on the self esteem of African-Caribbean youth who imbibe this history and measure themselves against falsely concocted white cultural and intellectual norms; and, on white youth upon whom are conferred universal superiority simply by virtue of skin colour. There is great value, then, in examination of the foundations of racialized history in conjunction with the inferiority paradigm which includes evaluation of issues of power and empowerment.

Haney Lopez (1996: 14) provides a legal description of race:

Race can be understood as the historically contingent social systems of meaning that attach to elements of morphology and ancestry. This definition can be pushed on three interrelated levels, the physical, the social, and the material. First, race turns on physical features and lines of descent, not because features or lineage themselves are a function of racial variation, but because society has invested these with racial meanings. Second, because the meanings given to certain features and ancestries denote race, it is the social processes of ascribing racialized meanings to faces and forbearers that lie at the heart of racial fabrication. Third, these meaning-systems, while originally only ideas, gain force as they are reproduced in the material conditions of society. The distribution of wealth and poverty turns in part on the actions of social and legal actors who have accepted ideas of race, with the resulting material conditions becoming part of and reinforcement for the contingent meanings understood as race.

One of the social processes that ascribe racialized meaning is the system of education. Throughout the African Diaspora scholars have recognised that there is a crisis in Black education (Fanon 1967; Cesaire 1972; Freire 1973; Garvey 1986; King 2005). Black intellectuals face issues related to whose history is privileged from the standpoint of epistemological bias, globalisation, and hegemony. Scholars are forced to choose between the so-called objective curriculum which negates or misinforms about the “true” history of African

people and that which contests the normative paradigm and offers an enlightened African oriented perspective.

For example, centuries of Europe's chronicling of the continent of Africa in widely used encyclopaedias begins African history with European conquest and the removal of Africans to the Americas as slaves. The New Age Encyclopaedia, (Collins 1977: 111-112) introduces its section on Africa with a summary of the continent [provided by Robert Collins of Williams College] [Collins, Robert O., ed., African History: Text and Readings (1971)]. His opening remarks refer to Africa as an 'ancient Roman province' and Rome's 'prosperous granary'. He then moves swiftly from the statement that Africa was seized by the Vandals in 429 A.D., to the political phenomenon of colonial rule, and mid-20th century independence which is illustrated by images of Masai and Kikuyu dancers under a caption that reads: Africa, the last continent to develop its potential. Independence was achieved, according to Collins, as a result of imported nationalist ideas from Europe and the West in the minds of African students who travelled abroad for education, and by the example set by nationalist movements in Asia and the Middle East. For him, African independence could not have been as a result of African commitment to reclamation of their land and freedom from colonial powers.

The New Age Encyclopaedia includes a sub-section in its Africa Chapter entitled 'History' which is premised with the lack of written records of African development before those of 15th and 16th century Portuguese explorers who provided manuscripts and other materials about places like Benin, Ethiopia and the Congo (Collins 1977: 119-127). Europeans privilege writing in a form that is recognized by them over oral historiography and other African methods of recording unknown to them. It is therefore their observations (explorers, adventurers, botanists, tourists etc.) that are used to construct what overtime became Africa's history.

The World Book Encyclopaedia (Bohannon, Coleman et al. 1976) begins its Africa section with the size of the continent, its rich mineral and agricultural wealth, and the statistic that only 10 percent of all adult Africans can read and write (Bohannon, Coleman et al. 1976). Appiah and Gates (2005: 502) however challenge the statement. They write that in 1970, 27 percent of Africa's adults were literate, by European standards, and by 2003 the figure increased to 62.5 percent. According to the editors of the World Book, information about Africa will of necessity be provided by persons outside of Africa:

Less than 100 years ago, Africa was called the Dark Continent because much of it was unknown to Europeans. It is still difficult to get information about many parts of Africa. But more becomes known about Africa as educational standards rise there, and as people from other continents visit there. More people go there on business. Thousands of tourists visit Africa to make trips to the world's longest river, the Nile, to cross the world's largest desert, the Sahara, or to go on big-game hunting or picture-taking safaris (Bohannon, Coleman et al. 1976: 89).

Scholars (Rodney 1972; Diop 1987; VanSertima 1989; Walker 2006) have countered these racist narratives by documenting Africa's rich and ancient history before the arrival of Europeans; the African presence in the Americas before Columbus; as well as the technological knowhow of the Africans who were brought to the Americas and to Europe as slaves.

King cites Carruthers who argues that the problems caused by Black mis-education are:

[...] directly attributable to schooling founded on European-centred constructions of knowledge. The crisis in Black education will not be resolved until Black intellectuals achieve intellectual freedom and re-construct Black education on an African-centred foundation. These are the pre-conditions to the real liberation of the African race all over the world (King 2005: 9).

For example, as demonstrated in the two encyclopaedias quoted and perhaps used by most secondary school students in the West, African civilization is not treated as ancient and foundational and certainly is not referred to as having a profound developmental impact on Europe. The subtle suggestions of Africa's primitiveness and inherent backwardness are made

justifiable by falsification and erasure of Africa's history, and contrasted by the adventurousness of Europeans who 'discovered' waterways, 'explored' previously inaccessible terrain, and the missionaries who brought the civilizing influence of Christianity to Africans (Davidson 1992; Hochschild 1999).

Where many African monarchs ruled constitutionally and were invested in the development of their people, they were widely portrayed as despotic and demonic (Davidson 1992). Where there was clear evidence of writing systems and oral recording of history dating back thousands of years before Europe's civilization, this information was disregarded, erased and replaced with the myth that Africans did not write, therefore their history, needed to be researched and written by Europeans (Diop 1974; Davidson 1992).

Where Egypt is discussed, it miraculously exists outside of 'Negroid' Africa (which is confined to south of the Sahara) in the Middle East, a place that does not conjure any specific geographic memory space, and where, according to *The New Age Encyclopaedia*, the people are considered white:

In addition to the Negroid people of Africa there are many Caucasoid. These include most of the people of North Africa and Egypt and some in the Sudan. They belong generally to the Mediterranean subgroup of Caucasoid peoples and resemble those of southern Europe and the Near and Middle East. They have brown eyes, straight to wavy brown hair, skin ranging from light olive to dark brown, thin lips, and high-bridged narrow noses (Ottensberg 1977: 137).

This version of history has become a blueprint for representation of Egypt's material culture followed by museums in the United States and in Europe for example Brooklyn Museum, NYC, British Museum, London, and many others with Egyptian collections. Egypt is separated out of Africa and physically exhibited often on separate floors. In the Brooklyn Museum the African Gallery is on the first floor while the Egyptian Galleries, Assyrian Reliefs and European

Paintings are together on the third floor⁶. Similarly in the British Museum, Africa alone is on the Lower floor, while Egyptian sculpture and Ancient Egypt are on the Ground and Upper floors respectively. Also exhibited on ground and upper floors of the British Museum are the Americas, Ancient Greece and Rome, the Middle East, Asia and Europe⁷.

Peter Vergo's view is critical of traditional history museum displays raising the question of whose story is being represented and from whose perspective. He argues the following:

Whether we like it or not, every acquisition (and indeed disposal), every juxtaposition or arrangement of an object or work of art, together with other objects or works of art, within the context of a temporary exhibition or museum display means placing a certain construction upon history, be it the history of the distant or more recent past, of our own culture or someone else's, of mankind [sic] in general or a particular aspect of human endeavour. Beyond the captions, the information panels, the accompanying catalogue, the press handout, there is a subtext comprising innumerable diverse, often contradictory strands, woven from the wishes and ambitions and preconceptions, the intellectual or political or social or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, the sponsor – to say nothing of the society, the political and social or educational system which nurtured all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them (Vergo 1989: 2-3)

The non-African-ness of Egypt promulgated by 19th century European historians and anthropologists is explained by Bernal as the 'Egyptian problem' as follows:

If it had been scientifically 'proved' that Blacks were biologically incapable of civilization, how could one explain Ancient Egypt – which was inconveniently placed on the African continent? There were two, or rather three solutions. The first was to deny that the Ancient Egyptians were black; the second was to deny that the Ancient Egyptians had created a civilization; and third was to make doubly sure by denying both. The last has been preferred by most 19th and 20th century historians (1987: 241).

The solution to the 'problem' was further reinforced by 20th century cinema production that presents Egypt's pharaohs and queens as white or near white and Blacks solely in the role of slaves. Europe's invention of the 'uncivilized and inferior' African was an ideological construct necessary to obfuscate African ingenuity and technical competence; remove the connection of

⁶ www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions

⁷ www.britishmuseum.org

Black people with Egypt so as to promulgate the ‘Aryan Model’ of Greek civilization; and to justify centuries of enslavement of Black people. Hollywood films such as the *Ten Commandments* (1956) and *The Bible* (1966) erase Black people from Egypt’s ruling class and present them as slaves, and, *Tarzan* (1932) and *Stanley and Livingstone* (1939) portrays Africans as wild, barbaric, and in need of the guidance of Europeans.

Such raced representations in the media, its effect on people of African descent, and its universal acceptance are interrogated by CRT as applied to educational research. Calmore (1992) provides a definition of CRT:

As a form of oppositional scholarship, critical race theory challenges the universality of white experience/judgement as the authoritative standard that binds people of color and normatively measures, directs, controls, and regulates the terms of proper thought, expression, presentation, and behaviour. As represented by legal scholars, critical race theory challenges the dominant discourses on race and racism as relates to law... As critical race scholars, we thus seek to demonstrate that our experiences as people of color are legitimate, appropriate, and effective bases for analyzing the legal system and racial subordination... (Tate 1997: 197).

Using this analytic system, Tate suggests that these films create belief systems as well as engender specific behaviours of discrimination on the part of White people in relation to Blacks, and, acceptance of notions of White superiority on the part of Whites, and Blacks toward Whites. Presentation and acceptance of knowledge that counters false representations of African people and societies are usually rejected by conservative Western scholarship, and give truth to Durkheim’s statement with respect to the role of theory in scholarly thought and society.

It is not at all true that concepts, even when constructed according to rules of science, get their authority uniquely from their objective value. It is not enough that they be true to get believed. If they are not in harmony with other beliefs and opinions, or, in a word, with a mass of other collective representations (the concepts taken for granted by most people in a given time and place), they will be denied; minds will be closed to them; consequently it will be as though they do not exist. (Tate 1997:198)

It is therefore not surprising that myths about the inferiority of Black people persist even in twenty first century generations of young Jamaicans; a mindset that is being challenged on a daily basis among youth in the age group 7-17 in my work at Liberty Hall.

I continue the analysis by highlighting the racist narratives of pre-colonial encounters between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans to demonstrate that Western history has been falsified and suggest different epistemologies from the perspectives of enlightened scholarship. I undertake this analysis to contrast the difference in 'stories - his and others - and inevitably to show that if Black youth were taught their history from a non-Western perspective, it may empower them to think differently and critically (Freire [1974] 2008) about their capabilities and future prospects; a task that could be successfully undertaken by museums.

3.1 His-Story -VS- An-Other-Story

It seems that there is still an ongoing debate among anthropologists regarding theories of the evolution of man. Two theories are contested: (1) Out of Africa, which purports that modern Homo sapiens evolved out of Africa and spread into Europe and Asia bringing with them evolutionary advantages that allowed them to outlive all other hominid groups; and, (2) Multi-regional, wherein modern Homo sapiens evolved from other hominid groups such as Homo erectus and Neanderthal, in Europe and Asia.

Following on the work of Dr. Luis Leakey, African heritage scholars have located the birthplace of humanity in Africa (Walker 2006: 130-146) (Diop 1991). The oldest known skeletal remains of human life were excavated at four sites in Africa: Omo in Ethiopia where the bones of a woman dated 195,000 years old were found and are currently displayed in Ethiopia's National

Museum; Laetoli in Tanzania, and, Klasies River Mouth and Border Cave in South Africa, dated between 130,000 and 110,000 years old respectively (Walker 2006: 131).

Humans spread throughout Africa and to the four corners of the world (Davidson 1992: 7-13), changing to meet environmental conditions while creating distinctly different civilizations and cultures over time. This information is accepted as historical fact particularly as the bones have been scientifically tested, carbon dated, catalogued, and reported on in various scientific and anthropological journals and in the media. What remains obscured is the story that Africans moved with socio/cultural/economic/political/technological systems that contributed to the civilizing processes of the regions of their contact, including Europe.

Walker indicates that Europeans, referred to as Caucasian people, originated 20,000 years ago as descendants of Africans who migrated to the continent 39,000 years ago. The Africans were referred to as Grimaldis or Cro-Magnons in the literature and are described by Legrand Clegg as follows:

One can state without exaggeration that the Grimaldis brought “civilization” such as it was, from prehistoric Africa to prehistoric Europe. Their invention of sculpting and their general contribution to the field of art were universally recognized by scientists until the modern Grimaldi “blackout”, which occurred because of the need of some Western authorities to deny “the area over which [N]egroids were scattered on the face of the globe.” In addition to their invention of pendants, stone implements, certain styles of dress, an advanced symbol system, and perhaps even musical instruments, the Grimaldis were undoubtedly the first homo sapiens to bury their dead and they may have introduced to the world the use of the bow (Walker 2006: 134).

This ‘blackout’, referred to by Clegg, went hand in hand with 18th century anthropological descriptions of non-white peoples as natural as distinguished from the intellectual, technical European. Corruption of the terms nature and natural from their meanings of: phenomena of the physical world collectively, including plants, animals and the landscape; and, existing in or derived from nature (Pearsall 1999: 950); to introduction of the concept of ‘nature’ as pre-

cultural, primitive, uncultivated and uncivilized in humankind laid the foundations for European racism.

Europeans were not strangers to intra-European racism. Cheikh Anta Diop (1991) cites that racism existed between Rome and Carthage; and between the Franks and Gallo-Romans wherein the nobles were descendants of the Frankish conquerors, and the commoners, descendants of the conquered Gauls and Romans. The Franks believed that the so-called commoners belonged to the brachycephalic Alpine races who were stereotyped as submissive, born to be dominated, a degenerate race, physically and intellectually inferior.

On the other hand, the nobles, descendants of the Franks and the Germans, belong to a superior race called *Europaeus* or *Nordic European*, who are born to command and dominate. They were physically big, dolichocephalic, blond with blue eyes (Diop 1991: 127). Anta Diop cites A. Rosenberg who stated that the French Revolution was only a revolt of the brachycephalics of the Alpine race against the dolichocephalics of the Nordic race, and Bolshevism was nothing but an insurrection of Mongoloids (Diop 1991: 128).

Sylvia Wynter undertakes extensive analysis of the European concept of 'man' in order to arrive at the underpinnings of European racism (2002). She indicates that the feudal-Christian order of 15th century Europe was essentially millenarian and its geographical homogeneity created the material conditions under which the theocentric conception of the human –as Christian- could be devised. That is God, the caring father, created the 'over here' (Spain) in God's grace. Columbus' contemplation of lands outside of Europe's hegemony meant that the 'over there' (The Americas, Africa, Asia) was outside of God's grace. This led to binaries such as habitable/inhabitable, civilized/uncivilized, human/inhuman, soul/soulless, and man/nature that determined the fate of non-White, non-Christian peoples all over the world (Scott 2000).

European Imperialism, slavery, colonialism are all part of the development of the capitalist mode of production and in turn part of the development of the concepts of man and 'other'. Man became synonymous with European, Christian, civilized, intellectually developed, while the 'other' synonymous with non-European, non-human, soulless, uncivilized, infantile, and other such pejorative descriptions.

...it is the bioeconomic conception of the human that we inscript and institute by means of our present disciplines and their epistemic order that determines the hegemony of the economic system over the social and political systems – even more, that mandates the capitalist mode of production as the everyday expression of that hegemony (Scott 2000: 160).

Western education has its roots in the 16th century European 'invention of man' and his alterative 'other', the native (Foucault 1970). History books therefore, rarely include 'accurate' accounts of civilizations that existed in Africa, The Caribbean, and The Americas, before Europeans arrive in them at the dawn of the sixteenth century. Nor do they include much on the levels of civilization that existed in, and propelled Europeans out of Europe.

Instead, the his-story begins at the end, from the perspective of European triumph in conquest of three continents and a plethora of islands; decimation of many nations of indigenous peoples; and the concomitant unlawful appropriation of resources for European development ad infinitum. A perfect example of the continuing practice is France's Colonial Pact that lays claim to the yet to be discovered natural resources of its former African colonies⁸

3.1.1 European/African Encounter

While the meetings and mixing of the peoples of Africa, The Caribbean, The Americas, and Europe, different branches of the same tree, was fateful, Western education suggests that it could

⁸ www.nairaland.com/nigeria/topic-819014.0html, www.africaresource.com/.../cote-divoire

not have taken place outside of European sanctioning and control. However, enlightened scholarship informs us of the fact that Africans and Europeans recognized and entertained each others' ambassadors, traded manufactured and agricultural goods, ivory, woods and other commodities (Davidson 1992: 76) many centuries before institution of the trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved Africans in the 16th century. Further, that Europeans came to the shores of Africa as scholars in search of knowledge in the universities and libraries of Egypt. Dr. Martin Bernal goes to great academic lengths to prove that Egypt laid the civilizing foundations of Greece and argues that '*racism and continental chauvinism*' of the 1840's conspired to re-write this history (Bernal 1987: 2).

Corroborating this point, James informs us of the existence of the ancient libraries of Alexandria in Egypt that were established from as early as the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. Instruction covered subjects that included the applied sciences such as sculpture, painting, drawing, architecture, engineering; the social sciences appropriate for trade and commerce, such as geography, economics and shipbuilding, the pure sciences of physics and mathematics, and the therapeutic use of the Seven Liberal Arts, for the cure of man's soul. Students were sworn to secrecy and forbidden to write or publish the teachings of what Egyptians referred to as the Mystery System or the Schools of Philosophy (James 1989: 131-139).

From the 6th century B.C. through to the death of Aristotle in 322 B.C. the Greeks were permitted into Egypt to learn all they could from Egyptian priests (Volney 1890). Later, they entered Egypt through the Persian invasion and the invasion of Alexander the Great, and following the latter, the Royal Temples and Libraries were plundered and pillaged, and the building was occupied and made into a research centre.

Aristotle, who is said to have never entered Egypt, but was the tutor to Alexander's children, mysteriously acquired an immense number of scientific books and in turn is attributed to have authored over one thousand volumes in his lifetime. The doctrines of Aristotle are classified as follows: Metaphysics or the Principles of Being in the metaphysical realm; Principles of Being in the physical realm; Doctrines concerning the existence of God; The doctrine concerning Nature; The doctrine concerning the Universe; and The doctrine of the soul (James 1989: 174).

Aristotle's school of thought, known as the Peripatetic school, is accredited with the compilation of the History of Greek Philosophy. His production of metaphysics was followed by publications of his students Theophrastus and Eudemus wherein the former produced eighteen books on the doctrines of the physicists while the latter produced histories of Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Theology. The source of these scientific works evoked suspicion among the Greeks because of the alien nature of the ideas and the large volume of which was suddenly produced.

When scholars interrogate the material attributed to Aristotle much similarity is found to the knowledge promulgated in the Egyptian Mystery System which preceded him by several thousand years. When the fates of Greek philosophers are examined we find that they were victims of relentless persecution at the hands of the Athenian government which regarded their writings as foreign. Pythagoras was expelled from Croton in Italy; Anaxagoras was imprisoned and exiled; Socrates was executed; Plato fled to Megara to the rescue of Euclid; and Aristotle was indicted and exiled. After Aristotle's death in 322 B.C. Greek philosophy also died as the students did not possess the natural ability or the spiritual and intellectual foundation to advance these ideas (James 1989: 164).

Following the lead of Alexander the Great, the Roman Emperors Theodosius in the 4th century A.D. and Justinian in the 6th century A.D. abolished the Temples and schools of Philosophy in Egypt and in essence destroyed the African Mystery System that offered so much to the world.

Behind the conjecture that the heritage of Europe is owed to that of the Greeks is the hidden fact that the Greeks owe their wealth of knowledge, philosophy, and cosmology to the black civilization of Pharaonic Egypt (Diop 1991: 313) which in turn suggests that Europe owes its civilization to Africa. Rather than teach of the African origin of the peoples of the world and particularly of Egypt, European scholars, in schools, in museums, and in the media conspired to represent ancient Egypt as being outside of the continent of Africa and its people as European or Asian.

Walker identifies a range of Islamic and early 20th century European scholars and adventurers who attest to the existence of other great African civilizations (2006: 64-66). The African nations of Sudan (Kush), Ethiopia, Mali, Songhai, Ghana, Benin, Congo, Zimbabwe, all flourished with governing institutions and administrations, well laid out cities, organized agricultural systems, established religions, trading stations and trade relations, currencies of exchange, manufactures of cloth, objects of iron and bronze, pottery, furniture and more; all before the coming of the Europeans as conquerors and enslavers.

History books and museums usually truncate their recording and representation of Europe's Dark Ages from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries, which suggests that its documented barbarity to their own could be a cause célèbre for European shame. European Christendom played a major role in the wielding of political power and routinely sentenced men and women who dared to think scientifically or outside of the realms of the churches' perceptions, to church sanctioned burnings, crucifixions, gibbeting, and a plethora of inventive forms of human torture.

Historian Joseph McCabe wrote:

None of our modern sophistry redeems the squalor of Europe from the fifth to the eleventh century ... By the year 1,000 Europe was reduced to a condition which, if we were not Europeans, we should frankly call barbarism, yet at that time the Arabs had a splendid civilization in Spain, Sicily, Egypt and Persia...(Walker 2006: 398).

3.1.2 Arab/African/European Encounter

While Europe endured its Dark Ages, the rest of the world continued its development. The great kingdoms of West Africa: Mali, Songhai, Ghana; North East Africa: Egypt, Sudan; Central Africa: Ethiopia, The Congo; and Zimbabwe in South Africa flourished in trade, agriculture, manufacturing, architecture, education and culture.

The Arab invasion of North Africa began in Egypt in 639, and by 710, North Africans who converted to Islam (the Moors), along with Arabs, took control of Spain from the Visigoths (Germans), and ruled until the end of the Thirteenth century.

The Muslim city of Cordova in Spain was much like a modern city by at least 950 AD. It boasted paved streets drained by sewers, raised pavements and street lamps. This wonderful city had a population of at least one million, housed in 200,000 properties and 60,000 mansions and palaces. Of two storeys, the grander homes boasted latrines and running water. Fine gardens surrounded the larger buildings. There were 900 public baths and many private baths, not to mention 800 public schools and many colleges (Walker 2006: 398-399).

Arab/African alliances controlled large areas of Southern Europe where African immigration changed the history and complexion of Europeans in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In response, Spain mounted an unabated crusade against the Moors, called the Reconquest, which was fuelled first by racism; second, by a legitimate anti-imperialist struggle to regain sovereignty; and third, by religious racism against Arab-dominated Islam in which the nobles played a great part

(Wynter 1984). Walker quotes an English writer, writing on the period of Spanish occupation, who poses the central question of why were the Moors so hated?

Why did the Spaniards, when with the passage of centuries they had learnt all that the Moors could teach them, strive with an ever-increasing animosity to drive them out: first from Toledo; then, after a long interval, from Cordova and Seville; finally, after two more centuries of struggle, from their last fort, Granada? It was inevitable. It was instinctive. The Moors were a coloured race, and their occupation of a European country was an insult. They were heathens [i.e. non-Christians], and to suffer them was an offence before God. They were invaders, and they had no right to be in Spain. They occupied a valuable strip of seaboard, and might assist a further invasion from Africa. They were an obstacle to national unity and hampered participation in the affairs of Europe. They were an irritating anachronism. They were a thorn in the flesh (Walker 2006: 68).

It was a progressive but unabated trend that moved intra-European racism outward, using skin colour as the signifier of degeneration and Christianity as the litmus test of existence of a soul and of a people's value. All non-white people therefore, who were without the redemptive power of Christianity were doomed to slavery and annexation.

Starting in 1236 the Christians in Spain began to seize back their territory with the last onslaught being won in Granada in 1492 by the crusade of Ferdinand and Isabella. Approximately Three Million Moors were banished by King Phillip III to North and West Africa, as well as other countries in Europe where they were absorbed (Walker 2006:419). As a result Spain once again was plunged into darkness as much of what the Moors had brought – irrigated agriculture, public libraries and schools, public baths, science and other disciplines, were all destroyed in the face of the Inquisition. Professor Maulana Karenga wrote:

[I]t's interesting to note that after all the commentaries on and claims about the tragedy that would descend on Africans if and when Europeans left Africa, it was a major European state, Spain, that deteriorated after Africans left. Such is the irony and severe instruction of history (Walker 2006: 420).

3.1.3 Native American/African Encounter

Amerindians encountered Africans in the Americas from as early as 800 to 700 BC (VanSertima 1976) aided by what has been referred to as the terminal points of Africa-to-America currents or sea roads (deQuatrefagas 1905: 200). Shipwrecked African mariners intermarried with native American peoples and created communities where today their likeness features in sculptures such as the Olmec heads in Mexico, representations of the Aztec god Texcatlipoca, and the Mayan god of travelling merchants Ed-chu-ah (VanSertima 1976: 24-33).

Peoples such as the Garifuna of Central America, the Charros of Brazil, and the Jamissi of Florida, all represent a biological syncretism of African and Amerindian people as well as the creation of 'African New World' communities before the arrival of Columbus (VanSertima 1976: 23). European his-story, refutes pre-Columbian encounters as unproven and unlikely, and created the narrative that the meeting between Native Americans and Africans was as a result of the Trans-Atlantic Trade in enslaved Africans.

3.1.4 Native Americans/Africans/Europeans Meeting

From the 16th – 21st centuries the islands of the Caribbean and the continent of America became the site of the greatest crossroads ever experienced. Moorish navigational technology contributed to the arrival of Columbus and his conquering army in Jamaica. To conquer meant that the power relations between Europeans and Native Americans would be loosely encapsulated by the concepts of genocide, slavery, colonialism, and independence. According to Sylvia Wynter the re-encounter of the three correlated genres of being human in the islands and mainland of the Caribbean set the stage for negotiations of the terms on whose bases they were to coexist (2002: 1-13). Europe's history from the 16th century, in relation to the Tainos and the

Africans was incommensurable, in that Europe entered the negotiations with military might – the gun - unprecedented in the cultures of the ‘others’, and as a result established themselves as their rulers.

In the 15th century, Papal Bulls issued by the Pope divided the world between Spain and Portugal, and gave both nations the right of subjugation and exploitation of native peoples, and expropriation of the wealth and resources of new lands in the name of Christianity for the benefit of the development of Spain and Portugal. Wynter’s research reveals that a Spanish document dated 1512-13 and titled the Requisition, established the ‘grounds of legitimacy for the state’s expropriation of the lands, and sovereignty of the peoples of the indigenous cultural worlds of the Caribbean and the Americas’ (Wynter 1995: 19).

In other words, it laid the foundation for the exploitation of foreign lands and peoples within the context of the 16th century understanding of Judeo-Christian culture. The document, which outlined the Church’s conception of history, declared that any resistance by the indigenous people to the Christianising force of the Spaniards would deem them to be ‘enemies of Christ’ and therefore justified their capture and enslavement, according to the rules laid down by the Church.

The function of the juridical document was therefore to draw the “culturally alien” people of the Caribbean and the Americas within the classificatory logic of the Judaeo-Christian “local culture” theology, and yet to do so in specifically monarchical-juridical terms that could make their subjugation and expropriation by the Spanish state seem “real” and “normal” (Wynter 1995: 19).

The Cenù Indian’s response to the Papal Bull of 1492 is as follows:

About the Pope being the Lord of all the universe in the place of God, and that he had given the lands of the Indies to the King of Castile, the Pope must have been drunk when he did it, for he gave what was not his... The King who asked for and received this gift must have been some madman for he asked to have given to him that which belonged to others (Wynter 1995: 18).

In the late 17th and 18th centuries Europe's intellectual movement, ambitiously called the 'enlightenment', 'emphasized [ing] reason and individualism rather than tradition' (Pearsall 1999: 473) as the *modus operandi* for its development. Such a philosophy empowered individual Europeans to seek their wealth, fortune, and glory for the nation state through the conquest, subjugation, and exploitation of the human, natural and technological resources of non-white peoples across continents. By becoming soldiers and slave ship seamen ordinary uneducated European men escaped rigid hierarchical societies which were inherently exploitative of its peasantry and working classes (Thompson 1963).

In the case of England, peasants lived in diseased domestic squalor as over taxed manumitted serfs, underpaid artisans, vagrants, or exploited apprentices. In the conquest of 'new' worlds and in the role of enslavers they carried with them a Christianity that was froth with self-righteousness and intolerance, as well as ultra conservative views of women as lesser beings. Their efforts abroad as England's imperial force, slave traders, workers on board floating slave factories, as well as importers of African wood and ivory, contributed to the rapid development of England's social, physical, and industrial infrastructure (Inikori 2002).

3.2 Conclusion

For Native American, Caribbean, and African peoples and nations, Europe's so-called enlightenment heralded their holocaust that exterminated and enslaved millions of lives over five centuries. European imperialism resulted in complete annexation of Native American, Caribbean, and African lands; the extinction of some native American populations; the underdevelopment of Africa (Rodney 1972); large scale amnesia on the part of African heritage peoples with regard to their history and culture; and relegation of dark skinned humanity to the dung heap of civilization.

Bartolome de Las Casas conservatively numbered the Taino population in Jamaica around 1509 as 60,000 (Hart 1985: 1). A century later in 1611 the Abbot of Jamaica, within the confines of the landscape controlled by the Spanish, determined that there were 74 Tainos left [Ibid]. Five Thousand years of Taino civilization had been, in one century, reduced to myth by disease, genocide, and brutality occasioned by European invasion, occupation, and exploitation.

Since the 1600's Jamaica's majority population is of African descent. The governor in 1690, reporting on the Sutton Plantation rebellion located in the mountains in the middle of the Island, noted that 'there are but six or seven whites in that plantation to five hundred Negroes, and that is the usual proportion in the island, which cannot but be a great danger...' (Hart 1985: 18). It follows then that the only feasible way to contain that danger was through extreme violence, disregard for life, morality, and the complete devaluing of Black humanity.

CHAPTER 4

Setting the Colonial Stage

4.0 Introduction

In order to explore the notion of Black self identity in Jamaica in the twenty first century, it is important to have knowledge of the institution of slavery, the struggles for emancipation, and the colonial and post colonial governments which have manipulated and shaped concepts of identity for over five hundred years. The economic systems of capitalism and slavery, the role of race and racism; and the manner in which education was introduced to the masses all impacted on the creation of Black self identity. The process of creolization is also an important variable to look at in the identity equation as a prelude to examination of the importance of 'shadism' in the nation, which will be analyzed in chapter 5. This chapter explores these variables in order to arrive at an understanding of Blackness.

4.1 Capitalism and Slavery

The economic system of slavery in the Americas emerged out of European internationalization of trade through their control of the world's waterways with their superior ships and cannons. Portugal lead this activity starting with their capture of the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast of North Africa in 1415 (Davidson 1992) (Rodney 1972). Rodney points out that European control of world trade included East African ivory marketed in India; and exports of Indian cloth and beads, Dutch linen, Spanish iron, English pewter, Portuguese wines, French brandy, Venetian glass beads, and German muskets to East and West Africa, to exchange for enslaved Africans. With the conquest of the Americas, Europe's insatiable demand for gold coin

in their growing capitalist economies, and their growing need for an unlimited supply of labour and technical tropical expertise, ensured that Africa specialised in exporting captives (Ibid).

Europe's already small population made enslavement of their poor and incarcerated population in the 'new' world, as was the norm in most European countries (serfdom) unsustainable. It would have been difficult to maintain white enslavement in a situation where the number of whites was miniscule in relation to the native peoples upon whom war was being waged, and where the argument for enslavement was in part justified on the basis of the absence of Christianity.

Sylvia Wynter's research on Bartolomé Las Casas, whose conversion from encomendero⁹ to Indian abolitionist, indicates that in the near final hour of native American annihilation in the islands Columbus named West Indies, he argued to the Spanish King (in 1515), and upon the King's death to two co-regents (1516), that Native West Indians were being abused possibly to their extinction and proposed remedies that included their conversion to free labour and to Christianity. He argued that souls that could be converted to Christianity ultimately made them unfit to be enslaved (Wynter 1984: 46-55). He advised that the Crown should turn to Africa's peoples for the labour required to recompense the settlers for their Indian labour supply and encourage Spain's peasants to migrate.

The Portuguese and Spaniards, of which the latter's history had been of invasion and occupation by Islamic Africans for eight centuries, were aware of African knowledge of navigational tools, tropical agricultural practices, mining, and labouring under tropical conditions. The obvious identifiable difference of Africans rendered them the logical choice for the great labour demand

⁹ Owner of an allotted number of Tainos (Arawaks) incorporated as a labour force under traditional Spanish system of *encomiando*.

of their mines, encomiendas and plantations. Europeans planned and executed the most atrocious and devastating wars on Africans on a scale until then unimagined.

To fuel the insatiable demand of Europeans, Africans were hired to capture and transport Africans, from locations where, it is said, whites could not survive. However, the seeming fatalism of opposition to the Middle Passage and enslavement, by free and enslaved Africans did not prevent wars of resistance (Hart 1985; Bailey 2005). According to Chinweizu the term 'slave trade' is a euphemistic Eurocentric misnaming of the war, the killing, and destruction that Africa and Africans suffered for four centuries. He writes:

Contrary to the conventional portrayal, this was not a system of slavery and slave trading accompanied by violence; it was rather a system of grand violence to produce Black chattel slaves who would produce other commodities for the profit of Europeans. It was a great war making system for profit; it operated in far-flung theatres; it killed or carried off into captivity well over 100 million Blacks; and though the yield from the farms, factories, forests and mines of the system were enormous, and though the profits from these were the ultimate interest of its masterminds, *its principal products were actually death and wholesale destruction* [author's emphasis] (Chinweizu 2010: 14-15).

Racism became a justification for the inhuman conditions Africans were subjected to in slave forts after they were hunted down and captured in brutal unprovoked wars; before transportation through the unspeakable 'middle passage'¹⁰. Racism fuelled the torture and terror inflicted on Africans once in the Americas to 'break' them into slaves, to 'season' or accustom them to the unimaginable inhuman conditions of work, and the degradation to which they and their offspring were to be subjected to for four centuries.

Racism purported a theory of the inferiority of Black humanity, the mythicizing of Africa as the 'dark continent' (Armstrong 2006), and constructed a European selfhood based on the natural

¹⁰ The transatlantic trade in Africans or the 'triangular trade' that describes the starting port in Europe, collection of Africans in Africa, transporting them to the Americas, and returning to Europe to settle with investors and outfit ships.

supremacy of whites. Racism then, is a social and power construct made to serve the needs of a European bourgeoisie for a large exploitable labour force, and, was embraced by every European nation that became involved in the exploitation of people who look different, in terms of skin tone.

When the institution of slavery came to an end and where labour is ‘free’ to negotiate the terms of its employment, capitalism does not cease to require this cadre of worker, it simply changes the terms of its engagement; and, those who were the victims of racist ideology continue to accede to its precepts centuries after slavery ended (Williams 1970). The effects of capitalism forever changed the culture and economic relations of the Native American and the African, for example, but it has not succeeded in forever influencing their worldview. If it was once believed, or people were cajoled into thinking that white skin is the key to white supremacy, they now know that superior weaponry, ownership of and access to natural and financial resources are the keys to white supremacy (Ibid).

With that said, no non-white race has been able to extricate itself from the ‘caste’ like position whites have created in relationship to themselves. That is, white people in the twenty-first century continue to lay claim to the natural resources of Africa, remain in a position of dominance and superiority, and non-whites, too often as I argue in this thesis, seem to behave in an accommodating manner.

4.2 Creating Identity through Race and Racism

Race has been used to remarkable effect as a dividing line between people and has amplified intergroup tensions when preferences and privileges are accorded based on race, and, when individual choice, particularly in procreation is made based on race or ‘shade’ of colour.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines race as:

Each of the major divisions of humankind with distinct physical characteristics; an ethnic group; a group of people descended from a common ancestor; a group of people or things with a common feature... (1999: 1178).

Oxford goes on to include a highlighted note titled *usage* [of the term race] in which the Editor explains that the negative associations of race with 19th century theories and ideologies has rendered the term problematic, therefore, race in contemporary usage is often substituted by less emotionally charged words like *people* or *community* (Ibid.).

Racism is defined by Oxford as:

...the belief that there are characteristics, abilities, or qualities specific to each race; and discrimination against or antagonism towards other races (1999: 1179).

Racism refers to a philosophy of racial antipathy held by one group against another. What constitute the group may be ethnocentrism that are not necessarily racially determined, but result in binding individuals together to create a 'we' as against the 'others'. The ideology of racism, honed by social Darwinist conceptions of race (Mills 1997: 60, 113), spins on the theory that human abilities are determined by race; and as explained earlier, is particularly useful in a capitalist economic system that requires access to a permanent underclass that is available for exploitation and discrimination to accumulate. From the end of the 15th to 19th centuries, Europe devastated Africa's industry, trade, housing infrastructure; looted its treasuries, and sentenced its peoples to centuries of enslavement at home and on foreign shores, and through the sale of and the created demand for guns, enmeshed the continent in a spiral of mounting violence that persists into the twenty first century (Davidson 1992: 185-223).

Banton contends that racial characteristics or differences are employed as signs that subscribe social relationships that differ from place to place. For example, up to the 1960's Black people in America's Southern states, no matter the hue of their skin, are made to assume a position of inferiority towards whites and to know and accept their place within the social order (Banton

1967). Enforced by institutionalization of Jim Crow Laws (apartheid conditions) Black parents instilled in their children the need to display deference toward white people of any age. The outcome of this training is aptly described by an African American writer, writing in the early 20th century:

When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary (Woodson 2005: xiii).

Skin colour was an obvious sign of one's race; but the texture of hair, size of nose, and the shape and thickness of lips no matter how fair the complexion were also determinants. In the Dominican Republic, for example, official and unofficial policies of the state shape the views of individuals with respect to their identity:

...while skin color and any African heritage are the phenotypical symbol of genealogical and ideological codes for determining racial identity in the United States, for Dominicans the phenotypical symbol is hair, and the ideological code is *anti-Haitianism* (Candelario 2007: 7) [my emphasis].

Successive governments in the Dominican Republic went to great lengths to de-race Blacks from their history in order to present itself as Indian or Mestizos who bonded with the Spaniards. Blackness in their ideological construct was synonymous with Haiti which was synonymous with savagery and poverty (Candelario 2007).

4.2.1 Race and Racism in 17th Century Jamaica

From the end of the fifteenth century when the 'New World' became an integral part of the process of Europe's economic development, racist ideologies were proffered as justification for the racial character of the labour regime. Decimation of the Native American population and, by the eighteenth century, institutionalisation of the mono-crop plantation system led to the

importation of Africans who Europeans called 'Negro' or black, terms which fast became synonymous with 'slave'.

The general pattern of legal British trading (1655-1807) indicates that Africans were taken from a variety of regions stretching from the Senegambia to Angola, and from the Mozambique coast in East Africa where the main groups of the enslaved were the Fanti and Ashanti, Mandingos, Hausas, Fulani, Igbos, Yurobas, Dahomeans, Congos and Angolans. Patterson's research shows that between 1764 and 1788 brokerage firms supplied enslaved Africans in Jamaica from the following regions: Gambia, Windward Coast, Gold Coast (Ghana), Slave Coast (Whydah), Niger Delta (Benin, Bonny, Calabars), Gaboon, and Angola (Patterson 1973).

Historians have indicated that for people of African origin, there was no 'African' in the sense of continental identity among people or a racial self-conception, rather there were ethnic differences, identified according to lineage and language (Patterson 1973; Hart 1985; Rodney 2000). Patterson's research reveals that for the years 1794, 1803, and 1813 the regional and tribal origins of enslaved people advertised by the Jamaican work-houses were as follows: Congos, Mungolas (Benguela), Angolans, Ibos, Moccos (Ibibios), Chambas, Coromantees (Gold Coast), Nagos (Yorubas), Papaws (Slave Coast), and Mundingos: Senegambia & Windward Coast (Patterson 1973: 113-144). Since the 1600's Jamaica's majority population was decidedly of African descent.

The hierarchy of labour on slave plantations in Jamaica is described as follows:

- (1) The Whites – The law required that for the first ten Negroes on any estate there should be two white persons and that for every ten Negroes hereafter there should be

one white man: owner/manager or overseer (manager of the estate in the absence of the owner); attorney (acted as agent for the owner); book-keepers.

- (2) The Slaves – Domestics (often twenty to thirty in one household: butler; coachman, postilion; helper; cook; assistant cook; footmen or waiting-men; key or store-keeper; waiting-maid; house cleaners; washer-women; seamstresses; child's nurse and her assistant); skilled workers (boiler men, carpenters, smiths, coopers, masons, doctors and nurses); field Negroes (large estates usually had four gangs each with its own driver and cook: the great and second gangs consisted of the strongest men and women; the third gang consisted of slaves who were weakly or elderly or pregnant; and the fourth gang consisted of young children between the ages of four or five and nine or ten employed in minor tasks such as collecting food for the hogs, weeding and the like) (Patterson 1973: 56-59).

The commonly held view that 'house' slaves 'formed a kind of slave aristocracy opposed to the field Negroes who, it is claimed, envied the lot of the former', is refuted by Patterson as erroneous. He cites Stevens whose research indicates that although the gruelling work day was roughly fifteen hours from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., field slaves were far less exposed to the personal caprice and ill-temper of the master and therefore preferred not to work in the great house. Further, it was a fact that white women, although scarce on plantations, tended to be more sadistic than their male counterparts and established a reign of tyranny over the household staff particularly where the mulattoes working in the house were the progeny of the slave master (Patterson 1973: 57). Resistance on the part of enslaved men and women took forms of passive, which included refusal to work, general inefficiency and deliberate laziness, satire, running away, and suicide; and violent resistance by an individual including abortion, and through the collective in wars and rebellion (Patterson 1973: 261-283)

Lady Nugent's Diary of her years in Jamaica (1801-1805) records that the dominant theme of gossip among Creole women (persons who either lived most of their lives or were born in Jamaica – to be elaborated on later in the chapter) was the 'relationship of the gentlemen, their Creole husbands, brothers, sons, and fathers, with the brown and black ladies' (Cundall: 7). Nugent's use of the term 'relationship' suggests that the associations were not viewed as trivial, compared to revelations in Thomas Thistlewood's diary that he engaged in 3,852 acts of sexual

intercourse with 138 women in his thirty-seven years in Jamaica (Burnard 2004). The reality of sexual encounters on slave plantations, however, is put in perspective by Patterson:

The sexual exploitation of female slaves by white men was the most disgraceful and iniquitous aspect of Jamaican slave society. Rape and seduction of infant slaves; the ravishing of the common law wives of the male slaves under threat of punishment, and outright sadism often involving the most heinous forms of sexual torture were the order of the day. It was common practice for a white man visiting a plantation to be offered a slave girl for the night. Moreton tells us that many of the white employees on the estate had a rotation system whereby they seduced every desirable female on the plantation over and over again. He also informs us of the practice of many of the attorneys who made a grand annual tour of the estates under their supervision with a large retinue of friends remaining at each estate for a number of days during which there were indescribable scenes of debauchery, the female slaves being primed in advance of their coming (Patterson 1973: 42).

Miscegenation was a product of the licentiousness of European soldiers and traders who managed the lucrative slave ports of Goree in Senegal; and Elmina and Cape Coast Castles in Ghana. Miscegenation continued to be fostered by ship's crews during the middle passage; by the planter and administrative classes in Jamaica; and by visiting Europeans to Jamaica. Liaisons between free Blacks, mulattoes, and whites of varying status also swelled the ranks of mulattoes. While less in occurrence, it is documented that some white women crossed the colour line for sexual encounters with Black men. Their mulatto offspring not only challenged patriarchy but created havoc and shame in the great house and usually led to castration or death for the Black men (Russell, Wilson et al. 1992).

Miscegenation served a number of interests on and off the plantations. First, it increased the numbers of enslaved that were favoured and higher priced in the slave markets. Such that, in some Southern states in the United States mulattoes were bred to satisfy a lucrative niche market, and "fancy girls" were auctioned at "quadroon balls"¹¹ held in New Orleans and Charleston (Russell, Wilson et al. 1992). Second, it created a group of persons of fair complexion who could be manipulated to serve the interests of the planter class by creating a division of labour

¹¹ Quadroon – a category of miscegenation where Mulatto + White = Quadroon.

based on skin colour; act as a buffer between Blacks and Whites during slavery, and, educated to take on the role of leaders in post slavery society. And third, it created an avenue of social and economic mobility for Black and Brown mistresses and their children.

Higman documents that before 1807 the slave population grew as follows: from 45,000 in 1700, to 328,000 by 1800, to a peak of 354,000 in 1808. By 1832 there were 312,876 slaves registered in Jamaica (Higman 1995: 61). In the period 1829-32, he calculates that 4,041 coloured (mixed race) slave children were born in Jamaica with at least 2,000 of them having white fathers; and in 1834 at least 23,000 slaves were coloured, with the largest concentration of them in urban areas of Jamaica – Lucea (56%), Savanna la Mar (50%), Montego Bay (46%), Spanish Town (41%), and Kingston (34%) (Higman 1995: 142).

In the absence of a total Jamaica census before 1844, estimates of the racial distribution in 1843 is outlined below (Smith 1996: 151)

Whites	1500	4.0%
Free Coloured	40,000	10.8
Free Black	5,000	1.3
Black slaves	311,070	83.9
Total	371,070	100.0

Table 4.1: Eisner's estimate of racial distribution in Jamaica by 1834

Higman's number count of 23,000 enslaved coloured persons added to Eisner's count of 40,000 free coloured persons closely equates to the latter's tabulation in 1844 of 68,500 coloured people in Jamaica.

While the French and Spanish colonies created a variety of categories of miscegenation, Higman points out that in Jamaica the British recognized only two gradations of colour between White and Black and four between Black and White (Higman 1995):

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Negro + White = Mulatto | 1. Mulatto + White = Quadroon |
| 2. Negro + Mulatto = Sambo | 2. Quadroon + White = Mustee |
| Negro + Sambo = Negro | 3. Mustee + White = Musteephino |
| | 4. Musteephine + White = White |

The term 'mulatto', the Spanish word for 'hybrid' was a derogatory aspersion cast at Black people, who were normally described by Europeans as having animal traits, and less than human.

The word 'mule' is similarly derived from the Spanish for "hybrid" and came to serve as a metaphor for a cross between the refined White plantation owner (thoroughbred horse) and the lowly, inferior Black slave (donkey) (Russell, Wilson et al. 1992: 7).

It is important to note that contemporary Black scholarship, particularly the work of Stuart Hall, has reclaimed the word hybrid 'through his idea of ethnic hybridity, his insistence that ethnicities were made through processes of social and cultural definition, and did not exist as natural essences (Rustin 2007: 41).

The above-stated meaning of mulatto is corroborated by the Oxford Dictionary which lists the origin of the word as 16th century from the Spanish *mulato* 'young mule or mulatto', formed irregularly from *mulo* 'mule' (1999: 935). The politics of the plantation system is played out in the genealogies of the slaves reconstructed by Higman who asserts that:

...the process of miscegenation followed rules known and obeyed by the whites as well as the slaves and that direct physical compulsion was perhaps unimportant relative to the psychosocial imperatives' (Higman 1995: 153).

He documents that it was very rare for a slave woman to bear children darker than herself and the chances of her doing so lessened as her colour approached whiteness. Quadroon and some mulatto women had all of their children by white men. This was reversed in the case of men where the lighter his colour the less likely he was to father children lighter than himself or even

of his own colour. Further, it was rare for a Black woman to bear Black children and then coloured ones; and some Black women passed from White men to mulattoes but the majority turned to Black men (Higman 1995: 139-156). The process of selective mating in order to 'bring up' or lighten the colour of the children characterises the desire of many Jamaicans decades after emancipation. The possibility of opportunities for lighter skinned children drove many Black women to consciously choose white men to father their children, risking denial by them of a mother/child relationship which would be politically infeasible if that child mated with a white or mulatto man.

Racism, fear, and violence were the binding agents that held the system of slavery together, formed and supported its administrative, social, and cultural institutions; and, determined all areas of interaction between Europeans and 'others'. The colony of Jamaica operated within these parameters and, as they did on the shores of Africa (Rodney 2000), Africans led wars against slavery, on a regular basis. Many enslaved people fled to other islands including Haiti where history records that on August 14, 1791, a once enslaved Jamaican, Boukman (a *oungan*, or priest), conducted the Vodou ceremony in the Caïman woods that led to Haiti's 1804 independence from France (Dayan 1998).

The Haitian Revolution was fundamental in the development of 'Blackness' and institutionalisation of nationhood across the Americas. Many Africans also fled to the mountainous regions of Jamaica as a form of rebellion, where they joined or created maroon societies that were successful alternatives to organized European colonial society (Knight 2000). Owing to the many different language and cultural groups among the Africans, and at times to their incorporation into remaining Taino populations, they undertook a process of 'creolization' where cultural and language differences were merged and accommodated (Landers 2000).

4.3 Asserting Black Self Identity through Wars of Resistance

In this section I shall argue, with reference to the Black scholarship outlined earlier, that emancipation in Jamaica in 1838 was the culmination of wars waged against slavery by enslaved Africans. The key argument to be reinforced here is that Africans were not passive victims but mounted active rebellion against oppression from the beginning of enslavement. A brief history of enslavement is offered here to progress this thesis.

The fight between Spain and England (1655-1660) for the island's possession proved the ideal condition for solidification of a Maroon force of once enslaved Africans who had joined with the native Tainos that were left, and established secure mountain communities unbreachable by the Spanish (Hart 1985). Hart notes how enslaved Africans accepted the proposal of Spain to be their allies against the British in exchange for their freedom, and swelled the ranks of Maroon communities. The British won Jamaica in 1660 and the Spanish retreated to Cuba where they lured Jamaican slaves with promises of freedom.

Newly arrived Africans endured the harsh dehumanising 'seasoning' process described earlier that took place in Jamaica immediately following their survival against the odds of the dreaded middle passage. Enslaved Africans took time to work out the geography of their surroundings, and found ways to deepen communication between them, and to overcome ethnic differences and hatreds, a process already begun in the belly of slave ships. From 1673 onward, wherever plantations were located in Jamaica, enslaved Africans, individually and in small groups, plotted and executed their escape. For their survival, they employed tactics of guerrilla warfare against the plantations to obtain tools, weapons, and to bolster their numbers; and established communities and provision grounds in the far recesses of the mountains.

Many died as a result of the relentless pursuit of them by the British, but many survived, changing tactics and making alliances. Rebellions after rebellions caused wide scale panic among Jamaica's whites. The reality of 'six or seven whites[...]to five hundred negroes[...]the usual proportion in the island' (Hart 1985: 18) made Maroon raiding parties bold and punishment meted out to those caught, inhuman – hanging, quartering, gibbeting, slow burning, and burial alive (Robotham 1987; Dalby 2000).

The possibility of Blacks using their numbers as a justification to kill whites on and near plantations was so real in the minds of whites that their approach to plantation management and security was the use of extreme forms of violence and dehumanisation for small offences¹² matched by bribery and small rewards for information. Even where Maroon communities joined forces with the whites to put down insurrections and capture insurgents; enslaved Africans, now creolised by the gang system of labour that began at age five and the complex economic and political relationships that held on plantations; continued to foment wars and escapes well into the 1800's (Hart 1985).

Following at least three recognized wars, many rebellions, and conspiracies well into the 1800's, the emancipation war of December 1831 was of greatest significance in that it sped up the date of the Emancipation Act. Sam Sharpe, a literate Black Jamaican Baptist Deacon, who followed newspaper articles reporting on the debates in Britain pertaining to emancipation in Jamaica; planned a sit-down strike on plantations in the Western parishes starting on December 28th 1831. Refusals to work as slaves swept through St. James, Hanover and Westmoreland, and armed responses led to over 100 plantations and settlements (Hart 1985: 293) burned to the ground and sixteen white colonists killed.

¹² See Hall, D. (1999). *In Miserable Slavery: Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica 1750-86*. Kingston, The University of the West Indies Press. Punishment of slaves caught eating sugar cane in the fields was to have another defecate in the mouth of the slave and then to apply a muzzle to prevent him from spitting it out.

When the war was ended in early January, British militia and volunteers had killed over 1,000 people, and after trials, 312 enslaved men and women were executed with Sam Sharpe being kept for the last (Hart 1985: 244-311). Major-General Commanding, Willoughby Cotton issued a warning to the Rebellious Slaves of 2nd of January 1832:

Negroes,

You have taken up arms against your masters, and have burnt and plundered their houses and buildings. Some *wicked persons* have told you that the King has made you free, and that your masters with-hold your freedom from you. In the name of the King I come amongst you to tell you that you are misled [my emphasis].

I bring with me numerous forces to punish the guilty, and all who are found with the rebels will be put to death without mercy. You cannot resist the King's troops; surrender yourselves and beg that your crime may be pardoned.

All who yield themselves up to any military post immediately, provided they are not principals and chiefs in the burnings that have been committed, will receive His Majesty's gracious pardon, all who hold out will meet certain deaths. (Hart 1985: 293)

Throughout the history of enslavement in Jamaica, the British set out to convince Africans of the inevitability of their position as slaves and the futility of their actions against the system. Persons who uttered or fomented rebellion were indicted as 'wicked' suggesting that the act was one against God. The corollary teaching was that all whites knew what was good and best for Africans and that the hierarchical positions occupied by both races were ordained by God.

4.4 From Abolition of Slavery to Crown Colony Rule

Under the reign of Queen Victoria, the Abolition of Slavery Act of 1833 was passed in the British Parliament. It contained a mandatory apprenticeship period in which the enslaved would work as wage labourers for their previous owners for seven years. The continued revolt against dehumanising treatment on plantations led to Jamaica's full emancipation event taking place on August 1st, 1838 two years before apprenticeship was to come to an end.

Sherlock and Bennett observe how the planter's benefited from a reward of Six Million, Six Hundred Sixteen Thousand, Nine Hundred and Twenty Seven Pounds (£6,616,927) by the British government for the loss of their slaves, while the emancipated people were given nothing – no tools and equipment, no allowances for housing or food, no concern about their medical conditions; nothing but a farewell (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 229-230).

There was no change in the position of white economic power except that labour had now to be negotiated and converted into a proletariat tied to the sugar estates (Johnson and Watson 1998) rather than be set free and left to develop their own national development strategies (Robotham 1987).

A wealth of critical theoretical literature has surveyed the way for centuries, in their defence of the institution of chattel slavery, Europeans have held to racist notions that people of African origin were savages, infantile, and required leadership and guidance by whites (Back and Solomos 2000). Livingstone offers a representative example of the literature of the day, when he described newly freed Black Jamaicans as 'the inheritor of nothing but ages of barbaric character; ... still raw, primitive man...' (Livingstone 1899: 32).

Workers who returned to the plantation for wage work were considered by white Jamaicans to be 'of the lower and less governable type' (Livingstone 1899: 37). This quotation is revealing for addressing the way power hierarchies work together with economics and the race theory of the time, discredited today. Friction was bound to occur between plantation owners and wage earners as the former were accustomed to demand and receive the maximum labour from workers without thought to time or condition; while new wage earners were not prepared to continue under slave like conditions without what they deemed to be adequate compensation.

At the same time whites decried the movement of people to the hills and away from the

plantations, grudging them their power over their labour, and promulgated the notion that they would revert to barbarism as a result of being away from the civilizing force of white people.

From an economic standpoint, Girvan argues that a racially biased labour regime and ideology in the Caribbean and the rest of the Empire, were necessary to actualise 'export led' economic growth for Europe, in which the resources both natural and human were violently pressed into service through the brutality of military incursions (Girvan 1987). Further, the hierarchical structure of slavery and its philosophical and pseudo-scientific underpinnings, made Blackness interchangeable with slave, savagery and cultural inferiority.

Livingstone, amongst other colonial writers (Long ; Knight 1742; Long 1774), is revealing particularly with respect to Jamaica, and I select his work as representative of the wider body for analysis here. The post-emancipation government was in the hands of the planter and administrative classes and their vengeance against their ex-slaves was a primary pursuit. The Legislature operated for its own class, ignored the interest of the greater island, provided no facilities for workers, few highways, and limited infrastructure. Public institutions were inefficient with corrupt administrators, and there was constant controversy with the Home Government, disagreements between the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, and dissension in all aspects of the public service (Livingstone 1899: 42-43).

The newly freed people who remained on or near to the plantations faced poor and irregular wages, deplorable working conditions, impermanent jobs, added to lack of proper housing, sanitation, education, unjust treatment, and conditions akin to slavery. Those who fled to the hills were doomed to eke out a meagre but independent living from provision grounds.

Taxation of all the necessities of life including bread, salt, clothes, donkeys, houses, and a plethora of unavoidable consumption or service items was also used as a weapon. Public flogging and imprisonment met those who were outspoken, stole food or fruit to feed hungry bellies, or who defied the law when repossession of property for those who were lucky to afford to purchase but could not pay or understand property tax, or evictions from squatted land were to take place (Livingstone 1899: 39-57).

Sherlock and Bennett note how the twenty seven year period between emancipation and the Morant Bay war was suffuse with pain and suffering (1998). White Jamaican planters continued to own substantial tracts of land, wield political and economic power as exporters and employers, and enjoyed the backing of government in their abuse of power directed at their labourers. The situation was compounded by floods in 1864 followed by drought.

Although Jamaicans conveyed their plight to their beloved Queen Victoria in signed petitions, it fell on a cold and unfeeling heart. The Queen's response entreated them to continue to work for wages 'not uncertainly or capriciously, but steadily and continuously' and to add 'prudence to industry, to lay by an ample provision for seasons of drought and dearth' (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 257). While a self-sustaining Black small-farming class was emerging in the hills of Jamaica, their sure footedness was undermined by the upper classes, as I shall now outline.

The pursuit of justice for Black Jamaicans was the reason behind the Morant Bay 'war' of 1866. A court case that pitted an alleged squatter against a white landowner escalated out of control when the people of Stony Gut, St. Thomas rallied to the squatter's cause led by Native Baptist Deacon Paul Bogle. Although the militia opened fire on unarmed Blacks first, for the retaliatory killing of 29 whites it is reputed that over 1,500 Black people were killed in the punitive exercise to put down the war although official statistics count much less (Sherlock and Bennett 1998).

Men and women were hanged, shot, and sentences to floggings were meted out to over 600 persons (100-500 lashes), while mass graves were dug to receive the dead. Over 1,000 houses of perceived and known insurgents were burned to the ground. According to amateur anthropologist, Livingstone:

...the episode is, in fact, one of the most shameful, one of the least excusable, in the whole range of our Colonial history. It was asserted that ruthless measures were necessary in order to check a general rising of the Negroes' (Livingstone 1899: 76).

The then Governor Eyre and his supporters declared:

Black insurrection could not be treated in the same way as a white one, because the negro in Jamaica [...] is *pestilential* [...] a *dangerous savage* at best (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 263) [my emphasis].

The shamelessness of the massacre of Black people was not lost on Britain who took over governance from the Legislative Council in 1866, making Jamaica a Crown Colony. Appointing British administrators from Britain served to infuse a supposedly objective impartial force for ameliorating the conditions of the poor and ignorant Black population while protecting and advancing the interests of the planter oligarchy (Bryan 1991).

This constitutional manoeuvre curtailed the freedom of the planter oligarchy to do what they wanted in Jamaica on the one hand, and on the other, quelled their fears that they were alone, a mere 2.29% in 1891 (Bryan 1998), among a sea of Black people who they determined to be barbarous and capable of slaughtering them at a moment's notice.

They welcomed the backing of the British Empire; seized the opportunity to reassert their own 'Britishness' (it was well known that British whites perceived their Jamaican white counterparts as 'creolised' and looked down on them); and revelled in the military show of might that occasioned their official attendance.

Ironically, an assertion of Britishness was deemed by the new governing structure to be the solution to the problem of governing Black people in Jamaica. After 1866 it was determined that instead of execution, the whip, and the rack, methods employed in the control of Black Jamaicans for centuries, a new approach would be taken. This new approach required that the 'civilizing' process, ostensible begun on the plantation, should be continued in newly established hillside communities occupied by Blacks.

No longer in the hands of the plantation system, the civilising process was taken on by government who formed an alliance with churches to manipulate the self identity of its majority Black population. Government facilitated penetration of the church into the cultural realm of Black people's lives (Moore and Johnson 2004); and promoted insertion of whites within hillside communities.

Government policy encouraged importation of white farmers from Scotland and Germany to occupy tracts of Jamaica's hillsides to, at the very least, provide the civilising radius to counter perceived African barbarism (Bryan 1998: 123-124). It was believed that the superior intellect of these newly arrived white settlers would result in their production of agricultural surpluses on increasingly greater amounts of land that would make it difficult for blacks to compete with them; resulting in their being driven back to the plantations.

Poor, illiterate and unskilled European immigrants, who experienced poverty and social exclusion in Europe, were elevated to the status of equals with their 'betters' based on their racial similarities and promulgation of the belief that they could achieve middle-class status by their own effort (Girvan 1987). Their small population required them to band together regardless of class to protect their joint interests – that of the production of sugar, rum, or coffee, for export, and the production of food for domestic consumption.

These communities failed miserably in their mandate reverting to unwholesome procreation in failed attempts to preserve their whiteness. Further, although many performed as apprentices on plantations before residing in the hills, they were not as or more productive than Black farmers. This policy will be further discussed in a later chapter, when the Institute of Jamaica's role in this effort is revealed.

4.5 Colonial Education for Shaping Identity

Prior to 1866 the church was alone in their mission of building churches and schools but in 1867 government contributed to provision of education to Black people through grants-in-aid to the denominations (Moore and Johnson 2004: 206). The school became an extension of the Church and the Church became the principal purveyor of civic duties and devotion to empire. Church sermons focussed on the Beatitudes (Mathew 5: 3-11) particularly those that exalted blessings on the poor, the meek, and the peacemakers, and drilled into the heads of Black people that their rewards for a life of pain and suffering would be abundantly given in heaven. Here on earth, they were required to give their hearts, minds and bodies to the British Empire.

Schooling for the masses concentrated on reading, writing and arithmetic, just enough knowledge to create a literate agricultural proletariat. Jamaican Codes of Regulations (1867, 1900 and 1902) were to be inculcated at school:

During eight years of schooling the future citizens of the empire learned, among other things, *obedience to persons in authority, love of country, patriotism, the duties of the citizen, fidelity to official trust, industry, temperance, honesty, and gentleness*. Colonial officials seemed to regard these qualities as of greatest benefit to the well-being of the empire. They were able to show eventually how the entire curriculum could be directed to train desirable citizens. The qualities that marked the successful agriculturist were felt to be mainly moral qualities such as industry, patience, and the realization of responsibility – and conversely, agriculture, manual training, drill, and needlework were regarded as ideal instruments for moral training (Moore and Johnson 2004: 211). [my italic emphasis]

Moore and Johnson offer a full account of how non-sectarian newspapers, bibles, and sermons printed in local newspapers abounded and became the means by which the church controlled information and provided religious instruction to the small literate population (2004). They note the way schools offered a British curriculum that trained children to become good and worthy citizens who appreciated and revered the empire to which they belonged, who were able to read the works of Shakespeare, Tennyson, Longfellow and other writers, and learned the history of persons like Alfred The Great, Henry V, Columbus, Queen Elizabeth I, Cromwell, Rodney, Nelson, Wilberforce Wellington and General Gordon (Moore and Johnson 2004). Teachers were mainly white and were expected to behave as missionaries exhibiting moral leadership and exemplary behaviour.

With low rates of attendance and visibly little impact of schools on students, the question of compulsory schooling was discussed. Most officials agreed that it would be a mistake, as children's labour was regarded by their parents as necessary in times of harvest and planting, thereby making their attendance in school irregular. According to Governor Musgrave, under whose auspices the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ) was built in 1876 and whose name today is given to the highest honour in literature, science, and art:

To stimulate that [compulsory education] now by artificial pressure can I fear only produce a distorted development, and more of a class of which there are already too many [:] the half educated vagabonds who are too proud of their smattering of knowledge to be able to dig, but to beg are not ashamed (Moore and Johnson 2004: 217).

By 1890 the government determined that the message of Christian Victorian morality and unwavering commitment to the empire was best imbibed by Black people coming from their own teachers. Also, Government sought to create a small middle class of educated people, mostly coloured and some Black, who would occupy the middle and lower administrative strata of government with the opening of two secondary schools for their instruction.

Religious knowledge formed an essential part of the secondary school curriculum along with ‘the usual English course’ including mental and commercial arithmetic, geometry, British history and British geography, with drawing and music as extras, in addition to Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Spanish, and Italian (Moore and Johnson 2004). The other important prong of the ‘civilizing’ effort was the reconstruction of former slaves into loyal British subjects:

...this entailed promoting the British monarchy and empire almost as a cult, fashionable symbols of Britishness and imperial unity that were virtually deified and worshipped for the benefits they bestowed on all who lived under their ‘protection’. Indeed, a very close linkage was fostered between loyalty to God and to queen or king, between Christianity and empire (Moore and Johnson 2004: 271).

Already Jamaicans demonstrated great love for Queen Victoria, who they affectionately referred to as ‘Missus Queen’, as she was represented in schools and churches as being their liberator from enslavement. Due to her long life and the fact that she was a wife and mother, it was easy for the authorities through the school curriculum to use these traits as propaganda tools of her deification, while consciously removing all knowledge of the emancipation wars led by enslaved people.

Her title of ‘Empress of India’ and the continued spread of the empire in the last quarter of the 19th century transformed the monarchy into a grand, national and imperial institution wherein royal births, deaths, birthdays, coronations and especially royal visitations to Jamaica occasioned an orgy of celebration throughout the island. On these occasions, school children were provided with flags and ‘encouraged’, for a reward of bun and lemonade, to march through the towns singing patriotic songs. Churches, town squares, shops, and all public buildings were beautifully adorned in the colours of the monarchy using flowers, ribbons, and banners.

Sermons were rendered on the importance of her imperial majesty to the existence of her subjects reinforcing the connection between allegiance to God and allegiance to the Empire.

Further, the exploits of the empire in Ghana (Ashanti War) and later South Africa (Boar War), and elsewhere were made to be the concerns of the people who collectively prayed for British success, contributed monetarily from their meagre coffers, and who were honoured to positively respond with vigour to any military calls upon their service.

The Royal Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 were thusly celebrated throughout Jamaica to increase the feeling among ordinary Black Jamaicans that they were British subjects (Moore and Johnson 2004). Questions of a national identity, although already demonstrated through language and customs, were inextricably linked to and undermined by the concept of empire.

4.6 Creole and Creolization

According to Wynter in contemporary Jamaican society the ‘white Jamaican’ was only interested in English history and fancied themselves English although born and grown in the island; the mulattoes who did not completely assimilate to white values contend that they are the only true indigenous and nationalist people; and for some Black Jamaicans on the one hand there is no reality or history for them in Jamaica, they are Ethiopian and on the other, Jamaica’s history is only about Black Jamaicans (Wynter). The fact is that over the course of four hundred years amalgamations, transformations, and accommodations were made in language, culture, values, and the like creating a Creole culture.

The Oxford dictionary takes a decidedly Eurocentric perspective on the meaning of Creole that suggests that the baseline influence is that provided by the European. Creole is defined as follows:

- (1) a person of mixed European and black descent;
- (2) a descendant of European settlers in the Caribbean or Central or South America;
- (3) a white descendant of French settlers in Louisiana;
- (4) a mother tongue formed from the contact of a European language with a

local language (especially African languages spoken by slaves in the West Indies) (1999: 336) .

In undertaking analysis of the term 'Creole', Warner-Lewis' research is cited (Lovejoy 2000: 14) which contends that the term is derived from the Kikongo word *nkuulolo*, 'a person excluded, an outsider', *kuulolo*, 'excluded', *kuula*, 'to be outside, exiled, excluded'. Brathwaite's definition of creolization is creation of a distinctive and separate culture in opposition to dominant European culture:

Within the dehumanising institution of slavery...were two cultures of people, having to adapt themselves to a new environment and to each other. The friction created by this confrontation was cruel, but it was also creative. The white population and social institutions...reflect one aspect of this. The slaves' adaptation of their African culture to a new world reflects another (Lovejoy 2000: 15).

The majority of enslaved Africans adapted to the intensely authoritarian and violent way of life that characterized slavery, while at the same time learned to overcome the difficulties posed by the colonial policy of scattering people of the same ethnicity, and mixing those perceived by them to be of differing ethnicities. Adaptation did not curtail subversive practices (malingering on the job, destruction of tools or stock or crops or buildings), but meant cultivation of an anti-democratic mentality which, when honed by racism, consistently undermined self-esteem and unity, while creating loyal informants for the plantocracy. According to Freire:

...the adapted man, neither dialoguing nor participating, accommodates to conditions imposed upon him and thereby acquires an authoritarian and acritical frame of mind (Freire [1974] 2008: 21).

There were many demonstrations of adaptation and acritical thinking during and after slavery. For example when persons refused to allow the slave master's house to be burned during an insurrection; or the case of 'Mamby' who refused his freedom when offered as a reward for discovering the Ram's Horn gorge as a source of water during a terrible drought (Senior 2003: 310); or on March 13, 1892 during the siege of Toniatabe in West Africa, when Sergeant William Gordon threw himself in front of his white Major (G.C. Madden) and took a fatal shot

that earned him a Victoria Cross posthumously¹³. The view of these actions by Livingston is instructive:

This is not an isolated instance of the negro's self sacrifice, for Jamaica slaves have more than once died for their masters. He [the Negro] is responsive to sympathy and justice, and ready where these are given, to form passionate attachments to the superior race (Livingstone 1899: 230).

Creolization in Jamaica largely meant processes of adaptation, adjustment, hybridisation, resourcefulness, and re-creation of useful elements of African/European societies in the Caribbean which are not the sole purview of enslaved Africans, but are also evident in resident Europeans. Nettleford defines it as:

The evolution of a native born-and-bred culture pattern with its own inner logic and consistency different from the feeder sources (Nettleford 1998: 10).

The widely used meaning of Creole then is the creation of something new in the Americas – language, culture, identity – as a result of interaction between people from the various regions of Africa and in some cases Tainos; and between people from Western Europe, Africa, India and China under conditions of slavery and colonialism. The popular use of the term, though, is simply to describe people who were born in Jamaica or who lived in Jamaica for most of their lives, and could not 'purely' be referred to as English, African, Indian or Chinese.

4.7 Conclusion

The civilizing thrust was an exercise in mind control through propaganda and manipulation of Black people's perceived absent self-identity. The fact of Blackness and of the control of their lives by minority whites was understated and exchanged for the concept of unity as British subjects. Repetitions in churches and in schools of the patriotic songs and verses, use of symbols

¹³ www.jdfmil.org/JamaicaLegion/vet_extral.php

and ideology, and particularly for celebrations of Empire Day, were meant to confirm this sense of Britishness.

Children were targeted for indoctrination by a catechism adopted by the Board of Education entitled “One King, One Flag, One Fleet, One Empire” that was read at all Empire Day celebrations throughout the island up till 1962. It inured them to identify with the power of the monarchy, the unifying strength of the empire which encompassed a plethora of peoples (races, languages, and religions), the power of the British navy and the might of the commerce it ensured, and the undisputed strength and pervasiveness of the empire upon which the sun would never set (Moore and Johnson 2004: 294-297)

While this brain washing was successful with a lot of Black Jamaicans, particularly those who occupied the small middle classes achieved through colour, education and position, and land ownership, it had little full effect on the masses. Even where they participated in the staged events and declared themselves members of the various Christian denominations, they cleaved to their African retentions in religion and dance, birth and death rituals, child rearing, and marriage that had served them well for centuries.

Many remembered the Morant Bay war and spoke among themselves in admirable terms of its leaders and victims. Jamaicans demonstrated, in my estimation, their intent on being subversive in that they appeared to ‘behave’ according to the paradigms laid out for them by the church and state, but in reality they ‘seemed almost consciously to defy the conventions of “polite” society and to render them irrelevant to their own lives’ (Moore and Johnson 2004: 166).

The civilising effort did create a chasm between the fledgling middle classes and the majority working class. During slavery and there after the ‘coloured’ population was made to believe that

they were better in all aspects of intellect, culture, beauty, and potential than their Black brothers and sisters, often of the same family. The privilege of secondary education was afforded them first and they were favoured with any available opportunities in the government's administration or in business.

Contradictions did abound in Black Jamaicans, as their self-identity was ruthlessly shaken by the church and schools and many declared their allegiance to the Empire and their abhorrence of anything African.

Wynter frames issues of identity faced by 'Jamaicans' succinctly:

For in our tormented tossing about for an identity, our labelling ourselves Afro-Jamaican, Euro Jamaican, Afro-Saxon, Chinese Jamaican, etc., etc. we have missed a truth because so many of us may have subconsciously wished to evade it, and also because this link, this truth has been obscured by the myth fostered by British historians and sucked in with our mother's milk. It is the myth that Eric Williams in his book "British Historians and the West Indies" tilts an angry lance at when he quotes the great historian Toynbee to this effect:

"The Negro has not indeed brought any ancestral religion of his own from Africa. His primitive social heritage was of so frail a texture, that every shred of it was scattered to the winds at the first impact of our Western civilization. Thus he came to America, spiritually as well as physically naked; and he has met the emergency by covering his nakedness with his enslaver's cast-off clothes" (Wynter: 33).

The importance of the work of enlightened scholarship is here made urgent to question imbibed British history with knowledge not just of the cultural retentions that Africans managed to nurture, but their creation and use of new cultural forms rather than 'cast-off clothes' to cover our perceived cultural 'nakedness'.

CHAPTER 5

Out of Many One People: Colonial to Post-Colonial Jamaica

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the small populations of Jews, Europeans and Middle Easterners, East Indians and Chinese who migrated to Jamaica and contributed to promulgation of Jamaica's national motto "Out of Many One People". While this positive idea of multiculturalism is presented as representative of the nation, in fact the notion of 'shadism' is firmly entrenched in the Jamaican psyche.

Emancipation (1838), Crown Colony rule (1866), and Independence (1962), represents for Jamaica the transition from one epoch to another – slavery to post-colonial society. Epochal transition, according to Friere is froth with contradictions between the way of doing things that held in the past and still perpetuated by some; and, the demands of a future wherein relationships are based on choice. He suggests that only when the contradictions are perceived critically can objective choices be transformed into reality (Freire [1974] 2008: 3-18).

During Jamaica's cross roads between colonial and post-colonial epochal transition, racism and 'classism' (preferential access to power and privilege based on skin colour) continued to feature in the institutional structure of the society. A small white minority enjoys immense wealth through provision of entrepreneurial skills, ownership of the majority of resources; and disproportional influence on the political process (Reid 1977: 15); shares the crumbs of that

wealth with the 'brown' and educated Blacks; while the Black majority retains the status of a cultural minority accompanied by economic deprivation (Nettleford 1998).

Europeans and Middle Easterners, Jews, East Indians and Chinese in Jamaica regardless of the moment of their immigration to Jamaica, transform to Western hierarchical relationships which places European civilization at the apex of human development, and all others below.

...the concentration of power and control of the [Jamaican] corporate economy lies in the hands of minority ethnic elites and is mainly dispersed through 21 families and their interest groups. The ascendance of these groupings – Jews, local whites, Syrians and Chinese – closely followed and in some ways anticipated the transition of the plantation state to independent nation (Reid 1977: 15).

The majority population dominates the agricultural sector as small and medium farm owners, agricultural workers, agricultural marketers, and producers of processed agricultural products. The role of women is pervasive throughout the sector, and like their counterparts in West Africa, even more so in the area of agricultural marketing – higglering. Land is the basis of all wealth; yet in less than three generations the descendants of emancipated Africans whose ancestors fought and worked hard to own land, are witnessing its loss. The lure of the tourism sector, the next largest employer of the majority Black population in the twentieth century, has sentenced workers to low wage and semi skilled areas of the sector with little possibility of upward mobility (Pattullo 1996; Dunn and Dunn 2002).

A study undertaken in 1977 of conceptions of race held by Jamaica's middle class (Alexander 1977: 432) indicates that Jamaicans continue to identify race with 'blood' and distinguish African, European, and mixed, which involves a calculus of determination of who is considered dark, brown, and fair, in much the same way as Higman describes eighteenth century colour categories outlined above. The sexual politics of the slavery epoch continue to determine Jamaicans' notion of their identity

The twentieth century ended without any appreciable change in the living conditions of the majority of Black Jamaicans, although many Blacks entered the middle strata of the occupational groups fostering upward mobility in the society, and leading to enlargement of the middle classes (Reid 1977). The heretofore rigid patterns of racial stratification were adjusted and slightly blurred, but like mixtures of ethnicities, racially defined questions when intertwined with economic issues, became more complex.

The twenty first century has not brought about significant change in the paradigm described above. Light skin in Jamaica is still equated with wealth, power, beauty, access, and competence; while Black skin, despite the successes of individuals, is largely considered a hindrance to upward social and economic mobility.

Jamaica's posture of multiculturalism in 1962 requires knowledge and understanding of the ethnic groups that eventually constituted Independent Jamaica. Before I can undertake an analysis of the national motto arrived at in 1962 to distinguish Jamaica's Independence, "Out of Many One People", a prior further exposition on the supposed 'Many' is required.

5.1 Out Of Many

5.1.1 Jews

It is documented that Jews helped to finance the voyages of Columbus and that Jews were among the first ethnic groups to come to Jamaica as indentured servants in the 16th century (Nettleford 1972; Sherlock and Bennett 1998; Arbell 2000). Religious persecution in Spain and Portugal brought many more Jews to Jamaica and while they were allowed to openly exercise their religion, establish synagogues, and business enterprises, they were nonetheless discriminated against by the British (Arbell 2000: 41-47). The Assembly of Jamaica restricted the number of

slaves Jews could hold, forced them to pay higher taxes than others, and disallowed them to vote or hold public office. In 1711 the council of legislation passed an act prohibiting non-Christians from voting, and under the 'Act of regulating fees' the Assembly declared:

No Jew, Mulatto, Indian or Negro shall be capable to officiate or write in for any offices upon any pretence whatsoever (Arbell 2000: 42).

Jamaica's planter oligarchy, a small powerful white minority, was intent on keeping the reins of power, property, labour and capital in their hands and through the political process systematically limited the threat of upward mobility by mulattos and Jews. While many petitions were made by Jews to the Legislature and to the British monarchy from the 1600's (1692, 1699, 1721, 1736, 1739, 1826, 1827, 1831) it was not until 1826 when free Mulattos were to be given equal voting rights, that Jews stepped up their efforts to avoid being the only legally recognized persons (slaves regarded as chattel) in Jamaica without voting rights. The Assembly of Jamaica passed a series of acts including the following:

21 December 1826 – "An act to entitle Jews, born within the ligeance of the King, to the rights and privileges of the natural born subjects"

17 February 1830 – "An Act repealing the clauses disabling the Jews from being elected members of the Corporation of Kingston, and not to affect any title to real estate or other right whatsoever of any person of the Jewish religion" (Arbell 2000: 46).

In 1831 'with the removal of disabilities by an Act confirmed by His Majesty's Order in Council on 13 July 1831, Jews began to take an active part in Jamaica's public life'(Arbell 2000: 47). This 1831 'emancipation' propelled Jews into industry, mining and shipping, as well as taking their place in various government administrative positions. In 1866, after the Morant Bay War, the abolition of the Constitution and the takeover of government by the British, the House of Assembly had thirteen members who were Jews (Ibid).

The Census of 1943 is the only one that has a category of 'Jewish' which numbers a total of 1,259 persons. The 1982 Census, while not including a category of 'Jewish' does include religious affiliation, tabulating 412 persons of Jewish faith. In the 2001 Census this number is reduced to 357 (Jamaica 2001).

Arbell makes short shrift of Jews as plantation owners, sellers of slaves, and of intermarriages and miscegenation between Jews and Blacks, relying on the regulation that Jews were only allowed few house slaves, and that there were few plantations owned by Jews in Jamaica. Brazil attracted a large number of Jews who the Dutch allowed to practice their faith unencumbered. It is documented that there was no abhorrence to ownership of slaves by Jews, and in Suriname most of the sugar plantations were owned by Jews and Jewish planters were in Brazil, Curacao, Newport, Rhode Island and elsewhere (Martin 1993: 10).

The text of several wills in Jamaica: Joseph Ydaina, 1706; Solomon Franco, 1721; Isaac Henriques Alvin, 1722; and Isaac Lyon, 1772; make provisions for manumission of individual slaves, Black and mulatto, along with monies to see to their livelihood and comforts (Arbell 2000: 50-51). Nothing is said or implied of the relationship of manumitted individuals to their former owners.

5.1.2 Europeans and Middle Easterners

Between 1834 and 1845 approximately 4,100 Europeans travelled to settle in Jamaica from Germany, England, Ireland, and Scotland (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 317). The push factors were famine and other hardships at home, while the pull factor was the offering of a panacea for their troubles by the British government's policy of providing land and financial assistance to white people to settle in remote parts of Jamaica.

Many of these people were unaware of the conditions they faced or of the isolation in remote mountain communities they were expected to live in. Many died from tropical diseases, some migrated to the United States with the help of families, and others remained in deplorable conditions, reverting to marriage and cohabitation among their close relatives in an attempt to remain racially 'pure'. Many also pursued intermarriages and their offspring have been subsumed in the larger Jamaican population as mulattos and Blacks.

A small percentage of people from the Middle East: Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine also came to Jamaica in the early 20th century and joined the ranks of the merchant classes. Initial British discrimination gave way to wholesale acceptance of them at a rate consistent with their increased financial wealth. When sugar's decline in international markets was felt among barely solvent white plantation owners, they came to their rescue and earned themselves a place at the tables of the ruling whites.

	1881	1891	1911	1921	1943	1960	1970	1982	1991	2001
White Population in Jamaica	14,432	14,692	15,605	14,476	13,377	3,606 (European)	5,713	1,419	5,22	4,716

Figure 5.1: White Population in Jamaica 1881-2001 (Statistical Institute of Jamaica)

Racial Origin	Total	Male	Female
Black	965,960	472,348	493,612
Coloured	216,348	98,272	118,076
White	4,803	2,219	2,584
English & Welsh	3,841	1,777	2,064
Irish	470	211	259
Scottish	1,075	528	547
German	581	290	291
Italian	287	88	199
Jewish	1,259	625	634
Portuguese	130	52	78
Spanish	1,363	498	865
Chinese	6,879	4,338	2,541
Chinese Coloured	5,515	2,584	2,931
East Indian	21,393	10,927	10,466
East Indian Coloured	5,114	2,478	2,636
Syrian	834	455	379
Syrian Coloured	171	82	89
Other Races	848	390	458
Not Specified	192	105	87

Table 5.1: Ethnic Classifications in 1943 Census of Jamaica (Statistical Institute of Jamaica – Census of Jamaica 1943)

The 1943 Census gave no explanation of what constitutes its category ‘white’ or why Europeans from England to Spain for example were differentiated. All of the ethnic groups that settled in Jamaica, over time, became ‘honorary’ whites. That is, they were given access to land, financing, and entry into the corridors of power, wealth, and status that Black people were consistently disallowed for centuries.

5.1.3 East Indians

In 1845 the first 261 East Indian labourers primarily from Northern India arrived in Jamaica seeking jobs and opportunities promised them by often unscrupulous persons. The voyage from India to Jamaica was akin to the Middle Passage for Black people, as Indian people were looked down on and cruelly treated by white crew members. What differed was that emancipated African American and Caribbean crew members, who were experienced in maritime occupations, or those who escaped the hardships of post-slavery societies, were available for low paid and racially determined jobs on ships (Shepherd 2002: 26-27). These person's positions and experience in highly stratified American and Caribbean societies contributed to their taking on the persona of fellow white crewmen and behaving in a racist manner toward East Indians. Indian women were therefore subject to rape and sexual abuse by all crewmen, and more than likely miscegenated offspring resulted.

According to Shepherd:

...it would seem that the actions of both groups [European and non-European, especially African and Caribbean crew] towards Indian women reveal that indentureship, like enslavement, manifested signs of gendered tyranny on the part of those who exercised, and abused, their power over the emigrants they were exclusively employed to protect.

Above all the actions of black and white men towards Indian emigrant women on the ships destined for the Caribbean demonstrated that the roots of the racist and ethnic tensions which later characterized the host societies in which Indians settled, were deeply embedded in the voyage from India and did not suddenly emerge in the region. As settlers, both Indians and African-Caribbeans harboured mutual feelings of contempt and superiority towards one another; such feelings, no doubt, had already found expression on the passage from India (Shepherd 2002: 28).

Upon arrival, what they found was slave like conditions on plantations, poor housing, exposure to tropical diseases like malaria, long working hours, religious discrimination, and many of the promises made them in India unrealised. Seventy years after, there were 36,400 East Indians in

Jamaica, but while repatriation upon completion of their indenture was agreed to in their contracts, only one-third were returned to their homeland (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 317-327)

East Indians in Jamaica	1881	1892	1911	1921	1943	1960	1970	1982	1991	2001
	11,016	10,116	17,380	18,610	21,393	11,419 (inclu. Afro E. Indian)	30,736	10,783	29,218	23,227

Table 5.2: East Indians in Jamaica (Statistical Institute of Jamaica, Population Census)

Prejudice and suspicion characterised the relationship between African Jamaicans and Indian labour where the former viewed them as a threat in the labour market and the latter arrived with already predetermined views of dark skin as a signifier of social inferiority.

The melting of Indians into Jamaican society was determined by time and economic circumstances, continuance of Hindu religious practices, and the availability of marriageable women among the Indian population (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 316-326). Mixing between Indians and Blacks were significant enough for the Censuses of 1943, 1960, and 1982 to include designations such as East Indian Coloured, Afro East Indian, and Mixed/Negro respectively in the tabulations. All other Censuses collapsed the mixtures into categories of Other Mixed, and Mixed. The 1982 and 2001 Censuses collected data on religion that included Moslem/Hindu numbering 275 in 1982 and Hindus 1,453 in 2001 (Statistical Institute of Jamaica).

5.1.4 Chinese

The Chinese arrived in Jamaica in 1854 by default, having protested the inhumane conditions they faced in Panama during the building of the railroad, for which they were specifically recruited. Disease, starvation, and physical abuse encouraged them to insist on 472 of their numbers to be transported to Jamaica; however, they soon perished due to their already poor

health. Between 1864 and 1870 another 200 were brought to Jamaica on three year contracts which included, as with the Indians, repatriation clauses (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 327-332).

They fared no better than East Indians in that working conditions were deplorable, long hours, poor nutrition, inadequate housing which forced them to strike for lesser hours of work. Because their numbers were insignificant they found ways to incorporate themselves in Jamaica's life without being a significant threat to African Jamaicans. This they did by establishing grocery shops in rural villages and by quickly understanding that accommodation of costumers with credit would endear them to the people.

The success of these migrants encouraged some 680 farm labourers from Macao on the South China Coast to come to Jamaica both as indentured and free labour, and by 1880 their ranks were swelled by another 800 arrivants. They dominated the retail grocery business which they were able to engage in with provision of capital from their indigenous banking system called "Fwee chen". This system of banking was equivalent to the African 'Pardner' or "Susu" system in which participants contribute an agreed amount weekly or monthly with agreed weeks when each one received a 'draw' of money until all participants are paid.

Through this system, they branched off into other business ventures including laundries, restaurants, and importers of rice and other foodstuffs that became staples in the Jamaican diet. These were vigorously monitored by the British colonial office which was accustomed to discriminate against minority groups by regulating their hours of work, areas of access, and like Jews, subjected the Chinese to higher taxation (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 332). Between 1854 and 1930 about six thousand Chinese immigrated to Jamaica.

Chinese in Jamaica	1881	1891	1911	1921	1943	1960	1970	1982	1991	2001
	99	481	2,111	3,696	12,394	8,082 (inclu. Afro Chinese)	11,781	2,333	5,372	5,153

Table 5.3: Chinese in Jamaica (Statistical Institute of Jamaica, Population Census)

Mixed marriages were frowned upon by both Chinese and African Jamaicans. However, both groups shared strong cultural values with respect to emphasis placed on education, the care and nurturing of children, reverence to the elderly regardless of kinship, and the importance of family life. The Census of 1943 categorised Chinese Coloured as distinct from Chinese and counted 5,515 or .4% of the population. The 1960 Census tabulated Chinese and Afro Chinese together and listed 8,082 in this population grouping.

5.2 Concluding the Many

Both Indians and Chinese intermarried and/or cohabited with Blacks to produce a new group of Jamaicans numbering some twenty-five thousand in the 1960 West Indies Population Census, which increased idealization of mixed blood among Jamaicans. This is borne out by the practice, for many years, of choosing a woman of mixed blood to represent Jamaica in international beauty contests. The outcome on the one hand is the further ambivalence of Black people regarding their own beauty, while on the other, invests this choice with a middle class uncton which is later vigorously challenged by working-class Blacks (Nettleford 1972: 26-27).

While the Chinese continued to develop supermarkets, bakeries and restaurants, as a mainstay, Indians branched out into In Bond shops to serve the tourism industry for which they almost exclusively control. Whites, Arabs and Jews are nearly indistinguishable in the businesses they control as these range from sugar plantations and rum production, other mono crop agri-

businesses, import/export enterprises, tourism entities, ownership of high rise buildings, construction and heavy equipment companies, manufacturing companies; newspapers and the like. To ensure the integrity of family wealth they intermarry across ethnicities, play pivotal roles in state organizations, and enjoy intimacy with the law and legal institutions (Reid 1977: 15-16).

Although the numbers of non-white and non-Black people are small in Jamaica, the minority white population remains the arbiter of racial prejudices among them. This situation is adequately described:

The race against whom the whites are least prejudiced tends to become second in rank, while the race that they despise most will ordinarily be at the bottom. Thus more or less directly the superior race controls the pattern of all dependent race prejudices (Baxter and Sansom 1972: 214).

The dramatic decline in the number of whites in Jamaica between 1943 and 1960 may be definitional, but we do know for a fact that between 1970 and 1979 propaganda regarding the intent of the Democratic Socialist Government of Michael Manley to nationalize properties and capital, led to mass migration of whites and some Chinese from Jamaica.

As indicated above, in the 1970's researchers documented Jamaica's elites and identified that twenty one families in Jamaica owned 90% of Jamaica's wealth (Reid 1977) and all of these families were non-Black. The Census of 1943 acknowledges the appearance of miscegenated offspring from the mixture of Black and whites; Chinese and Black; East Indian and Black; and Syrian and Black. The 1960 Census only tabulates East Indian/Afro East Indian, Chinese/Afro Chinese and Afro European (52,180). In 1970 the category Mixed is documented to be 47,822; in 1982 Mixed/Negro is 278,015 and Other Mixed 24,813 represents miscegenated offspring. However, by 1991 the category of Mixed numbers 166,991 decreasing slightly in 2001 to 161,234.

The question that individuals were asked to answer in 2001 was: To which race or ethnic group would you say you belong? Interviewers are instructed to read the response categories as listed on the questionnaire and to accept the respondent's reply. The racial categories listed by the Statistical Institute are: Black, White, Chinese, East Indian, Mixed, and Other.

There remains some ambivalence among people in Jamaica to admit outright to their Black ancestry especially when they are mixed once or twice removed with 'others.' While in the United States the 'one drop rule', a historical colloquial, prevails, wherein, one drop of African ancestry deemed the individual Black, it is not necessarily so in Jamaica, particularly as the equation of Black equals poverty is one that all persons of some mixed heritage as well as un-mixed African Jamaicans are earnest to escape. Questions of whom or what is a Jamaican are very relevant to the progress of this thesis as it brings into sharp contrast the issue of identity.

5.3 'Browning' of Independent Jamaica

In Jamaica racism as practiced by British colonial power, spawned social categories of race, caste, and class that shared the pyramidal boundaries established by plantation slavery. It promulgated deprecation of the cultural and physical attributes of the African – language, religion, music, world view, mannerisms, and, skin colour, shape of nose, hair texture – as constituting evidence of savagery and inferiority, depriving Africans of a collective sense of worth and elevated European culture and physique to the status of superior.

The advent of Jamaica's independence in 1962 and the need to separate the identity of the soon to be former colony from its 'mother' England precipitated the Legislature to devise new national symbols and in doing so, perhaps inadvertently, made two clear statements about the

self-identity of the new nation. The first statement is imbedded in the national flag which has a diagonal cross in gold with four triangles, wherein the top and bottom triangles are green, while the hoist and fly triangles are black.

The symbolism of the flag's colours is poetically described as: 'Hardships there are but the land is green and the sun shineth'. The committee that chose the flag at Independence describes the symbolism as follows: 'Black stands for hardships overcome and to be faced; gold for the natural wealth and beauty of sunlight; and green for hope and agricultural resources' (Senior 2003: 348). Black, as a symbol of a condition that is to be endured and overcome, as expressed by the committee, is consistent with the dictionary meaning of the word (later described), which follows from centuries old European practice of assigning negative meaning to words that describe people of African heritage.

The second statement impacting identity is made by the national motto –'Out of Many, One People' – which suggests that the identity of Jamaicans is wound up in multiculturalism, diversity, and 'hybridity' (Mills 1997). While the national motto seems to profess a unifying intent, in reality it de-races its majority Black population; conceals the established and continued economic and social power of whites; and elevates those of mixed race – 'brown'- to a parallel plane of power and privilege as whites.



Figure 5.2: Essentials of being a citizen 1962 (National Library of Jamaica)

In effect, the national motto can be likened to the proverbial fig leaf that barely covers deeply entrenched racial divisions and contradictions.

The notion of ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘multi-racialism’ suggested by the motto has been pushed by Jamaican leaders internationally and is borne out by the following excerpt from a speech given before Independence by Norman W. Manley, one of the main architects of Jamaica’s Independence, and Premier of Jamaica to an American audience:

[Jamaica is] made up of peoples drawn from all over the world, predominantly Negro or of mixed blood, but also with *large numbers of others*, and nowhere in the world has more progress been made in developing a non-racial society in which also colour is not psychologically significant [my emphasis] (Nettleford 1971: 341).

Manley was of humble parentage. He was a product of a mulatto father, and what the seventeenth century colonial state would have labelled a Mustee or Musteephino mother, described by him as ‘an almost pure white woman’ (Nettleford 1971: xciv). No doubt assisted by his lightened hue, he was able, through access to education reserved for whites, and hard work, to become a representative of Jamaica’s ‘high brown’ middle-class, and was in the forefront of the fight for true self government and freedom from Britain.



Figure 5.3: Hon Norman Manley, first Premier of Jamaica (right) and (his cousin) Alexander Bustamante first Prime Minister of Jamaica (left) (Source: National Library of Jamaica)

He attempted to conjure an image of Jamaica that was similar to countries like Dominican Republic who painted a non-Black picture of their population (Candelario 2007). The official statistics however, reduces the ‘large numbers of others’ referred to by Manley to insignificance. Data from the Department of Statistics in 1963 show that 91 out of every 100 persons in Jamaica are of African ancestry:

...of every 100 Jamaicans, 76.8 are of pure African descent, 0.8 are pure European or White, 1.7 are East Indian, 0.6 are Chinese, 0.1 are Syrian, 14.6 are of Afro-European, 1.7 are Afro-East Indian, 0.6 are Afro-Chinese and other mixtures add up to 3.1 (Francis 1963).

It is possible that Manley attempted to represent Jamaica to the international community in what he perceived to be a ‘better’ light; as for the vast majority of Jamaicans since emancipation, ‘Blackness’ is associated with poverty, manual especially agricultural labour, low status, and ignorance; while ‘whiteness’ and ‘brownness’ represents power, privilege, high status, wealth, and purity. According to Nettleford:

Such terms as 'black' and 'white' still carry values of one sort or another tying the concept of race to a compound of variables ranging from place of origin and levels of cultural achievement (assumed or otherwise) to the occupations held by ancestors and the level of economic wealth and educational attainment (Nettleford 1998: 14).

The multiracial card that Manley attempted to play internationally suggests that Jamaica's Black population are on an equal socio-economic footing as their minority white (including Jews and Arabs), Indian, and Chinese communities, while in reality notions of equal respect and tolerance, rarely give way to equal access to financing, jobs, housing, and educational opportunities (Bhabha 1996: 54).

This was far from the truth then as it is now. It is also likely that Manley was influenced by the pariah status suffered by Jamaica's geographically close neighbour Haiti since its declaration of itself as a free Black republic on January 1st, 1804; and believed that projection of a multiracial image of Jamaica would garner it more support in the international arena.

The contradictions that are inherent in determining the identity of a Jamaican has its genesis in the institution of slavery where miscegenation created divisions among Black people that were useful to the continued exploitation of the Black majority by a minority white population. These divisions were further complicated by ethnicity with the importation of East Indian and Chinese labour.

5.4 Blackness and Jamaica's Self-Identity

It is useful to explore what is meant by Blackness from a definitional perspective and then from the perspective of the contested place it occupies in history. The Middle English usage of the term was popularly used as an adjective (1600) to describe for example the colour of eyes; as a verb (1532) as in blackened by smoke; and as a noun (1619) to name mourners at a funeral (Scott

2008). Scott notes that the sixteenth century saw a semantic shift in usage of the word black from its literal meaning 'to stain black' to its figurative meaning 'to stain someone's reputation' or to 'defame'. In tandem with the deepening development of the European trade in enslaved Africans (1500's – 1880's) the pejorative use of the word broadened so that any word prefixed by black acquired malignant or deadly purposes.

Today, the word black is defined by Oxford as:

...of or relating to a human group having dark-coloured skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry; deeply stained with dirt; characterized by tragedy, disaster, or despair; (of humour) presenting tragic or harrowing situations in comic terms; and full of anger or hatred... (Concise Oxford 1999: 140)

Contrast these with the meaning of white:

...of the colour of milk or fresh snow...; relating to or denoting a human group having light-coloured skin, especially of European ancestry; morally or spiritually pure... (163) (Concise Oxford 1999: 163).

Many words prefixed by black – black art, blackball, black dog, blacken, blackguard, blackmail, black mark and the like - carry pejorative subtexts that have crossed over into, and are signified by, the popular media. For example, the black cowboy hat worn in American western movies represents or stands in for the villain. These negative representations of Black are inculcated in Jamaica's Black majority population and are given credence in the popular old Jamaican adage that 'anyting Black, noh good'¹⁴.

Frantz Fanon, critic, psychoanalyst and revolutionary, writes that:

As long as the black man is among his own, he will have no occasion, except in minor internal conflicts, to experience his being through others. [...] not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man (Fanon 2002: 129).

People of African descent in Africa and its Diaspora have therefore been the subject of shifting nomenclature used by whites to describe them on the one hand and to degrade, oppress, and

¹⁴ Translation: Anything that is black is not good.

undermine their self worth on the other. In the early 19th century Cuvier's racist description of people of African origin, referenced by Bernal, is but a sample of what was published by whites at the time as scholarship:

The Negro race...is marked by black complexion, crisped or woolly hair, compressed cranium and a flat nose. The projection of the lower parts of the face, and the thick lips, evidently approximate it to the monkey tribe: the hordes of which it consists have always remained in the most complete state of barbarism (Bernal 1987: 241).

The terms used interchangeably in Europe and the Americas over five centuries include Ethiopians (term used by the Portuguese to signify those with dark skins who lived far to the south) (Russell-Wood 2000: 21), blackamoor (Black Muslims), African, negro or *prêto* (Spanish or Portuguese word for black), black, nigger, jigaboo, darky, spook, monkey, spade, aunt/uncle, boy, *pichón* (child of a vulture) (Moore 2008: 7-9) and many more.

There have been many responses by people of African origin to these terms. The terms Negro and black (with a capital 'B'), were transformed into terms of empowerment in the early twentieth century, and, while still controversial, many youth believe that they have diffused the derogatory connotation of 'nigger' by popularising it among themselves as a term of endearment. Black people in the twentieth century coined terms of their own choice for example: the value-free descriptors 'light-complected and dark-complected' coined in the 1930's by the influential Black spiritual leader, Father Devine (Henry Louis Gates and West 2000: 125), Black-American, Afro-American, African American/Caribbean.

The process of naming, therefore, occupies the contested arena of identity where the question of 'who am I?' is paramount to the life journey undertaken by individuals, families, communities and nations. In order to subvert the negative connotations historically attached to the term, scholars have employed 'Blackness' 'to unite diverse groups politically in a struggle for equality and social justice during the second half of the twentieth century' (Golding 2009: 40). In this

way, Asians, Gypsies, African Caribbean women and those termed 'others' are able to unite for the purpose of building a 'socially conscious museum studies and museum learning'.

The simple statement that "Black is beautiful" reputed to be first said by Marcus Garvey (Dennis and Willmarth 1984: 140) in the 1920's in America was at once cathartic for speakers looking back at themselves in the mirror on the one hand, and confrontational to whites who were uneasy with proclamations of Black self-love just fifty seven years after emancipation in the United States in 1865, on the other.

The need to declare the beauty of Blackness to Black people in the United States and in the rest of the African Diaspora was important in order to counter centuries of imbibed propagandised self-hatred, and, to recall for them the existence of ancient African civilizations whose achievements are restorative of their dignity and confidence as a people.

5.5 Conclusion

At the heart of the contradictions faced by Jamaicans at the point of transition between independence and post colonial society is the notion of identity. For the majority Black population, the understanding of self, interpretation and representation of history, participation in institutions, social relations, are all negotiated through the lens of race. The philosophical underpinning of the research is that colonial society inculcated Black and White people in Jamaica with racist notions of self-identity.

Black Jamaicans, contrary to the view held by Norman Manley discussed earlier, carry the contradictions of colour created by centuries of hierarchical difference, whatever their hue. These contradictions are played out by what is described as the Color Complex:

...a psychological fixation about color and features that leads Blacks to discriminate against each other (Russell, Wilson et al. 1992: 2).

They are played out in schools where lighter skinned children are favoured by teachers as being innately able to undertake intellectual work or for important roles in plays; while darker skinned children are likely to be considered 'dunce' and relegated to secondary roles in public performances; as well as in the work place where lighter skinned adults are presumed more intelligent than their darker sisters. Narratives collected in the course of my work are demonstrative of how current these occurrences are and will be discussed later in Chapter 8.

Museums in Jamaica during colonialism functioned to represent the colonial authorities and the wealth, lifestyle and power of Britain as I demonstrate in Chapter 6. In Post-colonial society, I argue in this thesis, they should function to dispel the myths, raise consciousness, self-esteem, and pride in history and in Blackness.

Chapter 6

Injecting a Good Dose of English Culture: Museums in Jamaica

Culture is the matrix on which the fragile human animal draws to remain socially healthy. As fish need the sea, culture with its timeless reassurance and its seeming immortality, offsets for the frail human spirit the brevity, the careless accidentalness to life. An individual human life is easy to extinguish. Culture is leaned upon as eternal. It flows large and old around its children. And it is very hard to kill. *Its murder must be undertaken over hundreds of years and countless generations.* Pains must be taken to snuff out every traditional practice, every alien world, every heaven-sent ritual, every pride, every connection of the soul, gone behind and reaching ahead. The carriers of the doomed culture *must be ridiculed and debased and humiliated.* This must be done to their mothers and their fathers, their children, their *children's children and their children after them.* And there will come a time of mortal injury to all of their souls, and their culture will breathe no more. But they will not mourn its passing, for they will by then have forgotten that which they might have mourned (Robinson 2000) [my italics].

6.1 The Culture of Museums: The Institute of Jamaica

An article found in the archives of the National Library of Jamaica (NLJ) titled *Museums of Jamaica*, written in the 1960's by F.J. duQuesnay¹⁵, provides a concise historical account of the subject from his perspective. duQuesnay cites 1846 as the earliest reference to a museum in Kingston called the Jamaica Society Museum. He substantiates its existence by pointing to anecdotal reference purported to appear in a book on Jamaica by the English-born naturalist, Robert Gosse (1810-1888), in which he recounts that his friend Richard Hill took him to the museum to inspect its collection of birds and plants (Gosse in Jamaica 1844-1846). The article then mentions establishment in 1854 of the Jamaica Society of Arts which in two years became the Royal Society of Arts in Jamaica; and 10 years later (1864) amalgamated with the Royal Agricultural Society of Jamaica to become the Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture.

¹⁵National Library of Jamaica

duQuesney continues that the removal in 1872 of the capital of Jamaica from Spanish Town to Kingston marked the purchase of a dwelling on lower East Street to house the Library of the Jamaica House of Assembly. In 1873 the articles of the Museum of the Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture, together with the Sawkins and Brown geological collection were handed over to the Government and housed together with the Library of the Assembly¹⁶.

In 1879, forty one years after the majority Black masses in Jamaica achieved dissolution of the institution of slavery, Sir Anthony Musgrave, a white Antiguan and the then Governor of Jamaica (1877-1883), established the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ) for the encouragement of literature, science and art along the lines of the South Australian Institute (1856) and vested it with responsibility for public museums. Its libraries and collections functioned to showcase the academic, technological, and artistic accomplishments of Britain's finest minds and to provoke an interest in their published works among Jamaica's planter and administrative classes.

By Law 22 of 1879 a Board of Governors of the IOJ was created and in them vested responsibilities for establishment and maintenance of:

... an institution comprising a library, reading-room and museum, to provide for the reading of papers, the delivery of lectures and the holding of examinations on subjects connected with literature, science and art, to award premiums for the application of scientific and artistic methods to local industries and to provide for the holding of exhibitions illustrating the industries of Jamaica (Dawes 1977: 13).

In practice, the IOJ was the institutional manifestation of British intellectual and cultural imperialism, which promoted the racial and cultural interests of the dominant white minority whose leadership in every facet of Jamaica's political, economic (mainly agriculture and trade), and cultural life was undisputed (Bryan 1998). However, white Creole Jamaicans lacked the

¹⁶ Ibid

training of their British grown counterparts and were scarcely interested in the offerings of the IOJ as they seemed devoid of any serious inclinations towards intellectual pursuits (Moore and Johnson 2011).

From the outset the IOJ was set up to be elitist through its application and membership requirements that necessitated approval by the Board of Governors; subscription fees of five shillings with extra payments for borrowing additional books; and dress code disguised in the terms “decently clad” geared to keep Black working class people out of the reading rooms¹⁷.

Mr. Frank Cundall (1858-1937) was invited from England by Governor Musgrave to take up the position of Secretary and Librarian of the IOJ. For forty six years, 1891-1937, with minimal support from Government, Cundall set out to gather a collection of books and pamphlets, original manuscripts, and maps and plans on Jamaica and the West Indies which he believed would be a credit to Jamaica. In 1892, through his overseas connections, a collection of twenty five portraits of British historical notables were presented at the opening of a new IOJ Art (History) Gallery¹⁸. The collection grew to contain 420 portraits of Jamaican governors and other notables, and 245 paintings and engravings, including Robert Edge Pine’s (1730-1788) *Rodney Aboard the Formidable*, a contemporary painting of the Battle of the Saints that forced the French and Spanish to abort their plans to invade Jamaica in 1782. Caricature portraits of Toussaint l’Overture, leader of the Haitian revolution were also exhibited (Dawes 1977: 14).

¹⁷ “The Rules of the Institute of Jamaica” (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1913), National Library of Jamaica.

¹⁸ www.nlj.gov.jm/bios-a-h#cundall

Cundall's collection choices spoke volumes about the imperial message he intended to foster and portray in Jamaica. Rodney was a celebrated British Admiral who was revered in England, while Toussaint L'Overture was reviled for his creation of the first Black Republic. The 1838 caricature image of Toussaint, which assigns ape-like features to the man and became the commonly accepted visual representation¹⁹ of him, was probable that created by Nicholas Eustache Maurin and disseminated widely.



Figure 4.1: Caricature Portrait of Toussaint L'Overture by Nicolas Eustache Maurin (1838)

In keeping with the practice of the times, the museum collections were mostly confined to natural history consisting of an almost complete representation of the flora and fauna of Jamaica as well as of its geology and anthropology particularly of objects – stone implements, perforated shells, broken pottery and beads – connected to Jamaica's indigenous Taino population. There were also a few implements of torture used during slavery.

Cundall's personal collecting proclivities was in amassing the academic, technological, and artistic accomplishments of British-Jamaican and other white West Indians and to rouse, among Jamaica's plantocracy and administrative classes, an interest in these as examples of Victorian achievement in the Caribbean. He was also a prolific writer, author of 31 publications of which

¹⁹ http://thelouvertureproject.org/index.php?title=list_of_toussaint_louverture_related_pages

21 are of Jamaica's social, historical, political, and art histories²⁰, areas where he perceived deficiencies of knowledge.

Cundall's loyalty to and support for the colonial system of government permeated all of his writings and served to under report the condition of the colonized, and ensure concealment of the horrors of the colonial system of government. Between the period 1895 and 1928, Cundall supported the Government's immigration policy which was driven by its racist belief that Black people were uncivilized, by writing a series of informational manuals on Jamaica for prospective immigrant whites (1895; Cundall 1928). Through incentives and training opportunities in the field of agriculture, the colonial government encouraged Scots and Germans to immigrate and settle in remote hilly areas of Jamaica. Cundall facilitated recruitment of whites by creating a register...

‘... to bring about a means of communication between those planters and penkeepers who are willing to receive young men as articulated pupils, and intending emigrants from Great Britain and elsewhere....’(Cundall 1895).

The policy was short lived and in fact backfired, in that Black rural farmers accustomed to their systems of intercropping were able to survive and thrive, as well as significantly contribute to the export of bananas; while imported whites were unable to compete in production and were faced with the choice of integration or perish.

Cundall's views of white society and Black people are summarized respectively:

²⁰ http://openlibrary.org/authors/OL115048A/Frank_Cundall

With the exception of the planter, government servants and professional men are almost the only cultured members of any community for there are so few residents of leisure [regarded as an exclusively elite privilege] that they may be disregarded entirely. The only residents in any district are there by necessity, engaged in agriculture or trade, the affairs of the Church, education, medicine, law or the collection of taxes, with the occasional retired naval or military officer, who from doing duty in the West Indies, has come to adopt it as his residence (Cundall 1912).

The negro race has at present gone but a short way on the path of civilization. The individuals are still as children, childlike in belief and faith... They too often lack pride in their work... Gratitude is, it is to be feared, not a strong point with many of them...As a race they are certainly not artistic (Cundall 1928).

6.1.1 *The Jamaica International Exhibition*

The 19th century heralded an age of international expositions which in effect were public museums. Britain's Great Exhibition of 1851 at London's Crystal Palace paved the way for exhibitions and world's fairs across Europe and the United States. For example, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886 celebrated the imperial power of Britain's sovereign, and advanced its social, economic and military dominance of the world. The unprecedented scale and extravagance of the expositions demonstrated the wealth and opulence of the presenting nation, and provided opportunities for comparisons between them, as they competed to be the first or the most adept at transformation of the world through invention of machines, trade, military might and political and cultural imperialism.

The highlight of international expositions was live ethnographic exhibitions. That is, creation of indigenous environments complete with native communities in which real "natives" would conduct their quotidian existence as if not being observed. In France, universal exhibitions initiated in 1855 and staged again in 1878 and 1889 included pavilions 'surrounded by model huts mimicking villages in Africa and Asia...along with African sculptures, colonial produce and animals... all displayed as trophies of empire' (Archer-Straw 2000: 34). Live Africans were

displayed in exhibitions of the Musee ethnographique in Paris in 1882 and at the World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 in Chicago. This technique continued into the twentieth century at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair, even though this exposition was called A Century of Progress, celebrated Chicago's one hundred years of existence, and portrayed it as 'an industrial leader with visions of urban grandeur' (Gantz 2008: 4).

...in "Darkest Africa", the Midway's anthropology-as-entertainment exhibit...featured tribal leaders brought from Africa for the exposition. It attracted a large African American audience, many curious about their own history. The Nigerian royalty and Belgian Congo pygmies, who performed ceremonies and music, represented extreme Western visions of African tribal peoples and met with mixed reviews from the African American community (Gantz 2008: 112).

In this manner, Africans as "others" of inferior status, of a separate and subordinate species was established as fact in Europe and the US, promoted by Christian doctrine and backed up with "scientific" evidence provided by 19th century race theorists, and uncontested by mainstream white scientists in the 20th century.

In 1891 Jamaica's colonial government led by Governor Henry Blake agreed to organize an international exhibition in Jamaica. The idea was instigated by Mr. A. C. Sinclair, a Euro-Creole Jamaican who was superintendent of the government printing establishment (Booth 1972). The exhibition's organizing committee included Frank Cundall and others, set out '...to make the show in all respects a comprehensive and practical illustration of the various resources of the colony....,' to showcase to the world its success at transformation of Jamaica's tropical raw materials with British technological know-how; to demonstrate that Jamaica was also a viable market for imported goods; 'to acquire new business ideas and skills to jump-start the chronically ailing colonial economy' (Moore and Johnson 2011: 244); and to provide entertainment, information, and education. Further, promotion of Jamaica as a tourism destination was an expected spin-off (Booth 1972: 42).

There is little doubt that Jamaica's white Creole population set out to project itself as authentically British and demonstrate that their industrial, cultural, and financial efforts in the colony were also to be lauded. The exhibits were divided into six categories (Booth 1972):

1. Raw materials
2. Implements for obtaining raw materials
3. Machines and processes for making finished products
4. Manufactured foods
5. Education, and
6. Fine arts, literature and science.

The fine arts were to be on loan from Britain, with the highlight being the Queen's agreement to lend the famous Winterhalter portraits of her and the late prince consort. London's Dramatic Company was organized to provide theatre, although in 1682 the first public theatre was chronicled which was followed by a host of theatre companies coming into Jamaica in the 18th century and featuring Jamaicans by the 19th century (Senior 2003: 482-484). The First West India Regiment and the Kingston Volunteer Militia provided music, and fireworks displays were executed by James Pain and Sons of England (Booth 1972).

Accounts of the exhibition's planning process relate that committees were formed in England, Scotland, Canada, and New York, as well as across the island. The planning committee in England resolved to provide:

...machines or models showing the latest improvements in the manufacture of sugar and rum, the extraction of coconut and other oils by compression, the preparation of coconut coir or fibre, the extraction of fibres from the leaves and stems of plants, machine and appliances for curing and preparing coffee, cocoa, pimento, annatto, spices, ginger, meals, starches, dyes, essential oils, perfumes and medicinal substances: fruit drying machines, small windmills, turbines and other time and labour saving machines²¹.

These were important inputs as Jamaica was set up to be an exporter of raw materials, to which English machines added value, and exported finished product back for Jamaica's consumption. That is, outside of sugar, Jamaica was never meant to be self sufficient in its manufactured

²¹ Jamaica Exhibition Bulletin; June 28, 1892 (p.2), National Library of Jamaica

production needs, but rather to provide raw materials for the development of England's industrial base.

Jamaica's Parish committees determined what products would represent their industry. Products made from sisal hemp (*Agave sisalana*) and silk grass plants, plant oils, and potter's clays were presented; substitutes for wheat flour such as meals made from banana (*Musa sapientum*), yams (*Dioscorea sp.*), breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*), cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) and other products; as well as exhibits of cigars, cigarettes and tobacco solicited high praise. Industries such as bee-keeping and dairy, sugar and rum; coffee (*Coffea Arabica*) and cocoa (*Theobroma cacao*) were showcased while the IOJ presented displays of its maps, mineral products, botanical specimens as well as a working potter. The Jamaican government mounted an exhibition of a miniature printing office and a bookbindery to demonstrate the process of production of books.

African Jamaicans, now loyal British subjects, were encouraged to identify their medicinal plants for inclusion in the Exhibition as well as their baskets, "jippi-jappa"²² hats, mats, bamboo pipe stems, napkin rings and flower pots, herbs and roots used to heal wounds and sores, "talismans", "charms, implements and materials" used by Jamaican "obeahmen", and other African-Creole curiosities. Peasant cottages made from mud and thatch were included, as well as fishermen making nets and peasants demonstrating small sugar mills and the processing of coffee. A slave collar and slave branding iron were also exhibited as associated with African Jamaicans (Booth 1972), ironically not as products of England's ironworks. The majority of these items, as well as the machinery provided by the planning committee in England, formed the foundation of the Folk Museum, discussed in Chapter 7.

²² Jippi-Jappa hats, made from the jippi-jappa plant that grows by streams in the Parish of St. Catherine, was a cottage industry of primarily women producers.

The Jamaica International Exhibition opened on January 27, 1891 under the patronage of the Prince of Wales who was represented by his son Prince George. Like its predecessors in Europe and the United States whose exhibition hall architecture alone demonstrated its achievements, the exposition was housed in a specially constructed 3,716m² Moorish²³ style building, named Quebec Lodge, representing an investment cost of £14,300, provided by three individuals²⁴ and matched by the public treasury bring the total cost to £30,000. It was designed by architect George Messiter, constructed of imported American wood, and built solely by Jamaican labour under the supervision of the Public Works Department.



Figure 6.2: Quebec Lodge, 1891 Jamaica International Exhibition (National Library of Jamaica)

The exhibition was described as ‘the most extraordinary commercial event in the history of the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies’ (Booth 1972: 40). Canada, the United States, Europe (Britain, Italy, Austria, France, Belgium and Germany), other West Indian countries (Turks and Caicos, Windward Islands, Bahamas, Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Grenada, Grand Cayman, and Suriname) exhibited products, and, six Caribs from St. Vincent provided an added “exotic” feature to the exhibition (Booth 1972).

²³ Moors – the original Moors/Berbers/Libyans were black skinned. They are racially akin to the Ethiopians, Kushites, Nubians, Nigritae and Negroes

²⁴ Ernest Verley, noted horse breeder; George Stiebel (Jewish mulatto) millionaire and Custos of St. Andrew; and Col. Charles Ward, Custos of Kingston

It was considered successful as over Three Hundred Thousand people were in attendance including ordinary Black Jamaicans. They attended despite rumours of the possibility of their re-enslavement if they came in numbers; that their supply of agricultural foodstuffs to the exhibition was a ploy to increase their taxation; and that their savings in Penny Savings Banks would be confiscated (Moore and Johnson 2011: 246).

Newspapers reported that persons journeyed from far to visit the exhibition encouraged by the Governor's announcement that entrance would be free on April 24²⁵. As a result, the exhibition served as a venue for bringing together Jamaicans of all classes resulting in what was then described as a cultural symbiosis (Moore and Johnson 2011).

The Jamaica International Exhibition closed on May 2, 1891. It incurred a loss of £4,000, and unfortunately Quebec Lodge did not survive. An article in the Daily Gleaner, 28 January 1891 indicates that the building was sold to the Public Works Department for £800 and dismantled for its timber. The site now houses Wolmer's High School for girls.

By Cundall's death in 1937, the IOJ's collection consisted of 11,783 items including books and pamphlets, original manuscripts, newspapers, maps, and plans which became known and revered as the West India Reference Library and eventually formed the basis of the National Library of Jamaica²⁶. Cundall, like most whites who lived in Jamaica and accustomed to unearned privilege, enjoyed significant political power and social and cultural influence.

²⁵ Colonial Standard, 4 March and 15 April 1891

²⁶ Jamaica Gleaner online: October 16, 1999 "The work of Frank Cundall and K.E. Ingram".

Although he disregarded the material culture of African Jamaicans, he assiduously collected and published their traditional knowledge described by him as ‘negro’ proverbs. According to him: ‘They are, at all events, all sententious and quaint, and interesting as illustrative of negro thought and character’ (Cundall and Anderson 1927). An example of the proverbs collected is as follows:

‘When chicken tie up, cockroach want explanation’. I.e. When your natural enemy seems to be incapacitated, be suspicious (Cundall and Anderson 1927: 30).

6.2 Museum Development after Cundall: A Shift in Focus

Up to 1961 collecting the material culture of Black Jamaicans, and representing Blackness in museums was never considered the responsibility or interest of the IOJ. From the outset funding for museums was not seen as the responsibility of Government, however, the IOJ’s role was viewed as providing valuable advice to private museum initiatives. Cundall used his contacts in Jamaica and abroad to raise funds and garner donations of books and materials for the library and paintings for the gallery. Articles published in *The Daily Gleaner*²⁷ refer to the scarcity of Government funding for museums and put the onus on ‘men of substance [who] should make it a matter of pride to see that there is in some appropriate place a small museum’²⁸.

Further, there were advocates for establishment of partnerships between the Jamaica Historical Society and the IOJ for the purpose of establishment of a museum in Seville, St. Ann, the first Spanish city in Jamaica, to represent Spanish and Taino remains; a national museum at Old King’s House in Spanish Town; and a naval maritime museum at Port Royal. The article of January 13, 1958 laments the Government’s expenditure on sports clubs or sporting ventures and

²⁷ July 22, 1947; January 13, and November 26, 1958.

²⁸ *Daily Gleaner* July 22, 1947

suggests that expenditures on museums ‘to make more people aware of the nature of their past, and of the legacy of their forebears in the island are no less justifiable’ but are less forthcoming.

The un-named writer recognizes the crossroads approached by Jamaican people in 1958 occasioned by the imminent end of colonialism and the beginning of independence. However, aboriginal history is deemed irrelevant; and the fact that the majority of Jamaican people were of African descent and that museums that were relevant to their history were required, is completely ignored. In fact, the article states that in Ghana its ‘Gold Coast’ history was rightly being erased, and tacitly recommends the same for Jamaica, with adequate replacement of British heroes of international significance. In other words, the history of slavery in Jamaica should be forgotten while placing emphasis on British exploits in the island. The writer states:

Almost every nation emerging from Colonialism to independence develops a new consciousness of its past, sometimes asserting as strongly as possible certain aspects of its history because of the value of their bearing on the present. This trend has been most strongly pronounced in Ghana and is seen in the desire to eradicate both in nomenclature and public monuments, as many traces as possible of its historical phase as the Gold Coast. The fact that the present population of Jamaica consists almost exclusively of the descendants of transplants from Africa, Europe and Asia leaves little in the way of aboriginal history or greatness, which might have current relevance to recreate. The value of Arawak and even Spanish remains is mainly for the antiquarian and historian: their bearing on Jamaica’s present way of life is virtually nil... Museums which displayed legacies of Morgan and Nelson – to mention only the two best known of the many people whose destinies have been linked with the West Indies – would emphasise the vital role that this island has often played in the shaping of events which were international in their significance (The Daily Gleaner, Monday January 13, 1958) [my italics].

The writer’s view was in keeping with the observation that Jamaica’s population in the 1950’s suffered from conceptual confusion in that they largely believed themselves to be British loyalists, demonstrated by Dawes’ description of the JAMAICA 300 Festival held in 1955:

...the most elaborate national cultural event ever staged in Jamaica had been the JAMAICA 300 Festival mounted on a massive scale in 1955 to celebrate and applaud 300 years of British colonial rule in Jamaica, a magnificent gesture of loyalty. It was an

astounding popular salute to the hegemony of British culture in the history and fabric of the island, and Jamaica's cultural development continues to reverberate with its echoes (Dawes 1977: 53).

This conceptual confusion was borne out by Edna Manley (wife of Jamaica's first Premier (1959-1962) Norman Manley) renowned 'white' Jamaican sculptor, who in 1956 wrote about Black Jamaican children's art:

Children of twenty-five years ago – owing to some emotional confusion – were unable to paint the people around them. They produced a mixture of observation, and what they were taught should be their observations. As a result *we get pictures of [black] market women with yellow hair and blue eyes*. I am not really sure why or how this happened – it certainly implied a broad gap between something seen and an ideal which had been built up by some very confusing methods (Dawes 1977: 12) [my italic emphasis].

Independence from Britain in 1962 increased the pace of the march toward defining a Jamaican culture and personality distinct from Britain for the majority population, even while assessing the meaning of identity after over 400 years of enslavement and colonization. In this regard, Prof. Nettleford notes that:

...the African presence has not been given its proper place of centrality in that dynamic process of adjustment, adaptation, rejection, renewal and innovation. For the products of this cultural process are what constitute the mandates for a national cultural expression (Nettleford 1978: 72) [my italic emphasis].

A marked change took place in 1971 when Neville Dawes the first Black Executive Director of the Institute of Jamaica took the reins of the IOJ and declared his mission to use culture as a catalyst for development of all Jamaicans particularly underprivileged children who he suggests are left out of the 'national' feeling of being a Jamaican (Hamilton 1976).

Dawes, born in Nigeria (1926), the son of Jamaican missionaries in Nigeria, was schooled in Jamaica (Jamaica College), taught at Calabar High School, and went to Oriel College, Oxford to read English in 1948. For the period 1955-1963 he lived in Ghana, and was there for the momentous independence celebrations in 1957 when Kwame Nkrumah, a man with a Pan-African perspective and a reverence for Marcus Garvey and the UNIA-ACL took the helm of the first independent African government.

A Gleaner article indicates the change of direction of the IOJ by pointing to Mr. Dawes' pride in establishment of the Franklyn Town Junior Centre in a community that was then likely considered a ghetto, which in today's lingo is an inner-city community:

Whereas at the other Junior Centres activities centred around children who came from all over Kingston [all socio-economic backgrounds], the Franklin Town Centre had enlisted the interest of parents and community involvement (Hamilton 1976: 13) [my interpretation].

This could have been the catalyst for change within the IOJ, as it seems for the first time its administration considered the needs of communities in programme planning. Mr. Dawes was also instrumental in defining the role and purpose of the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica as a research arena for Afro-Caribbean music, dance and speech. The Gleaner quotes him:

The youth in the society and the children of primary schools are conscious, perhaps for the first time that the Institute belongs to them (Hamilton 1976:13).

Mr. Dawes prepared a cultural policy for Jamaica commissioned by UNESCO in 1979. It was therefore not unexpected that in his role of Executive Director he would acknowledge, in his fashioning of the cultural policy for Jamaica, that just twelve years after independence, Jamaica was at a crossroads in its cultural development and had to choose between remaining within the European cultural paradigm, or return to African cosmologies to retrieve and learn from the culture of our ancestors:

Culture and cultural development in Jamaica are on the threshold of transition and transformation from a situation where 'approved' cultural material and a set of activities were the preserve of an elite trained to foreign norms, to a democratic situation in which the materials of culture belong to all the people and draw their strength from authentic folk traditions (Dawes 1977: 52).

In an early 'background' section of the cultural policy document under the subhead of 'The peoples of Jamaica' Dawes acknowledges that in devising a cultural policy it must be taken into consideration that the term Jamaican was never used to represent the national identity of the majority population:

It is a fact of cardinal importance to contemporary cultural policy in Jamaica that the word 'Jamaican' was never used to designate a black person during slavery. The slave was either an 'African' or a 'Negro'; the word 'Jamaican' invariably indicated a white person. Jamaican cultural policy in the 1970's takes into account particularly the centuries of purely racial identity (in contradistinction to national identity) of the majority of the population (Dawes 1977: 11).

His focus, then, would be to give full weight to the historically neglected culture of the African Jamaican in development of cultural policy. He concluded that the Council of the Institute of Jamaica was critical to the transformation in that they must make all efforts to 'communicate valuable cultural works to all sections of the community'(Dawes 1977: 53). To take the necessary corrective action Dawes shifted the IOJ's epistemology established by Cundall in the 1890's, by raising questions about whose cultural knowledge is valuable and valued by the institution; and answering by privileging African Jamaicans in its collection and representation practice.

Dawes demitted the office of the Executive Director of the IOJ in 1981 shortly after a change of Government – the Democratic Socialist People's National Party (PNP) lost to the historically conservative right wing Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Since then, several temporary exhibitions have been mounted to represent the history of African Jamaicans. However, the basis of many of the exhibitions remained founded on European historical narratives that 'continue to accept the

purely triumphalist, European-centred terms of the displacers' (Wynter 1991: 4), rather than on the work of enlightened scholarship described earlier. For the period 1937 to when Mr. Neville Dawes was appointed as the IOJ's first Black Executive Director in 1971, successive IOJ Directors and museum curators had no inclination to challenge or escape the epistemology of colonialism as it relates to representation of Jamaica's Black population.

The 1970's, with its Black Power movements throughout the African Diaspora and notably in Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago, stirred debates in Parliament over the place of arts and culture in national development, and, the challenge that appeared to be the 'elephant' in the room was '...to restore to the vast majority of its [Black] people human dignity through their own cultural growth and development' (Nettleford 1978: 83).

The Institute of Jamaica Act, 1978 states that "... the function of the Institute of Jamaica shall be:

- (a) the research into study, encouragement and development of culture, science and history
- (b) the preservation of monuments as national monuments for public benefit
- (c) establishment of museums, and
- (d) the discharge of such other functions as may be conferred upon it by this Act or any other enactment.

In the next chapter, I will undertake a case study of the Folk Museum established in 1961 as the first ethnographic museum in Jamaica. Through the analysis I demonstrate that the history and culture of the majority Black population remains largely unrepresented in a manner that excites, educates, and empowers them, even into the 21st century.

Chapter 7

CASE STUDY: From British to Folk: Recalibrating Identity through Museum Development

7.0 Introduction: Old King's House, Spanish Town Square

British forces led by Admiral Sir William Penn and General Robert Veneables invaded and took possession of Jamaica from the Spanish on May 10, 1655. The English fleet of 36 ships with between 8–9,000 men aboard, more than the population of Jamaica which was estimated at 6,000, over ran the capital city, Villa de la Vega after only two days of a paltry resistance (Sherlock and Bennett 1998). Unable to mount a conventional war, the Spanish Governor Arnaldo (Y)Isasi (1656-1665), negotiated an alliance with Juan Lubolo (or to the British Juan de Bolas), and maroons under his leadership, and mounted guerrilla warfare for the next five years (Senior 2003: 292).

This pattern of resistance, commitment to achievement and maintenance of freedom was not unique to Jamaica but was replicated in other Caribbean islands (Cuba, Haiti, Guadeloupe and other French Islands) and in South (Suriname; Peru, Columbia, Brazil), North (Florida Seminoles) and Central (Mexico) Americas by Africans, many of whom were once enslaved and some who fled to the hills or to the interior soon after their arrival. These warrior communities, Maroons, Cimarròns, and Bush Negroes, played major roles in the development of 'new' world societies, alongside their enslaved counterparts who although captive, brought the war to plantation whites.

Jamaica's Maroons forced the British to sign peace treaties in 1658 and in 1739 that gave them land and autonomous political control over their settlements. But, by the terms of the treaties, replicated throughout the Region regardless of the colonial power, maroons became collaborators in enslavement of Africans by agreeing to be an internal police force thus closing the route to freedom through flight from estates. Similarly, treaties with Maroons in Columbia, Mexico, and Suriname granted pardons, and conferred freedom on identifiable groups, providing that runaway Africans were returned and not allowed to live among them (Sherlock and Bennett 1998: 129).

The seat of Spanish Governance was the Spanish Hall of Audience in Villa de la Vega (Spanish Town) established as the capital of Santiago (Spain's name for Jamaica) by Governor Francisco de Garay (1514-1523), the second Governor of Jamaica. The British demolished the building in 1761 and by 1762 rebuilt on the site what is now referred to as Old King's House, the home of British Governors until 1872 when the capital was relocated to Kingston. Spanish Town was the social and administrative capital of the island and was the focal point of activities during the months of October-December considered the 'dead season' on plantations (Senior 2003: 453).

The square in front of Old King's House contained several public buildings: House of Assembly (1762 which now houses the Parish Council Offices), Court House (built in 1820 on a site that once housed a cemetery, chapel and an armoury, and in ruins), and Record Office and Armoury, linked together by the Rodney Memorial²⁹ (built 1790-1801) (Senior 2003). The imperial relevance of this Georgian square is described as:

²⁹ Memorial, built at a cost of £1,000 in honour of Admiral George Rodney (1718-92) who thwarted the French in their attempt to invade Jamaica in 1782. The memorial consists of an eight foot statue of Rodney on a square pedestal, set in an octagonal temple featuring eight circular columns supported by buttresses. Curving colonnaded walkways link the temple to buildings on either side of it.

... a clear, definite and readable record of English civilization as it had developed, and left its indelible mark on the world of affairs, in the eighteenth Century. By these buildings it was an easy matter, for those who had some knowledge of architectural history, to see how we governed a distant community, how we measured justice as between man and man, and by what means we had discovered won and held an empire together³⁰.

The importance of Old Kings House to analysis of the Folk Museum (People's Museum of Craft and Technology) warrants a description of its architectural merits:

The facade of King's House was about 61m long. It was built of freestone from the Hope River, with columns of Portland stone, and a pavement of white marble that came out as ballast on ships. A ballroom ran the length of the building and was the centre of social life in colonial times (Senior 2003: 264).

There were double entrances from the portico, one leading into a central lobby or ante-chamber, the other directly into the huge reception hall on the left. This last was the principal feature of the building. It was 75 feet long by 30 feet broad, the height 32 feet, or that of both the ground floor and the upper story. At the south end were three folding doors opening into a room used for the meetings of the Council. There was a gallery to the west of the Great Hall ... and beyond that a covered terrace running the whole length of the building. Additional galleries contributed to the spacious effect on the next floor, where the Governor and his family had a suite of apartments. A tropical garden was cultivated in the centre of the yard – a sort of patio, which must have struck a Spanish note, for the space was enclosed on all sides. To the west were the kitchen, pantries and servants' quarters; to the south the coach house, *stables*, a granary, etc.³¹

The portico of King's House was the setting in which many important events were heralded including Governor Lionel Smith's (1836-1839) reading of the proclamation of the abolition of slavery on August 1, 1838, to a parade of 2,000 Africans³² from surrounding plantations, granting 'full free' to 311,000 enslaved persons in Jamaica in 1838 (Senior 2003: 177).

³⁰ The Old King's House, Jamaica. Country Life, Dec. 21st 1929, National Library of Jamaica

³¹ Old King's House, Spanish Town. Brochure made by the Old King's House Restoration Committee to raise funds by voluntary subscription, 1959. National Library of Jamaica

³² Ibid

On October 9, 1924 a fire of unknown origin engulfed Old King's House and left in its wake only the front portico, eastern façade and stables standing. Little of the antique furnishings were saved, and the building, although owned by the Government, was not insured. A news correspondent on the scene wrote: 'The glory is departed... Old King's House, that shrine of many memories, that remnant of departed glories, was burnt'³³.

In 1929 the charred remains were deemed not beyond repair, and 'a public spirited local committee' chaired by Lady Swettenham (wife of Sir James Alexander Swettenham former Governor of Jamaica 1904-1907) was reported as urgently lobbying the Royal Institute of British Architects for their support for it to be rebuilt as a National Monument. The objectives of her proposals are as follows:

We want to make a gallery of arts, simple arts that our people can see and copy, and teach and uplift their ideas.... A collection of good, simple models, wood-carving, turnery, iron work, leather work, carpentering, house models and plans, painted furniture, quilts and quilting, patch work, hooked rugs, embroidery, crochet, etc., would be of immense value³⁴.

From the objectives given, Lady Swettenham's plan involved creation of what could be described as a vocational craft or a Folk Art Centre. Although her efforts were supported in England by a similar committee formed in London and chaired by Sir Martin Conway³⁵ nothing came of Lady Swettenham's plan.

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Old King's House, Spanish Town, Brochure for purposes of soliciting funds by voluntary subscription, May, 1959

³⁵ Ibid

Today the Spanish Town square, renamed 'Emancipation Square' in 1997³⁶ is no longer a focal point for town activity. The National Heritage Trust declared Spanish Town a historic district, and in 1988 it was placed on Jamaica's tentative list for UNESCO's consideration of the square as a world heritage site. It is no longer on Jamaica's tentative list, and, to date Jamaica has no listings of world heritage sites.

The original town was of 2.6km² in area with 40 streets and lanes (Senior 2003: 453). The streets that surround the square are comprised of town houses dating back over one hundred and fifty years; made of red brick, shuttered with wood jalousies, with entrances that, for the most part, abut the sidewalks. Lanes or alleyways ran at the back of houses on the major streets through which servants gained entrance and on which they built their small dwellings. When the capital was moved to Kingston in 1872, Spanish Town lost its grandeur as government and administrative workers, and merchants moved away from Spanish Town and the buildings they occupied began their structural decline.

Around these already decaying structures are make-shift dwellings that are occasioned by the rapid increase in the population of Spanish Town - 110,379 in 1991; 131,515 in 2001³⁷ - the lack of housing and other infrastructure, and economic challenges of its inhabitants. The Old Court House is a victim of vandalism by the removal of its red-bricks for sale, as seemingly out of necessity, Spanish Town inhabitants put their economic interests above historical reverence, and have little concern for, or knowledge of, the Square's history. Violence, poverty, lack of basic

³⁶ With Independence in 1962 the Government ended celebration of Emancipation Day and replaced it with Independence Day August 6. In 1997 Emancipation Day was reinstated in response to public demand. *Jamaica Information Service*.

³⁷ www.statinja.gov.jm/Popcensus.aspx

infrastructural services, and desperate choices made by residents transformed the Spanish Town community from an ‘inner-city’ or ghetto community into a political garrison.



Figure 7.1: Old King's House – surviving portico and façade (photo by author)



Figure 7.2: Old King's House - rear view of surviving portico and façade (photo by author)



Figure 7.3: Old King's House - View from the Square (photo by author)



Figure 7.4: Old House of Assembly (photo by author)



Figure 7.5: ecord Office and Armoury linked together by the Rodney Memorial (photo by author)



Figure 7.6: Old Court House (photo by author)

7.1 The Genesis of the Folk Museum

As mentioned earlier, plans for the rebuilding of Old King's House were unsuccessful in the 1930's. The idea comes back in vogue in 1954 on the eve of Britain's Tercentenary Year, 1955 in Jamaica. A Committee was convened by Governor Sir Hugh Foot (1951 – 1957) whose objective was to 'consider ways and means of reconstructing Old King's House' so as to establish it as Jamaica's National Museum to display furniture, paintings, and exhibits of the 18th and 19th centuries³⁸. A Report of that committee's Architectural Sub-Committee held on 8 June 1954, and chaired by Mr. C. Bernard Lewis, Director of IOJ, agreed that the building should be restored to provide a National Centre and Historical Museum to permanently mark the Tercentenary Year³⁹. It was further agreed that restoration of the Ballroom and Legislative Council Chamber should take place; funds should be amassed to carry out restoration; and a detailed survey of the site should be undertaken.

Mr. Charles Bernard Lewis succeeded Frank Cundall in September 1939 as Curator of the IOJ and became IOJ's Director in 1950. His ethnicity and interesting biography places him among the elite intelligentsia of Jamaica. He boasts a wide variety of committee memberships, chairmanships, advisory roles to Ministries, and his involvement in the sphere of education empowered him to participate in determination of what history was published and available in books; what persons were monumentalized; and what constituted art and craft. His biographical information is as follows:

Lewis, Charles Bernard, Jr., O.B.E. (Hony. 1957), B.A. (1935), Biologist; mem. Ex. Cttee. Natural History Society of Jamaica since 1941, President 1942-47, 1955-57, Editor since 1941; Secretary (Govt.) Wild Life Advisory Cttee. 1940-45; mem. Wild Life

³⁸ *Governor to open Folk Museum*, The Daily Gleaner, Friday, October 27, 1961

³⁹ Old King's House – Spanish Town; Minutes of Architectural Sub-Committee Meeting, 8th June 1954. Archives of the Institute of Jamaica

Protection Cttee. since 1945; mem. Ex. Cttee. Jamaica Historical Society since 1946, President 1952-54; Secretary (Govt.) Historical Monuments Cttee. 1943-49; mem. Advisory (to Ministry of Communications & Works) Cttee. on Historical Monuments 1955-59; mem. National Trust Commission; mem. Scientific Research Cttee. since 1958; Vice-Chairman Zoo Cttee.; mem. Advisory Cttee. Publications Branch Ministry of Education since 1957; mem. Arts Advisory Cttee. Ministry of Housing & Social Welfare; mem. Festival of Arts Cttee.; Chairman Jamaica section Federal (West Indies) National Art Collection Cttee.; mem. Board of Management Jamaica School of Arts & Crafts since 1951; mem. Standing Advisory Cttee. on Postage Stamps since 1954; President Jamaica Library Assn. 1954-55; Vice-President Bolivarian Society of Jamaica 1954-57; hony. mem. Royal Naval Bird Watching Society; mem. British Ecological Society; mem. American Ornithological Union; mem. Florida Audubon Society; mem. Geological Society of Jamaica; born Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A. April 9, 1913; son of Charles B. Lewis, M.D., & Mary A Stevens, his wife; Ed. Public Schools, West Chester, Pennsylvania, & Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University 1931-35; Graduate Student & Instructor Johns Hopkins Univ. (Baltimore) 1935-36; mem. Oxford Univ. Biological Expedition to Cayman Islands 1938; Oxford Univ. (Rhodes Scholar from New England District) 1936-39; elected member Sigma XI (Hony. American Scientific Society) 1935; Religion: Protestant; married Lucille Olive daughter Cuthbert H. Bodden, Merchant⁴⁰.

Mr. Lewis believed that if partial restoration of the Old King's House building took place it could be decorated with historical objects; that the ballroom could once again host state functions and other rooms serve for committee meetings. According to him, the design of the other portions of the building and any structure to be erected at the rear of the premises would be determined by the accommodation required. He anticipated the collection of period furniture for display in rooms which would recapture the atmosphere of the period. Paintings of the period and particularly portraits; historical objects and the like, would be conveniently placed through the building.

He envisaged a Library Reading Room where selected volumes would be displayed. In the rear of the premises he proposed to provide air-conditioned facilities for a National Library of Jamaica; space for an extensive manuscript collection; and files of Jamaican newspapers and

⁴⁰ Who's Who Jamaica 1957, National Library of Jamaica

collections of prints and maps⁴¹. Mr. Lewis envisioned a museum that represented European art, culture and grandeur associated with British hegemony. A Folk Museum was never mentioned.

Another document⁴², though undated and presupposed to have been written in 1954, proposes to do what was outlined by the architectural sub-committee above, as well as preparation of a book by the Publication Sub-Committee on the proposed National Centre. With this book the Committee hoped to raise funds for the undertaking. While the Tercentenary Year was celebrated in Jamaica with much pomp and circumstance (Dawes 1977), the National Centre and the Historical Museum were never built. In fact, the restoration of Old King's House was never undertaken.

The confluence of interests between the Jamaica Historical Society and the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ) is expressed in an article written by Lewis, titled 'The Tea Party at the Institute of Jamaica'⁴³. It describes an event at the IOJ on 21 March 1958 in the Exhibition Gallery of the IOJ. The occasion was attended by a total of 85 members of the IOJ and their spouses, including the new Governor Sir Kenneth Blackburne (18 December 1957 –6 August 1962) and his wife Lady Blackburne who had become patrons of the Historical Society.

The event's objective was to introduce to Jamaica's cultural elite 18 paintings recently acquired by the IOJ and deemed to be of 'considerable historical interest': 6 oil paintings depicting properties owned by the Marquis of Sligo (Governor of Jamaica 1834-36) in St. Catherine

⁴¹ Old King's House – Spanish Town; Minutes of Architectural Sub-Committee Meeting, 8th June 1954. Archives of the Institute of Jamaica

⁴² Notes on King's House (Spanish Town) Reconstruction; Archives of the Institute of Jamaica, undated

⁴³ The Jamaica Historical Society, Bulletin, March 1957 to December 1960, Index to Volume II (Nos. 1-16) pp.86-7

(Cocoa Walk – listed as having 172 slaves; Kelly’s Estate – 148 slaves and 79 stock; and Highgate); a series of 4 water colour sketches of the Battle of the Saints; 5 gouaches of Jamaican scenes by Balenger, and 2 paintings by Augustine Burnias (“Villagers Merry-making in the Island of St. Vincent; and “The West Indian Washerwoman”) and a portrait of Charles, Lord Metcalf⁴⁴.

What is interesting about the content of this article is the welcome delivered by Mr. J. E. Clare McFarlane, O.B.E., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the IOJ; a Black man born in St. Catherine; well known Poet Laureate of Jamaica (crowned April 1953); and considered an important member of the Black middle class. He took the opportunity to renew ‘the plea of the Board of Governors for a National Historical Museum [to be erected] behind the facade of the Old Kings House in Spanish Town’ as well as the urgent need for ‘a fire-proof building for the West India Reference Library’⁴⁵. McFarlane’s achievements are outlined in the Who’s Who Jamaica⁴⁶ as follows:

McFarlane, John Ebenezer Clare, O.B.E. (1947), J.P. (1948), F.R.S.A. (1926), Poet Author; retired Govt. Officer; Poet Laureate of Jamaica (crowned April 1953); Chairman Municipal Services, Comm. & Parish Councils Services Comm.; Financial Secretary Jamaica 1953-54; Accountant-General Ha. 1949-53; Deputy Financial Secy. & Treas. Of Ja. 1944-19; Commissioner of Currency 1945-54; Co-founder (1923) President (1923-36), Hon. Secy. ((1926-45), President (since 1945) The Poetry League of Jamaica; mem. The Mark Twain Society since 1926; 1st Vice-Pres & Chairman Ex-Co. Jamaica Civil Service Assn. 1934-44 & ’45. Pres. 1947-52; Co-Manager Ja. Civil Service Mutual Guarantee Assn. 1945-52; Past Pres. Readers & Writers Club; Patron Ja. Arts Society; b. Spanish Town, ST. Catherine, Dec. 12, 1894, s. Late Charles Samuel McFarlane, Schoolmaster, & Imogene Spencer, his wife; Ed. by private tuition, Cornwall College 1909-12, private studies & extra curricula in English Language & Literature, London Univ. Summer Course 1931; awarded Musgrave Silver Medal by Governors of the Institute of Jamaica 1935; Gold Medal 1958; Recreation: Walking, Motoring & Swimming.

⁴⁴ Ibid: 86

⁴⁵ Ibid: 87

⁴⁶ Who’s Who Jamaica 19... p. 365

McFarlane's classical training imbued him with beliefs consistent with those of a good British subject. While his writings (Donnell and Welsh 1996) appear critical of the institutions that governed Caribbean life and therefore made him seem to be forward thinking, in the face of economic, social, political, and cultural upheavals in Jamaica in the late 1930's, his defence of poetry on the grounds that it was 'acultural and apolitical' rendered him unsympathetic towards the difficulties faced by the masses and firmly placed him in the camp of the ruling class. That is, the depression in the United States affected the conditions of the Jamaican masses. Island wide labour upheavals lead to the 1938 labour riots for increased wages that propelled Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante onto the political stage, were ignored by him as he clung to the idea that poetry transcended 'crisis'. In his 1935 address to the Poetry League of Jamaica titled 'The Challenge of Our Time', he declared:

As representatives of a great tradition we offer you poetry, upon which we feel certain the true foundation of this Empire rests and by which it will be preserved throughout the storm that hangs above the horizon of civilization. We of the Poetry League... propose to initiate a study of European Philosophy and History as a necessary step toward an understanding of the Past, but we go forward into the future assured that only on the highest principles of human conduct as enunciated in the immortal poetry of all ages can we proceed to any lasting human good (Donnell and Welsh 1996: 143).

As Wynter (Scott 2000) suggests, his education constrains him from imagining a Jamaican reality outside of the British Empire through creation of its own poetry and prose. Further, in spite of the Garvey movement's popularity in Jamaica through its focus on Afro-centric cultural expressions, demonstrated by the poetry published in Garvey's *Blackman* newspaper (1929-1931); the *New Jamaican* (1932-1933) magazine and the *Black Man* magazine (1933 in Jamaica to 1939 in England); all available during McFarlane's lifetime, he seems to lack tools to challenge the Euro-centric context in which literature is encased, and therefore no inclination to attempt retrieval of African forms of expression. He suggested that 'poetry might serve the hungry and ragged populace' through moral rather than social amelioration (Donnell and Welsh

1996: 144), ideas that belied the nationalistic push of the times. The honoured place he held among the ruling class was demonstrated in 1934 when he was invited by the Colonial Secretary's Office to compose a poem for use in connection with His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester's visit to Jamaica. This he did, titled *All Things Await Thee*.

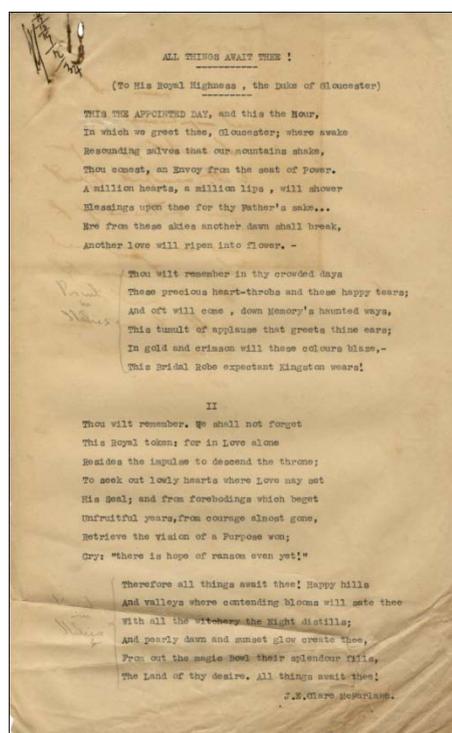


Figure 7.7: National Library of Jamaica

It is a safe conjecture that Mr. McFarlane's ideas and support for the Empire inured him to members of the Board of the Institute of Jamaica, over which he presided. Of note in its absence from Mr. McFarlane's accomplishments, is his lack of membership to any of the elite sports or membership clubs in Jamaica. As a result of McFarlane's plea, Governor Blackburne reconvened the Committee in 1958, naming it the Committee for the Restoration of Old Kings House and in so doing would actualize the suggestion in the Gleaner, for a link to be made

between the teaching of history and museums⁴⁷. Blackburne's Committee decided on a three tiered approach⁴⁸:

1. The repair of the stables and the establishment of a Folk Museum;
2. The construction of the main framework of a building behind the existing facade so as to ensure preservation of the facade; and
3. The final restoration of the main building for use as a National Museum.

There is little explanation, however, regarding why or whose idea it was to create a Folk Museum and how it obtained the privileged place of first tier on the Committee's approach to restoration of Old King's House. Did the idea emerge out of discussions about Jamaica's impending Independence in the same way that thought was given to restoration of Old King's House in time for the Tercentenary Year? Why did the Committee believe that the stable was the appropriate venue for the Folk Museum? These questions are unanswered in the files accessed in the IOJ's archives which provide data up to 1958 and then beginning again in 1960. I have been unable to locate the file pertaining to the Old King's House Restoration Committee for 1959 which may hold the answers to the above mentioned questions.

In a letter to the Governor regarding Old King's House (July 15, 1959) reference is made to an article in the Star (tabloid newspaper) of July 11, 1959 appealing for 'ancient items for the Folk Museum'. This letter is one of a series between July 1959 and December 1960 that express willingness of individuals, estate owners and managers to donate items to the Museum. The file also contains an undated and un-authored document titled *The Folk Museum in Old King's House, Spanish Town* that sets out what a Folk Museum is and lists the objects needed for its actualization. It is possible that this document formed the basis of the advertisement that was

⁴⁷ *Museums*, The Daily Gleaner, Monday, January 13, 1958

⁴⁸ *Governor to open Folk Museum*, The Daily Gleaner, Friday, October 27, 1961

placed in the Star, as the letters referred to above seem to answer a call for objects. The document defines a Folk Museum thusly:

A Folk Museum is a Museum of the people of a country. It is a collection of objects preserved and displayed to show how our forefathers lived. Our Folk Museum will help us to remember that past generations did not have the conveniences of today.

After this definition and declaration of what 'our' museum will do, the writer quotes extensively from persons in the United States whose names and specific state are unmentioned, who developed such a museum and by doing so suggests that the opinions expressed in regard to that museum are identical to those intended by the creators of Jamaica's Folk Museum:

Upon the creation of a local Folk Museum in the United States it was said: "This Museum has been built on the conviction that people who understand their heritage are better equipped to face the present and the future. From the knowledge of the resourcefulness, the ingenuity and the pleasures of our people in the past comes pride and the confidence that we too shall solve our problems and look forward to tomorrow",⁴⁹.

The document goes on to indicate that a wide variety of objects are required for 'our' Folk Museum especially 'common-place things of the past from the cottages, the outbuildings and the work shops'. The writer then states that after these common-place things are collected they will at a later date want 'the fine furnishings of the Great Houses'. He/she warns, however, that 'many of the objects we seek have been discarded or put aside as of no value to the present'. Suggestions of the object requirements were listed as follows:

Blacksmith equipment, cooper's tools, cobbler's bench and tools, harness maker's tools and old harness, implements of the kitchen, stoneware jugs, old iron chests, locks and keys, saddles, tubs, washboards, puncheons, churns, mortars (stone and wooden), wheelwright equipment, rum measures, John Crow mill, copper boilers, shingle splitting tools, old axes, pitsaws, ox yokes, any hand made tools, hoes and other agricultural implements, buckets, horse shoes, lamps, ploughs, wooden barrows, *branding irons*, *slave shackles*, corn mill, coffee pulper, ox wains, Post Office delivery cart, cutlasses,

⁴⁹ *The Folk Museum in Old King's House, Spanish Town*, Institute of Jamaica, File # G/F9, Folk Museum 1961

rough furniture for cottages and schools (any hand made stools, tables, chairs for outbuildings, etc.), poured glass window panes, brooms (my emphasis).⁵⁰

The writer of the document could not devise authentic reasons for establishment of the museum beyond a general statement that would serve to remind viewers that ‘past generations’ did not have today’s conveniences. Jamaica’s history of chattel slavery and colonialism as contributory to the existence or use of the objects by folk, namely African Jamaicans is left unexplored or explained by the writer. The museum could have easily been named the Plantation Works Museum as the majority of the objects required were in use on rural plantations during and after slavery including the branding irons and slave shackles; with few objects crossing over to reflect folk life in urban areas.

The writer’s lack of original thought on the subject is confirmed by appropriation of the statement composed by the creators of the unidentified Folk Museum in the United States (US). Yet, when the statement is interrogated, we find that there is little planned for representation in Jamaica’s Folk Museum that would result in the educative and emotional response described by its US counterpart and presented as a paradigm. For example, the term heritage is defined as:

Property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance; valued things such as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations; of special value and worthy of preservation (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1999).

From the outset, the writer states that ‘many of the objects we seek have been discarded or put aside as of no value to the present’. If this was the case then whose heritage should these discarded objects represent, and, how would one, through knowledge of them, be better equipped

⁵⁰ Ibid

to face the present and the future? None of the objects actually reflect the ethos of the soon to be Independent African Jamaican, although many (saddles, tubs, washboards, puncheons, churns, mortars (stone and wooden), handmade stools, tables, chairs etc.) were created through the resourcefulness and the ingenuity of people charged with the task of survive or die. In order for the objects to generate a sense of pride and instil confidence, the narrative required must contextualize the history from the perspective of the people who used and created the objects.

What is of interest is the fact that in 1891 Jamaica's International Exhibition showcased the same tools, machines, and objects many of which were provided by the London Committee, as demonstrative of the British Empire's industrial successes in producing machines to process the raw materials of Jamaica and the wider Caribbean. Further, Parish Committees requested African Jamaicans to provide similar objects representing their material culture. Recall in Chapter 6 the provision of and requests for objects for the International Exposition.

The Governor's request for reclamation of similar objects for the folk museum seventy years later, not to demonstrate Britain's industrial power, but to be representative of African Jamaican folk, and ostensibly to emit pride and confidence in the people of the new nation, demonstrates the low regard he had for the majority population. Donors of objects to the Folk Museum included individuals, several estates and properties in rural Jamaica, bauxite companies, various Government Departments, and rural Parish Councils. It is instructive to review a selected few paragraphs from their letters to the Governor/Committee regarding donations:

Referring to your letter of the 10th instant I am pleased to be able to inform you that I have been able to unearth a few items which might serve as exhibits in the Folk Museum...: From Harmony Hall Estate: An Ink Well and Stand; From Mr. A.D. Gray of Falmouth: A Cooper's Tool and an Anvil part; From R.D. Smedmore of Vale Royal: an

old Water Jug (not a Spanish Jar); From Mr. H.R. Milliner of Falmouth: The working parts of a Spanish Flintlock Musket apparently unearthed on his property by a plough some years ago; From the Hon. W.V. Parnell: An old Cattle Branding Iron formerly used at Braco Estate...He tells me that this Branding Iron may be many years old as a facsimile of it is found in the old Braco Slave Record.(Mr. J.W.T. Dunlop, 13th August 1959; File #G/F9, Institute of Jamaica Archives)

I have much pleasure in offering an old “Stone Mortar” which may serve some purpose. (Sgd. (Miss) Rhoda Robinson; 15th July 1959; File #G/F9, Institute of Jamaica Archives)

Some time ago while digging around Petersville Land Settlement in Westmoreland I discovered an old bell that appears to have once been a ship’s bell and afterwards used on the plantation for summoning the slaves. (Sgd. C.P. deFreitas, Commissioner of Lands; 29th July 1959; File #G/F9, Institute of Jamaica Archives)

A variety of the objects donated above and those listed as required for The Folk Museum may have been principally handled by African Jamaicans in their work on plantations but not necessarily representative of their ‘heritage’. Although not so stated, the Folk Museum was to be interpretive of African Jamaica’s cultural capital which, by definition, could be drawn on to conform to a certain set of societal values (Freeman 2005: 142). If museums are considered part of the educational offerings of a society, then the way in which interpretation of the ‘folk’ is transmitted in the Folk Museum is demonstrative of education as a tool for cultural alienation and annihilation. The above mentioned objects renders that culture woefully inferior especially as set against the culture of the British Empire, of which African Jamaicans were deemed to be recent members.

The Folk Museum, to my mind, was an idea that seemed appropriate by the Governor and the Director of the IOJ to mark Jamaica’s Independence from Britain as it would concede for the first time that Jamaica had a majority population of African heritage, although never naming them as such, and, that their identity, although taught to the contrary since 1866, was not in fact British. The importance of this concession is earlier put in context by Cundall:

So far as the future is concerned, there is no doubt that the bulk of the people of the British West Indies of African origin *will become what Great Britain helps them to become*. They have hitherto been moulded by British thought and example... They readily adopt British habits, customs and dress...the people of the West Indies are as loyal subjects as are to be found in the British Empire and the negro peasants well know that they are far better off under the Union Jack...(Cundall 1928: 67) [my emphasis].

The necessity to introduce a different identity for African Jamaicans may have been at the forefront of discussions by Committee members, and the architects of this new identity would have perhaps deemed it solved using the same Eurocentric paradigms of their ancestors. The fact that a Committee was already in place for the restoration of Old King's House; that the facade was the site for the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation; and that it was once the seat of British governance and authority; created a fitting foreground for a museum dedicated to the once enslaved population whose lives, in their estimation, had been enabled through British moulding, and who were now ready to take the final leap toward political Independence. As its final act, Great Britain would help them to become Jamaicans through establishment of the Folk Museum, while never addressing the fundamental and deep seated issues associated with slavery, colonialism, and Independence, and while showing little regard for their material culture.

For them, the Folk Museum would represent Blackness in museums for the first time in the over four hundred years of Britain's colonisation of Jamaica, and eighty two years since the establishment of the Institute of Jamaica which had responsibility for museum development. The decision to do so was made without obvious consultation with, or participation of, Black Jamaicans and was in fact led by the hands-on participation of Governor Blackburne, the Jamaica Historical Society, and the Institute of Jamaica. 'Blackness' would be represented as 'other'.



Figure 7.8: Sir Kenneth Blackburne (in black) at the Opening of the Legislative Council 1961 (National Library of Jamaica)



Figure 7.9: Stables of Old King's House – The Folk Museum (photo by author)

Renovating the stables to house the museum suggests the inferior status conferred on material culture that purportedly had to do with Black people, and reinforces the European held notion that African Jamaicans had only partially achieved ‘civilization’ through their adaptation and ‘creolization’ of European methods of existence. The stable, which before 1958 in all of the minutes of meetings of the Old King’s House Restoration Committee and Daily Gleaner news

reports was never considered of importance to Old King's House or the Square and the renovation initiatives; is symbolic of the perceived place of African Jamaicans - behind whites, as represented by the Old King's House; occupying the stable, the space reserved for animals.

Discussions had been had earlier in 1958 about providing modern air-conditioned buildings behind the proposed Old King's House renovation that would possibly hold a library, but this was not taken on board with regard to establishment of the Folk Museum. In deed no modern innovations were applied to establishing the museum except the electrical mechanism that rendered the waterwheel at its entrance, functional.

The term 'folk' literally means members of one's family. In describing a museum it means of or relating to the traditional arts or culture of a community or nation⁵¹. The term folk museum is used interchangeably with Open-Air museums; Living Museum; Living Farm Museum and Living History Museum. These designations describe attempts to re-create life in a particular historical period so that visitors could immerse themselves through exhibits that conjure the culture, environment, and working conditions of the period.

As such these museums demonstrate old lifestyles such as undertaking household chores like cooking, curing meat, making cloth; and the work of traditional craftsmen/women like the blacksmith, cooper, potter, saw mill worker, and general store keeper. In Europe the Living Museum focuses on the built environment, while in the United States, costumed interpreters

⁵¹ www.answers.com

portray the lives of people of a particular era to modern audiences. Colonial Williamsburg is the most well known Open-air Museum in the United States⁵².

It is curious that the Governor and those on his Committee did not consider establishment of a Folk Art Museum. Perhaps they did not perceive that rural Jamaicans had the time and energy to produce things of beauty that were functional and for their own pleasure. Or, perhaps they held to Cundall's view that Black Jamaican people were incapable of creating art.

According to the Columbia Encyclopaedia:

Folk Art – the art works of a culturally homogeneous people produced by artists without formal training. The forms of works are generally developed into a tradition that is either cut off from or tenuously connected to the contemporary cultural mainstream.

Folk Art is generally nationalistic in character and expresses the values and aspirations of a culturally united group. Much folk art possesses a rough-hewn quality frequently admired and imitated by sophisticated artists⁵³.

Given these definitions of folk art, it is possible that if African Jamaicans were engaged in the creation of the Folk Museum, they would have provided folk art objects such as decorative yabbas made according to West African traditions; basketry of all kinds including those used in the home to contain treasured pieces of jewellery; decorative carvings on tortoiseshells, alabaster, and wood; needlework that adorn bedspreads, doilies and baby clothes for example; hand crafted furniture pieces and the like.

⁵² www.colonialwilliamsburg.com

⁵³ www.answers.com/columbia/encyclopedia

These objects would not have been known to the Committee members, for it is certain that they had never visited the homes of the people for whom they were devising representation. Instead, the museum curators focussed on objects largely used by African Jamaicans in the course of their work on plantations, in their own agricultural fields, objects crafted for their survival, and produced by them for trade. Here it is worth repeating that emancipation gave African Jamaicans the freedom to starve or find some way to survive.

7.2 The Folk Museum – Development of the Idea

In 1960, Governor Blackburne announced that the Old King's House Restoration Fund had amassed £10,000 and work had started on the Folk Museum at Old King's House, Spanish Town⁵⁴. In a later article he indicated that 'all the money has been collected privately except for a small initial grant from the Government to get the fund going⁵⁵. The first stage, repair of stables for establishment of the Folk Museum, was underway by 1959 with work undertaken by Mr. Harold Ashwell, F.R.I.B.A., A.A. As his biography below states, although born in Germany, Ashwell was a product of South African education (1916-25) shortly after the Native's Land Act of 1913 was made into law, becoming the cornerstone of the South Africa's Apartheid system. He was therefore exposed to the inhumane treatment of Black people and no doubt taught narratives that obliterated them from South African history. For a brief period, 1925-33 his travels afforded him education and work experience, which served him well as he joined the ranks of Jamaica's white upper class, enjoying all of the privileges of their elite clubs and associations.

Diploma, London 1930; Architect & Sportsman; Senior Partner Ashwell, Dunn & Associates, Chartered Architects; 1st Pres. Ja. Society of Architects; mem. Ja. Imperial Assn.; Prop. Mona Hotel, St. Andrew, since 1937; Golf Champion of Jamaica 1935, '36, & '37; Boy Golf Champion, Western Province, South Africa, 1923 & 1924; *born in Hamburg, Germany in 1907; educated in South African College, Cape Town 1916-25;*

⁵⁴ *Work on Old King's House Folk Museum starts*, The Sunday Gleaner, December 4, 1960

⁵⁵ *Folk Museum Nearly Ready*, The Daily Gleaner, 29 May 1961

became a student of Architectural Association, London 1925-30; worked in Holland, Germany & Italy 1930-31; Vancouver, Canada 1932-33; entered private practice in Jamaica 1933-39; and was attached to the Public Works Department 1939-46. He was a member of nearly all of Jamaica's elite clubs: the Royal Jamaica Yacht Club, Caymanas Golf & Country Club; and Malvern Country & Constant Spring Golf Clubs⁵⁶ [my emphasis].

In preparation for establishment of the Museum an employment advertisement was placed in the Sunday Gleaner of December 4, 1960 that read:

An Assistant is required in connection with the establishment of the Folk Museum at Old King's House, Spanish Town. Applicants should have a good general education and a keen interest in history and/or antiquarian studies. Salary of about £900 per annum... Travelling will be required...The assignment could lead to a permanent appointment in connection with the development of historical collections. Applications in writing, stating qualifications, should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Jamaica, not later than the 10th December 1960⁵⁷.

Governor Blackburne was quoted in an article dated May 29, 1961⁵⁸, speaking after a meeting of the Old Kings House Restoration Committee, that 'the remains of the House and the adjoining museum would be open in time for the next tourist season'. He further indicated that exhibits were already in place and that infrastructure necessary for the safe guarding of the museum and the comfort of tourists were in place⁵⁹. Judging from Sir Kenneth's statements he believed that the historic square, Kings House, and the museum would be sightseeing attractions to thousands of tourists who would find on show in the museum 'many facets of traditional life'. To benefit from this influx of tourists an entrance fee to the museum was planned to garner money from the venture⁶⁰; as well as a refreshment bar.

⁵⁶ Who's Who Jamaica (1957)

⁵⁷ *Folk Museum*, The Sunday Gleaner, December 4, 1960

⁵⁸ *Folk Museum Nearly Ready*, The Daily Gleaner, 29 May 1961

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Ibid

The article indicated that in the converted stables that housed the Museum a complete ‘wattle and daub’ peasant cottage was erected equipped with old instruments. A carpenter’s shop and a blacksmith’s shop are included along with a water wheel used to power sugar mills will be a feature of the bar area. Soon to come would be a village shop; cooper’s shop; tile shop; and fishermen’s gear would be added for the opening. On the outside of King’s House and the stables, exhibits of an old coffee mill made to work using animals would be demonstrated; an example of the oldest sugar mills; old buggies, hearses, and harnesses were already in place.

The Governor made several statements regarding The Folk Museum’s representation of history that were quoted in the article and are important for this analysis. He declared the following:

...the museum would become more valuable as a preserver of historical items as time went on. Many of the exhibits of traditional life are still being used today, but in 50 or 100 years time they will be obsolete and only remembered if preserved here. This is why the museum will become more and more interesting as time goes on.

...he considered it very important for the building of nations that their history should be remembered.

Some people complain that we are trying to forget the history of Jamaica because it is one of slavery. But whatever history a nation has, it is worth studying its continuous development and growth to the present and it is good to know the methods and traditions of everyday life in the past⁶¹.

Yet in the same article the Governor spoke specifically, not of Jamaican visitors to the museum, but of the museum as a sight-seeing attraction in which thousands of tourists who now drive round the square and take photographs, would now be able to visit the museum to see many facets of traditional Jamaican life.

In a letter to C. Bernard Lewis⁶², Governor Blackburne provided a tentative list of objects for inclusion in the village shop, to be sourced and or for sources to be identified, by the IOJ. The

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² 14th July, 1961, Governor Kenneth Blackburne, King’s House Jamaica, to C. Bernard Lewis, No. G/F9 Folk Museum 1961, Archives, Institute of Jamaica

cover letter indicated that every member of the Committee was being asked to contribute in some way to the stocking of the village shop. The list encompassed three pages and consisted of objects of utility some of which were made within the community and some were not, including:

Scales – yard and balance type; Exercise books (for school children); loose writing paper and envelopes; pencils, pens, pen nibs; slates in frames and slate pencils; reels of thread – black and white; enamel mugs; crocus bags and needles for sewing them up; rope in coils; roll of barbed wire; few zinc sheets; kerosene oil in square type tins with tin funnel for pouring; tools and implements for sale; *Lengths of course cloth*: brown calico, khaki drill, denim, Osnaburg⁶³, floral prints, bandana squares for the women; bottles of strawberry and cherry syrup; bottles of rum, prune wine, ale and porter; salt; black pepper put up in little funnels made of paper; proof rum for rubbing; oil lamps with shades marked “Home Sweet Home”; Canadian Healing Oil; Minard’s Linament; Vaseline in small tins; if possible a “Nigger pot” and a “Dutchie” and a large one with cover and three little legs; *Picture of Queen Victoria*; Gazette of 19th Century; Newspapers of 19th century; etc.

Items that could have been made by African Jamaicans include:

Small barrels for crackers, rice, flour and sugar; half barrels for salt fish, salt pork, herrings, mackerel, shad; Tobacco in rolls (Jackass rope); clay pipes; candles; tin cans with handles; pudding pans; small wooden tubs; coal pots; wooden block for chopping salt fish; pieces of leather for mending harness; bits for mules; straw hats for workmen; caps for workmen of course material; roughly written local announcements i.e. time and place of church services next Sunday; baskets; honey in bottles; Bay rum; ginger wine; cooking pots made of iron –horse shoes and nails; keg with nails; keg with staples for use with barbed wire; and buckets made of zinc [my emphasis]⁶⁴.

The Governor’s reference to a “Nigger pot” is indicative of acceptable language in his social circles. Allsopp’s Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage (1996) describes ‘nigger pot’ as a derogatory form of Negro pot which is a large version of a three foot pot. A ‘Dutchie’ is short for Dutch pot – a heavy cast iron pot with three small feet, handles, and a cover, probably imported from Holland and distributed by slave masters to each slave household and listed in the plantation records, along with slave clothing (osnaburg) (Senior 2003: 165-166). African Jamaicans, from as early as the 16th century, made Yabba pots for cooking, storing water, serving food and a range of other domestic purposes; but these are not listed by the Governor as required

⁶³ Osnaburg – a kind of course linen or cotton used chiefly for furnishings and sacks.

⁶⁴ 14th July, 1961, Governor Kenneth Blackburne, King’s House Jamaica, to C. Bernard Lewis, No. G/F9 Folk Museum 1961, Archives, Institute of Jamaica

for the shop. The term ‘Yabba’ is from the Twi *ayawa* meaning ‘earthen vessel, dish’ and its prevalence throughout Jamaica has been established by archaeological digs at Old King’s House, Port Royal, Old Nanny Town, Drax Hall, Hellshire Hills, and New Seville (Senior 2003: 524).

7.3 The Folk Museum: 1961-1975

1961 was the eve of Jamaica’s independence; nearly one hundred years after the Morant Bay war ushered in State deification of the British Empire and its Queen; Christian proselytizing to ensure destruction of any African cultural and religious retentions; and creation of the symbiotic link between school, church, and empire in the creation of British subjects who were functionally literate and numerate labourers.

The new nation of Jamaica would begin its journey at a crossroads choosing between continuing the silenced version of memory carefully concocted by Britain, and, forging new pathways to a Jamaican identity. Fanon encapsulates the conundrum faced by Jamaicans that could not be solved or changed in a year. According to him, the colonized woman/man could only know themselves through the eyes of the colonizer (Fanon 1967), which is to be inferior and inadequate on the one hand, and to seek to better themselves through aspirations to whiteness on the other.

It is therefore a complete about turn for the Governor to make a distinction between Britain’s history and what he suggests is the history that is important in the ‘building of nations’, the new nation of Jamaica. The fantasy of ethnological unity – one people, one nation – was about to vanish, at least from Britain’s perspective, and for the first time representation of Blackness was to be seen as important, but from their perspective. Changed political conditions necessitated an

alteration in the thinking of the Queen's representative and in the curatorial practice of the Institute of Jamaica.

With Independence looming, and on the heels of the Notting Hill race riots of 1958 in England, through the Folk Museum Sir Blackburne skilfully amputated Britain from Jamaica and anchored Jamaica and its majority population to 'traditional life' and 'methods and traditions of everyday life in the past'. His reference to slavery was in fact dismissive of the need to interrogate that history in order to reveal the institutional racism that continued to keep Black people in their place on the one hand; and the social and psychological damage it created in them on the other.

Focussing on the 'continuous development and growth to the present' suggests that Black people should have progressed away from the era ostensibly represented by the rudimentary tools and equipment, and building systems forged by ex-slaves as a basis for their survival. However, Britain had not created any systems that would result in the nation's widespread development and growth, and in fact the survival needs of African Jamaicans necessitated that objects crafted by them were still widely in use in rural Jamaica, and were not features only of the past.

Throughout all of the articles written in the Daily Gleaner regarding the Folk Museum, none mention Negroes, Black people, African Jamaicans, or Black material culture as subjects of its representation. Instead, in keeping with the Oxford Dictionary's suggestion detailed previously, all the writers use 'less emotional terms' that refer to 'history', 'our forefathers', 'people in this country', and 'life in the past' as aliases for race.

In October 1961, under the headline ‘Return of the old village shop’, The Daily Gleaner⁶⁵ pokes fun at the seemingly incongruent activity of two white Jamaican women ‘busily setting up a village shop...and right on the Square at Spanish Town at that’⁶⁶. They are Mrs. G.G. R. Sharp and Mrs. Charles d’Costa; and the writer wondered ‘whether the whole of the island’s industrial fabric had collapsed’. The writer’s patriarchal leaning is evidenced by the fact that no biographies of the women are given, not even their first names, although reference is made to the fact that they are associated with the island’s industrial fabric. They are identified only by their husband’s names, whose designations and lineage are as follows⁶⁷:

Griffith Greenwich Roberts Sharp, C.B.E. (1958), O.B.E. (1946), Agriculturist & Industrialist; Chairman Agricultural Development Corporation since its inception in 1952; member Legislative Council 1950-52; Chairman the Citrus Company of Jamaica, Ltd., The Citrus Company of British Honduras Ltd., Humming Bird Development Co. Ltd.; The Jamaica Tomato Co. Ltd.; Halse Hall Ltd.; Director Jamaica Mutual Life Assoc. Society; Palace Amusement Co. (1921) Ltd.; British West Indian Airways Ltd.; the Jamaica Biscuit Co. Ltd.; the Jamaica Broadcasting Co., Ltd.; the Insurance Co. of Jamaica Ltd.; born in St. Elizabeth, February 2, 1902, son of late Frances Greenwich Sharp, Planter, & Emma Roberts, his wife; Educated Potsdam School (Munro College) & Jamaica College; married 1946, Patricia Eastman.

Charles Eliot deMercado D’Costa, J.P. (1937), Company Director & Sportsman; Mg. Dir. Lascelles, deMercado & Co. Ltd. & subsidiaries; Jamaica Fruit Products Co. Ltd.; Dir. Jamaica Biscuit Co. Ltd.; John Crook Ltd.; Quick Tyre Supply Co. Ltd.; Modenaire Ltd.; The Gleaner Co. Ltd.; Jamaica Broadcasting Co. Ltd.; Caribbean Cement Co. Ltd.; Citrus Co. of Br. Honduras Ltd.; Electrical Service & Supply Co. Ltd.; J. Wray & Nephew Ltd.; J. Wray & Nephew (Subsidiaries) Ltd.; Daniel Finzi Distributors Ltd.; Consolidated International Corp. Ltd.; born in London, England 1910; son of Sir Alfred D’Costa & late Ethel deMercado, his wife; educated Prep. School, Kent; Marlborough Sch., England; private tuition by Cyril Connolly, English Writer & Critic & at the Inst. Carnal of Lausanne, Switzerland; studied accountancy with Deloit, Plender & Griffiths, Chartered Accountants, London; Religion: Jewish; married March 12, 1936, Mildred, daughter of late Frederick Burd; 2 sons; Clubs: Jamaica Liguanea, Constant Spring Golf; Kingston Polo; Caymanas “Golf & Country.

Mrs. Mildred d’Costa and Mrs. Patricia Sharp, the wives of obviously powerful white and Jewish Jamaicans, whose careers, directorships, Board and club memberships put them among Jamaica’s and the Caribbean’s elite, undertook representation of the village shop, with the

⁶⁵ *Return of the old village shop*, The Daily Gleaner, Friday, October 6, 1961

⁶⁶ *Ibid*

⁶⁷ *Who’s Who Jamaica ...pp.* 135, 431

assistance of the Institute of Jamaica. The only recommendation for undertaking this curatorial assignment seems to be the fact that Mrs. Sharp was a member of the Governor's 1958 Old King's House Restoration Committee. It would be safe to surmise that these women had little to do with the folk lives they were representing, yet the article claimed that the result would be 'pretty authentic'.

The village shop featured barrels intended for salt fish and herrings, 'villainous' looking Jackass Rope tobacco (according to the article), a collection of machetes of various kinds found in the different parishes; a tin pannikin used as a measure; a bracket for an old-fashioned oil lamp with 'home sweet home' on the globe; and a rack for a line of clay pipes.⁶⁸ A partition of the shop was made to separate the bar from grocery and other sales in keeping with a law requiring it to be so. However, a Miss May Jeffrey-Smith, described as a well known Spanish Town identity, indicated that 'if the shop were to represent the Victorian Era, that partition must be pulled down'. Miss. Jeffrey-Smith also appears in *Who's Who Jamaica*⁶⁹:

Commenting on the authenticity of the representation, the writer points to the reproduction of an old cottage – faithfully presented with earth floors, wattle and daub walls, and pimento thatch roof - decorated with authentic furnishings – lath bed, cedar-wood bath, bullet-tree scrub board, and clay and iron pots. The Blacksmith's shop was also deemed authentic with its huge bellows and tools collected from various estates.

To top off the exhibit, an old water wheel which turns with the splash of water, although driven by an electric pump, created an atmosphere of old Jamaica and an illusion of coolness at the

⁶⁸ *Return of the old village shop*, The Daily Gleaner, Friday, October 6, 1961

⁶⁹ *Who's Who Jamaica* p. 269

refreshment bar⁷⁰. The backdrop, donated by Miss. Rhoda Jackson⁷¹, is a tourism image of Black men and women brightly dressed, with the women in off-the-shoulder short puff sleeve blouses, contentedly labouring in the idyllic setting of a sugarcane field surrounded by its pastoral community of sugar works, great house, and small huts (African quarters).



Figure 7.10: Water Wheel with 'tourism' image behind depicting sugar cane cutters (photo by author)

This backdrop was meant to put white tourists at ease in their thinking of Black Jamaicans, and to falsely contextualize for Black Jamaicans their plantation history. In contrast, images of 19th Century cane cutters, posed by the photographer above a racist message (Barthes 1972), tells of a far different reality. Far from contented, workers padded and covered themselves completely for work in the cane fields for protection from insect bites, 'paper' cuts and the scratchy fibres of the sugar cane.

⁷⁰ *Return of the old village shop*, The Daily Gleaner, Friday, October 6, 1961

⁷¹ Old King's House Restoration Fund – *List of names for inclusion in "Roll of Honour"*, 11 October, 1961

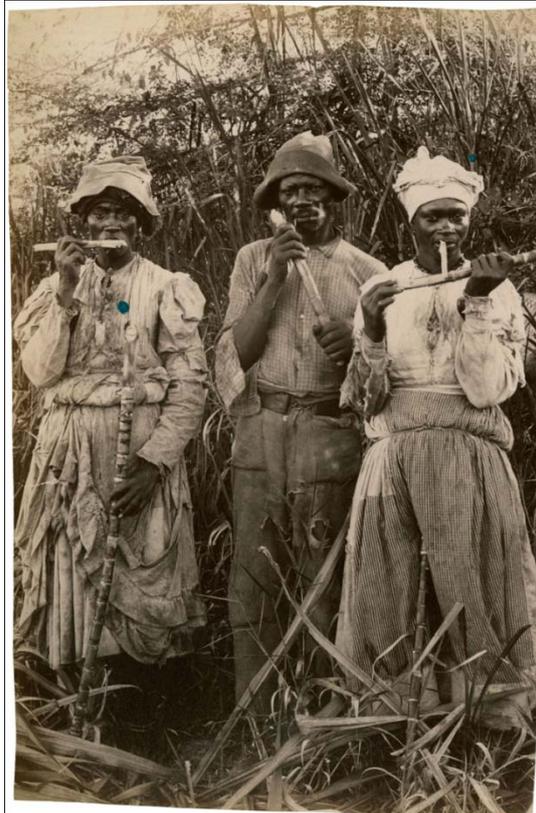


Figure 7.11: Taken from the 1898 photo album of Henry Holgate above the words - lawd, him sweet sah! (National Library of Jamaica)

The team of individuals who created the Folk Museum are as follows: Mr. Harold Ashwell (German); Mrs. Mildred d'Costa (white Jamaican); Mrs. Patricia Sharp (white Jamaican); Miss. May Jeffrey-Smith (white Jamaican); and Mr. H. Hickling (Mulatto Jamaican) hired as the Museum Assistant. They were assisted by the Old King's House caretaker Mr. Errington Young (African Jamaican) who was reported in the *Gleaner* as 'busy in the shop with hammer, nails, and hooks'.

The *Gleaner* declared that 'the Folk Museum is designed to show how our forefathers lived, and to put on display the commonplace things from the past which were used by the people of this country in their work and in their daily lives'.⁷² Yet, the curators of the museum were arguably not representative of the descendants of 'our forefathers' and the commonplace things displayed

⁷² *Governor to open Folk Museum*, The Daily *Gleaner*, Friday, October 27, 1961

would hardly have been identified in any of their homes as used by their families; but perhaps could be found on their family estates and plantations handled by their Black workers.

The tone of the Gleaner articles, particularly the 'Return of the old village shop' was one of curiosity, of an introduction to exoticism, quaintness, with a voyeuristic quality as none of the curators were of the people for whom representation was being staged.

I heard a whisper that she [Mrs. d'Costa] was about to telephone a leading bank to ask if they could kindly supply some counterfeit coins. Nailed to the shop counter these will supply another of those touches of realism with which this museum will abound. The other day these two ladies went shopping up at Cross Roads market – but not for fruit, vegetable or meat. They were looking for scales, but they found that not one of the higglers was prepared to sacrifice the precious scales which have been in their families, sometimes for generations⁷³.

October 27, 1961⁷⁴ The Daily Gleaner announced that public viewing of the Folk Museum would take place on November 23, following the official opening on Wednesday November 22, 1961 at 4:30 p.m. by Governor, Sir. Kenneth Blackburne. The Hon. Capt. Henry McGrath, C.B.E. Custus of St. Catherine and His Worship the Mayor of Spanish Town, Councillor Roy McNeill would take part in the event. Mr. S. A. G. Taylor, historian, President of the Jamaica Historical Society, and retired Government Officer was expected to be the second speaker.

⁷³ *Return of the old village shop*, The Daily Gleaner, Friday, October 6, 1961

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*



Figure 7.12: The Opening of the Folk Museum, November 22, 1961 (photo from the archives of the Institute of Jamaica)

The Folk Museum and the bolstered facade of Old King’s House were testament to achievement of two out of the three tasks set by the Old King’s House Committee in 1958. According to the Governor it is ‘very important for the building of nations that their history should be remembered’. The opening of the Museum was an achievement, not only for the Governor, but also members of the executive, main and sub-committees; the staff of the Institute of Jamaica; and particularly the donors of the £10,000 required to refurbish the stables and construct the Museum either in services and gifts of materials, or of cash.

Lastly the file⁷⁵ contains an invitation list, perhaps to the opening, that singles out staff of the IOJ, Government, corporate and individual donors of objects. However, the image above of the Museum’s official opening is noticeably devoid of any celebratory adornments. There are no cultural indicators of the event’s importance - no flowers or plants to decorate the stage; no appropriate backdrop to herald the opening; and the brick walls of the building behind the stage is poorly painted and dressed for the event.

⁷⁵ G/F9 Folk Museum 1961

Either constructed by Jamaicans or under the supervision of the staff of the Governor, the official platform for the event is evidential of the proclivity of European officialdom to demarcate space that appropriates for them a cosy area of honour and civility – the stage – leaving the ‘others’ who are of the community, off the stage, in the wild so to speak (Mills 1997). The elevated, although rudimentary unpainted, unadorned platform sufficiently conveys the sense of authority Europeans possess in relation to cultural institutions such as museums as well as their willingness to participate in, and therefore give credence to, its establishment.

The Black man standing on the right is His Worship the Mayor of Spanish Town, Councillor Roy McNeill whose position off the platform and demeanour is reverential and at attention, or even ‘on guard’. His gaze away from the proceedings suggests not a lack of interest in what is being said, but rather a duty to be fulfilled. It is interesting that the young Black men seated at the left of the Governor, are casually dressed and seemingly unofficially arranged such that one sits comfortable forward, and the other has his back to the stage; both have their eyes on the photographer. The older women and man in the photograph would be considered appropriately attired for an event in Sunday hats, suit and bowtie but are taking in the proceedings standing in the doorway. The local media houses – Jamaica Broadcasting Company (JBC), and Radio Jamaica Redifusion (RJR) provided the technical support for the event, but have no available recordings of the opening of the Folk Museum in Jamaica.

Hooper-Greenhill’s description of the ancient art of memory (Hooper-Greenhill 1992) is extrapolated for consideration of the Folk Museum. By not collecting the material culture of African Jamaicans, the IOJ had disregarded their history. In establishing the Folk Museum each object, specially chosen by the Governor and placed by the curators, conjures feelings of a time, places and activities that recall life on plantations during and after emancipation and facilitates individuals in construction of his/her memory. By representing the objects listed below, the

curators not only suggests that they are the root of Jamaican culture, but that African Jamaican culture began and ended in that time period with their interaction with those objects, which is 'the further deliberate obfuscation caused by the need to hide 'secret' knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 85), that is, knowledge of Africa's ancient past.

The 'folk' described in the Folk Museum were for over three hundred years themselves objects that were critical for carrying out work on plantations; and fashioned objects to make life bearable in the back-of-the-plantation housing occupied by them. The addition of the cottage and the village shop are the only spaces in which the African Jamaican had some reasonable freedom to create.

The completed Folk Museum represented the following exhibits:

1. The Old Yard
2. Fowl Pen
Wattle Fences
3. Kitchen
Kitchen Interior
Mortar and Pestle
Spanish Jars
Calabash and Basket
4. Cottage
Cottage Interior
5. Drip Stone Water Filter
6. Wattle and Daub
7. Section of Bamboo House
8. Section of 'Spanish Wall'
9. Coconut Mill
10. Coffee Pulper
11. Pimento Fanner
12. Cattle Branding Irons
13. Agriculture Implements
Hampers
14. The Blacksmith
15. The Coopers Work
16. Carpentry
17. Shoemaker's Table and Tools
18. Village Shop
19. Gall's Newsletter
20. Water Wheel

21. Sugar Boiling House
22. Sugar Mill
23. Hearse and Buggies

Narrative notes for representation in the museum were found in the files of the IOJ: shrimp fishing; river and swamp fishing; the cooper; shingle splitting; peasant cottage and kitchen; “Spanish” wall houses; bamboo houses; the yard; ‘floater’ [lamp]; cassava press; orange rinding machine; coffee pulping; pimento ‘farmer’; coconut mill; the donkey; the grocery shop; and the ‘gig’ [top]⁷⁶.

It is not known whether these narratives were actually printed and mounted in the museum, as one of the complaints of the curator who took up the post in 1975 noted, the museum lacked contextualization⁷⁷. The museum featured manikins: shop keeper and woman cook in the kitchen; both of which were later removed as the curator indicated that they frightened the children. Narratives for the architecture: yard, Peasant cottage and kitchen; “Spanish wall” houses; bamboo houses; and village shop in the Folk Museum are as follows:

The Yard

The small portion of land around all peasants’ cottages is called the “yard”. This area is sometimes fenced off from the rest of the holding so that children at play or fowls cannot get into the cultivation. The yard is used for a variety of purposes; e.g. to hang out clothes to dry in the sun, ironing clothes, eating, entertaining, dozing in the sun etc. (hence expression ‘yu a warm sun’). In the yard is generally found a barbecue [flat area used for drying pimento, cocoa, coffee and the like], barrel for keeping water, fowl coop, pig sty, a goat or rabbit pen, clothes line, agricultural implements scattered about, old discarded items of household equipment, a bench, or large stones used in place of chairs.

The privy is built a little distance from the house or yard.

On the walls of the cottage are hung baskets, tools, gourds, etc., and sometimes meat or fish or yams to sun dry.

Peasant Cottage and Kitchen

The peasant cottage and kitchen are of “wattle and daub” construction with tamped earth floor and roof of “pimento” thatch. The ‘wattle’ consists of saplings of many kinds of wood that can be easily bent. The frame of the building is made from the trunks of local trees roughly cut.

⁷⁶ G/F9 IOJ Museum 1961, Archives Institute of Jamaica

⁷⁷ Interview with Roderick Ebanks. 28 July, 2011

The mortar (“daub”) is made from red earth and white lime mixed with water and is applied to both sides of the wattle. The walls are then rendered with a stronger mixture of the same mortar and lime washed after they are properly cured.

The kitchen utensils and equipment include earthenware and iron pots, kettle, “jester”, grater, wooden bowls, mortar and pestle, tin lamp, calabash cups and a bamboo meat smoker commonly called a “creng-creng”.

The cottage is sparsely furnished with a lath bed, bench, table, wooden bowl and bath, all made of hard wood by hand. The mats are made of plaited banana trash.

“Spanish Wall” Houses

“Spanish wall” houses are still very common in certain parts of the island, mainly Manchester, St. Elizabeth and Clarendon. In this type of construction a strong mortar is used, made from white lime and red earth mixed with water as in the case of the “wattle and daub” houses. This mortar holds the broken stones securely together in the foundations and walls of the house.

Water tanks and barbecues are also made in this manner.

Bamboo Houses

Small houses made of bamboo can also be seen in some parts of the island, e.g. Hanover, Westmoreland. A siding of such a house can be seen in the museum.

The Grocery Shop

The village grocery shop in Jamaica is not only a grocery but serves as a kind of social centre and as a public bar (pub) for the residents. On market days the peasants and small farmers obtain their household supplies at the grocery after selling their foodstuffs in the market.

A very wide range of articles apart from groceries is sold in these shops. Clothing, hats, stationary, toilet articles, cutlery, hardware, tobacco – in fact nearly every possible kind of article used by the rural dweller can be obtained. It is also the place for gossip and dissemination of news. Someone can always be found reading a newspaper to an intent crowd of listeners who are mostly unable to read⁷⁸.

The focus on architecture through representation of the yard and living spaces is an opportunity to explore the writer’s perception of the culture and heritage of African Jamaicans and identify what was overlooked and disregarded. The writer authoritatively describes the yard as an enclosure around a cottage that facilitates domestic, economic, as well as social activities. There is a subtle suggestion that the ‘folk’ named the area around their houses thusly.

Brodber’s (1975) analysis of the historical perspective on yards indicates that in 1777 the term yard was used to refer to ‘an enclosure attached to a prison in which prisoners take exercise’; and

⁷⁸ Ibid

that during the period 1745-1826 Negro Yards were a feature of the tax polls (Brodbber 1975: 1-2). Yards were utilized to house enslaved Africans and became known overtime as places for the storage of property; where non-white people lived; and where enslaved persons 'are exclusively exposed to each other's company' (Brodbber 1975: 5). In fact a law was enacted in 1770 that stipulated that where there were four huts on the same piece of land, they had to be enclosed by a wall at least seven feet high and which provided one means of entry and exit (Brodbber 1975: 6; Higman 1995).

Brodbber points out that slave quarters were referred to by whites as yards and that in the towns yards were holding areas for slaves-for-hire; store-house/resting place for labour consistent with the 'English notion of an enclosure where property is kept when not in use' (Brodbber 1975: 9). The writer's observation in the narrative of 'agricultural implements scattered about, old discarded items of household equipment' seems in keeping with this definition, and suggests the pejorative connotation that:

Yards are filthy...The dwelling places of a considerable proportion of the poor classes in towns are of miserable description, many of them being unfit for human habitation. They consist of single rooms opening into a common yard (Brodbber 1975: 9).

Higman describes three-house families on the Montpelier plantation that consisted of individuals close in kinship and relatively privileged within the hierarchy of the slave system, as yards.

The report of 1825 provides no clues to the internal spatial organization of the multiple-house units, but it is most likely that the structures were set out around a central open area and enclosed by a fence to form a "yard". The kinship relations of slaves living in separate but adjacent households is also suggestive of yard formation...The writer then noticed the existence of yards, saying that in some instances whole families reside within one enclosure: "They have separate houses, but only one gate. In the centre of this family village, the house of the principal among them is generally placed, and is in general very superior to the others". This description demonstrates a recognition of the multiple-house yards, noted at Montpelier, and the presence of yards made up of genealogically linked households such as that in which Bessy Gardner was the matriarchal "principal" and termed here "family villages" (Higman 1998: 135).

The predominance of these groupings on plantations throughout Jamaica (Higman 1998: 136), and the ignorance of white observers of the intimate lives of the enslaved, demonstrates that African Jamaicans valued privacy and attempted to construct their lives according to their African retentions outside of the sight of plantation overseers and owners. Seclusion of plantation villages was noted by Gosse in 1845 as 'a habit inherited from slavery-time' which worked in their favour during apprenticeship where overseers were warned not to enter the 'dwellings of the people' unless called to aid the sick.

African Jamaicans had reverence for their outdoor and indoor living spaces for its social and cultural value; as spiritual space, for their ancestors were buried within the yards; and as private space where they could be themselves outside of the gaze of whites. Traces of Yoruba culture are found in the layout of African living spaces. For example, a village in Westmoreland, Jamaica called Abeokuta after the original place in Nigeria, is laid out in the same way as the town of Abeokuta in Nigeria. That is, individual detached houses each with space around them, kitchens to the back of the houses, benches or large stones for sitting, all enclosed by fences made from saplings around trees typically centred to provide shade.

The existence of this village is substantiated by Tanna (1983: 47), Warner-Lewis (1996), and Schuler (1980) whose research indicates that between 1841 and 1865, 8,000 Yoruba and Central African immigrants came to Jamaica as Indentured labour. These and others who arrived as a consequence of Britain's policy of search and seizure of slavers at sea, created Abeokuta in Westmoreland and other African villages in the parish of St. Thomas. Persons of Yoruba descent from Waterworks Pen and adjoining Dean's Valley estate, as well as others from Shrewsbury and Bluecastle estates (Senior 2003: 531) joined the Westmoreland settlement.

Within African cosmology a building is not an end in and of itself, but it is created as the means by which the material and spiritual needs of the people are satisfied. Architecture, because it represents physical labour, human effort in the creation of new and better spaces to live, knowledge, understanding and appreciation of its traditions and development over time, is universally considered a foundational means towards formation of national consciousness and self assertion (Moughtin 1988).

According to Higman, on the Montpelier plantation, and in Jamaica generally, African Jamaicans refused to occupy barracks-type buildings (row houses joined by shared walls and partitioned in rooms) provided by plantation owners, and held out for individual, free standing houses (Higman 1998: 147) positioned, grouped and partitioned according to their choosing. With that said, working from sun up to sun down at least six days of the week allowed minimal amounts of time to enslaved Africans to obtain building materials, undertake construction of houses, and establish/maintain provision grounds.

Therefore, materials that were readily available in the forests surrounding plantations: saplings, wattle, withes, bamboo, thatch, earth, stone, and water; that could be transported by hand and on heads, were the principal housing materials used. Materials such as marl and cut stone required carting, and lime had to be burnt in a kiln – described ‘as a most laborious, expensive, and dangerous work’ (Higman 1998: 154) - for which permission must be granted from planters and overseers. In this way, the potential to create and perpetuate a hierarchy of difference and inequality within the slave quarters could be exploited (Higman 1998: 180).

‘Wattle and daub’ with thatched roofs, plastered walls, and tamped earth floors was the method of choice for constructing houses among African Jamaicans. These houses are not exclusively the purview of African Jamaicans. In fact during the Middle Ages (1000 to 1453) the same

construction methods were used in Britain and in the following geographical areas: Central Europe, Western Asia, North America, South America, Mesoamerica, and Africa⁷⁹. It is therefore representative world wide of sustainable architecture.

‘Unfloored’ houses (earth floors not overlaid with board) were preferred by African Jamaicans since in 1860 the Government introduced the house tax in which a distinction was made between ‘floored’ and ‘unfloored’ houses. ‘Every dwelling house not located on an estate or pen and valued at less than eight pounds per annum was liable for a tax of two shillings if unfloored, and of four shillings if floored’ (Moore and Johnson 2011: 30).

African Jamaicans considered the tax odious and made a conscious choice not to floor their homes. Floors were raised with stones, and tamped with earth or marl protecting it from flooding and erosion; and additional protection was provided by a skirting of stones that typically lined the outer walls. So prolonged was their refusal to submit to taxation, the legislature abolished the tax in 1903 (Moore and Johnson 2011: 31).

Board houses although requiring the work of sawyers, and access to nails, gradually replaced houses of wattle and daub. However, shingled houses; houses constructed of ‘Spanish Wall’; and of stone were also considered viable building systems and could be seen throughout the island (Higman 1998: 160-171).

When newly emancipated Africans accepted the loss of their homes and provision grounds over the conditions demanded of them by planters and took to the hills of Jamaica; they had no specific places to go. Once the process of determination of a location for settlement was arrived

⁷⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/wattle_and_daub

at, the immediate hurdle was to devise cooperative approaches to the re-establishment of homes and therefore cultural practices; and through their provision grounds, resumption of their economic system.

Committee members and curators of the Folk Museum were successful in amassing 18th and 19th century objects used on plantations and in general agricultural life in Jamaica, but beyond descriptions, they did not provide the historical context in which the objects were crafted and used. I imagine that use of a manikin of a Black shopkeeper clarified which folk in Jamaica was being represented, but the museum failed to represent the ethos of African Jamaicans in which a Folk Museum could be framed.

Consistent with the approach taken to establishment of the museum, the history that underpinned the narratives and the object descriptions lacked any mention of how the institutions of slavery and colonization impacted the lives of African Jamaicans. However, the Governor did provide a list of donors of services, gifts of material, and cash to the Museum for the purpose of inclusion in a book that the Institute would prepare to recognize individual, corporate, and Government assistance in creating the Museum⁸⁰.

The following are images from the Daily Gleaner of exhibitions in the Folk Museum and its visitors in 1961 and 1966 taken from the archives of the National Library of Jamaica.

⁸⁰ King's House Jamaica; Letter to Bernard Lewis Esq., O.B.E, from Governor Kenneth Blackburne, 11th October, 1961; IOJ Archives

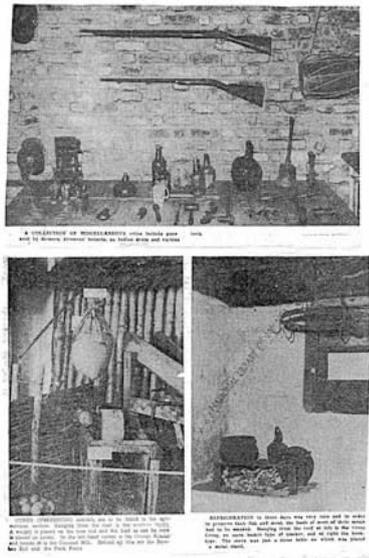


Figure 7.13: A variety of objects in the Folk Museum 1961 (National Library of Jamaica)

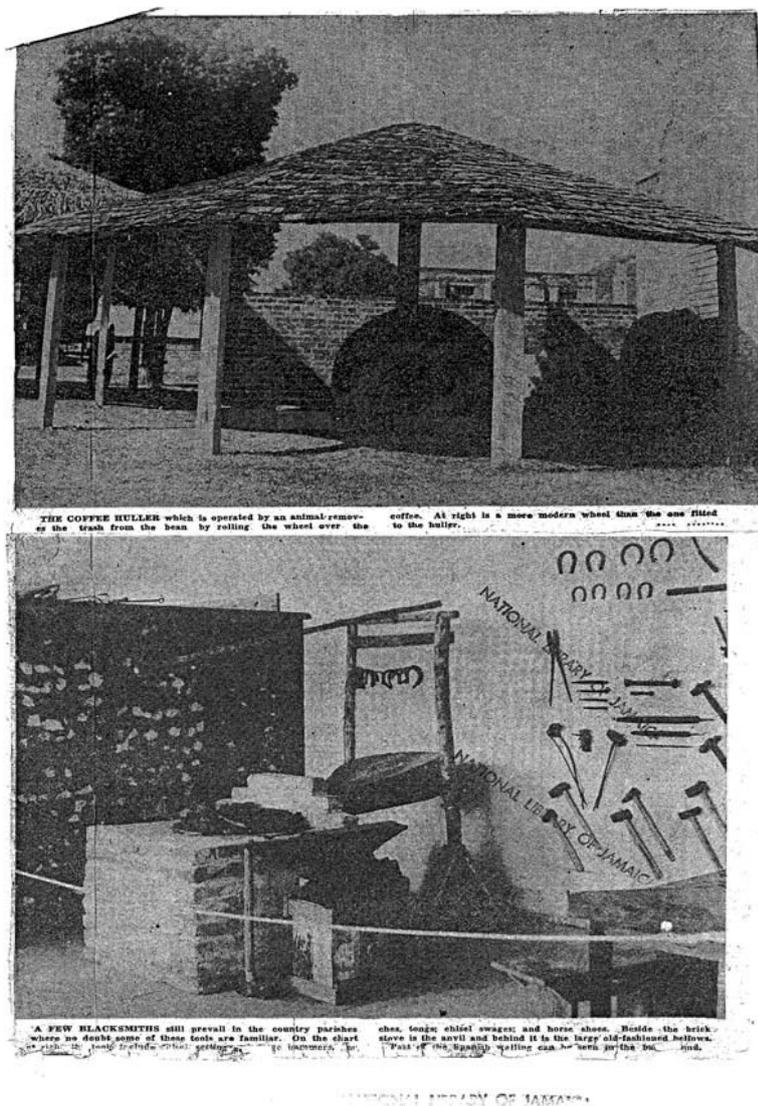


Figure 7.14: Coffee Huller and Blacksmith's shop in the Folk Museum 1961 (National Library of Jamaica)



Figure 7.15: Tourists viewing a variety of baskets represented in the Folk Museum 1962 (National Library of Jamaica)



Figure 7.16: The Village Shop, Folk Museum 1966 (National Library of Jamaica)

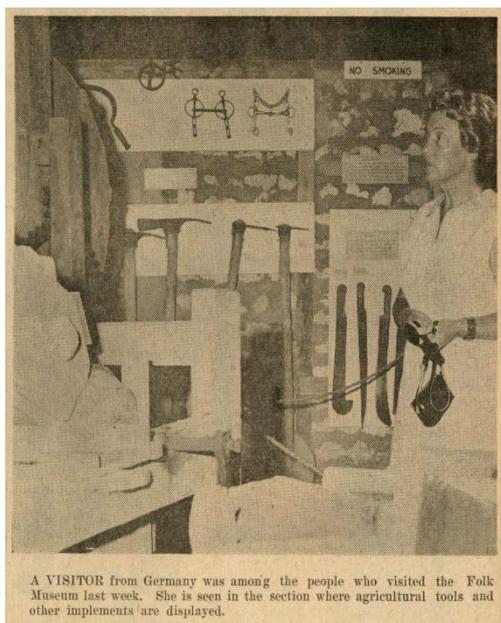


Figure 7.17: German Visitor to Folk Museum 1966; 19th Century Horse Drawn Hearse (National Library of Jamaica)



Figure 7.18: Saw Pit at Folk Museum 1966 (National Library of Jamaica)

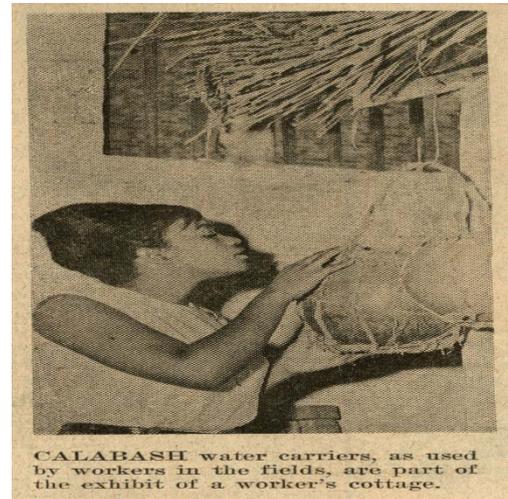


Figure 7.19: Children view donkey operated sugar mill; visitor viewing calabash at Folk Museum 1966 (National Library of Jamaica)

7.3 Folk – versus – People: The People’s Museum of Craft and Technology

“Now we can work when we like and stay at home when we sick. We can buy our own land, build we own house and go to we own church”⁸¹

The 1970’s is known as the Black Power era in the African Diaspora. In the United States the Congressional Black Caucus was formed along with a myriad of Black professional institutions, Black Arts movements, worker’s movements, liberation theologies that changed the scope of African American Christianity, and the like. In Jamaica the banning of historian Walter Rodney ignited protests among University students and led to the banning of books, arrests, and general protests against the State. This came on the heels of the State’s draconian response to what they perceived to be a threat posed by the Rastafari community in 1964 in which hundreds were detained and many killed.

The re-assertion of Garvey’s Black and Proud message, as well as the United States Black Panther Party slogan of Power to the People permeated the political arena when the People’s National Party under the leadership of Michael Manley declared itself a Democratic Socialist Party and sparked the flight of Jamaica’s whites, wealthy Chinese, and their investment capital from Jamaica; and in doing so, opened the doors to Black entrepreneurs to fill the void created.



Figure 7.20: People's Museum of Craft and Technology Entrance Sign (photo by author, 2010)

⁸¹ Narrative of an ex-slave on Emancipation Day. *The People’s Museum of Craft and Technology*, storyboard.

The IOJ had its first Black Director, Mr. Neville Dawes, under whose tenure the Folk Museum was restructured and renamed The People's Museum of Craft and Technology. Its official opening was launched on December 29, 1979 to pay tribute to the spirit of innovation and self-sufficiency of the Jamaican people. The museum's brochure contextualizes the change:

The exhibit celebrates the great creativity, industry and self-reliance of these newly freed Jamaicans. Located in the stable at the Old King's House grounds, the People's Museum of Craft and Technology honours the hearts, minds and hands of our fore parents and the tremendous gift [of] resilience and resourcefulness that they have left to us all⁸².

A newspaper article quotes the Curator Mr. Roderick Ebanks commenting on the museum's change of name:

...the new name emphasises the fact that the exhibits are still in use and very much a part of the country's culture...the previous name 'folk' museum suggested relics of a past era, it sort of implied something which is dead and most of the artefacts and other visual material are presently being used and form the basis of the survival of our people....[he] also advocated the creation of an indigenous technology, citing the high level of self-reliance exhibited by our fore parents who used the vast natural resources at their disposal to make things like rope and other indigenous products with a methodology which if [it] were being used today would save us a lot of foreign exchange⁸³.

Some of the objects were removed by the museum's previous curator and some intent is shown, in notes in the file, to name the people being represented. For example the following notes on objects seem to have been made when the renaming of the museum was being considered:

Kitchen – Note – the exterior of the kitchen have been left opened in places to show the construction work. This is correct but it does not mean that the building should be in a dirty condition. Jamaica present people took great pride in keeping their kitchen etc. clean and smart looking. The stone exterior should be white washed regularly and should be spotlessly cleaned except for the areas which have been left opened to show construction.

Mortar and Pestle – This needs a label and its connection with African and slave ways of life must be explained.

Cattle Branding Irons – Place beside this all detailed clear photographs of slave branding irons.

The Blacksmith – This should be redone to show whether it combines African practices in working in iron with European practices or whether it is entirely European.

⁸² Brochure of the Peoples Museum of Craft and Technology; Institute of Jamaica archives.

⁸³ *Folk Museum renamed*; The Daily News, January 3, 1980

Representation of the familiar objects – baskets, drums, machetes, wooden wash tubs, handmade toys, and the like in a museum suggests that they represent a distinct Jamaican culture. The placement of the display in the Museum, however, suggests that the culture being exhibited is less than worthy.



Figure 7.21: Wooden Bowl with stirring sticks; handmade gigs (toys) (photos by author, 2010)



Figure 7.22: Objects used by 'higglers' in food market; 'yabbas' - clay food containers; 'Panya Jar' (Spanish Jar) originally used by the Spanish to carry olive oil and wine from Spain, used by African Jamaicans to store water; basket with handle and straw 'CU-TO-CU' used to squeeze liquid from cassava (photos by author, 2010)

Edward T. Hall coined the term proxemics: the study of people and their use of space as an elaboration of culture (1966); and as a theory it has been used to analyze museum exhibitions (Gordon 1997) breaking them down into different zones with close and far parameters: intimate distance; personal distance; social distance; and public distance. Each distance has its own unique sensory input and response; 'they correspond to different kinds of human interaction and behaviour' (Gordon 1997: 238). According to Hall persons interacting from different distances

respond with 'the attitudes, perceptions and feelings that characterize those distances (Gordon 1997).

The proximity placement of these objects; the low stands on which they are placed; the absence of protection provided by glass all convey meaning with respect to how the objects are viewed by the curators and should be viewed by the visitor. All of the Museum's objects are unprotected by glass and displayed on low mounts requiring the visitor to look down at the objects from an intimate close distance of one and a half to two and a half feet. Although this allows the visitor to have somewhat intimate access to them, the idea transmitted by the placement is that they are not very valuable.

The Museum's official entry is rarely used, yet the artefacts exhibited there, set the stage for representation in the museum. An architect's model of the 18th century Governor's mansion is the centre piece of the hall which serves to foreground Britain's power over the space and over the people represented. Its presence recalls the original mandate of the Old King's House Committee, which was to restore the mansion to its former glory. It is the only 'object' encased in glass and raised on a stand to facilitate easy viewing which accords it reverence, giving it an air of importance and separates it physically from the objects represented on or near the floor as concerned with folk.

On an adjacent wall hangs a lithograph, titled *Abolition of Slavery in Jamaica*. It depicts the gathering of over 8,000 enslaved persons around the steps of the Governor's Mansion and in the adjoining square to hear the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation. The narrative indicates that the majority of enslaved persons had prior to enjoyed divine worship at the Baptist Church and after the reading of the proclamation; they retired to their respective homes peaceful and happy. This narrative completely silences any ambivalence the newly freed people would have

had regarding their freedom and their future. It is impossible that there was only jubilation at the tenets of the proclamation, particularly as African Jamaicans were so badly treated during the apprenticeship period and faced hard decisions whether to leave plantations and where to go.

However, the IOJ storyboard provides some context. It highlights the fact that the Jamaican peasantry was created with the Emancipation Proclamation, and that while freedom was granted, no land or money was allocated to the African. Instead they had the choice to remain on the plantation and hope to negotiate a living wage; or, seek out free villages in which they could purchase land from the Baptists, Moravians, Methodists and others; or squat on marginal hillside lands.



Figure 7.23: Official Entry to Exhibition Hall – Encased model of Old King’s House; limestone water filter housed in lattice work⁸⁴ (photo by author, 2010)

⁸⁴ Water filter, used from the early 18th century onwards, consists of three parts: (1) the filter – hollowed out conical shaped piece of limestone. The water is poured into it and slowly filters through, extracting dirt and adding minerals, especially lime; (2) the earthen water jar underneath – this collects the water and keeps it cool; (3) the stand or case – the one shown is a fine example of the housing, being in a lattice work pattern.



Figure 7.24: Image of Spanish Town Square on August 1, 1838, Emancipation Day with contested narrative (National Library of Jamaica)

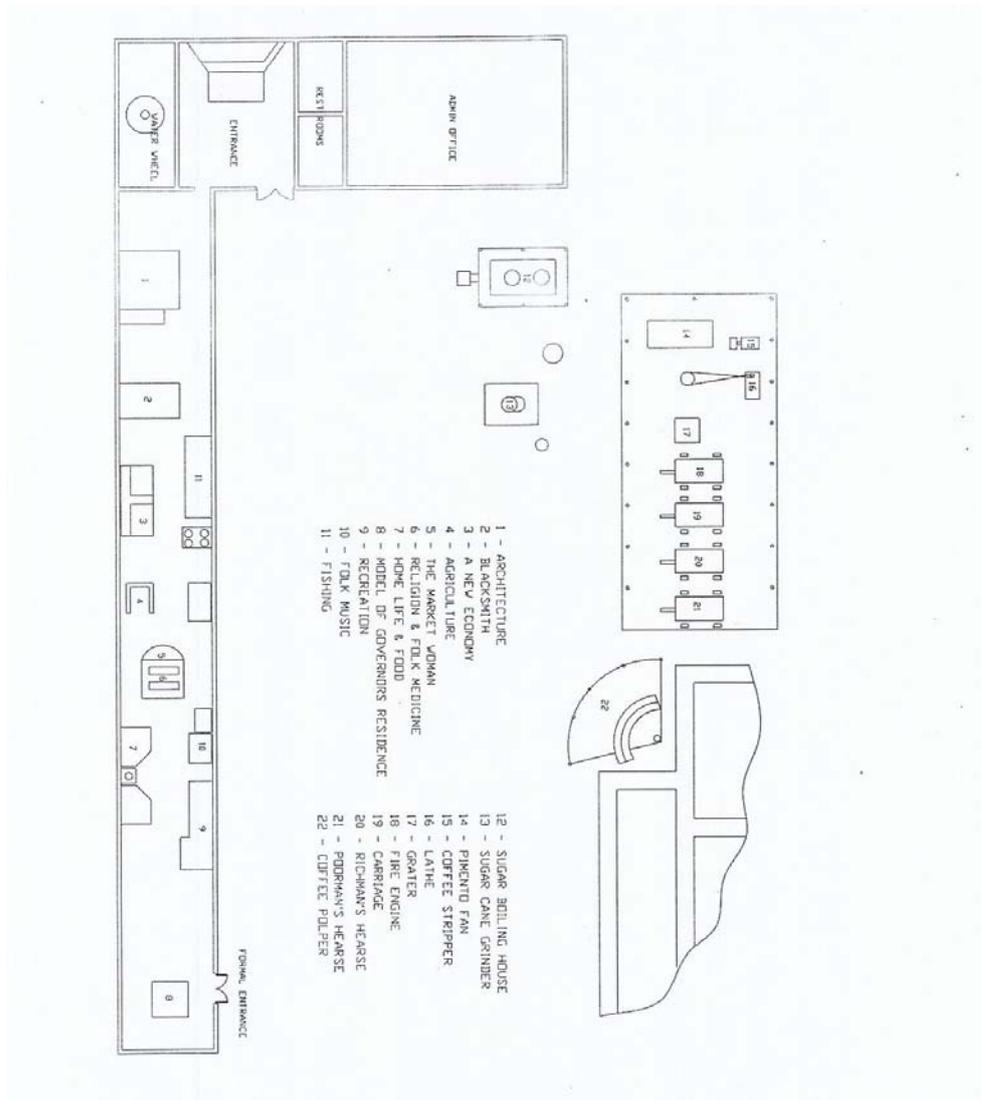


Figure 7.25: Layout of People's Museum of Craft and Technology

A lime-stone filter for distilling drinking water incongruously completes the artefacts in the space. The Museum's unofficial entrance is at the other end of the museum and is dominated by the water wheel and tourist image already referred to.

The representational style is that of contextual exhibitions wherein the object(s) according to Vergo 'within the exhibition is justified by its importance as a token of a particular age, a particular culture, a particular social system, as being representative of certain ideas or beliefs' (Vergo 1989: 48). The material culture represents the economic and social life requirements of African-Creole Jamaicans before and after emancipation. The categories interpreted include: Architecture, Fishing, The Blacksmith, Agriculture, A new Economy, The Market Women, Religion and Folk Medicine, Home Life and Food, Folk Music, Social Life, and Recreation.

The corresponding artefacts are combined as follows: replicas of architectural systems such as the wattle and daub, nogg, plaster and fretwork embellishments; basketry, blacksmith's tools, the paraphernalia used by market sellers including a scale and an oil lamp; agricultural implements; cassava and other food processing tools; pottery; the recent installation of a Revival Church exhibit has added the syncretism of African religious retentions with Christianity to the museum; children's toys and games, and musical instruments. However, no representation is made of African death and mourning rituals ('nine-night') (Senior 2003: 149-151, 353) that were not banned during enslavement and that are accompanied by specific material culture.

Small black and white reproductions of 19th century lithographs show scenes of African-Creole women carrying loads on their heads to market; a family in front of a traditional thatched roof house; and a man going to the field with his machete, carrying water in a calabash, and slung over his shoulder a straw basket named "heng pan mi". A lithograph by J.B. Kidd of a mass baptismal of free Africans, following the 1842 Ordinance of Baptism is also exhibited.



Figure 7.26: Architecture (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 7.27: Two Construction Techniques – Wattle and Wattle & Daub (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 7.28: Representing Agriculture (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 7.29: The Blacksmith (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 7.30: Folk Music (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 7.31: Religion and Folk Medicine (photo by author, 2010)

Many objects are without labels and where labels exist they are pasted to mount boards without lamination and show signs of ageing and buckling due to the heat. The Museum's lack of security is the reason given for the absence of the use of sound, visual media, or air conditioners. The building's louvered windows allow air and dust into the space transmitting to visitors that the representation is not of a valued part of Jamaica's history.

The re-naming of the museum poses practical problems. The 18th century machines that represent 'technology' consists of the following: Pimento Thrasher, Coffee Stripper, a Lathe for turning furniture; Coconut Grinder, Fire Truck, Sugar Boiling House, and Sugar Cane Grinder. These are not contextualized with respect to their use, or labelled as technology; therefore visitors to the museum, particularly students find it difficult to identify them as such.



Figure 7.32: Coffee Stripper (photo by author, 2010)



Figure 7.33: Coconut Grater and Fire Truck (photo by author, 2010)

The objects also represent a rural agricultural reality that is plagued by persistent marginal poverty which is shunned by many Jamaicans, particularly the youth. There are no narratives explaining who made the objects; the process by which they came into use; the time period in which they were important; and, there are no opportunities for interactive engagement with them.

7.4 Conclusion

Investigating how museum collections can be successfully used for learning, researchers at University of Leicester's Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) conclude that children positively respond to opportunities to touch and interact with objects. Case studies demonstrate that objects can:

- Inspire creative work
- Sharpen visual awareness
- Help diversify skills

- Increase knowledge and understanding through direct contact
- Provide alternative ways of working
- Provide personal relevance
- Motivate learning, including children for whom traditional methods have little appeal
- Increase levels of involvement and engagement (Clarke, Dodd et al. 2001: 11).

In a similar manner, utilization of a transformative research strategy to represent objects of African history in Jamaica's cultural institutions provides opportunities for changing the European hegemonic narrative to one that empowers African heritage people with knowledge of self from their perspective. Representation of the people's life after emancipation in a Museum should serve to repair the psychological and spiritual harm endured by them over the four hundred years of their denigration by Europe's colonial legacy. Such a museology would lend legitimacy to narratives yet recorded or represented in museums, and in conjunction with employment of interactive teaching tools, would result in an exhibitionary practice that successfully educates and transmits culture.

The IOJ acknowledges that museum staff are neither educationalists who have specialist knowledge about cognitive science (Hooper-Greenhill 1989: 18) or, are trained in museum education. Curators/guides are therefore unaware of how to use the museum's collection to have a greater impact on its community.

The People's Museum is devoid of a dynamic learning system to engage, command the attention of, and excite its visitors. Its methods of transmitting information comprise the ability of its guides to interpret the objects according to a script, and, the reading and viewing proclivities of its visitors. Research has shown that to capture children's imagination at the

onset of the museum sets the stage for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge which later stimulates independent learning.

Until the People's Museum is transformed into a learning environment, it may continue to have little impact on its target population. To create a learning environment and address the problems of access and security a new paradigm must be considered. The People's Museum of Craft and Technology can be an interactive experience that utilizes the work of enlightened scholarship to answer the questions of 'who' and 'what' of themselves from their perspective. It is such ideas that I turn to next with an analysis of Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey.

Chapter 8

Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey

...to Inspire, Excite, and Positively Affect the Self-identity of Jamaican People

Education is the medium by which a people are prepared for the creation of their own particular civilization, and the advancement and glory of their own race.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey

8.0 Introduction: Why a Museum to Marcus Mosiah Garvey?

Throughout Africa and the Diaspora, organizations dedicated to achieving change for the majority populations, used the print media as a critical tool for politicizing Black people. Through newspapers, journals, and magazines, readers had access to news from Africa; Black businesses had a marketing agent; organizations gave advice on their development plans and needs; report on divisional activities throughout the world; advocate support for causes; and promote interest in arts, literature and social activities that uplift the race. Garvey's political life in Jamaica, Central America, Europe, the United States, and in Britain (1910-1940) is chronicled in the various newspapers and magazines he worked for, contributed to, and founded (Hill 1983: Vols. I-VII).

Throughout Garvey's political life the mainstream media circulated negative propaganda about him personally, and the UNIA-ACL as an organization. Vilification took the forms of casting of aspersions and concocting nefarious stories about the 'real aims' of the organization. Garvey was portrayed as a thief, a con man, and a liar, rabble-rouser and

trouble maker. He was hounded by the judicial authorities in New York (Hill 1984: 30) and became the target of US Justice Department's Bureau of Intelligence's Division which later became the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Headed by J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau gathered intelligence largely through illegal means on 'radical' groups and individuals considered subversive and a threat to the United States and its way of life.

Garvey's commercial ventures (Hill 1984: 32), his ability to raise money; his charismatic personality displayed at his 'mammoth' conventions; and his defiance regarding the condition of Black people in America expressed on banners carried in parades such as "Liberty or Death", "Down with Lynching" endeared him to Caribbean and African American Blacks. Bureau agents described his influence on the Black community in their reports:

He is looked upon by these West Indians, as well as numbers of colored Americans, as being a second "Moses", and they swear by him as their salvation. Considering the way that feeling is now, it would be very foolish for anyone to go to New York, and particularly in Harlem, and say [anything] against Garvey, he has so many supporters [speaker's brackets and emphasis] (Hill 1984: 31).



Figure 8.1: UNIA marches in Harlem New York (photos by James Van der Zee, official photographer of the UNIA-ACL)

Ordinary Black people throughout the US were hungry for his message of self-reliance; Black pride; creation of Black enterprises; and likewise expressed their pleasure in the movement in letters to the Editor of the Negro World, a publication of the UNIA-ACL. Mrs. Susie Wilder from Chunchula, Alabama did so on October 12, 1920:

Although it has been only a short time that we have been receiving your paper, it seems as one of the family. We look forward to its coming with as much joy as we do to one of us, and there is not much done until it is read through and through. You are doing a good work and I am so glad that you are having much success. Though it has been late, very late for some of us way down here, and especially those of us who are in the "Piney" woods, to hear of it, I think I can say we won't be late in doing our duty towards the uplift of our race. If all of us could see through your efforts, what it will do for us and ours, and every man and woman should stand up to their manhood and womanhood, what a great thing it would be (Hill 1984: 51).

As a consequence of the rapid development of the UNIA-ACL Hoover hired the first Black agent, James Wormley Jones⁸⁵ in 1919 to infiltrate the organization and sabotage Garvey's Black Star Line, a shipping company established to ultimately link Africa with the African Diaspora through commerce and transportation, without the intercession of white people. Jones' success as an agent is borne out by the fact that he gained the trust of the UNIA-ACL and was entrusted with registration of all incoming correspondence to the organization and held the position of Adjutant General in the African League. Garvey was sentenced June 21, 1923 to the Tombs Prison in Atlanta on the trumped up charge of mail fraud. His incarceration resulted in dismantling of the largest Black organization ever, Clarke said:

The greatest losers were the ordinary Black people who had found a home within the movement, who had been a part of something that had hope and possibly a future for them, and for their children (Clarke and Garvey 1974: 163).

Amy Jacques Garvey diligently compiled the Philosophy and Opinions of Garvey, or Africa for the Africans Volumes I and II for the practical purpose of raising money for her

⁸⁵ [En.wikipedia.org/wiki/james_Wormley_Jones#FBI_and_Marcus_Garvey](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Wormley_Jones#FBI_and_Marcus_Garvey)

husband's continued defence, although in the preface to the work she indicated a much wider intent:

...I decided to publish this volume in order to give to the public an opportunity of studying and forming an opinion of him; not from inflated and misleading newspaper and magazine articles, but from expressions of thoughts enunciated by him in defence of his oppressed and struggling race; so that by his own words he may be judged, and Negroes the world over may be informed and inspired, for truth, brought to light, forces conviction, and a state of conviction inspires action (Garvey 1986: Preface).

The pleas of Garveyites the world over, joined to the petition emanating from the Harlem UNIA-ACL Convention in 1927 to President Calvin Coolidge, resulted in commutation of Garvey's sentence on November 18, 1927 and his release and immediate deportation on December 2, 1927. Although Garvey's home with his wife was in New York, he said '...he was rushed to New Orleans, where he was given twenty-four hours in which to leave the country' (Clarke and Garvey 1974: 274). He was not allowed to disembark from the ship, and to the thousands of Garveyites who gathered to bid him goodbye, he made a rousing speech. Garvey left the US on board the S.S. Saramaca for Jamaica via Panama.

Lynching of Black people (Allen, Als et al. 2004) and institutionalized racism (Chafe, Gavins et al. 2001) were commonplace in the United States. In early 20th century Jamaica racism existed in the form of extremely low wages for Black workers, continued deplorable working conditions, lack of access to bank loans by Black shopkeepers while banks favoured Chinese retailers; and general lack of access to the middle strata of the society. These realities resulted in mounting frustration among Black Jamaicans and several localized strikes, labour unrest, and anti-Chinese demonstrations (Lewis 1988: 238-240). Returning Black soldiers of the British West India Regiment to Jamaica after experiencing rampant racism in England,

Italy and other places they served, were more receptive to the messages of the UNIA-ACL and to calls for unity among the Black peoples of the world.

The reach of the Garvey movement was far and wide. The call of 'Africa for the Africans' permeated the consciousness of people of African heritage the world over, who had been economically and mentally downtrodden but were given hope by the many ventures of the UNIA-ACL – The Black Star Line (1919), the Factories Corporation (1920), The Black Cross Navigation and Trading Company (1924).

Garvey arrived in Jamaica on December 10, 1927 to a huge crowd of supporters. The Gleaner reported that 'Mr. Garvey's arrival...was perhaps the most historic event that has taken place in the metropolis of the island' and 'no denser crowd has ever been witnessed in Kingston' (Lewis 1988: 198). The crowd was so large, the cheers so loud, that the planned welcome event to take place at the Coke Chapel was reduced to a short three minute address to the thousands of supporters from its steps (Ibid).

Garvey's return to Jamaica and his foray into politics stirred the ire of not only the colonial authorities, but of white and coloured Jamaicans who viewed his actions as an affront to their 'natural' right to lead. In 1928 after a series of meetings and speaking engagements in Europe – London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and Geneva - Garvey travelled to Quebec where he was arrested by immigration authorities, ordered not to speak publicly, and to return to Jamaica in one week. He proceeded to Toronto for meetings with UNIA division heads, sailed (deported) back to Jamaica, and launched Jamaica's first political party, People's Political Party (PPP), that same year (Hill 1990: lxx). The PPP's party platform included

land reform, prison and legal reform, labour rights, public health and housing and educational opportunity measures (Hill 1990: lxxii).

In September 1929 Garvey's presentation and discussion of the PPP's Manifesto particularly plank #10 from a podium at Cross Roads in Kingston landed him in jail on a charge of contempt of court with a fine of £100, and a three month sentence to St. Catherine District Prison, Spanish Town. The plank was critical of the judicial system and read: 'If elected, I shall do everything in my power...to make effective the following: ...a law to impeach and imprison judges who, with disregard for British justice and constitution rights, dealt unfairly' (Clarke and Garvey 1974: 277-278); in other words, judges who enter into agreements with lawyers and other persons of influence to deprive people of their rights. In spite of being jailed Garvey achieved an unprecedented feat, in that he won his seat as municipal councillor of the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation Council (KSAC). However, other members of the Council refused to grant him leave of absence; and because of his inability to attend three meetings while in jail his seat was declared vacant. He did regain his seat in the by-election (Hill 1990: lxxii).

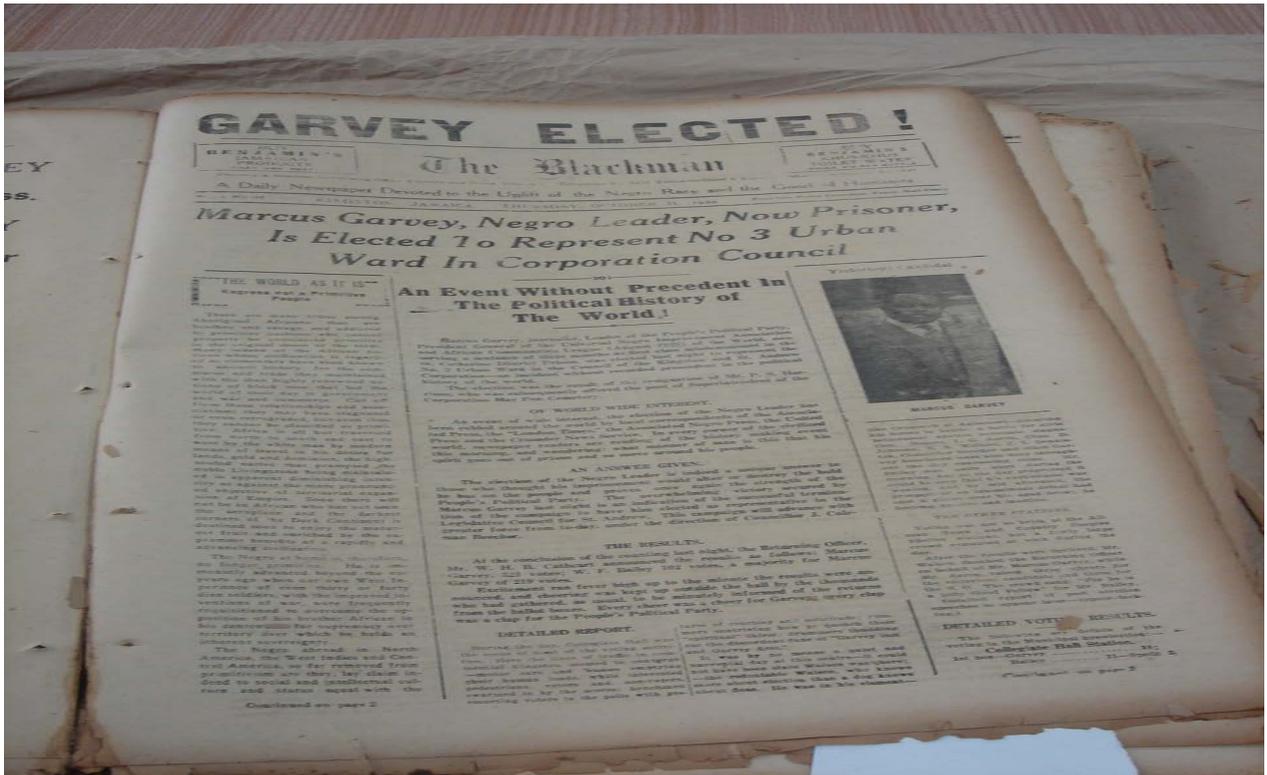


Figure 8.2: Report of Garvey’s Success in KSAC Elections in the Blackman Newspaper – National Library of Jamaica

From the 1930’s to today, only a segment of the population, particularly the Rastafarian community, revere Garvey, and keeps his name and teachings alive in the music and in instruction of their children. In spite of Garvey being designated Jamaica’s First National Hero in 1964, many Jamaicans today continue to view him with ambivalence, suspicion, reticence, and apathy. However, on many occasions - political campaigns, social and political crises, national commemorative celebrations - there are calls echoed in the media for the teaching of Garvey in the schools. In 1988 a Carl Stone Poll published in the Gleaner indicated that ‘89% of the population polled agreed with the teaching of Garvey in schools while 11% disagreed’(Stone 1988). A Gleaner article the next year reports that since Garvey’s centenary celebration in 1987, Jamaicans consider him in the number one position as the most favoured national hero (Correspondent 1989).

In 1990 a Letter to the Editor chided successive governments for their seeming intent on obliterating the memory of Jamaican people's suffering during enslavement and their public avoidance of acknowledgement of the role African Jamaicans played in achievement of emancipation. The letter made a clear demand of the government from the perspective of Jamaica as a Black country:

It is the duty of an Afro-Jamaican government to allow the teachings of our first African leader and stop this nonsense of using his name merely for political purposes. This year should see the commencement of the teaching of the life and philosophy of Marcus Garvey. Every progressive nation needs a philosophy to make worthwhile advance. Our National Heroes left us noble messages; let us begin to listen, to study them, and to inspire new Jamaicans to rival and surpass the work of our great forefathers (Witter 1990).

Twenty one years later, Garvey and Garveyism is still not taught in secondary schools as a specific subject. Teachers, if they are so informed may choose to explore major events in the life of Garvey and of the UNIA-ACL in one (highlighted) out of five core areas set out in the Organization of the Caribbean History Syllabus notably ⁸⁶:

1. The causes and consequences of interaction within and among the major groups in the region, namely: Indigenous peoples, Africans, Asians and Europeans
2. Slavery and emancipation in the Caribbean
3. The responses to challenges in the 19th century: new arrivals and the establishment of the peasantry
4. The involvement of the United States in the Caribbean
5. The part played by 20th century protest movements and other groups to achieve political independence.

The themes relate chronologically to the core and #5, the best fit for teaching Garvey, has the following themes: Movements towards independence and Regional Integration up to 1985; and Social Life, 1838-1962. The social and economic conditions of the people from Emancipation to Independence are explored in the curriculum but there is no specific focus

⁸⁶ Caribbean History Syllabus, Caribbean Examinations Council May/June 2002, p.4

on the worldwide impact of Jamaica's first national hero's plea for Africa for Africans at home and abroad.

Following the devastating loss of life (over seventy, mainly men and boys ages 14-39) that took place in the recent police and military incursion into the Kingston inner-city community of Tivoli Gardens in May 2010 (Hall 2010; Luton 2010) and the massive effect it had on the Jamaican public, there was a renewed call for the teaching of Garvey in schools from the platforms of political parties, private sector organizations, churches, and service organizations. In a Gleaner cartoon dated August 2011, the then Prime Minister, Bruce Golding, and Leader of the Opposition, Portia Simpson Miller seemingly ponder the state of the nation, while a child calls attention to the teachings of Garvey, as an answer to the crises.:



Figure 8.3: The Jamaica Gleaner August 2011

8.1 76 King Street

By the 1920's, from his Liberty Hall headquarters in Harlem, Marcus Garvey built the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL) into the largest international Black organization ever, with over 1,053 divisions worldwide; all of which were required to establish a Liberty Hall. Driven by his first hand witness of the economic, social, and political deprivation of Black people in Jamaica, Central America, England, Europe, and the United States; he took the forefront in creation of an organization that sought to unite Black people in Africa and its Diaspora around their common interests, and advocate for an African voice in international fora where the fate of Africans was being addressed. In March 1921 Garvey said:

We soon found that the condition of the Negro was everywhere the same; his colour was a bar to the advancement. In some sections of the world it was a bar to his economic progress; in other sections a bar to his enjoying the rights and privileges of citizenship. And we desired the world to bestow upon the Negro that liberty and freedom for which he fought and died in Flanders, France, and Mesopotamia (Hill 1984: 240).

Some of the principal goals of the UNIA-ACL were restitution of Black people's authenticity through re-acquaintance with Africa's ancient history; promotion of self-help, self-sufficiency, upliftment of the race through economic and commercial activities, racial pride, self-rule, attainment of a Pan African perspective, and establishment of Universities, Colleges and Academies for the purpose of racial education and culture of the people (Hill 1987: 206-211).

Liberty Hall at 76 King Street was purchased in 1923 by the Kingston Division of the UNIA-ACL for establishment of its offices. Upper King Street ends at the hub of Downtown Kingston in St. William Grant Park so named in 1977 in recognition of labour leader, Black

Nationalist, and Garveyite St. William Grant. Initially called Parade, describing the fact that the British Regiment had a barracks on the north side and used the Park as a drilling ground and a site for hangings in the 19th century; its name was changed to Victoria Park in 1914 and it became a popular green space for upper class Kingston residents.

Liberty Hall on King Street was surrounded in the 1920's by what was termed a 'better class' of people living in a 'better class' of detached buildings (Clarke 2006: 65), and King Street had several retail stores that were owned in the majority by Syrians. For LH to be established on King Street was an important accomplishment for the UNIA-ACL and must have redounded to their benefit with respect to legitimacy and stature. That is, it is likely that there were no other Black owned businesses on King Street in the 1920's as the colour bar dictated, and northeast Kingston was considered of high status, and therefore a white area.

Business activities largely encompassed and emanated from the port, where African Jamaicans worked as labourers; whites of all nationalities owned wharves and warehouses; and Syrians and Jews operated retail shops that were later eclipsed by Indians and Chinese.

Garvey's philosophy with regard to Blackness was inimical to what held in Jamaica in the 1920's and '30s, and is illustrated by his declaration published in the Daily Gleaner on December 11, 1927 one day after he landed in Jamaica:

I am a Jamaican by birth. I am a Negro, and all things black appeal to me with a loving sympathy. I love the black race – I respect every unit of it. I have gladly suffered to win recognition for the people, and I am willing at all times to yield all for them. I respect all, and only those who respect my race, and anyone who thinks he can insult my race and merit my respect is mistaken (Hill 1990: 20).

The next day at the Ward Theatre, with its seating capacity of one thousand, Mr. Garvey spoke to a packed audience:

You shall find no coward in me. You shall find a black man ready and willing to represent the interests of the black people of this country and the black people of the

world, without any compromise. We have had this rot long enough and Marcus Garvey is here, as a British subject, to constitutionally see that Negroes living under the British flag receive their constitutional rights (Hill 1990: 22).

In 1928 the UNIA-ACL in Kingston purchased Edelweiss Park on Slipe Road, North of Upper King Street, a larger facility in which to house the international headquarters of the UNIA, the offices of *The Blackman*, a daily newspaper; and in 1931, the Edelweiss Park Amusement Company to promote cultural and recreational programmes supportive and reflective of the aims of the UNIA-ACL. Through this company, the arts were employed for education and entertainment; and provided opportunities to develop and showcase Black talent which at the time was non-existent in Jamaica's theatre movement or on its cultural landscape. Garvey's understanding of the need for creation of a Black cultural landscape is explained by him:

To organize Negroes we have got to demonstrate; you cannot tell them anything; you have got to show them; and that is why we have got to spend seven years making noise; we had to beat the drum; we had to do all we did; otherwise there would have been no organization (Hill 1994: 189).

The company hosted plays, vaudeville shows, elocution contests, choral concerts, dance competitions, films, pageants, parades, and a non-denominational religious service conducted by Garvey on Sundays. Garvey believed that the creative arts and artists should identify with, and positively contribute to, the struggles of Black people (Lewis 1988: 250) and in this way he ensured himself a place in the collective consciousness of the people.

In the PBS film *Look for me in the Whirlwind* several persons interviewed commented on Garvey's use of performance through pageantry as buffoonery. His penchant for uniforms and titles for the organization's various quasi military arms were thought to be inappropriate, or perhaps only the preserve of white people. Garvey's title as Provisional President of

Africa was considered pretentious and he was ridiculed for his choice of uniform which was similar to that of Governors of Jamaica. The authority of the latter however, was never questioned:

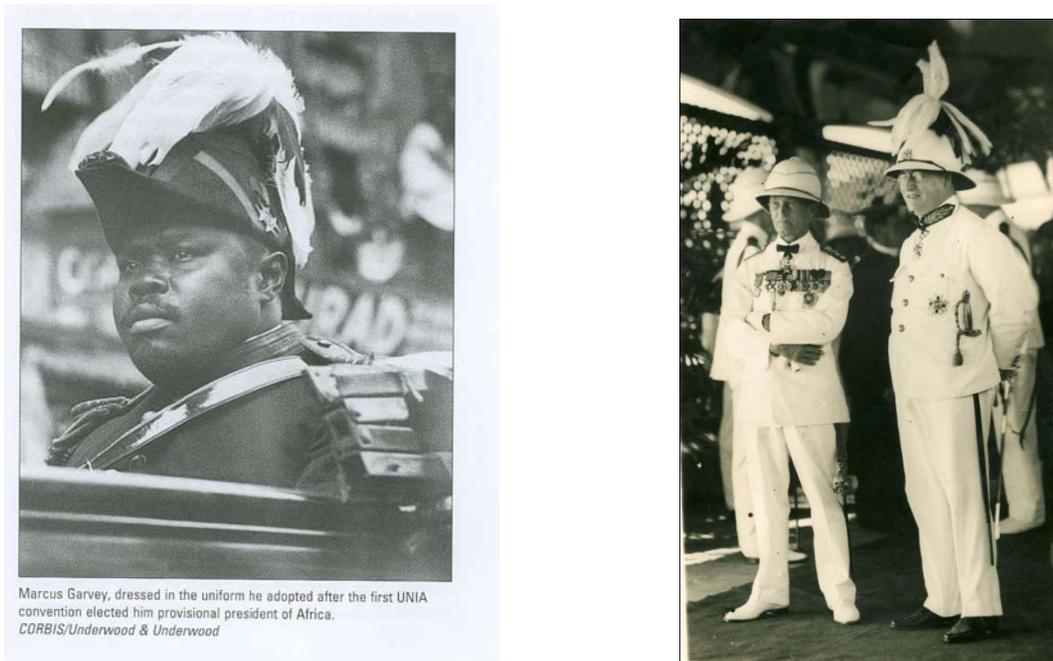


Figure 8.4: Marcus Garvey Provisional President of Africa and Sir Samuel Herbert Wilson (in plumed hat), Governor of Jamaica 1924-1925 (National Library of Jamaica)

Garvey was very aware of the criticisms levelled against his ‘performance’ style but was adamant that Western education demanded criticism of Black people who sought to create alternative means of representing themselves from their perspective. He said:

As far as their society is concerned, if you want to hear about titles, just cross the channel. White folks like titles so much that they pile up millions of dollars for a lifetime so that they can buy a title on the other side of the channel...Why therefore should some folks want to be spectacular and do not want Negroes to be spectacular? We say therefore, that since they have found some virtue in being spectacular we will try out the virtues there are in being spectacular (Hill 1994: 199-200).

Garvey presided over the reconstruction of 76 King Street in 1933 into a modern two story concrete building. At its dedication on March 22, 1933 Kingston’s civic and business leaders

laid the foundation stones at the ceremony that was attended by a wide cross section of Jamaican people and reported on in detail the next day in *The Daily Gleaner*⁸⁷.

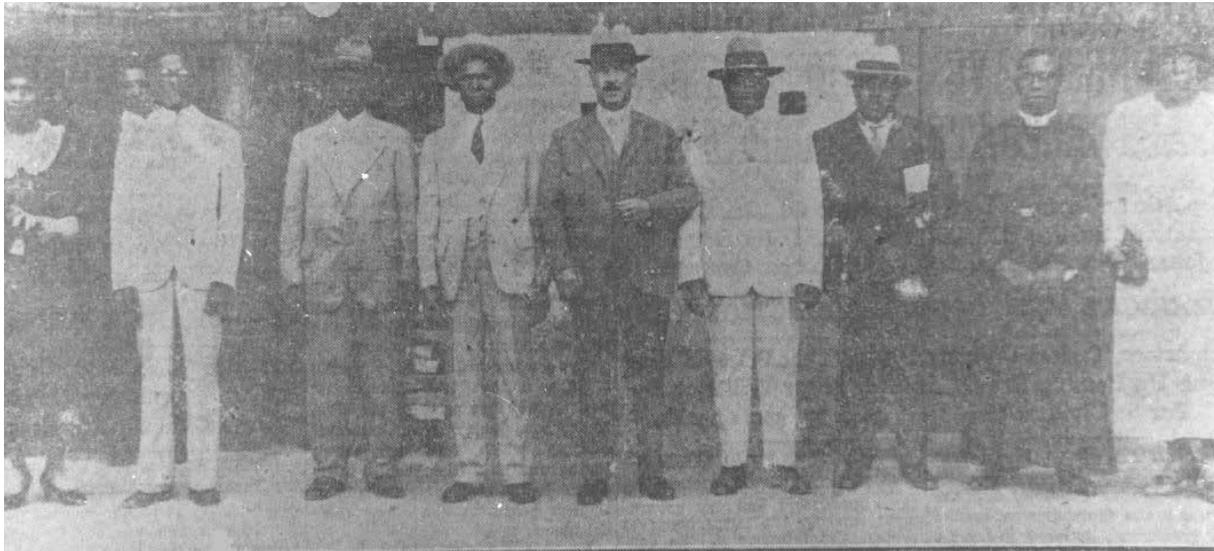


Figure 8.5: Corner Stone Layers listed above, with Marcus Garvey third from the right. *The Daily Gleaner* 23 March, 1933

A total of nine foundation stones were laid, six of which are still visible. The most prominent is the one laid by Garvey at the front of the building where it is a point of reverence in recognition of him as an ancestor, and a major point of pause for Jamaicans, tourists and all other visitors to LH.



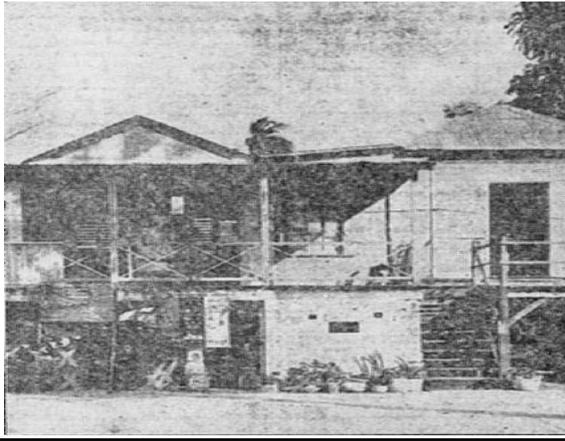
Figure 8.6: Foundation stone laid by Marcus Garvey March 22, 1933 (photo by author)

⁸⁷ *The Daily Gleaner* 23 March 1933 p. 18

Set back from the street, the open garden space provided a legal venue for Garvey's public meetings and lectures, and, in keeping with his promotion of Black people in business, the new building housed a Laundromat, a canteen, an employment service, a co-operative bank, as well as offices of the UNIA/ACL.

In 1934 Garvey announced to participants of the international UNIA-ACL convention held at Edleweiss Park that he planned to move the organization's headquarters to England (Hill 1987). Garvey's departure for England in 1935, his death in 1940, and the decline and fragmentation of the UNIA-ACL that followed, resulted in the sale and resale of Liberty Hall. However, for three decades (1950-1970) 76 King Street was a popular venue for boxing, dances, and other cultural activities; and during the early 1980's it served as a garage and offices of a mini-bus company.

In recognition of the worldwide celebration of Garvey's centennial in 1987, 76 King Street, which had fallen into a derelict condition, was purchased by the Government of Jamaica under the aegis of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust, and declared a national monument.



Liberty Hall, Kingston 1987



Figure 8.7: Images of LH (left to right) in the early 1920's (photo by: The National Library); 1987 (photo by The Gleaner Company, Ltd.); 2003 (photo by Dennis Valentine); and at Present (photo by author)

8.3 The Museum's Audience: Communities Surrounding LH

The community surrounding LH is now popularly referred to as 'Spanglers'. Downtown Kingston today is essentially a business district surrounded by pockets of residential spaces. Many of the facilities and services that are otherwise commonplace in communities designed for residences are absent including playgrounds, adequate living and outdoor spaces, legal access to utilities, and suitable garbage and sewage disposal. St. William Grant Park (Parade) is considered unsafe and inhabited by the homeless and persons of unsound mind. Residential pockets still constitute a network of small lanes and streets, but with substandard

housing - make-shift rooms of zinc or plyboard traditionally surrounding a decaying 19th century 'better' house - with nearly non-existent infrastructural services.

Overcrowded conditions and criminality stigmatise the majority of its residents who are law-abiding, poor, and suffer from the negative effects of under- and un-employment. According to the United Nations, poorer households are more at risk to be victims of all violent crimes (Martin and Anstey 2007: 35) a situation that dampens hope for a better life – good housing, safe neighborhoods, good schools, and opportunities for training and employment.



Figure 8.8: Living conditions on Love Lane, directly behind LH seen from the Garvey Great Hall (photo by author)

The report also indicates that in Jamaica, where there are more young males in a community, the higher the homicide rates; and, where young men are prevalent in households, there are higher rates of violent crime victimization (Martin and Anstey 2007: 37).

A reformulated principal of Ubuntu⁸⁸, adapted to conditions in urban garrisons⁸⁹, is evidenced by 'authority' figures within inner-city communities who wield tremendous power over residents on the one hand, and, on the other are required to reciprocate with assistance in

⁸⁸ 'I am, because we are' or 'the individual is a harmonious part of society, and there he finds his safety, his strength and identity' Hord, F. L. and J. S. Lee (1995). "I am because we are": An Introduction to Black Philosophy. *I AM BECAUSE WE ARE: Readings in Black Philosophy*. F. L. Hord and J. S. Lee. Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press.

⁸⁹ Quasi-military organization of the community

satisfaction of economic needs, and providing protection from molestation within the community. For example, when Dons are brought before the court system, it is mandatory that community members appear inside or outside of the court as a public show of support. The punishment for non-attendance may be forced removal, burning of the home, or even rape of females within the household. Conversely, when unemployed parents are in need of medical care or required to pay school fees and provide uniforms and books for school age children, the Don plays the role of benefactor to adults and children. Public holidays like Christmas are widely celebrated in the inner-city where Dons lean on the business community to provide funds to finance 'treats'⁹⁰ as a part of their provision of protection from break-ins, hold-ups, and fire. Further, where there are disputes between community members, Dons have their own extrajudicial hearing and sentencing systems (Levy 2009).

Levy finds that the link between poverty, crime, and drug-use leads to persecution of residents, especially males, by the police, in entire neighbourhoods, where 'harassment of the innocent embitters many youth against the police' (Levy 2009: 66). Inner-city youth also experience harassment in the job market where an address acts as a deterrent to employers from offering employment to qualified youth.

The United Nations Report previously referred, indicates that Jamaican female-headed households make up a larger share of the population and are more likely to suffer from murder, shooting and robbery. There are demographic and economic factors at work here, as poorer households are constituted in areas where there is a breakdown in social ties that may lead to violent crimes; and productive investment is deterred by violence-plagued

⁹⁰ Christmas 'Treats' are scheduled parties where community children are provided with entertainment whether live or by DJ's with sound boxes; provision of slides and 'bounce-a-bouts'; given food and cake and ice cream; and gifts. In many cases at Christmas, the gifts provided are all the children will receive for the holidays.

neighbourhoods resulting in fewer productive employment opportunities (Martin and Anstey 2007: 52).

Violence is pervasive in many spheres of contemporary Jamaican life, and I contend that its cultural centrality dates back to establishment of the island as a colony by Spanish and then British powers. As outlined earlier in the thesis, extreme violence was a way of life for enslaved Africans and continued after emancipation.

Rogoff's characterization of learning on a plane he calls 'apprenticeship' suggests that in history 'we inherit... a kind of psychological tool kit that is flexibly available to us as we engage in problem-solving' (Lee 2005: 64). While this analysis is pertinent to what is referred to as the 'science of learning' relevant to issues affecting the education of African American children and adolescents (Lee 2005: 55), I extrapolate the theory here to include violence. I suggest that as a consequence of history, violence is part of the tool kit of post-colonial African Jamaicans in their problem-solving; and, that it was then and continues to be pitted against the Afro-cultural ethos that also survived enslavement. That ethos includes respect for education as a means of social and economic advancement; of the importance of the extended family; prevalence of rituals and social networks characteristic of the traditional Black church; Creole languages; and art forms anchored in indigenous African legacies (King 2005).

One must also take into account the culture of violence in Jamaica's schools. Evans' research (2001) reveals that the wide scale method of teaching in Government-run primary and secondary schools uses violence as a disciplinary mechanism. She documents that a 'seatwork teaching' methodology is employed where a lesson is taught over a period of eighty-five minutes. The teacher 'writes on chalkboard without speaking (5 minutes); solicits

answers and writes on chalkboard (32 minutes); and students line up while teacher sits at table correcting (48 minutes)' (Evans 2001: 87). If or when children become bored and misbehave then they were subjected to corporal punishment and verbal abuse by teachers:

Observers noted that teachers carried the strap or cane everywhere, and the threat of corporal punishment pervaded the atmosphere of classrooms. Students were beaten for a variety of reasons – for not paying attention, for not doing homework, for not having textbooks, for not understanding, for forgetting what had been learned, for making spelling errors, for arriving late (Evans 2001: 88).

Evans does indicate that the behaviour of teachers could be related to the stress of overcrowded classroom conditions; noisy environments in which a blackboard separates a class of fifty from another; the lack of proper teaching resources and materials; and unmotivated students who believe that school is a waste of time. Their dissatisfaction and frustration may be directly related to their resort to corporal punishment. And, if that is so, then it could be surmised that in the learning environments of teacher training schools, students are taught that these methods were acceptable in public schools.

There are eighteen (18) all-age and primary schools that serve as feeder schools for Liberty Hall's community outreach programmes. Some of the lessons learned from discussions and activities within the Youth Group in 2003 are that there is a definite stigma connected with living in inner-city communities and attending inner-city schools; young people have little access to new technology in their schools and communities; violence serves to define the parameters of children's future potentials; and, the prevalence of lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem among children, particularly those who are dark in complexion, is rampant.

Children in Liberty Hall's 2011 Summer Art Programme (age 7-17) reflect on violence in their communities in their statements and their poems:

I live in the ghetto part of Kingston called Wilton Garden. I would like to move. Lots of conflict [,] war [, and] crime. When I am coming home from school, war, I have to wait for when they kill someone or beat up someone before I can pass to continue my journey home.

Justice

Mi want peace in a the community... too much man a dead and little pickney...mi want love in a the environment because man a kill man because paliment [parliament]...peace, peace everyone, me want peace.

A nuff things a gwaan wah me don't no [many things are going on that I don't know]

You dah war a man if him step pon your toe

We tired a the violence and the killing

Gun man put down the gun and lets have some fun

We want peace, peace everyone, we want peace

I live in a the Ghetto

I do not like to live in a the Ghetto. I would like to move out a the Ghetto. I would like to live in Montego Bay. I would like the violence to stop and the crime. I would like the man to put down there [their] gun and stop kill people and what I [don't] like about my community is that when we want to have a party we can[t] have party because a everyday gunshot a fire...

My Community

My community is a bad community in the ghetto. Well sometimes the community is nice. It's nice sometime because they keep a little treat in the community but I don't like my community at all. I would like to move to Negril with my family. I would like to live near Cool Runnings Water Park and would go there every day.

The importance of the work of Liberty Hall is that through its involvement of community members in determination of its programmes and through its core educational programme, the MMGMM, it provides the historical and cultural bases upon which to reframe attitudes and behaviours that are indicative of people who are un- or under educated and un-or under-employed. LH provides tangible opportunities for adults to gain skills and increase their employability, as well as a safe place for their children to be after school.

8.4 The Friends of Liberty Hall

The remnants of the UNIA-ACL in Kingston launched several unsuccessful attempts at raising money for restoration of 76 King Street; however the efforts of a consolidated group of individuals, the Friends of Liberty Hall (The Friends), bore fruit. The Friends gave priority to community involvement by mobilizing a group of teenagers from the surrounding communities in a programme lasting over a one year period to tease out their vision for themselves and for their communities. The intent of the programme was for the youth of the community to help determine and therefore buy into the concept of Liberty Hall.

The help of Caribbean Cultural activists, Carol Laws and the comedic team of Bella and Blackka, was enlisted to establish the Liberty Hall Community Youth Club and through their discussions it was determined that LH needed to function as a youth centre offering training in computing, resume writing, and small business development. LH was also envisioned as a place that used culture to strengthen self-esteem and offer training in conflict resolution. In this manner, the skeletal outlines of Liberty Hall's community programmes were loosely constructed.

In 2002 the Ministry of Education and Culture earmarked Fifteen Million Jamaican Dollars (J\$15M) to refurbish the building which was placed under the aegis of the IOJ, and was completed under budget in 2003. The activities of The Friends garnered a commitment of One Million Jamaican dollars (J\$1m) from the National Housing Trust, a Government Agency, to purchase six computers and accessories, a scanner, printer, a suite of educational software for children ages 7 and up, as well as engagement of a computer training firm to conduct classes for youth club members who were ages 14-18, two days per week. Through

consultations among themselves, the Youth Club, and with the community, The Friends resolved that the building should have the following use:

1. House a museum dedicated to the life and work of Marcus Garvey;
2. Establish a multimedia computer centre that would serve the interests of youth in the community; and
3. Establish a research/reference library.

8.5 The Skeletal Outlines of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum

In June 2003, I was offered the opportunity to be Liberty Hall's first Director/Curator and, to design the skeletal outlines of a museum. Because the timeframe between the request and the proposed opening ceremonies in October was very short, I partnered with the Jamaica Information Service (JIS) to produce a twenty minute documentary on Marcus Garvey and Liberty Hall, that would inform the public about what was planned in the future for the museum and for LH.

The position of Researcher was undertaken by Ms. Nicosia Shakes, whose remuneration for the first year was provided by a United States Embassy, Ambassador's Fund, awarded to Professor Rupert Lewis, Garvey scholar, Chairman of The Friends, and Chairman of the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica (ACIJ) a Division of the IOJ, for the purpose of compiling a CD of Garvey's Blackman newspapers published in Jamaica 1929-31. In addition to that assignment, she assisted in production of informational storyboards on Garvey's life and achievements that would constitute the skeletal outlines of the museum's exhibition.

The IOJ's graphic designer assisted with determination of the layout of Garvey quotes on the walls and placement of storyboards in the museum space. I collaborated with renowned

Jamaican installation artist, Ms. Petrona Morrison, to create a vitrine for exhibition of Marcus Garvey's cane – the only personal artefact of Garvey's owned by the IOJ⁹¹. The vitrine holding the cane was made a focal point in the museum. It was surrounded by images of Garvey's life and the movement with text under glass, offering a learning opportunity for visitors.



Figure 8.9: Configuring first representation of Garvey's cane in the museum (photo by author)

The Friends secured on temporary loan, an iconic oil painting of Garvey by renowned Jamaican artist Barrington Watson, who created it as part of a series of paintings and a book by the same name - *The Pan-Africanists* (Watson 1999); on which it features on the cover.

⁹¹ The walking stick, cane, that is purported to have belonged to Garvey came into the collection of the IOJ in the 1970's when it was given to a member of Bob Marley and the Wailers band in England by a man who said that it was in the possession of his father who told him that it belonged to Garvey. The cane was brought to Jamaica and handed over to the Minister of Culture who passed it on to the IOJ. No further information is known regarding the name of the son or father or how the latter came to be in possession of the object.

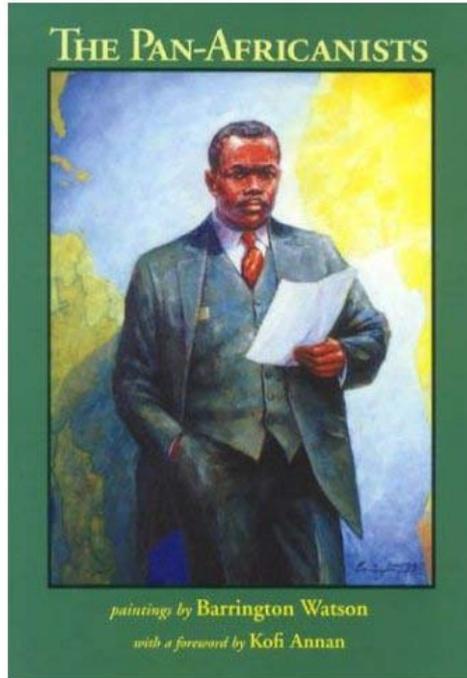


Figure 8.10: Painting of Garvey used on the cover of Watson’s *The Pan-Africanists* (1999)

Donations of three wooden benches and a large carved wooden bench with back by Master carver/furniture maker Gilbert Nicely helped set the stage for the theatre area of the museum that was to come.

Also featuring in the Museum, on permanent loan from the IOJ is a portrait of Garvey in his wedding clothes (December 25, 1918 marriage to his first wife, Amy Ashwood Garvey at Liberty Hall in Harlem) given as a gift to the Institute of Jamaica by the UNIA/ACL in 1957. The details of this gift will be discussed later in chapter 9.

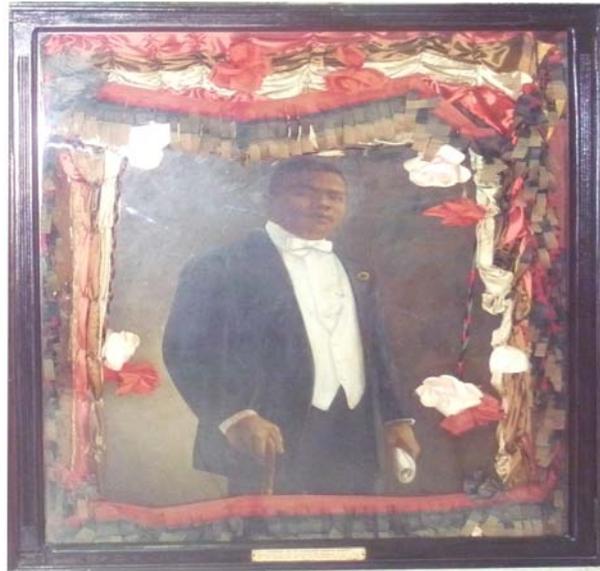


Figure 8.11: Painting of Marcus Mosiah Garvey donated to the IOJ in 1957 by the St. Andrew Division of the UNIA/ACL

8.6 Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey

In taking the first steps to re-establish Liberty Hall on Jamaica's cultural landscape, I drew on my Museum Studies training⁹². In order for the facility to achieve its potential it must have a sense of purpose, priorities, and methodologies. A mission statement makes it possible for staff to focus on the facility's purpose; for the public to be aware of what drives the institution particularly for the purposes of raising funds, marketing, and creating networks with like institutions; and the methodological approach to be taken to achieve the purpose (Ames 1994). Sustainability requires that this process be a consultative one with stakeholders who we identified to be as follows:

1. The Friends of Liberty Hall
2. The staff of Liberty Hall
3. The Liberty Hall Community Youth Group
4. The UNIA-ACL in Jamaica; and
5. Members of The Marcus Garvey Movement at the University of the West Indies, Mona

⁹² University of Leicester, Master of Arts in Museum Studies, July 10, 2003

In November 2003 the consultative process yielded a concise mission statement by fine tuning the first three lines of a draft that I crafted and circulated:

The primary mission of Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey is to inform the public about the work of Jamaica's first national hero and to use his philosophy and opinions to inspire, excite, and positively affect the self-identity of Jamaican people, while creating social and economic wealth.

The Mission Statement was immediately printed and displayed for the public to see the course charted for LH. The mission of LH is actualized through the needs of its audience – the immediate community first, the remaining citizens of Jamaica second, followed by all others. The draft mission statement which was more detailed, however, serves the staff and volunteers of LH as: an indication of the organization's culture (individual commitment to self-reliance, organization, pursuit of knowledge and excellence, racial pride, and reverence for history); of LH's mandate (be a source of pride and learning); and of the areas envisioned for its development (museum, multimedia centre & research library).

The staff and I were already aware of the fact that the history of Liberty Hall and Garvey were in and of itself redemptive of Black self-esteem and knowledge. We simply had to create the tools by which this outcome could radiate to all who passed through its gates. The physical conditions of inner-city communities and the cultural and educational needs of community residents directly influenced determination of the goals of Liberty Hall and provided opportunities for the institution to be a catalyst for personal and community development by offering relevant programmes that educate and inspire both youth and adult members of the community.

This strategy is in keeping with Sylvia Wynter's culture-systemic theoretical framework in which providing access to transformative education produces 'the knowledge and

understanding people need to rehumanize the world by dismantling hegemonic structures that impede such knowledge' (King 2005: 5). Using Beer's (1994: 38) typology as a model, I devised the institution's goals which were considered, changed, and accepted by all stakeholders previously mentioned as follows:

Goal Type	Definition	Goals for Liberty Hall
Educational/Interpretive	Goals for exhibits, publications, lectures, and other programmes to promote learning by visitors (including knowledge acquisition and changes in attitude, awareness & feeling)	To use state of the art technology to demonstrate the relevance of Garvey's philosophy in relation to contemporary issues and challenges; to bring Africa to Jamaica through film. Its main outreach programmes will consist of a mobile museum to traverse the country with the teachings of Garvey interpreted for all ages; and creation of a 'Garvey box' of hands-on interactive tools for primary school children.
Social Purpose	Goals to promote positive changes in society	To ensure that the teachings of Garvey remain alive in the minds of the youth; to engender race pride, respect and communication between people, and to be a guide for reducing and solving conflicts.
Curatorial	Goals for acquisition and preservation of collections and for research on collections	To build and interpret the collection of Garvey's teachings that will support short/long-term exhibits and programmes. The museum will not be object driven, but it will collect Garvey/UNIA writings, printed memorabilia, and any other available material.
Professional	Goals for contributing to the museum profession (including networking with other museums, historical societies and academia)	The museum at LH will be the first multimedia interactive museum in Jamaica and possibly in the Caribbean. Lessons learned from its establishment will be important to future museum development. To be a centre for Garvey studies, to work with African and African Diaspora institutions worldwide.
Environmental	Goals for contributing to the museum's relationship with the local retail and residential communities (including outreach to non-museum organizations and community groups)	To use the restoration of LH to assist in the urban renewal of the surrounding built environment. To facilitate the development of the surrounding communities.
Organizational/administrative	Goals for the internal affairs of the museum (including staff and volunteer organizations)	To attract the best people on staff; to nurture a core of volunteers; to evaluate progress toward the goals at least twice per year.
Financial	Goals for maintaining and enhancing the museum's endowments with other fiscal supports	To devise a transparent system wherein a large membership base can be developed; to raise funds to support Liberty Hall's programmes. To establish a bookstore/gift shop, a coffee/juice bar, and an internet café as income generating centres for LH. To charge a modest fee in order to accommodate everyone. To be financially independent with respect to implementing its programmes and

		projects.
Marketing	Goals for promoting and advertising the museum (public relations)	To create and develop communication media to inform people of the museum and other Liberty Hall programmes.
Logistics	Goals for the effective and efficient use of museum property and facilities (including internal and external traffic flow and use of non-exhibit space)	To provide adequate space to support programmes and exhibits, community group meetings, lectures, poetry readings and the like that are consistent with the LH mission statement.

Table 8.1: Goals Set for Liberty Hall: The Legacy of Marcus Garvey, 2003

8.6.1 *Garvey Multimedia Computer Centre*

In the first three years of operation, the two stated goals *to promote positive changes in society; and contribute to the museum's relationship with the local retail and residential communities* were particularly relevant to development of the Garvey Multimedia Computer Centre, the Garvey After-School Programme, Garvey Community Outreach, and the Garvey Research/Reference Library.

The Garvey Multimedia Computer Centre's first students were members of the LH Community Youth Club. The programme, devised by Ms. Vilma Gregory of VILCOMM Services Int'l Ltd., was entitled 'Techno-Garvey Community Multimedia Centre' and aimed to teach computer skills to youth in the community while teaching them about the life and work of Marcus Garvey.

The Multimedia Computer Centre was very popular among the older youth, however, in 2004 when we attempted to accommodate smaller children ages 7-12, older youth began to drop out because they did not want to share the space with younger children, and, they believed they had learned what they deemed the important skills – surfing the internet, creating e-mail addresses, and basic computing tools. A core group of ten remained for another three years and two of this group became computer teachers at LH.

As more and more children between the ages 7-10 came after school Ms. Shakes, Ms. Patrick and I provided computer classes for the children in the afternoons that the older youth did not have classes. We requested assistance from other computing firms and invited computer teachers to apply, as the contract with VILCOMM came to an end in December 2004. Parents were required to come in to LH to register children. On one occasion, a parent asked: “so, we caan learn computa to”? [So, can’t we (parents) learn computers also”?] The parent’s enquiry was in fact timely as the computers were idle during the morning hours while the children were in school.

For a small registration fee of J\$300.00 (US\$ 4.92) and \$200.00 (US\$3.28)⁹³ per class, adults are enrolled in an eighteen week programme where they attend classes once per week between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. Adults range in age from 20-82 with a larger percentage of women than men, many employed or under-employed; from surrounding communities and the nearest Parishes of St. Thomas and St. Catherine.

Since 2005 LH has trained over 1,500 adults in basic computing skills that include the Microsoft Suite and Internet access. Students are introduced to Garvey through tours of the Museum; lectures; and typing assignments from *Marcus Garvey Said: A Collection of Quotations From Statements Made by Marcus Garvey* (Jones 2002) which serves as a text. Students are exposed to the philosophy and opinions of Marcus Garvey, particularly those passages pertinent to increased self-identity and self-esteem.

While there is great demand for classes on Saturday, and for late opening hours, LH cannot satisfy the demand due to the lack of budgetary allocation to cover salaries and utilities. LH

⁹³ In 2004 the exchange rate was J\$61: US\$1. By 2010 the fee was raised to J\$500 registration & J\$300 per class. The exchange rate moved to 85:1 such that registration and class fees were US\$ 5.80 and 3.52 respectively.

did not receive any subventions from Government until 2007, and because subventions only cover salaries, utilities and building maintenance costs, funds raised through proposals to national and international institutions, and solicitation from private sector companies and individuals are used for programming.

Many adults and children in High Schools in communities surrounding LH, who were desirous of learning computing, were functionally illiterate or read below their age groups, and therefore experienced difficulty accessing the programme. A successful proposal to the Organisation of American States (OAS) titled *Downtown Kingston Inner-City Computer Centre & Community Outreach Programme* obtained funding to introduce opportunities for adults and children to learn to read while learning to use computers. Funds facilitated acquisition of four computers, literacy and numeracy software, and training expertise for teachers to impart literacy and numeracy skills to adults and children. The grant enabled contracting a literacy specialist whose area of expertise was devising literacy strategies through the methodology of transformative Black education which uses culturally based tools to achieve literacy.

Through the project, LH employed four teachers – 2 computer and 2 primary school teachers - who were trained in imparting literacy skills to adults and children using computer software and creating simple effective tools and games. Funding enabled the programme to be conducted on Saturdays – morning for adults, and afternoons for children. The project's duration was one year with follow-ups in the second year, and attracted over 250 students over the period.

With the assistance of the OAS, Liberty Hall provided remedial educational interventions to improve the academic performance of children and youth in inner-city schools; and adults to obtain literacy and computing skills to improve their marketability in the job market.



Figure 8.12: Dr. Donna Wright-Edwards (far right), Literacy Consultant, undertaking training of teachers (photo by author)

At the conclusion of the OAS project, the IOJ agreed to fund two teachers who were recipients of literacy training to teach children at the primary school level as well as continue training of adults within the computer literacy course on a part time basis. This agreement by the IOJ strengthened the After-School Programme by establishing continuity in instruction and allowed us to track the academic development and achievements of the children in the programme over the years. Unfortunately, the end of the OAS funding meant an end to Saturday classes which were most beneficial to adult students. We accommodated the children with individual literacy instruction in the regular After-School Programme, but were unable to make further provision for literacy training for adults.

Through the OAS Jamaica office's promotion of Capoeira for empowerment and peace to 'at risk' youth, LH became a site for teaching this African Brazilian martial art that has roots in Angola and was developed as a method of warfare by African Brazilian maroons. The

teaching of Capoeira encompasses music and movement and is very popular among children, especially boys, in the After-School Programme.



Figure 8.13: Teaching Capoeira in the Garvey Great Hall (photo by author)

8.6.2 Garvey After-School Programme

From the outset, we noted that children enrolled in Liberty Hall’s After-School programme demonstrated a lack of preparation for learning. Some do not live within a family structure that teaches and enforces discipline, consistency, respect, manners, and courtesy; and often love and care are absent from these homes. Where these conditions exist, the children are likely to be unprepared to learn.⁹⁴

In 2004 over 75% of the children attending reading classes were unable to read at their age level. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that the educational system does not sufficiently address illiteracy among students but rather seems to simply advance them in grade. It is therefore Liberty Hall’s challenge to raise the literacy levels of its students; provide a safe environment that dispenses cultural and academic information, providing all students with the required tools to build self-respect and self-esteem.

⁹⁴ http://baltimorechronicle.com/how_to_teach.html. Commentary: How Can we Teach Inner City Children?

As LH became known throughout the community the After-School Programme grew in numbers. A formal registration process was introduced that required forms to be filled with the signature of parents or guardians. The daily attendance fee was set at ‘a Garvey’⁹⁵ or J\$20.00 (US \$.23) and no child was turned away without it. By the start of the school year in 2004 LH registered over 60 children between the ages of 7-17 in the After-School Programme but without adequate space, were unable to allow every child to attend every day.

By September 2004, LH attracted nine volunteers to the After-School Programme. Their professions and interests coincided with our vision of development of LH as a cultural educational institution. They assisted with the following skills: counselling; karate; reading; art; drama; and dance which were utilized as opportunities for infusion with the philosophy and opinions of Garvey.



Figure 8.14: Garvey After-School Programme using learning tools (photo by author)

Over the years LH strengthened its volunteer programme with students from the University of Technology; The Mico and Shortwood Teacher’s Colleges; The Edna Manley School of Visual and Performing Arts; the Jamaica Theological College that provides counsellors; and

⁹⁵ A coin bearing Garvey’s image.

other institutions satisfying their teaching practice, community service requirements, as well as giving of their time freely to teach the children at LH.

To date LH registers an average of 65 children every school year and through its advocacy has been able to maintain a teaching staff of at least five consisting of two paid part-time teachers and three volunteers.

8.6.3 LH Community Outreach

In-house lectures, symposia and programmes held at LH include: drug awareness presented by Addiction Alert; issues with respect to hygiene, presented by a representative from the Ministry of Health; the ill effects of skin bleaching presented by a dermatologist; a demonstration on how to get sugar naturally from consumption of fruit presented by a food scientist; Story Telling; and information on the rights of the child presented by a representative of the Jamaica Coalition on the Rights of the Child.

LH has hosted many lectures on domestic and international topics; been the site of several book launches; readings by internationally acclaimed poets; is the site of the airing of contemporary and historical films on Africa, issues of self-identity; and the site of Garvey Birthday Celebrations and Christmas Treats for neighbourhood children.

In discussions held with the staff we agreed that there was deficiency in the depth of information taught about Africa and African Jamaican history in the schools, and, that LH needed to design outreach programmes specifically targeting High School students, to

address this lack. We created a paradigm for this outreach and named it Sankofa – which is one of the adinkra symbols utilized in 2004 by students in the first Summer Art Programme.

The symbol Sankofa is a well-known Adinkra symbol from Ghana, whose most popular representation, one of eight, is a bird looking backwards. It literally means ‘go back to fetch it’ which is the wisdom of learning from the past to build for the future (Willis 1998: 188-189).

Sankofa is an annual all day educational symposium catering specifically to secondary school students who are currently engaged with the History and Caribbean Studies syllabi in preparation for the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) and the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examinations (CAPE). We are partly guided by these syllabi as we identify particular themes within them that are consistent with the areas identified earlier; and by United Nations (UN) designations of years. For example, a symposium was held in 2007 to commemorate the UN recognition of the end of the trade in enslaved Africans; and 2011 as the UN year for recognition of people of African descent.

Scholars, whose work is exemplified in the subject areas, are invited to present a more studied in-depth perspective to students. Presentations are always followed by the fielding of questions and interesting discussions. Students of Teacher’s colleges and universities also form a significant part of the audience. Sankofa features presentations, exhibitions, films and cultural items relating to themes on Africa and African Caribbean History.



Figure 8.15: Demonstrating Capoeira and drumming as forms of Resistance at Sankofa III at IOJ Lecture Hall 2008 (photo by author)



Figure 8.16: Audience at Sankofa II 2006; and Shortwood Teacher's College students in foreground at Sankofa V, IOJ 2010, IOJ Lecture Hall (photo by author)



Figure 8.17: Over 300 students listening attentively during Sankofa VI, Liberty Hall 2011(photo by author)

Liberty Hall has produced and hosted six Sankofa symposiums the first of which was held in February 2005, Black History Month, titled “Slavery and its Impact on Contemporary Jamaica”. The themes explored for **SANKOFA II - VI** are as follows:

- 2006 - African Cultural Retentions in Jamaica
- 2007 - The Trans-Atlantic Trade in Africans
- 2008 - Our Freedom Journey: Resistance to Slavery and Colonialism in Jamaica
- 2010 - Garvey, Rastafari and Africa
- 2011 - Recognizing our African Connections

The symbol of Sankofa adorns the building in paint, tile mosaic as well as in metal on the gates that welcome visitors into Liberty Hall.



Figure 8.18: Symbol of Sankofa on the gate and wall of Liberty Hall – the latter executed in tile mosaic by children (photo by author)

8.6.4 Summer Art

The first Summer Art Programme began in July 2004 in response to the request of children and parents who live on Love Lane (directly behind LH) and those from the surrounding communities who attended the After-School Programme. They urgently requested that we

provide something for them to do during their summer holidays, as they were accustomed to playing on the streets with little supervision.



Figure 8.19: Chess Classes in Garvey Great Hall 2003 (photo by author)



Figure 8.20: Dance Classes in Garvey Great Hall 2003 (photo by author)

The Summer Art Programme consisted of a total of 35 children between the ages of 7-17 from the immediate communities that surrounded LH. Its duration was six weeks - July to August 17, Marcus Garvey's Birthday; between the hours of 9:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. It was held on the top floor of Liberty Hall named the Garvey Great Hall, from which a panoramic view of the mountains that surround the city and of Downtown Kingston to the sea is offered. The theme arrived at was Garvey, Community, and Pan-Africanists and its execution as a mural was supervised by five student artists from the Edna Manley College of the Visual Arts; and one intuitive artist who was a volunteer in the After-School Programme; and, through the IOJ, LH obtained the services of two youth workers through the Government's National Youth Service Programme.

At the outset the teachers complained bitterly about the children's behaviour noting that it impeded their execution of the programme. The objectionable behaviour consisted of fighting, calling each other names like 'black and ugly, black like pot' etc.; refusal to listen to instruction; running around in an uncontrollable manner in spite of instruction to the contrary; and inability to concentrate on any one task. Although the majority of the children lived in the community, were enrolled in the After-School Programme during the school year, and were beginning to learn the required conduct of students at LH; the summer holiday programme was an opportunity to further reinforce behavioural requirements with the goal of behavioural change.

To deal with the name calling I took a cultural approach and held a series of morning sessions with the children on the teachings of Marcus Garvey that exemplify his and the UNIA's 'Black is beautiful' campaign and made it punishable by demerit if a child reported that another was guilty of the name calling described above. I taught the children to be proud

of their skin colour through books, films, magazines, and history lessons pitched at their age levels. I invited Ms. Althea Laing, Jamaica's very first Black super model to do a session on grooming with the children and to discuss with them what it meant to her to be Black.

The children were introduced to books with historical storylines and illustrations of Black people. These include: *Mansa Musa: The Lion of Mali* (Burns 2001); *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters* (Steptoe 1987); *Book of Black Heroes* (Hudson and Wesley 1997); and *Black Stars: African American Inventors* (Otha Richard Sullivan 1998). These books increased their interest in reading and for many it was their first time learning Black history.

In consultation with a colleague who was Chairperson of the Education Department at Medgar Evers College, a historical Black College in New York she suggested that the children be broken up into groups according to their ages and introduced to Adinkra Symbols, a Ghanaian philosophical tradition that is usually displayed on funerary clothing.

Adinkra symbols reflect the complexity of traditional Akan social and spiritual existence. These historic Akan symbols depict the panorama of cultural life parables, aphorisms, proverbs, popular sayings, historical events, hairstyles, traits of animal behaviour, or inanimate or man-made objects. Adinkra symbols reflect cultural mores, communal values, philosophical concepts, or the codes of conduct and the social standards of the Akan people...expressions of the Akan world view (Willis 1998: 28).

The children were encouraged to choose the symbols they liked individually and then asked to arrive by consensus at the symbol that would represent their groups. There were 4 groups of five and 2 groups of 7 students and they chose the following symbols and their meanings:

1. Bi-Nka-Bi (bee- in-ka- bee) – literally: No one should bite another, outrage or provoke another. Symbol of justice, fair play, freedom, peace, forgiveness, unity, harmony and the avoidance of conflicts or strife.
2. Fi-Hankare (fee-han-krah) – literally: An enclosed or secured compound house. Symbol of brotherhood, safety, security, completeness and solidarity.
3. Gye Nyame (jeh N-yah-mee) – literally: “Except God: or “Tis Only God”. Symbol of the omnipotence, omnipresence and immortality of God. “Except God, I fear none”.
4. Kuntunkantan (koon-toon-kaun-tan) – literally: Inflated Pride. Symbol of pride of state and at the same time a warning against an inflated pride or an inflated ego.

5. Sankɔfa (sanf-ko-fah) – literally: Go Back to Fetch it. Symbol of the wisdom of learning from the past to build for the future.
6. Sunsum (soon-soom) – literally: The “Soul”. Symbol of spirituality, spiritual purity and the cleanliness of the soul.

The importance and efficiency of this methodology became apparent as the programme progressed. Whenever a child was outside of his/her group they could be asked what group they belonged to, and they were required to name it as well as to repeat its philosophy. Further, whenever a child within the group misbehaved, the group would consider how inconsistent the behaviour was with their representative symbol, and based on this, decide collectively what the punishment would be. This tied into a system of merits and demerits where three demerits resulted in an audience with a parent or guardian and greater than five demerits resulted in the student being disallowed attendance to the end of summer excursion out of town or suspension from the programme. Merits were given based on helpfulness, cooperation, discipline, insightfulness, ability to listen, and setting example i.e. picking up paper without being asked. Merits and demerits would redound to the benefit or not of the student as well as the group.

The methodology was deemed effective by all the teachers and is employed thereafter in subsequent Summer Art Programmes, resulting in adinkra symbols painted on the walls of the Garvey Great Hall and appearing in mosaics on the garden walls.



Figure 8.21: Children painting murals on the walls of the Garvey Great Hall 2004 (photo by author)

The programmes in 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2010 encompassed creation of tile mosaics on the wall of the Kingston Bookshop that borders the garden of Liberty Hall. The theme of the mosaic is Garvey, Family and Community. Summer Art enrolment went from the initial 35 children to over 65, many of whom return year after year to participate. As a result, the children take enormous pride in their achievements and are often seen pointing out sections of the mosaic for which they are responsible.



Figure 8.22: Participants in production of mosaic Garvey, Family and Community 2006 (photo by author)



Figure 8.23: Garvey, Family and Community mosaic 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 (photo by author)

8.6.5 Garvey Research/Reference Library

The donated published works of all the Garvey scholars – Rupert Lewis, Robert Hill, and Tony Martin - were the foundational materials in establishment of the Garvey Research/Reference Library. The special Garvey collection includes seven volumes of The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers compiled by Robert Hill; and four volumes of the Marcus Garvey Court proceedings– Marcus Garvey –vs- United States of America.

In 2005 Mr. Cecil Gutzmore, a bibliophile and lecturer at the University of the West Indies, donated over 600 Pan-African books that he painstakingly collected over a period of 20 years in England to LH. In 2010 he donated his remaining 10,000 books and materials to the Library making the Garvey Research/Reference Library the largest collection of Pan-African Books in the English speaking Caribbean.



Figure 8.24: Students with teacher in Research/Reference Library (photo by author)

Over 500 visitors to the Library have been assisted through the digital catalogue CDS/ISIS⁹⁶ to access books; and students both local and overseas, undertake research in the Library. Individuals of all ages have also taken advantage of the opportunity to simply read Garvey in quiet comfort.

⁹⁶ http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-RL_ID=5330&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html#doc

The Garvey Research/Reference Library is built on Garvey's premises of intelligence, education and universal knowledge.

8.6.5.1 *Children's Library*

A wide range of children's books were purchased from book sellers that specialise in African American children's books in New York. Donations of Caribbean inspired books were solicited from publishers and children's book writers in Jamaica and the Caribbean Region. These efforts resulted in the successful establishment of a rich African centred children's library. The underlying intention was to source 'books about us' with images and illustrations that look like the children reading these books.

In order to address the observation of youth in the LH Community Youth Club that there was ambivalence regarding Blackness among children of dark complexion, the Children's Library serves to counter their negative perceptions of themselves by providing positive images of Black people in books. Therefore, donations of books with images of white children were rejected with an explanation of our methodology to donors many of whom had not thought about the conundrum caused in our children by such images.



Figure 8.25: Presentation of African-centred books by Read Across Jamaica to Garvey Children's Library

Interaction with the children at LH reveals that there is great need for a specific collection methodology with respect to children's books throughout Africa and the African Diaspora. This need is reinforced by renowned Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe who expressed shock when his daughter made the following statement: "I am not black; I am brown". Upon investigation of what prompted her resolve, he came to the conclusion that:

...in many of...those expensive and colourful children's books imported from Europe and displayed so seductively in the better supermarkets of Lagos...was not civilization but condescension and even offensiveness...hiding behind the glamorous covers of a children's book (Achebe 2009: 69).

He describes these books as 'beautifully packaged poison' for our children and encourages parents to think critically when they purchase children's books and at the very least to read them before presenting them to children. It is reasonable to assume that images in children's books are partly responsible for the crisis of self-identity displayed by African Jamaican children. A lot of the blame could be levelled at the wide availability of white dolls only for Black children, and films like Tarzan, whose racial and racist narrative has been recreated and animated for consumption in the Caribbean. Garvey specifically addressed this in the 1920's by advocating construction of Black Doll factories:

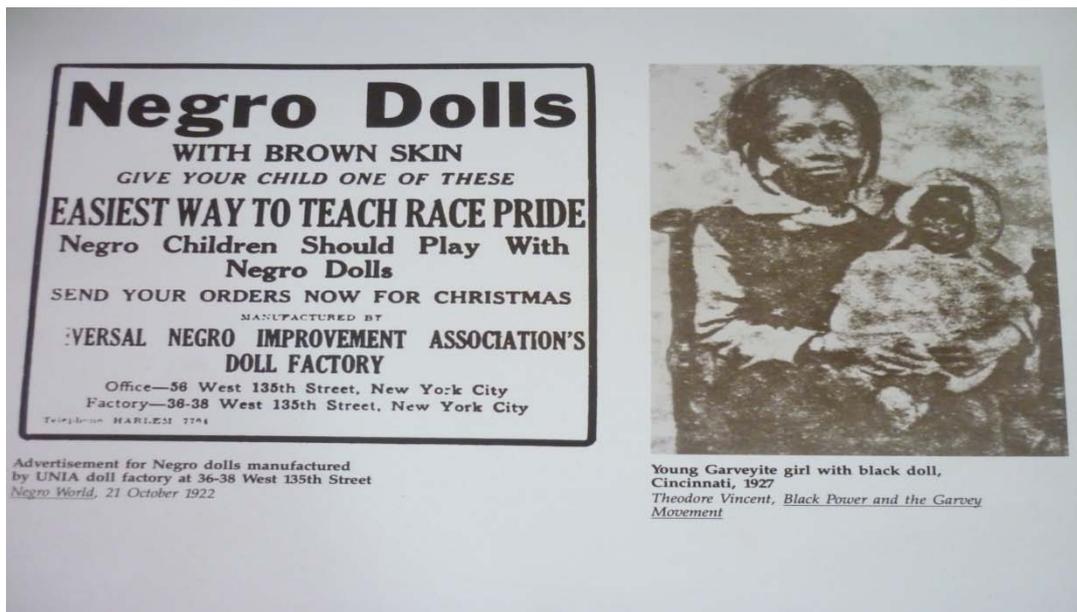


Figure 8.26: Garvey Centenary travelling exhibition devised for the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and donated to LH in 2012.

Attention must be paid even to comic books, which are usually uncritically accepted by parents as a positive form of children’s entertainment, particularly as it involves reading. Wilson argues that these books may ‘not enhance positive ethnic self-love and often work against it by consciously and unconsciously promulgating “white” values and perceptions, the [B]lack child may unwittingly assimilate those values and perceptions which are at odds with his own self-interest’ (1978: 110).

Following this analysis, the paucity of Black comic books with Black heroes, and Black animated films of the same genre, may lead Black children to believe that only whites can be ‘super’ heroes, masters of the universe, fight against evil, and rule and conquer all. In fact, evil is often portrayed in Black clothing and or accoutrements subtly reinforcing the binary that Black is bad and always loses; while white is good and always wins. In looking at the tendency in children to imitate cartoon characters, Wilson suggests that such ‘imitations make it more and more difficult for him [her] to separate his [her] own reality and destiny

from those of whites and simultaneously lay a foundation for a dependency-ambivalent attitude toward whites and a rejective-ambivalent attitude toward himself’ (Wilson 1978: 111).

Liberty Hall introduced reading competitions for all ages in our programme that include reading comprehension and essay writing. African centred books afford opportunities for the children to be immersed in the variety of cultures in Africa and its Diaspora. Students are awarded trophies and gifts for successful participation and improvement in reading skills. This programme has become very popular among the children and their parents.



Figure 8.27: Handing over Reading Competition Prize to successful competitor

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented a first-person perspective on my work in re-establishment of Liberty Hall: *The Legacy of Marcus Garvey* (LH) at 76 King Street, Kingston, Jamaica, as a cultural educational institution. The point of departure is acknowledgement that ‘museums have obligations as both educational and social institutions to participate in and contribute toward the restoration of wholeness in the communities of our country’ (Gaither 1992: 58). In this

chapter I documented how African centred philosophy and history are employed as foundational tools in development of educational programmes aimed at positively affecting the self-esteem and self-identity of community members and all others who visit. Liberty Hall's core educational programme is the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM). It is the first museum in post-colonial Jamaica that represents Blackness in a manner that inspires, excites, and educates; the first museum in the world dedicated to Garvey's life and work, and the first fully multimedia museum in the Caribbean⁹⁷.

LH has developed close relationships with the communities that surround it, which validates community experiences in that programmes are directly resultant of community needs and requests (Gaither 1992: 60). Through this participatory relationship, inner-city children and adult community members are empowered and are now counted among museum audiences where previously they may have felt intimidated by and excluded from museums. The Institute of Jamaica and the National Gallery, both located in Downtown Kingston, have expressed concern regarding their visitor numbers from surrounding communities and have attempted to launch more inclusive programmes to attract a wider community base.

⁹⁷ Internet searches and information from The Museums Association of the Caribbean (MAC), have not revealed any other fully multimedia museums in the Caribbean Region.

Chapter 9

Representing Blackness: The Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM)

9.1 The Making of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum (MMGMM) – Phase I

The one principal objective for establishment of the Museum echoed Amy Jacques Garvey's objective for compilation of his Philosophy and Opinions: to represent Garvey by allowing him to speak for himself about his life and work in development of the UNIA-ACL. Other objectives include that the museum should represent Garvey's systemic challenge, through the UNIA-ACL, to the subservient position ascribed to Black people by whites; and his offer of a viable alternative that drove fear into a system that had thrived and developed on the oppression of Black people for four hundred years. The museum would teach the nation that the UNIA-ACL represented the interests of Black people the world over with pride and demonstrate its universal reach through the listing of its over 1,056 divisions on every continent in the world.

Garvey's knowledge of Black history was the foundation of his quest for social justice. The focus on education for liberation is therefore integral to the development process. To these objectives I added that representation in the museum should be regarded as the institution's core educational programme, and that the methodology for representation must have a multimedia focus to among other things, attract and hold the attention of the youth.

As discussed earlier, the skeletal outlines of the Museum were in place in time for the opening of Liberty Hall on October 20, 2003. The Museum was simply laid out with a space defined at one end by four benches to indicate a theatre for screening films; and a glass enclosed stand with Garvey's cane surrounded by images and text under glass, at the other. Figure 1 below indicates the rudimentary outlines of the Museum. Wall 1 is dominated at the centre with Liberty Hall's logo consisting of the letters LH with a Black Star, the insignia of the UNIA-ACL's Black Star Shipping Line, in its centre. To the right of Wall 1 is the Garvey painting by Barrington Watson which remained in the Museum for two months and was later replaced with a painting by artist Van Peterson of three images of Garvey in ceremonial dress, in academic robes, and in suit and hat. The painting had been restored and donated by the National Gallery of Jamaica.



Figure 9.1: Floor Plan and Layout of Phase I of Museum - 2003

Wall 2 has large raised text panels that conceal windows and display the following Garvey statements:

Education: Education is the medium by which a people are prepared for the creation of their own particular civilization, and the advancement and glory of their own race.

Freedom: We meet at Liberty Hall not as cringing sycophants, but as men and women standing erect and demanding our rights from all quarters.

At the far left of Wall 2 Garvey's words: *Up you mighty race. You can accomplish what you will* are written on the wall over a painting of Marcus Garvey in his wedding clothes on the occasion of his marriage on December 25, 1919 to Amy Ashwood Garvey at Liberty Hall in Harlem, donated to the IOJ in 1957 by the UNIA-ACL. The portrait was offered 'to the Institute to [be] kept as *an inspiration to future generations*'⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ Ibid

TableAn extract from the Minutes of meeting of the Board of Governors of the IOJ on 23rd May, 1957 which reports on the visit of Board members Messrs Roberts and Verity to Mr. Campbell, President of the UNIA St. Andrew Division, is indicative of the IOJ Board's ambivalence toward Marcus Garvey:

Mr. Roberts said that the portrait was done probably after a photograph of Garvey as a young man. *It could not be considered of artistic merit*, but the frame was particularly remarkable. It was a very large and deep frame with the inner border about 3" in width of highly decorative confetti paper. There was no doubt that the portrait was of considerable historical interest in connection with the UNIA movement in Jamaica. It was agreed that the picture should be accepted by the Institute but that great care should be taken in phrasing the acceptance so that the Institute might have freedom of control of the picture. *Great care should also have to be taken so that the Board would not be expected to perpetuate a Garvey Shrine at the Institute!*⁹⁹ [my emphasis]

Mr. C. Bernard Lewis then wrote a letter (June 24, 1957) to the President Mr. John Campbell in which he thanked the UNIA for the portrait with the following statement:

Our Board of Governors at its last meeting was very pleased to accept your kind offer of the picture and I am directed to say that it will *ultimately find a prominent place in the extended Institute* which we hope will come about in the very near future. For the time being we hope to give it temporary exhibition as soon as it has been cleaned and tidied up a bit. I will let you know as soon as it has been put into its temporary place so that you and your associates can come down to see it¹⁰⁰ [my emphasis].

The Board of the IOJ understood the significance of the portrait to African Jamaican history but had no intention of adjusting its Euro-centric curatorial practice. No concerted effort was ever made in the 1950's and '60's to collect objects specifically representational of Blackness as it was the IOJ's mandate, supported by the white and coloured ruling class, as well as by the British colonial office, to orient the whole of Jamaican society towards Europe (Moore and Johnson 2011). What Garvey stood for was in direct opposition to what the IOJ considered to be inspirational to future generations

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

To the left of Wall 3 in the Museum, a Garvey storyboard highlights a timeline of important events in his life and adjacent to it is Garvey's words spoken at a conference in Nova Scotia in 1937 and made famous by reggae artist Robert 'Bob' Nesta Marley: *'Emancipate yourself from mental slavery'*. Directly next to that is another storyboard representing Garvey's New Jamaica, the tenets of the PPP and the revolutionary plans he envisioned for Jamaica. This storyboard is followed by the words: *'A nation without knowledge of its past is like a tree without roots'*. The entrance doors are also a feature of Wall 3.

Wall 4 has three large text panels with the following messages:

History – Be as proud of your race today as our fathers were in the days of yore. We have a beautiful history, and we shall create another in the future that will astonish the world.

Africa – All of us may not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African Empire – so strong and powerful, as to compel the respect of mankind, but we in our life-time can so work and act as to make the dream a possibility within another generation.

Confidence – If you have no confidence in self you are twice defeated in the race of life. With confidence you have won even before you have started.

Situated in front of Wall 4 is the glass case holding Garvey's cane surrounded by images and text pertaining to his life. Even in its rudimentary stages, children enjoyed the museum immensely. They gathered around the cane to get a closer look at the images and text under glass at the base of the cane and the most popular question asked was about the fact that both of Garvey's wives were named Amy.



Figure 9.2: Children around representation of Garvey’s cane 2004 (photo by author)

Children recorded Garvey’s words written on the walls and information from text panels in their exercise books in preparation for assignments back at school. While there was no sound or movies in the Museum in the first month’s operation, children and adults of all ages responded positively to the representation and were very willing to have their pictures taken in the museum.



Figure 9.3: Children and adults enjoying the skeletal outlines of the Museum (photos by author)

The children’s comments in the visitor’s book demonstrated their interest:

The place is interesting and exciting. The legacy of Marcus Garvey gave me a better understanding of his reason for being a national hero (Suzette; 12/23/2003).

There's lots of things I didn't know about Marcus Garvey and his wives and by reading through I found out a lot of stuff and that ['s] the reason why I love this museum (Lide; 12/23/2003).

I like the stick its in a frame. (Crystal, 6/2/04).

To Garvey, thanks for daring to stand out (Shana-Kay; 2/12/2003)

The adults were equally interested and commented on their anticipation of the completed museum:

A small but fitting tribute to a great man (Shawn; 12/30/2003).

A hopeful inspiration for young people and an awakening for others (Carmen; 12/31/2003).

I do hope this edifice to the memory of Marcus Garvey will be used to free our people from mental slavery before it is too late (D. Burnett; 2/29/2004).

This visit reminds me of my school days in the 1930's when our ambitions were heightened by reading in the Daily Gleaner of a black Jamaican who inspired us to rise above slave mentality and be ambitious, and know we are no less than the greatest white man. Nice to see some of Marcus Garvey's dreams come true, and our generation look forward to the overflows to the benefit of the black race (C.G. Nembhard; 4/12/2005).

9.2 Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum - Phase II

The immediate challenge to creating the multimedia museum was funding. The Director of the Human Employment and Resource Training (H.E.A.R.T.) Trust – Jamaica's national training agency (NTA), and the institution responsible for vocational training in Jamaica, attended the opening ceremonies of LH on October 20, 2003 and subsequently indicated that there was a possibility for funding for the museum from H.E.A.R.T. Established by the H.E.A.R.T. Trust Act of 1982, its mission and vision are as follows:

Mission: Graduates using skills to increase productivity and competitiveness of Jamaican enterprises.

Vision: A Jamaican workforce trained and certified to international standards stimulating employment – creating investment, contributing to improved productivity of individuals, and enterprises and the nation.

HEART's facilities include eighteen vocational training centres, throughout the island in rural main towns; five academies, and four institutes. Included in these are:

Garmex Academy – garment industry; Information technology; Tool & Engineering Institute; Runaway Bay Hotel Training Institute; School of Cosmetology; Jamaican German Automotive School; and the Vocational Training Development Institute which trains teachers for the facilities.

While the functions of the Trust¹⁰¹ do not include funding museums, the Director believed that access to knowledge of Garvey's philosophy would add the missing 'cultural' variable to the curriculum materials being used in all of H.E.A.R.T.'s facilities¹⁰². He was cognizant of the fact that HEART Trust students were typically drawn from All-Age Schools, as opposed to 'traditional' High Schools, which meant that students had already imbibed a sense of 'lack' from the overcrowded conditions in which they were trained in schools deficient in resources.

In a study of all-age schools, Evans (1988) found that parents of all-age school students had few expectations for the school other than to prepare their children to pass the selection examinations for secondary school, i.e. the Common Entrance Examination, the Technical Examination, and the Grade Nine Achievement Test. At the same time, these parents:

...mostly rural folk engaged in small farming or higglering were quite aware of the unlikelihood of their children gaining a place in a secondary school. So additionally, they wanted the all-age school to give their children *skills for earning a living*. Parents in other types of schools and from a different social class background have different expectations, and may be less likely to accept limited opportunities for their children [my emphasis] (Evans 2001: 6).

¹⁰¹ www.heart-nta.org

¹⁰² Ibid

HEART's vocational training programmes positively provides what Evans identified above as the desire of parents for their children – skills for earning a living – and goes steps further by certifying graduates according to international standards. HEART offers its students internships and job placements as well as access to information on establishing small businesses. However, schools and training facilities offer little opportunity for students to learn about themselves or their history. Both secondary school scenarios (All-Age and Traditional High Schools) place emphases on tests, grades and streaming of students for the job market. There is little 'room in the school's timetable for topics that relate to students' self-knowledge or self-development, self-empowerment or about citizenship and human relationships' (Evans 2001: 71).

The grant proposal titled 'Taking Garvey to HEART' was submitted in January 2004. Its rationale included the following:

...Technical and vocational training notwithstanding, the quality of this workforce could be further enhanced through the introduction of enlightened knowledge of African/Caribbean history. Marcus Garvey's teachings about the importance of organization, striving for excellence, national and racial pride, to name a few, will strengthen the trainees self-awareness, self-identity and will positively impact our goals for National development...

A skilled and semi-skilled workforce that is equipped to use the philosophy and teachings of Garvey to influence others to "do better than that" may be a critical part of the answer to Jamaica's ongoing challenges at the workplace and in communities. The link between skill attainment and positive self-identity is empowerment, which will encourage others to seek its attainment.

The Board of the HEART Trust / NTA agreed to fund creation of the museum to the tune of Ten Million Jamaican Dollars (J\$10M) per year including covering the cost of electricity for two years. This was an achievement. A first for a statutory body to fund establishment of a museum convinced of the beneficial role it could play in enhancing delivery of their core

business. With acceptance of the proposal I was able to embark on the design of the multimedia museum.

A contract was signed with Exhibit Media, a firm in Chicago, and the Council of the Institute of Jamaica on July 1, 2004 to produce the multimedia elements of the project which included sourcing and purchase of film footage and photographs available in the US, identification and specification of electronic equipment, creation of a script from material provided, and creation of the touchscreens

Liberty Hall's Researcher was the Chief Researcher on the project. She supervised the work of three graduates of Professor Lewis' class at the University of the West Indies, Garvey and Garveyism, who were contracted to condense the vast life and work of Garvey into selected important segments, using available published materials. The Chief Researcher also prepared the segment of Garvey's return to Jamaica (1927-1935), his relocation of himself, family, and the UNIA's international headquarters to London, to his death (1935-1940). The work was divided as follows:

1. Marcus Garvey's Early Life in Jamaica (1887-1916)
2. Marcus Garvey Builds the UNIA-ACL in the United States (1916)
3. Marcus Garvey Stands up to his Enemies (1916-1940)
4. Marcus Garvey Continues the Work of the UNIA Outside the United States (1927-1940)
5. Marcus Garvey's Legacy Lives On

LH sought out, collected, and gained permission for use of selected film clips made by the Jamaica Information Service (JIS) and the Creative Production and Training Centre (CPTC); photographic images from the National Library; Garvey related news published by the

Gleaner Company in Jamaica; tributes to Marcus Garvey by various musicians; recorded speeches of Amy Jacques Garvey sourced from the Radio Education Unit, University of the West Indies; and elder women's reflections on Garvey recorded by the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica/Jamaica Memory Bank. Original pages of the Blackman and the Black Man Magazine were also accessed in the National Library of Jamaica. Permission was obtained to use Garvey and UNIA related images held in the archives of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and the Garvey "Papers Project" at UCLA.

Contracts were entered into with the producers of the WGBH/PBS documentary '...Whirlwind' for use of the interview footage. Important footage of Jamaica's pre- and early independence experience including the return of Garvey's body to Jamaica and his reburial in National Heroes Park were purchased from a source in the UK.

The physical museum space was designed with the assistance of the architectural firm of Patrick O. Stanigar who addressed the challenge of the small size of the room by designing kiosks that towered over the space creating an illusion of space, and engendering curiosity in

visitors to investigate whether there was more around the corners of the kiosks.

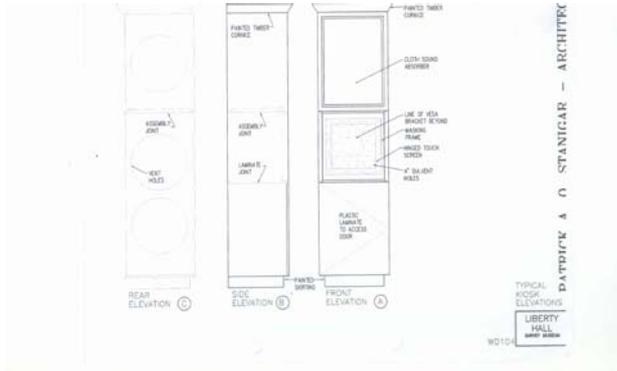


Figure 9.4: Kiosk design in Multimedia Museum

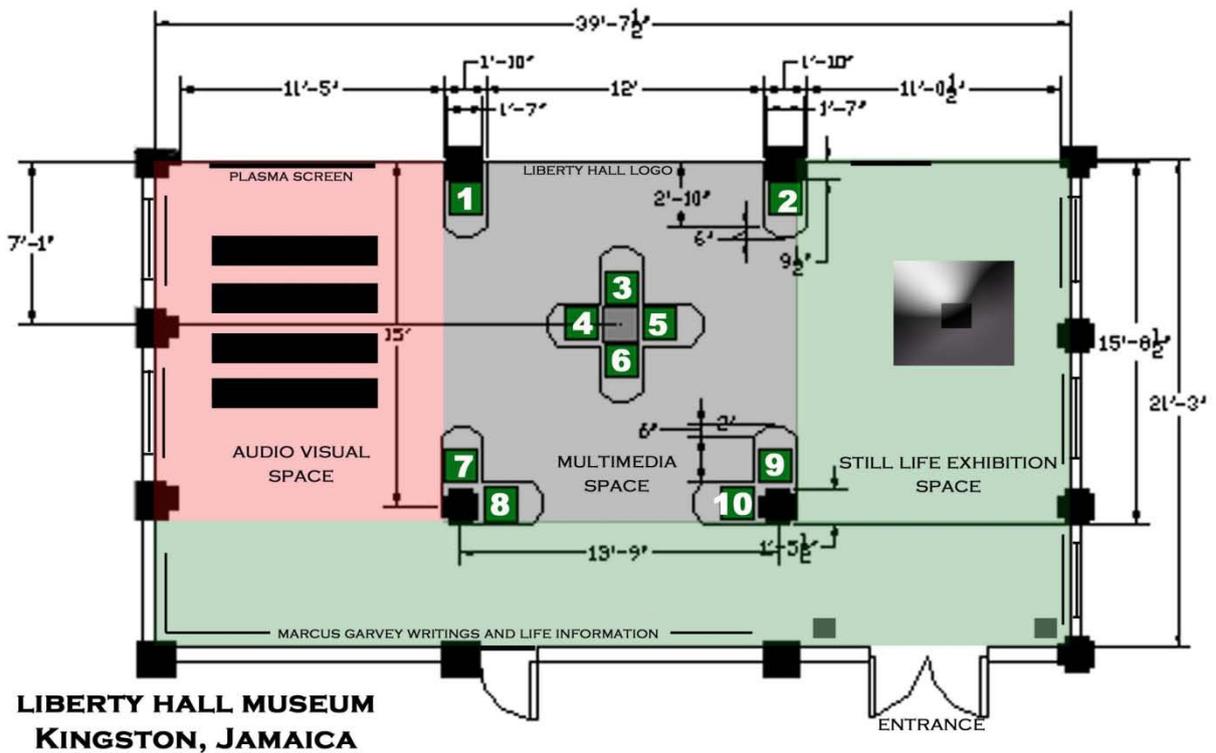


Figure 9.5: Initial design of Museum space by Partick O. Stanigar, Architect

The initial design above was altered to reflect relocation of the cane (still life exhibition space in Figure 78) that had been a central focus in the skeletal outlines of the museum. An entrance wall was added to name and frame the initial view of the museum; as well as provide an additional screen upon which to project images. The design of the kiosks then determined their placement. With this change we were then able to put two kiosks back to back in that space, provide a seating area to view projected images; and reposition the perimeter kiosks while moving the four combined together somewhat on the border of the green and gray space pictured above.

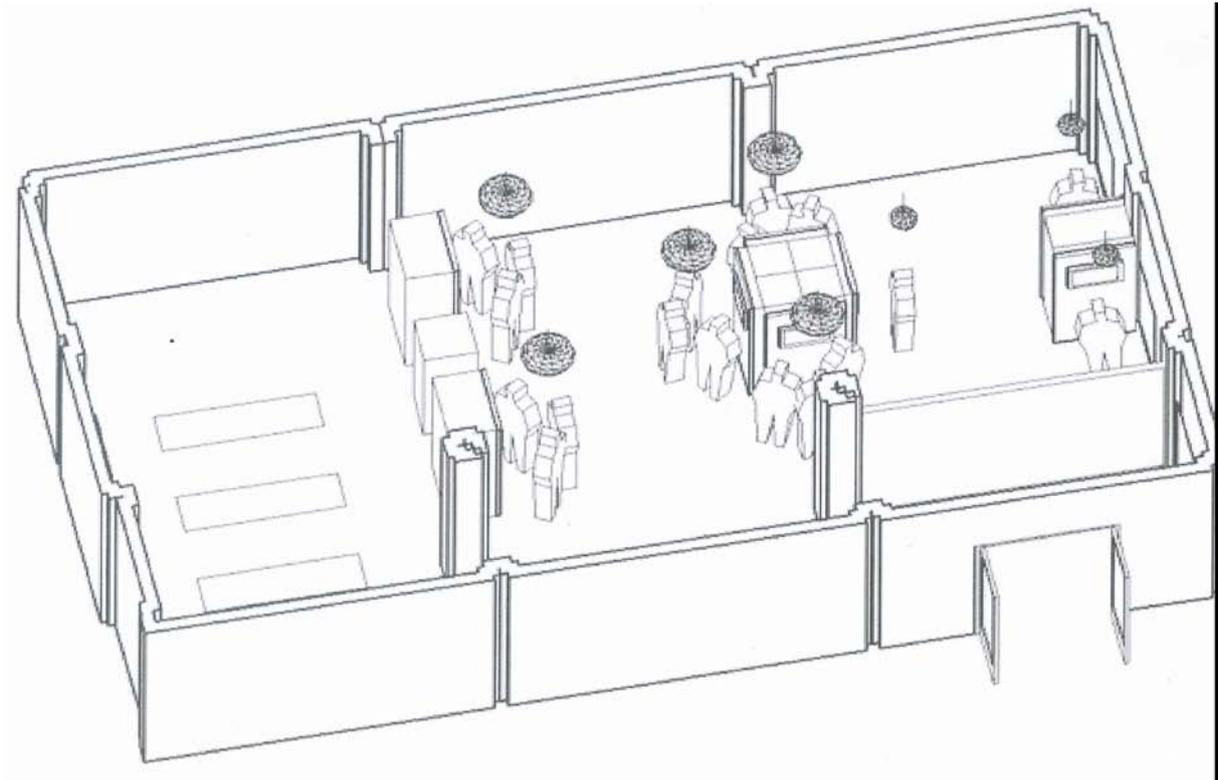


Figure 9.6: Final Layout of Museum Including Sound Spots

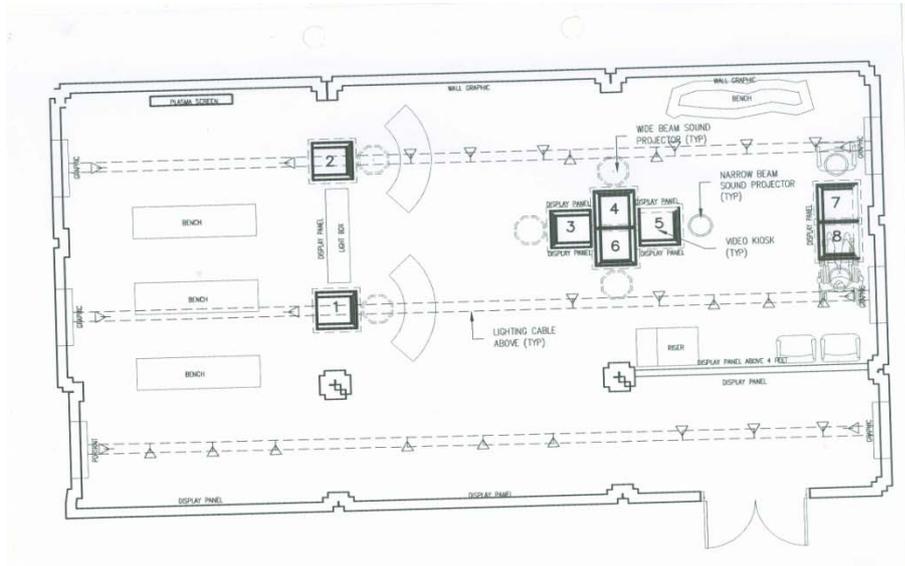


Figure 9.7: Final Layout of Museum Including Lighting Design

While the Kiosks were being constructed, the carpet tiles in the colours of the UNIA-ACL (red, black, and green) ordered, and the information, film and other elements of the script for the touchscreens being sourced and compiled, making the ‘theatre space’ fully functional was the next crucial step in development of the Museum. It was an immediately doable project that would provide opportunities for LH staff to engage the public in conversations about Marcus Garvey; discuss the planned development of the Multimedia aspects of the Museum; and the opportunity to participate in creating Liberty Hall into a cultural educational institution. Visitors would view the documentary produced for the opening outlining the multimedia plans for the Museum; a documentary on Marcus Garvey produced for the Friends of Liberty Hall by the Creative Production and Training Centre (CPTC); and Jamaica

Information Service (JIS) documentaries on Garvey produced to inform the nation of Jamaica's National Heroes.

The first pieces of equipment purchased for the Museum were: 42" flat screen monitor and bracket; DVD/VCR player; amplifier; and surround sound speakers.



Figure 9.8: Children sitting on benches and on the floor enjoying the Museum's theatre space (photo by author)

The theatre provided an opportunity for children to view the short film 'Taking a bus ride through Dakar' and prompted a search for footage and films about Garvey inside and outside of Jamaica. A bilingual film about the voyage of a ship of the UNIA's Black Star Line fleet to Port Limon, Costa Rica titled 'The Promised Ship', produced by Mexican writer/film maker and resident of Costa Rica Ms. Yazmin Ross came into our possession. Its theme is explored through the memories of elderly Costa Rican Garveyites and their descendants who still hold on to certificates of membership to the UNIA-ACL, their shares in the Black Star Line, and, devotedly attend functions at Liberty Hall which has been in consistent use by members of the UNIA-ACL since its establishment in 1919 (R. Hill 2011: Vol XI: clxxxvi).

Garvey's impact on banana plantation workers – Costa Rican natives and imported West Indian labour - in Central America - is well documented in the film with references to the difficulties faced by the UNIA-ACL at the hands of colonial administrators and the major banana producing multinational, United Fruit Company. LH received permission from Ms. Ross not only to show the film in the Museum but also made an agreement regarding its sale in the future Museum Shop.

The multimedia aspects of the museum took two years to complete. While it was being created, I compiled a pictorial representation of Garvey's life for Wall 3 (Figure 1), that would illustrate the stories told on the touchscreens and offer another focal area in the Museum. With the help of a graphic design company, we determined that the information would be framed by two larger than life sized images of Garvey – in a suit on the left and in academic robes on the right. Using the entire expanse of the wall viewers are forced to raise their heads completely in order to view the images and to read the text, including powerful lines from a variety of speeches. The intent of this simple act was to foster a sense of pride and awe in viewers that drove home the intended point - that Marcus Garvey was a great man to be looked up to and deserving of respect.



Figure 9.9: Pictorial Representation of Garvey's Life in MMGMM

On the left overlaying the bottom half of Garvey's image is representation of the 1,056 Divisions of the UNIA formed worldwide between 1920 and the 1930's. The information is arranged by continent and region, geographically presenting the fact that a Division of the UNIA was on every continent in the world, and aptly demonstrating the wide reach of the Garvey Movement.

Images and descriptive text are arranged across the entire wall under the following headings:

- Jamaica at the Turn of the 20th Century (late 1800's to early 1900's)
- Marcus Garvey's Birth (1887) and Family Life
- Influences on Garvey: Edward Blyden (1832-1912); Robert Love (1839-1914); Booker T. Washington (1856 – 1915); Duce Mohammed Ali (1866 – 1945)
- The United States Years 1916 – 1927
- The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League in the World: with the following images: Black Star Line Delegation to Cuba 1920's; UNIA Delegation to Liberia 1924; Liberty Hall in Panama 1920's; and Garvey in Limon Costa Rica 1921
- The Jamaica Years 1927-1935
- The Final Journey – England 1935-1940
- The National Hero 1964
- Those Whom Garvey Influenced: Jomo Kenyatta (1889-1978); Queen Mother Audley Moore (1898-1997); Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972); Malcolm X (1925-1965); Martin Luther King (1929-1968); Walter Rodney (1942-1980); Robert Nesta Marley (1945-1981); and Winston Rodney aka Burning Spear (1948 -)

After much collaboration the agreed style of the touchscreen exhibit is as follows:

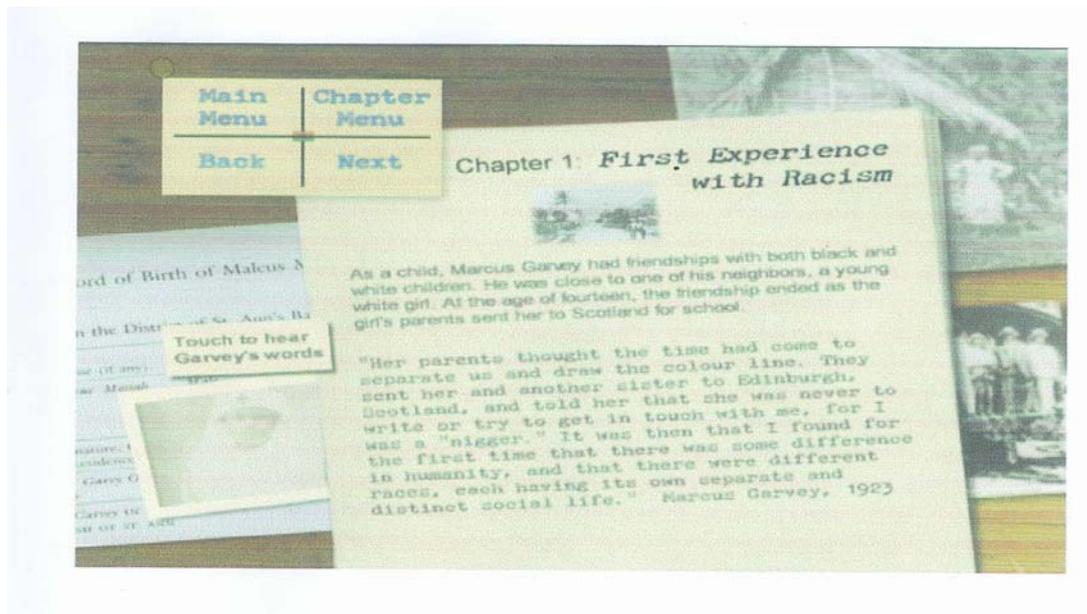


Figure 9.10: Style of interactive DVD

The exhibition was enriched by the purchase of interview clips of Garveyites, Garvey scholars; family members and others from the PBS/WGBH film *Look for me in the Whirlwind*; clips of the official and historic visit of Emperor Haile Selassie I, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Jah Rastafari to Jamaica April 21, 1966¹⁰³; images from the National Library that put in context life in Jamaica at selected periods; images from the Daily Gleaner; from the estate of James VanDerZee, the official photographer of the UNIA-ACL in Harlem New York courtesy of Donna Mussenden VanDerZee and the Schomburg Centre for Research in Black Culture; return of Garvey's remains to JA and his designation as a National Hero; and narrations of Garvey's words by orator and radio personality Guyanese Ron Bobb Semple.

All of these elements together created an interesting, informative, and educational exhibition that could hold ones interest for over three hours. The exhibition, named Marcus Garvey:

¹⁰³ www.jamaicans.com

The Movement and the Philosophy, is also available in text and photographs in the catalogue by the same name.

The official opening ceremony of the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum took place on October 13, 2006 at 11:00AM in the Garvey Great Hall. It was attended by a large crowd of people and its special guests included Dr. Julius Garvey,; Mr. Robert Gregory, Executive Director of the HEART TRUST/NTA; Prof. Rupert Lewis, Chairman of the Friends of LH, and Prof. Barry Chevannes, CD, Chairman of Council, Institute of Jamaica. The keynote speaker was the then Prime Minister, The Most Hon. Portia Simpson Miller, ON.



Figure 9.11: Prime Minister Simpson-Miller Delivering the Address at the Official Opening of the MMGMM

The MMGMM became the most sought after experience of all the IOJ's divisions. While we believed that it would cater mainly to children who had already mastered the art of reading, we found that small children ages 2-6 were very intrigued by the Museum. With the assistance of film, and a very dedicated and inspiring Museum Guide, the children are engaged in meaningful dialogue.

The short film 'Taking a bus ride through Dakar' to the music of the Kora is used to great effect with children who when asked 'what do you think Africa looks like' invariably answered 'jungle, starving children, people crying, mud huts...' After viewing the short film their perceptions change in that they are able to see scenes not far different from those in Jamaica and to realize that their image of Africa is negatively influenced by news clips about famine or war; and Tarzan movies that are still being shown in Jamaica. Some of the comments made in the Visitor's Book by teachers are as follows:

Very informative and quite interesting display of info. Relating to Marcus Garvey (Glowell Preparatory Schoo; 28/11/2006).

We were fully informed of the life of the Right Hon. Marcus M. Garvey. We found it useful and we intend to incorporate this information into our School's Curriculum to help the students to know and understand our rich culture & history (Suthermere Preparatory School; 26/10/2007).

The presentation provided our children with well informed and relevant information that stimulated children's interest and learning needs. Teachers were also educated on some cultural aspects of the African continent as well as the great Marcus Garvey. The presenter...did an excellent job (St. Anne's Infant School: 10/12/2010).

The tour guide...did a very good job with the children; he was able to engage them into little pep talks etc. We learnt a lot of new and interesting things about Marcus Garvey and Africa. We are very happy that we visited. It's great! We will come back (Miracle Pre-School: 11/11/2010).

The tour was very beneficial and informative. Teachers and students have been inspired, motivated and empowered to acknowledge our culture and rich heritage. The tour guide gave a superb presentation of information (Franklyn Town Primary: 2/15/2011)¹⁰⁴.

The area on the back of the entrance wall of the MMGMM garnered considerable interest. Initially it was used to view amateur photos and film clips taken in Ethiopia of its cities, and its youth, and to introduce to visitors the only country in Africa that had never been colonized. Children had never been exposed to the wonders of Lalibella with its eleven churches carved out of solid rock from the ground down, with one, Bete Giorgis, a monolith

¹⁰⁴ For the period 2006-2011, 22,821 visitors have viewed the museum, filling 5 books with commentts.

built in the shape of a cross; or of Gondar in the Church of Debra Berhan Selassie where winged Black angels of Zion adorn the ceiling. They had never been told that Ethiopia had castles that rival those in Europe; or of Axum with its amazing carved granite obelisks, where Makeda, Queen of Sheba, ruled and from where she made her historic journey to meet King Solomon in Jerusalem (Garrick 1998: 93).

To these images overtime contemporary photographs of various African countries taken from the web that revealed modern cities, ways of life, malls, and entertainment and vacation facilities that are comparable to those in Europe and America, were added. Children and adults commented on the fact that they had never seen such images of Africa and that this representation changed their view of Africa.

Adults and children from Jamaica and around the world expressed their love for the Museum and for Garvey. Many admitted that they knew nothing of him besides the fact that he is Jamaica's first national hero. Going through the kiosks and the Museum provided them with a completely different perspective and they expressed their pleasure and surprise in the visitor's book:

Thank you for keeping Marcus Garvey alive in this museum. I hope that a day will come when not only blacks but all races will love themselves and then others, without judgement (E. Msengeti, Nairobi, Kenya: 1/5/2007).

Thank you for the inspiring quotes and pictures. Marcus Garvey is an inspiration to everyone regardless of race (M. Taurag, Bangalore, India: 1/5/2007).

My childhood dream about Garvey is fulfilled today (Hon Boafo (MP), Ghana: 3/27/2007).

This museum is what this country needs especially our students. A serious black awareness is vital. Spread the message (Pembroke Hall High School: 7/17/2007).

This place has so much information. It was so helpful! I'm glad that you guys are passing on Garvey's message and all the exhibits are very interesting (Chelsea: 9/25/2007).

Just being here is a small dream that has come true. I will surely return and it has been a wonderful experience getting information about my role model (Y. Francis: 10/16/2007).

Very informative, great museum and a pleasure to visit, makes me proud of my people knowing a man like this existed and done so much in so little [time] (Clunis; 10/26/2010).

Truly inspiring and uplifting. Visiting the Garvey Museum shows not only the quality of leadership Garvey gave us, but the lack of leadership we have today (3/17/11).



Figure 9.12: Neptune Basic School



Figure 9.13: Rousseau Primary

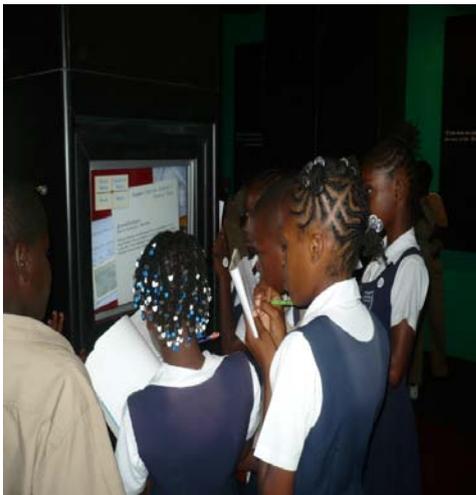


Figure 9.14: Images of children and students in the MMGMM [photos by author]



Figure 9.15: St. Joseph's Teacher's College Students



Figure 9.16: Triumphant Early Childhood Development Centre



Figure 9.17: St. Elizabeth Technical High School students (photo by author)

9.3 Development of Self Identity Exhibit

In 2007 LH began collecting newspaper articles about skin bleaching, which was becoming an epidemic in Jamaica. Articles investigated the practice and raised important questions like why is skin colour important; the devaluation of dark skin; the impact of slavery, why is skin lightening practised; the role of the media; the cosmetic and beauty care industry; economic status and power and redefining the bleaching syndrome (Abel 2007). The Ministry of Health launched an anti-bleaching campaign to discourage the practice, citing the various serious health risks, including skin cancer; and banned the sale of skin bleaching creams in the island. In 2009 an article indicated that ‘skin bleachers’ were proud of their activities and that it had become a badge of honour in many communities (Reynolds 2009).

I purchased a film entitled ‘A Girl Like Me’ Directed by Ms. Keri Davis¹⁰⁵. The film is described as ‘color is more than skin deep for young African American women struggling to define themselves’, and interrogates issues of shades of skin colour, hair length and texture, body shape and other physical reasons persons use to discriminate. In the film Drs. Kenneth and Mamie Clark’s experiment called the ‘doll test’ (1940’s), used in the historic case of Brown versus Board of Education (1954), is re-conducted using children in 2005.

In order to facilitate a discussion I invited selected students identified by their Guidance Counsellors from two inner-city schools in the community, along with a facilitator, to discuss the film and to hear their take on the issues presented. Teen-age girls and boys ages 14-16 separately engaged in conversations about skin bleaching and found that while many had not indulged in the practice; their ideal of beauty began with light skin colour. Several girls indicated that they sought out boys whose complexion was ‘Black and cool’ rather than

¹⁰⁵ www.snagfilms.com

‘Black and shine’; which when probed meant that the desired colouring of the skin was light brown rather than Black.

The discussions revealed that many identified lack of confidence as a major problem with their peers; and expressed a belief that natural Black hair was not as beautiful as processed hair. The boys revealed that they preferred girls with light complexions, and long hair, although their mothers were of dark complexion. They were all a bit shocked by the ‘doll test’ where the children’s choice of white dolls in answer to questions: which is the pretty doll; which is the good doll; and their choice of black dolls in answer to: which is the bad doll; and which is the ugly doll; was extremely telling. All the young people noted the confusion on the child’s face when asked the question of which doll looks like you and the reticence expressed in choosing the Black doll. None craved to be white, but nearly all believed that a lighter shade of Black was more desirable.

In 2011, I extended my questioning to school tour groups which garnered valuable information. I asked children to put their fingers on their lips, and without speaking raise their hands in answer to my questions. My questions were as follows:

1. How many of you are Black?
 - a. For those that did not raise their hands, what are you?
2. How many of you are African?
3. How many of you are Jamaican?
4. For the girls:
 - a. How many have white dolls?
 - b. How many have Black dolls?
 - c. Which of the dolls are the prettiest – white or black?

d. Why?

The results of my informal questioning are outlined below. I found that among school tours, younger children expressed more ambivalence regarding their Blackness than older children. They wanted to be identified as Brown, and although I asked that they do not speak while pondering the questions, invariably a child would admonish another for raising their hand in the affirmative to Blackness, indicating that the child was Brown. In like manner, a child could be heard telling another that he/she was indeed Black and should put up their hands.

Most children viewed themselves as Jamaicans and demonstrated great disinterest in initially being called African. I then challenged them to answer the question: If you cut down a tree in Africa and transport it to Jamaica and put it in the river and take it out 400 years later, is it still a tree? Usually younger children think that it is not. Then I ask, has it turned into a fish? They usually laugh and indicate no. I then ask them why is it that the descendants (I define the term) of their ancestors (I define the term) who were taken from Africa and brought to Jamaica for four hundred years, are no longer African?

In answer to the incredulous looks on their faces I make the following pronouncements: When you say you are Jamaicans you give yourself approximately 400 years of existence on earth. Is that a long time? Most say, 'yes Miss'. Then I ask how does four hundred compare with 195,000 years? They usually say 'a drop in the bucket, Miss'. I then follow: When you say you are African, you are saying that you are the descendant of the first person who walked on the face of the earth; the first person to use language both written and spoken; the first doctor, musician, architect, engineer; did you know that? 'No Miss'. Didn't anyone tell you this? 'No Miss'. Well, Garvey learned these facts and it encouraged him to learn more about the ancient history of Africa and to create an organization that would spread Africa's

rich history to Africans in Africa and in the Diaspora in an attempt to inspire them to create more greatness in the future.

Younger children were also more likely to think that white dolls were the prettiest. I determined from looking into the stores in Downtown Kingston for Black dolls that they were very scarce, and where available, were twice the price as white dolls.

DATE	SCHOOL/ ORGANIZATION	PARISH	# OF STUDENTS	# OF GIRLS	# OF BOYS	BLACK	BROWN	AFRICAN	JA'CAN	BLK D	WHT D	PRETTIEST WHT D	PRETTIEST BLK D
2/11/2011	St. Annies Primary	Kingston	42	20	22	21	20	2	40	6	20	20	
2/15/2011	Franklyn Town Primary	Kingston	40			30	3 + 6 abst	11	40		20	11	11
2/16/2011	Clifton Primary (ages 6-12)	E. Rural St. Andrew	17	11	6	13	3	3	16	2	5	6 because white	
2/16/2011	St. Hughes H.S. (ages 9-11)	Kingston	29	11	18	28	2+2wht/2ms xed	21	26				
2/17/2011	United Early Childhood Centre	Kingston	(ages 3-5) 41	22	19					3	11	22 because white	
2/18/2011	Trench Twn Reading Rm (5-13)	Kingston	22	11	11	11	8	5	22	4	7	11 because white	
2/18/2011	Salva Army Schl for Visual Imp.	Kingston	(13-19) 37	17	20			15	16				
2/18/2011	Rollington Town Primary #1	Kingston	(6-8) 41			17	20	2	38	3	9	12 because white	
2/22/2011	Rollington Town Primary #2	Kingston	(6-8) 39	20	19	19	13	0	39	7	12	20 because white	
2/23/2011	Grove Primary (8-11)	Kingston	24	11	13	16	6	14	15	10	7		17 because Blk
	Ex Ed Community College 17-29	Kingston	19	15	4	19	0	10	19	11	13	6 because good hair	
2/23/2011	Guys Hill Primary	St. Mary	(8-11) 50	21	29	16	22 + undec.	0	50	5	21	ALL because white	
3/15/2011	Grove Primary (ages 7-8)	St. Mary	18	9	9	10	8	0	18	2	7	7 because white	
	Chandlers Pen (ages 12-15)	Clarendon	14	9	7	14	2	0	16	4	1		Black more beautiful
	Grange Hill (ages 16-17)	Kingston	65	41	24	63	2	3	60	9	20		Black more beautiful
5/4/2011	Duhany Park Primary (ages 6-7)	Kingston	52	23	28	22	30	7	52	17	20	ALL because white	
5/4/2011	Ocho Rios Primary (group 1)	St. Ann	33	16	17	20	11	0	33	7	10		Black more beautiful
	Ocho Rios Primary (group 2)	St. Ann	30	19	11	21	6	0	30	15	14	6 white most beautiful	more beautiful

Table 9.1: Tabulated responses of students to selected questions on self-identity

In 2010 an animated short Sesame street film titled, I Love My Hair¹⁰⁶, came to my attention as it focused on a child's love for her natural Black hair. A Black Muppet in a pink dress sings about all the things that can be done with Black hair. To provide younger children with positive self-identification we show this film in the museum and the children easily learned the song and, while touching their hair and singing along, reaffirm the beauty of Black hair.

¹⁰⁶ www.youtube.com/watch?v=enpFde5rgmw

In pursuit of more materials for creation of the exhibition, we asked adults in the Adult Computer class to write (type) out their stories of self identity that affected them when they were younger. This exercise revealed that adults had many encounters with issues of self-identity both as adults and during their childhood. Samples of their essays are as follows:

My mother said to me one day that God has been good to me. I did not understand what she meant so I asked her. She replied “You have gotten a bit of colour; you are not as black as you were when you were born. I figure that it was because I drank a lot of Pepsi with you. I made sure for my second pregnancy I drank a lot of milk. You can see the difference—your brother is not as dark as you are.” [Nicole: age 33]

When I was much younger I went to look for a job at a garment factory. They needed machine operators. I did not know anything about machine operating; but I was desperate. On reaching there, I saw a lot of young girls who said that they were experienced operators. At first, I thought that I had no chance of getting the job but I decided to wait. The Chinese lady finally came and asked: “Are you all machine operators?” I answered: “Yes.” (I had never used a machine from the day I was born). I was the third to last person in the line. There were a lot of ladies before me and the Chinese lady looked at me and said: “You first come for the test.” I went in and didn’t even know how to turn on the machine. I broke the needle and let the shuffle fall. The young ladies started to quarrel and said that it was because I was brown and looked like the woman that she made me go first. I was surprised at the end of the day when I was selected for the job. My fat Black friend, who was a very good machine operator, was turned away. The Chinese lady said “Too fat and Black...you very lazy.” [Joan: age 56]

These were shared among the students and garnered much discussion. Some of the students indicated that they had never revealed their experiences before and had kept them locked up as shameful. Pit against the teachings of Garvey, they realized how much they had internalized others’ perceptions of them as lacking in beauty; and how much the society around them reinforced the binary code of shades.

With these stories I am in the process of developing an exhibition on self-identity for the Museum that will allow everyone to navigate through the individual’s feelings in the face of self deprecating experiences and consider Garvey’s response to same. Parts of the exhibition, films and slide shows on contemporary Africa are already in force; however the

interactive touchscreen version, which we anticipate will generate change in people's perceptions of themselves, is not yet completed due to availability of funds.

The Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum represents Blackness in Post-Colonial Jamaica in a positive, inspiring, and educative light. Through the enlightened scholarship of Garvey scholars, his life and work are represented in a manner that allows Garvey to speak for himself, thereby inspiring, and educating all who visit the museum. The MMGMM can be a paradigm for future museum development in Jamaica and marks the crossroads between Eurocentric modes and methods of representation of the history of people of African heritage; and the future of representation from the perspectives of the people whose history is being exhibited.

Chapter 10

Conclusion: Representing Blackness in Jamaica's Post Colonial Museums – The Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum

10.0 Introduction

Museums have proven to be integral components of educational offerings in the United States and in Europe, and instrumental in shaping knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Hein 1998; Hooper-Greenhill 1999; Hooper-Greenhill 2007). Hooper-Greenhill links the democratisation of museums in the twenty first century with, among other things, a review of existing historical narratives that form the basis for museum representation. She states:

A critical museum pedagogy is an educational approach that reviews and develops its methods, strategies and provision with regard both to educational excellence and to working towards the democratisation of the museum. Current emphases within museums on access, on public value and on audience consultation, offer opportunities to work to address long-established relations of advantage and disadvantage, to enable new voices to be heard, and critically to *review existing historical (and other) narratives...*a critical museum pedagogy that uses existing good practice for democratic purposes is a major task for museums and galleries in the twenty-first century (Hooper-Greenhill 1999: 4)[my emphasis].

The 'uprisings' in Britain in the last two decades of the 20th century, brought national focus to the need for practitioners in the educational sphere – classrooms and museums – to adapt strategies of multiculturalism, antiracism, and interculturalism to teaching and representation. Interculturalism went beyond issues of access, recognition of and respect for difference; to address the individuals' 'sense of 'belonging' to a wider national community and sharing 'common values'(Golding 2009: 141).

These approaches to attainment of inter cultural harmony interrogates concepts of ‘similarity and difference’ for the purpose of arriving at an accepted notion of being human that is translatable into positive day to day inter-personal encounters:

The hope was that sympathetic teaching of other value systems will weaken the hold of prejudices’ and ‘act as a form of inoculation against the future development of racist attitudes’...to challenge bias and racism by facilitating human empathy and noting human similarities through differences... (Golding 2009: 142).

Wynter refers to the Caribbean as a foundational ‘space of trans-culture’ where three separate populations with varying cultural matrices, ‘each incommensurable with the other’ were brought together to devastating effect for the non-Europeans (Wynter 2002: 7-8). After five hundred years of brutal enslavement and dehumanising colonial rule, people of African heritage continue to be affected by racism in the social, political, and economic sectors of Jamaican life.

During the first half of the 20th century in Jamaica, Black people yearned for a liberatory strategy to tackle racism by banks that denied loans to Black businesses; public and private sector preference for employment of light-skinned persons; and the daily battle against ‘mental slavery’ promulgated by European narratives of inferiority. The purposefulness of indoctrination of Black Jamaicans by colonial authorities through these narratives is underscored by Lewis who sums up the relationship between politics and racism in Jamaica in the words of an English magistrate:

...in England films for the colonies should be censored so that whites should never appear ridiculous, because colonial rule depended on *nurturing...inferiority in the governed* (Lewis 2004: 15) [my emphasis].

10.1 What the Research has Established

From the perspective of post-colonial theory (Nettleford 1972; 1978; Evans 2001; Moore and Johnson 2011), it is recognized that Jamaica's mainstream educational systems and structures that determine curricula and choice of textbooks; differential access to education by shades and classes of Jamaicans; use of language and the position of Jamaican patois in didactic training; serves to perpetuate indoctrination of the majority Black population by a historical narrative that privileges Europe and European culture while stigmatizing Africa, its people, and culture. When children imbibe this negative binary in the classroom, I argue that it could have a deleterious effect on their self-esteem, self-confidence, identity, and view of the world.

In twenty first century, African Jamaicans in positions of power are unconvinced that employing strategies of multiculturalism, antiracism, and interculturalism to education and representation in museum is necessary, because they believe that with Independence these spheres have already been democratised. However, my research demonstrates that it is necessary to employ the tenets of CRT to expose racist hegemony and introduce African historical context in the classroom and the museum. Replacing existing historical narratives with the work of enlightened scholarship will attack systems of indoctrination, particularly of the youth, and address the traumatism that occurs during those years (Fanon 1967: 148).

My work indicates that many children in age groups 3-12 who visit the museum prefer to be called Brown rather than Black, and prefer white to Black dolls solely because they are white. Questioning their preference revealed that the white dolls in addition to white skin colour have long soft hair that was determined to be more beautiful and desirable than 'Black' hair. Their responses signal that there are ongoing indicators within the society that reinforce

colonial narratives of beauty that subtly undermines pride in Blackness. High incidences of skin bleaching and the popularity of hair weaving substantiate this point. One such indicator of colonial narrative is exemplified below by a billboard in Barbican Square, one of Kingston's urban communities, erected early in 2012:



Figure 10.1: Billboard that subtly suggests the face of princesses (photo by permission of photographer C. Parchment)

The image is of a 'Jamaica white'¹⁰⁷ girl flanked by two 'brown' girls, all with long hair. The caption refers to them as 'princesses'. In the absence of a dark skinned Black child with natural hair, one may surmise that such a child would not be referred to as a princess. This advertisement is evocative of Golding's citation of Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* which 'highlights a subtle but pernicious racism, arising from the lived experience of daily life' (Golding 2009: 1).

The philosophy of Marcus Garvey and others before him like Edward Blyden (1832-1912) and Robert Love (1839-1914), put forward the notion that children of African heritage must

¹⁰⁷ 'Jamaica' white refers to white people who are born in Jamaica and may have some African heritage although not immediately visible and certainly is unclaimed.

be educated in African history as a necessary step toward their own redemption and that of the African continent. Garvey insisted that Black people should 'be as proud of your race today as our fathers were in the days of yore. We have a beautiful history, and we shall create another in the future that will astonish the world' (Garvey 1986: 7).

This principle, despite the utterings of Norman Manley, the founding father of Jamaica's nationalism, has not yet found its way into determining the course of the education system. At the height of the labour unrest in Jamaica in 1939, Manley called on teachers to help build a new Jamaica with a vision of the future that was based on history that honoured their own experiences. In essence he struck out against British hegemony specifically of Jamaican history and its construction of the cultural annihilation that occurs in schools which results in increased self-hatred and loathing against one's own race. He said:

In all countries the teaching of history is an opportunity to build up a basic nationalism and patriotism in the mind of the child ... have we ever in Jamaica inculcated in the children in our schools a spirit which believes that the Jamaican is a fine person? That he is a laudable person? That the Jamaican has a great future before him? Now, unless the teacher believes these things – as a matter of deep and emotional feeling – the right atmosphere cannot live in the minds of the pupils... (Nettleford 1978: 105)

Scholars, Arturo Schomburg 1874-1938; Blyden (1887); Cheikh Anta Diop (Diop 1974; 1987; Diop 1991); James (1989), Woodson(Woodson 1933/2005; 1945); Rodney (1972); Walker (2006) and others have sought to compile bibliographies and write books that present an African centred historical account of the character and achievements of African people, and the roles, past and future, played in development of Africa, Europe, and the world. Writing in 1933 on the deleterious representation of Black people in books and in society Woodson said:

The Negro can be made proud of his past by [...]giving his own story to the world. What others have written about the Negro during the last three centuries has been

mainly for the purpose of bringing him where he is today and holding him there (1933/2005: 194).

The liberatory potential of Black education is to create a transformative education and research practice that not only raises the self-esteem of Black people but also produces the 'knowledge and understanding people need to rehumanize the world by dismantling hegemonic structures that impede such knowledge' (King 2005: 5). Representation in Jamaica's museums that is based on a transformative education and research practice, could be the cathartic tool required to move the nation forward.

10.2 The Strengths of the Research

The strength of my thesis is based on the fact that I was given the opportunity in 2003 to design and create the Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum and to guide Liberty Hall to its status of cultural educational institution. I am therefore intimately connected with its growth and development and am uniquely placed to recount its history and to plot its future. Driven by my own Pan-African perspective, I am able to implement programmes that are consistent with Garvey's published teachings and garner positive results with respect to self identity. The latter will be tracked more closely when the self-identity exhibition is completed and we are able to conduct more focus group discussions across a wider cross-section of the population and the nation to get at the deep seated issues.

The Museum's representation of the tenets of Garveyism, its inclusion of community members in the design of its programmes providing educational and economic opportunities, and its focus on addressing issues of self identity among the youth provide a powerful

example of a community museum that could eventually be a paradigm for Jamaica's museum development, and have far reaching impact on the development of the nation's youth.

My recommendations for representing people of African origin in the Peoples Museum of Craft and Technology (Folk Museum) using CRT of museums would begin by acknowledging Africa's varied histories before the period of transatlantic slavery and colonialism. These include demonstrations of the manner in which disputes/wars (among individuals, families, and tribes) were handled, land for farming determined and allotted, how production of goods, markets, and trade were established, sacred buildings and sculptures erected; use and respect for the environment; advances in astronomy, medicine, and engineering, to name a few; and, the importance of the gun in arresting critical areas of African development.

Examples of ancient African engineering feats like pyramids in Sudan and in Egypt, monolithic and semi-monolithic churches of Lalibella, and obelisks in Gondar in Ethiopia to name a few, would be presented as representative of Africa's accomplishments stimulating enquiry in the minds of all people, and raise the self-esteem of people of African heritage in particular. The Horniman's 'Africa Worlds' exhibition designed in 2000, is representative of such a radical shift in curatorial approach (Shelton 2000; Philips 2007; Golding 2009) as it privileges the voices of Africans from Africa and its Diaspora in a collaborative exercise.

Foregrounding exhibitions of Black life in Jamaica after emancipation with such historical narratives could remove the 'history-lessness and context-lessness' (Morrison 1993: 53) that has been posited for Blacks and which perhaps result in the children's reticence to being African tabulated in Chapter 9. Establishing that, as in other cultures, many facets of life in

Africa were and are rich and varied, and not dark and devoid of accomplishments as recorded in the 15th- 20th centuries, the resilience of African retentions in agricultural and other economic and cultural systems employed away from plantations would be viewed in a different light. In summary, demonstration of African knowledge systems and accomplishments before slavery in the People's Museum of Craft and Technology, would speak volumes to African resilience and retentions.

10.3 The Weaknesses of the Research

The weaknesses of my research as I see them have to do with the absence of proper historical records of the development and opening of the Folk Museum, one of the two case studies undertaken, to corroborate my notion that the museum was a well thought out intent of the colonial governor to recalibrate Jamaican identity from British to Jamaican. It would have been useful to see notes of the discussion by the Board of the IOJ leading up to establishment of the museum particularly those of 1959 which is missing from the archives.

Further, I contend that the historical narrative of the Folk Museum's exhibition is colonial in content largely by what is left out, how the objects are presented, and what objects are privileged; but whether my views were shared by early visitors to the Museum is unknown. While visitor's books for the Folk Museum's exist from 1965, up until 1993 they only contained names and addresses of visitors and no comments on their visits. From a cursory review of visitor comments 1993 to 1997, there are few that corroborate my position with terms like 'goodish' (2/9/93), 'fix up the building' (26/10/93), 'need more' (10/11/93), and 'interesting but could be more fascinating' (23/1/97); but there are many more words of

praise: ‘very informative’ (23/92/93), ‘very interesting’ (18/11/93), ‘educational’ (16/12/93), and ‘no doubt an educational and inspirational place’ (23/1/97).

It would have been instructive to have discussions with current tour groups about their views of the museum after they completed a tour, but I was unfortunately unable to do same. I did observe tour groups, speak at length with tour guides, but was unable to undertake a structured questioning of groups of tours. What I did notice is that the tour guide is heavily relied on to tell stories that are missing from narratives. However, the guides were limited in his/her knowledge of Jamaica’s history and therefore stuck to wider descriptions of the objects; i.e. hand made toys, yabbas, tools of the ‘higgler’ and the like. When I pointed out the incongruence of the tourist image of Africans cutting sugar cane in brightly coloured clothing with what we all know as the reality, they had not perceived of it as contentious. Similarly, when I pointed out that only one object, a replica of the Old King’s House, was under glass and raised to eye level; again they had not compared the subtlety of this with the rest of the objects.

With respect to LH, several of the children who started out as members of the Youth Club are now 19 and over. The majority of the girls already have one child, have not completed their education, continue to live in challenging conditions, are under- or unemployed, and have widened the circle of poverty in which their parents are trapped. A handful of the boys have joined the police force and obtained jobs in the community without a High School Diploma, but many are also under-or unemployed. Both boys and girls have remained close to the staff of LH.

More time would have afforded me an opportunity to pay attention to the gender issues that are pertinent to development of community members and to speak to what interventions we have and could have made to the lives of girls.

In the future, LH will invite all the youth who were members of the LH Youth Club to participate in a discussion about the years 2002 to present, their life choices, their experiences in educational institutions, their employability, their community experiences, and how LH can learn from their experiences and intervene on their behalf with provision of information and advice about the future.

10.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Future research could entail deconstruction of all of the narratives of contemporary museum exhibitions curated by the Museums of History and Ethnography and the African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica (ACIJ) to ascertain whose perspective is being represented. Such an exercise has never been undertaken and I believe that it would raise the level of researchers' education by pointing them to works of enlightened African, Caribbean, and other scholars that are unknown to them.

The role of communities in exhibition and museum development should also be explored as in the absence of a national museum, small community museums abound and are in a position to involve members of surrounding communities in their activities. Lastly, narratives of plantation museums should also come under scrutiny as they silence the African story and privilege the grandeur and opulence of the planter class.

10.5 Conclusion

This thesis relies on the term ‘discursive’ which is used to refer to any approach in which meaning, representation and culture are considered to be constitutive (Hall 2003). That is, it defines what factors impact on our formulation of ideas about things or places; and what knowledge is considered ‘true’ and useful. The thesis demonstrates that the legitimacy of persons speaking and writing are determined, in part at least, by physical characteristics such as skin tone. With regard to representation, the discursive approach is concerned with its politics – the effects and consequences of how language and representation produce meaning; how knowledge that is taught from the perspective of a particular discourse arise out of, and effect power relations in society, conduct, constructs identities, and determines social and cultural paradigms (Hall 2003: 15-64) .

I explore the numerous discourses that influence exhibition design in two of Jamaica’s museums. These include discourses of colonial education, identity, race, shades of skin colour, and class. Discourse is enmeshed with power (Hall 2003) which is intertwined with history, culture and politics. Representational practices are governed by the socio-historical conditions of the moment. Epistemological concerns are not only with nature, origin, or the framing of knowledge, but rather with whose knowledge counts; whose ways of knowing is widely taught and deemed acceptable to the academe (King 2005). My research therefore adds to discourse on museum education, affirms the development of a broader scope for museum educators, and supports its advocacy for a critical pedagogy within the realm of cultural politics (Hooper-Greenhill 1999).

Liberty Hall holds positive promise for Jamaica’s youth. The term Black (to describe skin tone and ideological perspective) in Jamaica today is largely absent from the lexicon of

Jamaica's journalists, media representatives, and museum exhibition designers who promulgate a multicultural language and image for Jamaica. Connotative of negative binaries that have been incessantly challenged by Black people including in the 1920's by the Garvey movement and again in the 1960's by the Black Power Movement, through LH Black will once again represent a positive assertion of self-identity; and hopefully be a nail in the coffin of 'shadism' that has determined Jamaica's social and economic reality for hundreds of years in the past and continues to wield influence in today's Jamaica¹⁰⁸.

The Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum represents Garvey's messages of self upliftment, positive self-identity, education, and preparedness. Garvey fostered public pride in Blackness and stood up against global racism and mental slavery by creating organizations that demonstrated that Black people were just as capable, intelligent and beautiful as any other race. According to Sister Samaj, an elder Garveyite whose parents were emissaries of the UNIA-ACL to Jamaica, 'Garvey made you stand tall and quiet...'¹⁰⁹ The Marcus Mosiah Garvey Multimedia Museum instils pride, confidence, and positively asserts the strength and beauty of Blackness.

¹⁰⁸ See front page of The Sunday Gleaner, September 11, 2011 '*Brownings Please*': *Several Local Businesses asking state-owned employment agency for light-skinned trainees.*

¹⁰⁹ Section 3 of exhibition Garvey: The Man and the Philosophy; Marcus Mosiah Multimedia Museum

Appendices

- Visits to Folk Museum: May 6, 2011; November 4, 2011
- Interview with Roderick Ebanks, Curator, Museums of Ethnography 1974-80: July 28, 2011

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