

## The Struggle for Freedom: The British Caribbean from Emancipation to Independence

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### Course description

The slaves in the British Caribbean had high expectations of freedom. They hoped that it would give them, amongst others, the vote and control over their time and labour. This course explores the extent to which these and other expectations of freedom were realised in the period between the abolition of slavery in 1838 and independence in the early 1960s. It examines in some detail the various factors inside and outside the region that impacted on the ability of the former slaves and their descendants to fulfil their hopes of freedom, such as the legal and extra-legal constraints that sugar planters placed on the lives of their former slaves; a social hierarchy in which colour coincided with class; and the decline of the sugar industry. These and other obstacles, however, did not prevent the former slaves and their descendants from trying to realise their notion of freedom. Through such means as petitions, the formation of political organisations and unions, migration, and revolt, they contested the terms of their lived freedom. By exploring these means and the social, political and economic condition of the former slaves and their descendants, this course will try to debunk the myth that slave emancipation was a crowning achievement.

### Learning outcomes

After completing the course students should:

1. Be familiar with the main economic, social and political developments in the post-emancipation British Caribbean.
2. Understand that freedom was a highly contested issue in the post-emancipation British Caribbean.
3. Be able to describe and explain the methods used by the former slaves and their descendants to negotiate and contest the actual lived terms of freedom
4. Be familiar with the main historical debates about the post-emancipation British Caribbean.
5. Have enhanced their presentation skills and their ability to analyse and evaluate primary and secondary sources.

### Teaching programme

The course is taught through two 2-hour seminars a week over nine weeks, one of which is largely structured around the use of primary sources. It proceeds in a chronological order, engages with key debates in the history of the post-emancipation Caribbean, and explores recent areas of research.

Week 1: Setting the scene

Week 2: Freedom in the immediate post-emancipation period  
Expectations of freedom

The first taste of freedom

Week 3: The development of an independent peasantry

The 'flight from the estates'

The problem of land

Week 4: Further obstacles to freedom

The decline of the sugar industry  
Indentured migration  
Week 5: A political watershed  
Morant Bay  
Crown colony government  
Week 6: Social tumult and reform  
Migration and other upheavals  
Social reform  
Week 7: Black power  
Racialism  
Race consciousness  
Week 8: Organising labour  
Class consciousness  
Labour riots  
Week 9: On the road to independence  
Independence from below  
Independence from above  
Week 10: Independence and thereafter  
>From West India Federation to independence  
Independence = Freedom?

#### Seminars

The seminars in weeks 2 and 3 provide the framework for the rest of the course. They set out the slaves' notion of freedom and show that in years immediately following the abolition of freedom the ex-slaves quickly learned that they would not be able to realise that notion without struggle. One of the two seminars in weeks 4 till 9 consists of a Discussion Paper (DP). Two people prepare a 1,000 word answer to a set question (which is also an essay question) and devise 3 discussion questions that they want the group to discuss. They email the paper on the Thursday preceding the seminar to the rest of the group. One student is nominated by the tutor as the principal respondent. The seminar starts with a brief presentation of the DP (do not out what has been emailed!!) followed by the principal respondent's views on the paper which will be circulated to the rest of the students in the seminar (bullet-point handout). After this, the rest of the students are asked to give their views on the DP and there will be a general discussion of the 3 questions. The aim of the DP is to review the state of debate on a particular issue and single out areas for further research. The other seminar in weeks 4-9 explores issues that are related to but not the same as the DP and centre largely around primary sources, ranging from extracts from newspapers and biographies to novels and photographs. The sources will be handed out by the tutor either before or during the seminar.

For each seminar, including the ones that contain a DP, you are asked to read at least 2 titles from the reading list. As relatively little work has been done on the post-emancipation British Caribbean, most of the titles listed are not monographs but articles in journals and edited collections. Most titles should be on Key Texts but if you experience any difficulties getting hold of literature, let me know asp. ! To help you in your reading I have listed for each seminar some key questions and/or focus points. You are, however, strongly encouraged to bring you own questions for discussion to class. If you feel that you are not familiar enough with the history of the Caribbean to understand the reading set for the individual seminars, you may want to read alongside a survey text on Caribbean history mentioned in the first section of the reading list.

## Practicalities

Seminar attendance is essential and compulsory. If you cannot make it to a seminar, please contact me in advance or as soon as possible after the seminar, by email or phone. If you have missed handouts or sources, pick it up from a box marked 'struggle for freedom' in a cabinet on the first floor of Vanbrugh.

## Assessment

### Assessed work:

Paper 1: a three-hour document-based closed exam in the summer term

Paper 2: a 5,000 word essay which is based on a choice of themes discussed in the course. Essay questions are mentioned below but you may devise your own question. To be submitted in week 6 of the summer term.

### Procedural work:

1,000 word document analysis to be submitted in class on Wednesday 9 November.

1,000 word document analysis to be submitted in class on Wednesday 7 December.

### N.B.s:

1: There will be a tutorial to discuss your procedural work in weeks 6 + 10

2: There will be a tutorial in January to discuss your essay question.

3: You are strongly encouraged to consult me during my office hours in the spring term for document analysis revision and to discuss the progress of your essays.

4: Although the literature mentioned in the reading list should enable you to write your essays and prepare for the exam, you may want to find additional literature. This bibliographical tool is useful

<http://tlvlbs.leidenuniv.nl:8080/IMPLAND=Y/SRT=YOP//LNG=EN//DB=1.6/>

Also check the Royal Historical Society's bibliographical tool at:

<http://www.rhs.ac.uk/bibl/dataset.asp>

### Week 1: Setting the scene

This introductory seminar first of all sets out what we mean by the British Caribbean. It then moves on to briefly discuss the system of slavery in this region as this is crucial in understanding the slaves' notion of freedom which will be discussed in the next seminar. And it finishes by setting out the aims and content of the course and allocating presentations.

### Week 2: Freedom in the immediate post-emancipation period

#### Seminar 1: Expectations of freedom

The 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act put in place the Apprenticeship System, a system which aimed to turn the slaves into free wage labourers and their owners into fair employers. During this four-year period (August 1834-August 1838), the ex-slaves articulated ideas of freedom. Using statements made by apprentices, we will try in this seminar to list the various attributes of the apprentices' notion of freedom in order of importance. Read at least two works from the section 'Apprenticeship System'. If possible, read the Marshall article as it gives a nice overview of the notion of freedom, while

the others address particular social and economic features of the System. Consider during your reading the question whether the apprentices' notion of freedom was a unique notion and the various factors that helped to shape it.

#### Seminar 2: The first taste of freedom

This seminar tries to set out some of the main problems that the ex-slaves encountered in the first few years after freedom and demonstrate that they quickly realised that they had to fight in order to realise their dreams.

Consider the following questions:

- . How well equipped were the ex-slaves for freedom?
- . To what extent did the ex-slaves rely on the missionaries to help them realise their dreams during the first few years?
- . What means other than missionary help did the ex-slaves use to fight planter oppression?
- . What freedom did the ex-slaveholders have in mind for the ex-slaves and what methods did they use during the first ten years of freedom to realise this notion of freedom?
- . What, if anything, did the Colonial government do in the first decade of freedom to protect the ex-slaves' rights?

Essay question: 'The planters' attitudes towards their apprentices indicated that they would not recognise their civil rights upon full freedom'. Do you agree, that although the planting class had accepted the Apprenticeship System it was never intend to make it a success and wanted to retain the old race relations in the island upon freedom?

#### Week 3 The development of a peasantry

##### Seminar 1: The 'flight from the estates'

While some historians have argued that the ex-slaves left the plantations as soon as possible after the termination of the Apprenticeship System, others have suggested that the so-called 'flight from the estates' was more protracted and also significantly differed from island to island. This seminar examines this historical debate in some detail. W. K. Marshall has summarised the debate in his article 'The post-slavery labour problem revisited'. Read his article (handout) and at least two others from the list and consider the following questions:

- . Summarise the various stands in the debate.
- . How representative are accounts of the 'flight from the estates' that concentrate on the bigger islands in the Caribbean?
- . To what extent does the use of primary sources explain the various stands taken in the debate? (we look at some sources regarding the labour issue in the next seminar)
- . Do you think that historians from outside the Caribbean will approach the question of the 'flight from the estates' differently from those within the region?
- . What do you think of Marshall's agenda for future research?

Marshall's article was written in the 1990s. Try to find one article or book that addresses the 'flight from the estates' (as either a central or side topic) and write down in +/- 10 lines why you think this title should be added to the reading list. N.B. you don't need to read this piece to do this exercise!!

## Seminar 2: The problem of land

The possibility to leave the estates was closely associated with the availability of land. Various scholars have argued that landownership was prime amongst the ex-slaves' hopes and dreams of freedom. In this seminar, we will first, through the use of some sources, assess how easy it was for the ex-slaves to obtain the land that would provide them with their autonomy. We then go on to explore the attitudes of the ex-slaves towards land in more detail, in particular their ideas about land inheritance, which were informed by various factors. The latter issue has been extensively addressed by anthropologists in recent decades, such as Jean Besson and Sidney Mintz. Try reading one of these anthropological studies and at least another text on the Afro-Caribbean peasantry in the immediate post-emancipation period. Consider these questions:

- . According to Sidney Mintz, Caribbean slaves were 'proto-peasants'. What does he mean by this and do you find his idea persuasive?
- . How useful is the term 'peasant' for the immediate post-emancipation period?
- . Why was land ownership so crucial for the ex-slaves?
- . How does this desire for land and the ability to achieve it compare to that of the lower classes in Britain at the time?
- . What do you know about the practices used to pass on land in the Afro-Caribbean communities after freedom and what do think of them?

Sources: Extracts from the 1842 Select Committee on the West Indies Colonies; W. G. Sewell, *The ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies* (1861).

Essay question: How did planters in the 1840s and 1850s try to prevent a flight from the plantations in order to solve the problem of obtaining continuous labour and how successful were they in their attempts?

Week 4 Further obstacles to freedom.

## Seminar 1: The decline of sugar industry

In most islands in the British Caribbean, the economy during slavery depended on the production of sugar. After 1838, the sugar industry quickly declined which led to some fierce taken by planters to combat a marked decline in their economic status. The DP sets out the factors for the decline in the 1840s and 1850s, indicates the measures that the planters took to prevent a further decline of the sugar industry, other than encouraging the migration of people from Africa and India, and how these affected the former slaves. The decline of the sugar industry features extensively in surveys of the post-emancipation Caribbean. Start your reading with one or two of these works and then read some works on the impact of the measures taken by planters on the Afro-Caribbean population.

While reading, think about the DG questions and also about the following:

- . How effective were the methods adopted by the planters?
- . Who was the Imperial Government's main concern in the 1840s and 1850s: the planters or the ex-slaves?

## Seminar 2: Indentured migration

Many planters believed that immigration was the solution to their labour and hence profitability problem. In several colonies, planter-led governments legislated for migration from India and Africa. Historians have largely concentrated on the question why Jamaica did not opt for immigration as a means to save the sugar industry. This seminar is not concerned with the planters' reasons in favour of or against immigration, however, but with the question what impact the sharply divided societies that emerged as a result of the immigration had on the former slaves and how the ex-slaves responded to the immigration. The seminar does not concentrate only on the first wave of immigration but also on later waves. Most of the studies on immigration are more concerned with the experiences of the immigrants than with the impact of immigration on the host communities. It is possible, however, to find information in the studies mentioned in the reading list (and also in some surveys) to find responses from the ex-slaves to the migration and the motives underpinning them. Especially useful for this seminar's main question is the work by Monica Schulers. While reading hers and other work, try to provide a brief (1/2 page) summary of the migration (how many came, from where, and where did they go etc) and then list by means of bullet points the main (direct/indirect) effects that the migration had on the ex-slaves. In the seminar we will discuss your summaries and lists and we will also try to account for the lack of historical attention to the main question by looking at some primary sources about migration.

Sources: extracts from Henry Kirke, *Twenty-Five years in British Guiana 1872-1897* (1948); W. G. Sewell, *The ordeal of free labour in the British West Indies* (1861).

### Essay Questions:

- \* Would you agree that the set of measures taken by the sugar planters in the 1840s and 1850s to prevent a further decline of the sugar industry was as much triggered by a concern about their social as about their economic status?
- \* Focussing on either Trinidad or Guyana, explain how the immigration of people from the Indian subcontinent and East Africa enabled planters to control their Afro-Caribbean labourers.

## Week 5 A political watershed

### Seminar 1: Morant Bay

In 1865 a rebellion broke out in Morant Bay, a town in the Northwest of Jamaica which caused the death of many whites and led to the imprisonment and execution of large numbers of Afro-Jamaicans. Historians have generally presented the rebellion as the culmination of decades of discontent. In this seminar we will explore the long-term and short-term factors behind the rebellion and assess its immediate aftermath. The sources that we will use, demonstrate most clearly that by 1865 the ex-slaves had come nowhere near the realisation of their dream of freedom. One of the most detailed accounts of the rebellion is Gad Heuman's *The Killing Time*. The rebellion has also been discussed in articles and as part of surveys. As the sources that we will examine explore the motives underpinning the rebellion, concentrate in your reading in particular on the aftermath of the event, which is often termed the governor Eyre affair. Various scholars have argued

that Morant Bay constitutes in watershed in not only the political history of the Caribbean but also the history of race in this country. Do you agree with that the governor Eyre affair reflects a change in racial ideas? Also reflect during your reading on the question whether the rebellion was unavoidable.

Sources: Extracts from Edward Underhill's *The Tragedy of Morant Bay* (1895); W. G. Sewell, *The Ordeal of Free labour in the British West Indies* (1861).

#### Seminar 2: Crown Colony government

The Morant Bay rebellion convinced the Imperial government that if the colonies continued to be led by the white planting class, reforms would not be forthcoming and more events similar to Morant Bay would occur. Not longer after the rebellion, it therefore replaced the representative government by a crown colony government in most islands. This seminar sets out the differences between the two forms of government. The DP addresses the question whether this change facilitated the realisation of ex-slaves' dream of freedom by weighing the pros and cons of Crown colony government from 1865 till the turn of the century. Most surveys describe the change and explain what is meant by Crown colony government. Read a few of those and then read some of the detailed studies on the change in government. Consider the following in addition to the DP questions:

- . How did the ex-slaves respond to the change in government?
- . And how the planting class?
- . Thus far few studies have analysed the change and have focussed more on the officials implanting the change than its impact on the Afro-Caribbean population. If you were to undertake a study on this topic, what aspect would you like to explore and why? and sources could you use for such a project? Write your answer down on 1/2 a page and bring it to class.

#### Essay questions:

- . 'Morant Bay was nothing more than a local revolt'. Is this a fair assessment?
- . Did the change in government following the Morant Bay rebellion bring the ex-slaves' ideal of freedom nearer?

#### Week 6 Social tumult and reform

##### Seminar 1: Migration and other upheavals

From the late nineteenth century onwards many Afro-Caribbean men and women moved within and outside of the Caribbean in order to improve their lives. In this seminar, we want to trace the patterns of migration (how many, from where and where to) from the late nineteenth century till the Second World War. On the basis of your readings (one of which is a handout on trends in Caribbean migration), summarise this pattern in 1 age and bring this to class. The first part of the seminar sets out the pattern of migration based on your summaries and discusses the so-called pull, push and facilitating factors underpinning it. To find these factors, it is important that you read up on the socio-economic conditions in the island (in surveys + economic studies) at the time. This is also essential for the second part of the seminar which looks at another important social upheaval at the time:

the outbreak of various religious cults. These were the most prominent in Jamaica. We will look at some sources associated with the cult of Bedwardism.

Consider the following:

- . What factors explain the various outburst of religious fanaticism in the region in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?
- . How should we interpret them?
- . Did those who migrate realise the 'freedom dream'?
- . And what impact did their movement have on the realisation of the dream for those who stayed behind?

Sources: extract from Claude McKay's *Banana Bottom*, B Pullen-Berry, *Ethiopia in Exile* (1905); A.A. Brooks, *History of Bedwardism* (1917), J. J. Williams, *Voodooos and Obeahs: phases of West India Witchcraft* (1932).

#### Seminar 2: Social reform

A wave of social reform followed the change to Crown Colony government. Some social reforms brought the ex-slaves' notion of freedom nearer, such the building of more schools and the cancellation of school fees, while others did little to facilitate its realisation. The DP examines either changes in the criminal system or attempts by the government to alter the sexual behaviour of the black population and poses the question whether these facilitated ad/or hindered the realisation of the ex-slaves' dream of freedom. Most of the surveys mention social reform. Start with one or several surveys and then read two or three studies on social reform, one of which should address the topic of the DP. Consider the following:

\* To what extent did the colonial government take the culture of the local population into account when it embarked on specific areas of social reform?

\* Why did local churches support most of the government's social reform projects?

\* Can you detect any differences in the reaction of the Afro-Caribbean to social reform in terms of class or skin colour? If so, what does this tell us?

#### Essay questions:

. To what extent did the criminal justice system enable the planters to coerce and control the labour of the ex-slaves and their descendants?

. Colonial governments were not only concerned to control the labour of the ex-slaves and their descendants but also their sexual behaviour. Describe the methods that they used and explain the motives underpinning their attempts.

#### Week 7 Black power

##### Seminar 1: racialism

During slavery, a small number of whites occupied the highest rung of the Caribbean society, while free coloureds formed the middle strata in this society, and the blacks slaves were firmly placed at the bottom. This 'colour hierarchy' remained intact after emancipation and increasingly became a class hierarchy. Thus most of the dark-skinned

Afro-Caribbean people who were engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work were at the bottom, while most light-skinned Afro-Caribbean people occupied the middle rungs and were small farmers or professionals. At the same time, the colour prejudice within the Afro-Caribbean became stronger. Shops owned by light-skinned people, for example, refused to employ dark-skinned girls. The DP describes and explains these and various other forms of white-on-black and black-on-black discrimination in place in the region between Morant Bay and the labour rebellions of the 1930s and tries to assess, if possible, if colour discrimination increased or decreased over time. Although colour prejudice is one of the most striking features of the region in the post-emancipation, few scholars have explored the forms of racialism in detail. It is mentioned in works on some of the region's race thinkers and also in some surveys. To prepare for this seminar, then, you will have to pierce together information from a wide range of materials. While reading, reflect on the following questions:

- . Make a list of the forms of colour prejudice that you have come across in your reading.
- . How does this compare to the U.S. at the time?
- . Which form of colour discrimination has received more attention in your reading: white-on-black or black-on-black discrimination? And why?
- . Why have thus far no detailed studies been published on colour discrimination?
- . Try to find, by using various means, one article/chapter/book on racialism that you want to see included on the reading list (you don't have to read this text, just provide the reference and explain why you think it may be useful).

#### Seminar 2: race consciousness

As a result of the importance attached to white skin, many Afro-Caribbean people tried to 'whiten' their offspring by marrying lighter. It was not until the early twentieth century before this and other forms of colour prejudice within the Afro-Caribbean community was criticised. Marcus Garvey, one of the most important Afro-Caribbean race thinkers, followed in the footsteps of J. J. Thomas, Edward Blyden and other late nineteenth race thinkers who tried to instil in people of African descent a pride in their African heritage. In this seminar we want to explore the extent to which Garvey drew upon earlier thinkers, set out his main ideas about the black race, and assess the methods that he proposed to enable black Caribbean people to advance in society. Although the seminar concentrates on Garvey, it is worthwhile to read up on other Afro-Caribbean race thinkers and see how their ideas compare with those of Garvey. Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and his philosophy have been subject of many studies (main author is Tony Martin). Try to read at least one text on other race thinkers/race theories and at least two on Garvey. Then consider the following:

- . Contemporaries and scholars have often portrayed Garvey as either a 'black fascist' or a 'black Moses'. Which of these do you think provides the fairest assessment of Garvey?
- . What made the UNIA, the largest black movement in history, possible?
- . How well-received were Garvey's ideas in the Caribbean at the time?
- . How does this compare to the United States?

. Garvey, Blyden, J. J. Thomas and others proposed 'black nationalism' as the means to achieve the ex-slaves' dream of freedom. Describe what is meant by this term and indicate whether this was a viable project at the time?

Sources: Extracts from works by Marcus Garvey, Edward Blyden, and J.J. Thomas.

Essay questions:

- . 'Skin colour was the most important determinant of social status in the post-emancipation Caribbean'. Discuss.
- . What impact did his stay in the United States have on Garvey's ideas about the realisation of the ex-slaves' dream of freedom?

Week 8 Organising Labour

Seminar 1: Class consciousness

The Afro-Caribbean population in the post-emancipation period was not a homogenous population. It was fractured along lines of wealth, colour, and occupation. This seminar explores the class divisions within the Afro-Caribbean community and asks when, why, and how the various classes within the Afro-Caribbean population began to defend their interests. The DP describes and explains the rise of a middle-class consciousness. In the seminar we want to compare this to the emergence of a working-class consciousness. To do this successfully, your reading will have to address the rise of both a middle-class and working-class consciousness. Consider the following questions besides those set for the DG:

- . Did the class divisions within the Afro-Caribbean population form an obstacle to the realisation of the ex-slaves' notion of freedom?
- . What forms did working-class consciousness take?
- . What impact, if any, did the labour movement in the metropolitan society have on the rise of a working-class consciousness?
- . Did class not largely conflate with race in the period 1865-WWII?

Seminar 2: Labour riots

The decline of the sugar industry in the late nineteenth century affected plantation workers as well as many other lower-class Afro-Caribbean men and women. Their economic status declined even further with the outbreak of the world depression in 1929. To improve their condition, lower-class people resorted to a wide range of methods, including rioting. In various islands riots broke out in 1937 and 1938. An inquiry by the Imperial government aimed to assess the reasons behind the riots. In this seminar, we want to unravel the long-term and short-term factors that caused the riots by examining some eyewitness accounts of the Barbados and Jamaica riots. The labour riots have been described in most overviews and in studies on the Caribbean working class (mentioned for the foregoing seminar). Read at least three studies on the labour movement and labour riots in the 1930s and think about the following :

- . What were the short-term factors behind the riots?
- . And the long-term?
- . How 'spontaneous' or 'planned' were the riots?

Sources: extracts from The West India Commission Report (1945) and W.A. Beckles, The Barbados Disturbances (1937); W. J. Makin, Caribbean Nights

(1939); W. M. MacMillan, *Warning from the West Indies a tract for Africa and the empire* (1936).

Essay question:

- . For either the middle class or the working class, describe and explain the rise of a class consciousness.
- . Why were working-class movements in the 1930s more militant than their predecessors?

Week 9 On the road to independence

Seminar 1: Independence from below

The labour riots played an important role in putting the islands on the road to independence. The DP assesses this role. In this seminar, however, we also want to explore other Afro-Caribbean calls for a change in the constitutional status of the islands before and after the riots broke out.

We will do this by discussing the various Afro-Caribbean plans for a different relationship between colonies and motherland in the period 1918-1962 that we have come across in the reading and also by looking at a source in which an Afro-Jamaican woman articulated her views on the intricate relationship between gender, race, class and empire. To prepare yourself for this seminar, it is useful to read up on party formation in the islands. You can find this in some of the overviews, in particular Lewis's *Growth of the Modern West Indies*. In addition, go back to some of the texts listed for the last two seminars and explore what these say about the role of the riots in the process of independence and read some works from the section. Think about the following questions:

- . Make a list of the various plans put forward by Afro-Caribbean men and women to change the constitutional status of the island?
- . Do you see a change over time? And if so why?
- . Why are Afro-Caribbean calls for full independence so rare in the period 1918-62?
- . How popular was the idea of a federation of Caribbean islands amongst Afro-Caribbean people?

Sources: Article by Amy Bailey in *Public Opinion*.

Seminar 2: Independence from above

Calls for a change in the constitutional status of the islands were increasingly made in the mother country in the interwar years, especially by Fabians and other members of the labour movement. The 1930 labour riots convinced even more people that the welfare of the colonies required such a change. The seminar tries to answer the question to what extent the metropole favoured independence by examining a 1936 proposal for a change in constitutional status of the islands and the recommendations in of the 1938 Commission that investigated the labour riots and also by discussing various others plans that were put forward between 1938-1962, including the West India Federation. This area has been little researched. You can find some information in the books listed for this and the previous seminar and also in surveys, such as Lewis' *Growth of the Modern West Indies*. Consider the following:

- . List the metropolitan plans for constitutional change that you have come across.
- . Did these plans take the socio-economic, political, and cultural realities of the islands into sufficient account?

- . How radical are these plans and how do they compare with those presented by Afro-Caribbeans?
- . Where do they fit in with regards to constitutional change in the British empire as a whole?

Sources: West India Commission Report, 1936 plan for constitutional change.

Essay questions:

- . 'It was more internal than external pressure that put the islands on the road to independence'. Do you agree with this assessment?
- . Describe the plan for a West India Federation and assess why both islanders and the metropolitan government favoured this change in constitutional status.

Week 10 Independence and thereafter

Seminar 1: From West India Federation to Independence

After the Second World War, the Imperial government tried to implement the recommendations in the West India Commission Report. In the first part of the seminar we want to assess the extent to which the changes implemented in the late 1940s and early 1950s brought about improvements in the lives of Afro-Caribbean people, amongst others by looking at a government report. The second part of the seminar looks at the West India Federation. This idea favoured by both the islanders and the imperial government was put in place in 1958 but died a quick death. The seminar tries to assess to what extent it was factors specific to the Caribbean that prevented the success of the West India Federation. To prepare for the seminar read up on the conditions in the islands in the 1940s and 1950s in general and the West India Federation in particular (for articles, see foregoing week). Think about the following:

- . Mention and explain the main improvements in the lives of the Afro-Caribbean people in the period.
- . Did these improvements temper Afro-Caribbean calls for far-reaching change?
- . How united or divided were the various Afro-Caribbean political groupings in their response to metropolitan plans for independence?
- . Try to find one source that we can use in this seminar.

Sources: Development and welfare in the west Indies (1951).

Seminar 2: Independence = Freedom?

The West India Federation fell apart when the largest island Jamaica withdrew from the federation and declared itself independent in 1962. Trinidad and Barbados soon followed its example. By the end of the 1960s, only few Caribbean islands remained dependent territories. In this seminar we want to explore whether the ex-slaves ideal of freedom was realized during independence. We will do this through the group presentations. The class is divided into three groups: Jamaica, Barbados, and Guyana. Each group gives a 20-minute presentation (with handouts) in which it sets out whether not independence realised the ex-slaves' freedom ideal. This is followed by a discussion in which we will first compare the three experiences of independence and then debate the question whether independence equalled freedom. We also want to use this session to revisit some of themes and issues raised in

foregoing weeks. To prepare for your group presentation, read some of the general surveys on the modern Caribbean and look for relevant statistical information on

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>

The following is a link to various websites useful for Caribbean studies. You may find some relevant information on some of them:

<http://pw1.netcom.com/~hhenke/links.htm>

To find more literature for your project check this bibliographical source:

<http://tlvlbs.leidenuniv.nl:8080/IMPLAND=Y/SRT=YOP//LNG=EN//DB=1.6/>

You may also want to look at some online newspapers to substantiate your views:

The Daily Gleaner (Jamaica) , Barbados Advocate, Guyana Chronicle.

## Reading List

### A. Surveys

H. Beckles, *A History of Barbados from Amerindian Settlement to Nation State* (1990).

H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Freedom's work: Caribbean emancipation, ethnicities and nationhood* (2005).

H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996)

D. Benn, *The Growth and Development of Political Ideas in the Caribbean 1774-1983* (1987).

O. N. Bolland, 'The politics of freedom in the British Caribbean', in F. McGlynn and S. Drescher, eds., *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, politics* (1992)

B. Brereton, ed., *General History of the Caribbean: vol. V the Caribbean in the twentieth century* (2004).

-----, *The Colonial Caribbean in Transition* (1999).

B. Brereton, *A history of modern Trinidad* (1981).

E. Brodber, *The Second Generation of Freemen in Jamaica 1907-1949* (2004).

P. Bryan, *The Jamaican People 1880-1902* (1991).

C. Campbell, 'Early post-emancipation Jamaica: The historiography of plantation culture, 1834-1865', in K. Monteith and G. Richards, eds., *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: history, heritage and culture* (2002), 52-72.

P. D. Curtin, *Two Jamaicas: The role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865* (1955).

S. Drescher and F. McGlynn, ed., *The Meaning of freedom: Economics, Politics and Culture after slavery* (1992).

G. Eisner, *Jamaica 1830-1930: A study in economic growth* (1961).

W. A. Green, *British slave Emancipation: The sugar colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865* (1976).

D. Hall, *Free Jamaica 1838-1865: An economic history* (1959).

G. Heuman, 'The British West Indies' in A. Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: the nineteenth century* (1999), 471-93.

----- 'From Slavery to Freedom: Blacks in the Nineteenth-century British West Indies', in P.D. Morgan and S. Hawkins, ed *Black Experience and Empire*, (2004), 141-65.

----- and D. V. Trotman, ed., *Contesting Freedom: control and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean* (2004).

B. W. Higman, *Montpellier: A plantation community in slavery and freedom 1739-1912* (1998).

T. C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain 1832-1938* (1992).

H. Johnson, 'The black experience in the British Caribbean in the Twentieth Century', in P. D. Morgan and S. Hawkins, ed, *Black Experience and Empire* (2004), 317-46.

-----, *The Bahamas in slavery and Freedom* (1991).

C. Levy, *Emancipation, Sugar and Federalism: Barbados and the West Indies, 1833-1876* (1980).

G. Lewis, *Main currents in Caribbean Thought* (2004).

-----*The Growth of the Modern West Indies* (2004)

D. Lowenthal, *West Indian Societies* (1972)

J. P. McLewin, *Power and Economic Change: The response to emancipation in Jamaica and British Guiana 1840-1865* (1987).

S. W. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (1974).

K. Monteith and G. Richards, ed., *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: history, heritage and culture* (2002).

B. L. Moore, *Race, Power and Social Segmentation in Colonial Society: Guyana after slavery 1838-1891* (1987).

-----, *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism: Colonial Guyana 1838-1900* (1995).

-----, ed., *Slavery, Freedom and Gender: The dynamics of Caribbean Society* (2001)

B. L. Moore and M. A. Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British cultural imperialism in Jamaica 1865-1920* (2004).

S. J. Randall, ed., *The Caribbean Basin: An international history* (1998).

D. Richardson, ed., *Abolition and Its Aftermath* (1985).

J. Rogozinski, *A Brief history of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the present* (2000)

V. Shepherd, *Women in Caribbean History* (1999).

Kevin D. Smith, 'A Fragmented Freedom: The historiography of emancipation and its aftermath in the British West Indies', *Slavery and Abolition*, 16, 1 (1995), 101-30.

E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The history of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (1970).

E. Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (1942).

B. Additional literature (useful for essay):

O. N. Bolland, *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on slavery, colonialism and culture in the Caribbean and Central America* (1997).

O. N. Bolland, ed., *The Birth of Caribbean Civilization: A century of Ideas about Culture, Identity, Nation and Society* (2004).

S. O. Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: resistance and accommodation in Jamaica 1760-1890* (2004).

C. Campbell, 'Social and Economic Obstacles to the Development of Popular education in post-emancipation Jamaica, 1834-65', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 262-68.

M. Ferguson, Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean connections (1993).  
C. Hall, Civilising Subjects: Metropole and colony in the English imagination, 1830-1867 (2002).  
M. Harrison, King Sugar: Jamaica, the Caribbean and the world sugar industry (2001).  
H. Johnson, The White Minority in the Caribbean (1998)  
V. A. Shepherd, Women in Caribbean history (1999).  
Alwyn Thompson, In the Shadow of the Plantation: Caribbean history and legacy (2002).  
J. Walvin, The life and times of Henry Clarke of Jamaica 1828-1907 (1994).  
S. wieringa, ed., Subversive women: Historical experiences of gender and resistance (1995).

C. Seminar literature:

Week 2: Freedom in the immediate post-emancipation period  
Apprenticeship

H. Altink, 'Slavery by Another Name: Apprenticed women in Jamaican workhouses in the period 1834-38', Social History 26, 1 (2001), 40-59  
H. Altink, '"To wed or not to wed?": The struggle to define Afro-Jamaican relationships 1834-38', Journal of Social history fall (2004), 81-111.  
S. Boa, 'Experiences of Women Estate Workers during the Apprenticeship Period in St. Vincent', Women's History Review 10, 3 (2001), 381-407.  
K. M. Butler, The Economics of emancipation: Jamaica and Barbados 1823-43 (1995).  
W. L. Burn, Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies (1937).  
P. D. Curtin, Two Jamaicas: The role of ideas in a tropical colony 1830-1865 (1955)  
S. Drescher, The Mighty Experiment: Free labor versus slave labor in British Emancipation (2002).  
D. L. Eudell, The Political Languages of Emancipation in the British Caribbean and the U.S. South (2002).  
W. A Green, British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865 (1976).  
T. C. Holt, The Problem of Freedom, chapters 1 + 2.  
W. Marshall, '"We be Wise to many more tings": Blacks' hopes and expectations of emancipation', in H. Beckles ad V. Shepherd, eds., Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present (1996), 12-20.  
W. L. Mathieson, British Slavery and Its Abolition 1823-1838 (1926).  
D. Paton, No Bond but the Law: Punishment, race and gender in Jamaican state formation 1789-1870 (2004), chapters 2 + 3.

M. Turner, 'The British Caribbean 1823-1838: the transition from slave to free legal status', in D. Hay and P. Craven (eds.), *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955* (2004), 303-22.

S. Wilmot, '"Not full free": The ex-slaves and the Apprenticeship System in Jamaica, 1834-1838', *Jamaica Journal* 17 (1984), 2-10.

Immediate post-emancipation period

J. Besson, 'Land Tenure in the Free villages of Trelawny Jamaica', *Slavery and Abolition*, 5 (1985).

C. Campbell, 'Early Post-emancipation Jamaica: The historiography of plantation culture' Monteith and Richards, ed., *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom* (2002), 52-69. (provides summary of key historical works).

S. Frey, ed., *From Slavery to Emancipation in the Atlantic world* (1999) Various articles.

C. Hall, 'White Visions, Black Lives: The free villages of Jamaica', *History Workshop Journal* 36 (1993), 100-32.

D. Hall, 'The Flight from the Estates Reconsidered: The British west Indies 1838-42', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 55- 63 (a classic).

G. Heuman, '"Is that what you call free?": Riots and resistance in the Anglophone Caribbean' in Heuman and Trotman, ed., *Contesting Freedom*, 104-117.

B. W. Higman, '"To Begin the World Again": Responses to emancipation at Friendship and Greenwich estate, Jamaica', in Monteith and Richards, ed., *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom* (2002), 291-306.

T. C. Holt, 'The Articulation of Race, Gender and Political Economy in British emancipation policy, 1838-60', in F. Cooper, T. C. Holt, ed., *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of race, labor and Citizenship in Post emancipation Societies* (2000), 33-60.

T. C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom. Part 2.*

K. E. A. Monteith, 'Emancipation and Labour on Jamaican coffee plantations, 1838-48', *Slavery and Abolition* 31, 3 (2000), 125-35.

H. Paget, 'The free village system in Jamaica', *Caribbean Quarterly* 10 (1964).

D. Paton, *No Bond but the law: punishment, race and gender in Jamaican state formation 1789-1870* (2004), chapter 4.

J. L.G. Rose, '"Behold the tax man cometh": Taxation as a tool of oppression in early post-emancipation British Guiana, 1838-38', in A. Thompson, ed., *In the Shadow of the Plantation: Caribbean history and legacy* (2003), 297-313.

M. Sheller, 'Quasheba, Mother, Queen: Black women's public leadership and

political protest in post-emancipation Jamaica 1834-65', *Slavery and Abolition* 19,3 (1998), 90-117.

-----, *Democracy after Slavery* (2000), chapter 6.

H. Temperley, *British Antislavery, 1833-1870* (1972), chapter 6.

S. Wilmot, 'Females of abandoned character?: Women and protest in Jamaica

1838-65', in V. A. Shepherd, et al., *Engendering History: Caribbean women in*

*historical perspective* (1995).

S. Wilmot, 'Emancipation in Action: Workers and wage conflict in Jamaica

1838-1840' in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy*

*and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 48-54.

Week 3: The development of an independent peasantry

Labour Problem

O. N. Bolland, 'Systems of Domination after Slavery: The control of land and

labor in the British West Indies after 1838', *Comparative Studies in Society*

and History 23 (1981) + in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 107-123.

W. A. Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The sugar colonies and the Great*

*Experiment 1830-1865* (Oxford, 1976), chapter 7.

D. Hall, *Free Jamaica 1838-1865: An economic history* (1959).

----- *Five of the Leewards 1837-1870* (1971)

----- 'The flight from the estates reconsidered' in H. Beckles and V.

Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and society from emancipation to*

*the present*

(1996), 55-63.

W. K. Marshall, 'The Post-Slavery Labour Problem revisited', in B. L. Moore,

et al., *Slavery, Freedom and Gender: The Dynamics of Caribbean Society*

(2003), 115-132.

Peasantry

H. Beckles., *Great House Rules: Landless emancipation and workers' protests*

*in Barbados 1838-1938* (2004).

J. Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories* (2002), chapter 3+4.

R. Farley, 'The rise of the village settlements in British Guiana', *Caribbean Quarterly* 10 (1964).

W. K. Marshall, 'Notes on Peasant development in the West Indies since 1838', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and*

*society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 99-107.

S. Mintz, 'The Origins of the Reconstituted Peasantries' in H. Beckles and

V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and society from emancipation*

*to the present* (1996), 94- 98.

-----, 'From plantations to peasantries in the Caribbean', in S. Mintz and R. Price, ed., Caribbean contours (1985).  
----- Caribbean Transformations (1974).  
M. Sheller, Democracy after Slavery: Black public and peasant radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica (2000), chapter 6.

Week 4: Further obstacles to freedom

Decline of sugar industry (see also the surveys)

P. D. Curtin, 'The British Sugar duties and West Indian Prosperity' in H.

Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from

emancipation to the present (1996), 314-18.

G. Eisner, Jamaica 1830-1930: A study in economic growth (1961).

D. Hall, Free Jamaica 1838-65 (1959).

W. K. Marshall, 'Metayage in the sugar industry of the British windward islands, 1838-1865' in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., Caribbean Freedom:

economy and society from emancipation to the present (1996), 64-79.

-----, '" A value pamphlet": Henry James Ross's rationale for

sharecropping in the West Indies, Slavery and Abolition 24, 3 (2003), 82-111.

Immigration

D. Armstrong and M. W. Hauser, 'An East-indian laborers' household in nineteenth-century Jamaica', Historical Archaeology 38, 2 (2004), 9-21.

D.A. Bisnath, The Settlement of Indians in Guyana 1890-1930 (2000).

A. Diptee, 'Indian Men, Afro-Creole Women: Casting Doubt on interracial sexual relationships in the late nineteenth-century Caribbean',

Immigrants

and Minorities, 19, 3 (2000), 1-14.

P. Emmer, 'A Spirit of Independence or Lack of Education for the Market?:

Freedman and Asian indentured labourers in the post-emancipation Caribbean

1834-1917', Slavery and Abolition 21, 2 (2000), 150-68.

S. Engerman, 'Economic Change and Contract Labour in the British Caribbean',

Explorations in Economic History 21, 2 (1984), 133-50.

D. Hollett, Passage from India to El Dorado: Guyana and the great migration

(1999).

M. Kale, Fragments of Empire: capital, slavery and Indian indentured labour

migration in the British Caribbean (1998).

-----, 'Capital Spectacles in British Frames: Capital, empire and

Indian indentured migration to the British Caribbean, International Review

of Social History, 4 (1996), 109-33.

K. O. Laurence, A Question of Labour: Indentured immigration into Trinidad

and British Guiana 1875-1917 (1994)

-----, 'The evolution of long-term labour contracts in

Trinidad and British Guyana 1834-63', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present (1996), 141-151.

P. Mohapatra, 'Assam and the West Indies, 1860-1920': immobilizing Plantation labor', in D. Hay and P. Craven (eds.), Masters, Servants, and Magistrate in Britain and the Empire 1562-1955 (2004), 455-80.

V. Shepherd, Transients to Settlers: The experience of Indians in Jamaica 1845-1950 B. Richardson, 'Caribbean Migrations 1838-65', in F.W. Knight and Palmer, eds., The Modern Caribbean (1989), 203-28.

M. Schuler, Alas Alas Kongo: A social history of indentured African immigration to Jamaica 1841-65 (1980).

M. Schuler, 'Liberated Africans in Nineteenth-century Guyana', in B. L. Moore et al., Slavery, Freedom and Gender: The Dynamics of Caribbean Society (2003), 133-160.

V. Shepherd, 'The other middle passage?: Nineteenth-century bonded labour migration and the legacy of the slavery debate in the British-colonised Caribbean', in V. Shepherd, ed., Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, African and the African Diaspora (2002), 343-376.

Week 5: A political watershed.

Morant Bay

M. Craton, 'Continuity not Change: The incidence of unrest among ex-slaves in the British West Indies 1838-1876', in H. Beckles and V. A. Shepherd, Caribbean Freedom (1996), 192-206.

H. W. Fulweiler, 'The strange case of Governor Eyre: Race and the Victorian frame of mind', Clio 29, 2 (2000), 119-42.

C. Hall, Civilising Subjects (2001), 406-23.

----- 'The nation with and without', in C. Hall, McClelland and J. Rendal, ed., Defining the Victorian Nation (2000).

M. Harrawood, 'Shakespeare in the Caribbean: The Morant Bay massacre Jamaica 1865', Modern Language Quarterly 65, 2 (2004) 269-92.

G. Heuman, "The Killing Time": The Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica (1994).

-----, 'Post-emancipation protest in Jamaica; The Morant Bay rebellion' in M. Turner, From chattel to wage slaves (1995), 258-74.

T. C. Holt, The Problem of Freedom, chapters 8+9.

A. B. Knox, 'The Queen's letter of 1865 and British policy towards Emancipation', Historical Journal 29 (1986), 345-68.

-----, 'The British government and the governor Eyre controversy', Historical Journal (1976), 877-900.

B. Semmel, The Governor Eyre controversy (1962).

M. Sheller, Democracy after Slavery (2000), chapters 7-8.

R. J. Stewart, 'Reporting Morant Bay' in B. L. Moore and S. Wilmot, ed.,

Before and after 1865: Education, politics and regionalism in the Caribbean  
(1998), 330-42.

S. Wilmot, 'Politics at the Grassroots in Free Jamaica: St. James 1838-1865', in V. Shepherd, ed., *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, African and the African Diaspora* (2002), 449-466.

Crown Colony government

R. Augier, 'Before and After 1865,' H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 170-80.

M. Moberg, 'Crown Colony as Banana Republic: The untied fruit company in British Honduras, 1900-1920', *Journal of Latin American studies*, 28, 2 (1996), 357-81.

G. Belle, 'The Abortive Revolution of 1876 in Barbados', in H. Beckles and

V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 181-191.

Bryan, *The Jamaican people*, chapters 2-3.

J. P. Smith, 'The Liberals, Race, and Political Reforms in the British West

Indies, 1866-1874', *Journal of Negro History* lxxix, 2 (1994), 131-46.

H.A. Will, *Constitutional change in the British West Indies 1880-1903* (1970).

Week 6: Social tumult and reform

Migration

A. Chomsky, 'Afro-Jamaican Traditions and Labor organizing on United Fruit Company plantations in Costa Rica 1910', *Journal of Social History* 28, 4 (1995), 837-55.

N. Foote, 'Rethinking Race, Gender and Citizenship: Black West Indian women in Costa Rica 1920-1940', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23, 2 (2004), 198-212.

H. Johnson, 'Barbadian migrants in the Putumayo district of the Amazon', in

M. Chamberlain, ed., *Caribbean Migration: Globalised Identities* (1998), 177-87.

F. W. Knight, 'Jamaican Migrants and the Cuban Sugar Industry', in M. M. Franginal, et al., *Between Slavery and Free labour: the Spanish-speaking Caribbean in the nineteenth-Century* (1985).

S. Marshall, 'Caribbean Migration to Cuba' (online-article)

B. I. Moore and M. A. Johnson, *Neither led nor Driven*, chapter 3.

V. Newton, *The Silver Men: West Indian labour migration to Panama 1850-1914* (1984).

B. C. Richardson, 'Caribbean migrations' 1838-1985', in F. W. Knight and C.

Palmer, eds, The Modern Caribbean (1989).  
R. Stewart, Religion and Society in Post-emancipation Jamaica (1992).

#### Social Reform

S. Boa, 'Discipline, Reform or Punish?: Attitudes towards juvenile crimes and misdemeanours in the post-emancipation Caribbean 1838-88' in Heuman and Trotman, Contesting Freedom, 65-86.  
Bryan, The Jamaica people, chapters 9+13. .  
R. Burton, Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition and Play in the Caribbean (1997).  
M. K. Bacchus, 'Consensus and conflict over the provision of elementary education', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present ( 1996), 296-311.  
C. Campbell, The Young Colonials: A social history of education in Trinidad and Tobago 1832-1939 (2000).  
P. Charles, 'The Name of the Father: Women, paternity and British rule in nineteenth-century Jamaica', International labor and working-class history 41 (1992) 4-22.  
S. R. Cudjoe, Beyond Boundaries: The intellectual tradition of Trinidad and Tobago in the nineteenth century (2002).  
J. De Barros, 'Working Cutlass and Shovel: Labour and redemption at the Onderneeming School in British Guiana' in Heuman and Trotman, Contesting Freedom, 39-64.  
H. Fergus, A History of Education in the British Leeward islands, 1838-45 (2003)  
B. l. Moore and M. A. Johnson, Neither led nor Driven, chapters 4-7.  
B. L. Moore and M. A. Johnson, '"Fallen sisters?": Attitudes to female prostitution in Jamaica at the turn of the twentieth-century', The Journal of Caribbean history 31, 1-2 (2000), 46-70.  
B. L. Moore and M. Johnson, '"Married but not Parsoned": Attitudes towards conjugality in Jamaica 1865-1920', in Heuman and Totman, ed., Contesting Freedom, 197-214.  
J. P. Smith, 'Empire and social reform: British Liberals and the civilising mission in the sugar colonies, 1868-1874', Albion 27 (1995), 253-77.  
D. V. Trotman, Crime in Trinidad: conflict and Control in a plantation society 1838-1900 (1986).  
-----, 'Women and Crime in late 19th century Trinidad', in Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present (1996), 251-59.

Week 7: Black power  
Racialism

M. Alleyne, *The Construction and Representation of Race and Ethnicity in the Caribbean and the World* (2002).

B. Brereton, *Race Relations in colonial Trinidad 1870-1900* (1979).  
 -----, 'The development of an identity: The black middle class of Trinidad in the later 19th century', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 274-83.

P. Bryan, *Jamaican people*, chapters 11-12  
 -----, 'The black middle class in 19th century Jamaica', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 284-295.

H. Johnson, ed., *The white minority in the Caribbean* (1998) various articles.  
 ----- 'The black experience in the British Caribbean in the twentieth century', in P.D. Morgan and S. Hawkins, ed, *Black Experience and Empire* (2004), 317-46.

G. Richards, 'Race, Labour and Politics in Jamaica and St. Kitts, 1909-1940:  
 A comparative survey of the roles of the national club of Jamaica and the workers league of St. Kitts' in V. shepherd, ed., *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, African and the African Diaspora* (2002), 502-23.

-----, 'Race, Class and Labour politics in colonial Jamaica 1900-1934', in K. Monteith and G. Richards, eds., *Jamaica in slavery and freedom: history, heritage and culture* (2002), 340-62.

K. Singh, *Race and Class Struggles in a Colonial state: Trinidad 1917-45* (1994).

Race consciousness

O. N. Bolland, *The Birth of Caribbean Civilization: A century of ideas about culture and identity, nation and society* (2004) (discusses various race thinkers).

D. Benn, *The Caribbean: An intellectual history* (2004)

H. Ford-Smith, 'Making White ladies: Race, gender and the production of identities in late colonial Jamaica', *Resources for Feminist research* 23, 4 (1994-95), 55-67.

J. Lumsden, 'A Forgotten Generation: Black politicians in Jamaica 1884-1914', in B. Moore and S. Wilmot, eds., *Before and After 1865* (1998), 112-22

M. Sherwood, *Pan-African History* (2003)

F. Smith, *Creole Recitations: John Jacob Thomas and colonial formation in the late nineteenth-century Caribbean* (2002).

Garvey and the UNIA

B. Bair, 'True Women, Real Men: Gender ideology and social roles in the Garvey movement', in D. O. Helly and S. Revering, ed., *Gendered domains:*

*rethinking public and private in women's history* (1992), 154-66.

*Burning Spear, Marcus Garvey* (CD, 1990)

E. Cronon, *Black Moses* (1955).

H. Ford-Smith, 'Unruly Virtues of the Spectacular: performing engendered

nationalism in the UNIA in Jamaica', *Interventions* 6, 1 (2004), 18-44.

R. Lewis and P. Bryan, eds., *Garvey: His work and impact* (1991) various articles.

L. Mackie, *The Great Marcus Garvey* (1987)

T. Martin, 'Marcus Garvey, the Caribbean, and the Struggle for Black Jamaican Nationhood', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 359-69.

-----, *Race First: the ideological and organisation struggles of*

*Marcus Garvey and the UNIA* (1976).

-----, *The Pan-African connection* (1984).

A. McPherson, 'Colonial matriarchs: Garveyism, maternalism, and Belize's

*Black Cross Nurses, 1920-1952*', *Gender and History* 15, 3 (2003), 507-27.

M. Sherwood, *Pan-African History* (2003)

J. Stein, *The World of Marcus Garvey* (1986).

M. Stephens, *Black Empire: The masculine global imaginary of Caribbean intellectuals in the United States 1914-1962* (2005), chapters 3+4.

W. Zips, *Black Rebels: African-Caribbean freedom fighters in Jamaica* (1999).

Week 8: Organizing labour

Class consciousness

R. J. Alexander, *History of Organised Labor in the English-speaking West*

*Indies* (2004).

H. Beckles, *Great House Rules: landless emancipation and workers' protest in*

*Barbados 1838-1938* (2004) , chapter 5.

M. Burrows, 'The Cloaking of a Heritage: The Barbados landship', in Heuman

and Trotman, ed., *Contesting Freedom*, 215-234.

O. N. Bolland, *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The social*

*origins of authoritarianism and democracy* (2001).

M. Cross and G. Heuman, ed., *Labour in the Caribbean: From emancipation to*

*independence* (1988).

B. L. Moore, 'Race, Class and Politics in Guyana 1891-1928' in B. Moore and

S. Wilmot, eds., *Before and After 1865* (1998).

R. Reddock, *Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago: A history*

(1994).

G. Richards, 'Race, class and labour politics in colonial Jamaica

1900-1934', in K. Monteith and G. Richards, eds., *Jamaica in slavery and freedom: history, heritage and culture* (2002).  
G. Richards, 'Race, Labour and Politics in Jamaica and St. Kitts, 1909-1940: a comparative survey of the roles of the National Club of Jamaica and the Workers' league of St. Kitts' in V. Shepherd, *Working slavery, pricing freedom*, 502-23.  
W. Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* (1981).  
K. Singh, *Race and Class Struggles in a Colonial state: Trinidad 1917-45* (1994).  
C. Sutton, ed., *Revisiting Caribbean labour* (2005).

Labour riots (much can also be found in previous section)  
R. Hart, *Rise and organise: The birth of the workers and national movements in Jamaica 1936-39* (1989)  
-----, 'Labour Rebellions of the 1930s', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 370-75.  
T. C. Holt, *The problem of Freedom*, chapter 10.  
F. W. Knight, 'The Caribbean in the 1930s', in B. Brereton, ed., *General History of the Caribbean: vol. V the Caribbean in the twentieth century* (2004), 42-82.  
W. Arthur Lewis, 'The 1930s social revolution', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, eds., *Caribbean Freedom: economy and society from emancipation to the present* (1996), 376-91.  
K. Post, *Arise Ye starvelings: the Jamaican labour rebellion of 1938 and its aftermath* (1978)

Week 9: On the road to independence

Independence from below

A. Bogue, 'Nationalism and Jamaican political thought' in K. Monteith and G. Richards, eds., *Jamaica in slavery and freedom* (2002), 363-87.  
O. N. Bolland, *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on slavery, colonialism and culture in the Caribbean and Central America* (1997).  
G. Lewis, 'The Challenge of Independence in the British Caribbean', in H. Beckles and V. Shepherd, *Caribbean Freedom* (1996), 511-18.  
T. Martin, 'Vote for a woman: Audrey Jeffers and the 1936 entry of women into Trinidad politics', in B. Moore and S. Wilmot, eds., *Before and After 1865*, 150-62.  
J. Millette, 'Decolonization, populist movement and the formation of new nations', in B. Brereton, *General History of the Caribbean* (2004), 174-24.

R. Nettleford, 'Manley and the Politics of Jamaica: towards an analysis of political change in Jamaica 1938-68', *Social and Economic Studies* 20, 3 (1971).

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