

Inspiring Flesh/Fleshing Out Spirit: Bodies, Bondage, and the Morant Bay Rebellion

In October 1865, Paul Bogle, the black deacon of the Native Baptist chapel established by the mixed-race George William Gordon,¹ led between 200 and 300 Jamaican men and women into the town of Morant Bay in the parish of St. Thomas in the East. Reacting against the political and economic power of the white planter class, this group hoped to precipitate a general rebellion throughout the island. The uprising did not spread and was quickly suppressed by Governor Edward Eyre, who retaliated by sending troops of British soldiers and Maroons (or escaped former slaves) to hunt down the poorly armed rebels. The colonial government's massacre caused an outcry in Britain, led to charges against Eyre for murder, and provoked furious debates in the British and colonial presses.

The Morant Bay Rebellion broke out only a little over three decades following the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean in 1833. Scholars such as Abigail Bakan have seen the 1831 Baptist Rebellion in Jamaica, which would directly lead to the end of slavery, as the first in a series of three resistance movements, also encompassing the Morant Bay Rebellion and the 1938 worker protests, against oppressive labor regimes.² Biopolitical control in Jamaica centered around both imperial capitalist management of the land and the transition from perpetuating and disciplining a population of slave laborers (central for the accrual of imperial capital) to the creation of a population of wage laborers who were to be transformed into laboring subjects. As the land available for settlement and cultivation by former slaves became increasingly scarce, peasants were forced to

become proletarians, a shift that “would be among the principal factors leading to the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, the massive rural-to-urban and international labor migration during the 1880s and continuing throughout the early 1920s, and the labor rebellions of the late 1930s.”³ This transformation in laboring identities, geographically based communities, and material conditions profoundly affected both men and women as the poor sought increasingly scarce work away from home. Material practices such as contestations over access to land, in particular family land, and reaction against various oppressive regimes of labor were intimately tied to the spiritual practices of many poor, working-class, and even middle-class Jamaicans.

This chapter parses the concept-metaphor of the “spirit” as it influenced the troubled and recent past of slavery in the Caribbean, which shaped the rebels’ access to land and attitudes towards labor; the Morant Bay Rebellion; and the labor struggles and nationalist agitation of the 1930s–1940s, which would resurrect Morant Bay as an example of earlier Jamaican labor resistance. During the nineteenth century and after, the concept-metaphor of the spirit was animated by its use in religion, where it materialized as a force of resistance outside oppressive socio-economic institutions and in reaction to biopolitical control.

Only a few years before the Morant Bay Rebellion, ancestral, millenarian, and revival religions, including Native Baptist denominations and Afro-Creole religions (such as Myal) based on spirit or ancestor worship more generally, saw a resurgence that overtook the white, missionary-led Great Revival of the early 1860s. Spirit-based religions directly influenced the leaders of the rebellion, Gordon and Bogle, who were both also leaders in the Native Baptist church. Bogle even held spirit feasting rituals for the rebels before the uprising. As Clinton Hutton points out,

if [revival] feasting was a central feature of the funeral rituals that were necessary to ensure the freedom of deceased Africans by repatriation, it was just as important as a means of socializing with them, or memorializing them, or enlisting their assistance in, among other things, resistance to slavery.⁴

Revival feasting marked the “eruption” of both the Haitian Revolution, led by the enslaved Boukman Dutty in 1791, and the post-slavery Morant Bay Rebellion, led by Bogle.⁵

Indeed, less than two decades prior to the Morant Bay Rebellion, Thomas Carlyle had expressed his fears in a pseudonymous 1949 essay that Jamaica would become another “Hayti,” the specter of the first successful slave rebellion against the French 50 years earlier even now haunting British colonial discourse, just as a recent slave past haunted black Jamaicans. While a vocal contingent of nineteenth-century British commentators cast the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 as an insurrection possessed by the example of Haiti, early to mid-twentieth-century Jamaican writers would see it as manifesting the spark of anti-colonial resistance, a singular moment within a broader trajectory of national self-determination. Such varied conceptions of the spirit as either welcome or terrifying, invoked or uninvited, were thus diffused throughout British colonial and Jamaican anti-colonial discourses of this rebellion. The postcolonial Jamaican state’s later national memorialization of both the rebellion, especially at the centenary mark, and its two historical rebel leaders, Gordon and Bogle, who were posthumously cast in the role of official Jamaican national heroes, shows how the heroes and mythos of this rebellion haunted subsequent political and economic struggles in Jamaica.⁶

This chapter as a whole examines various diffusions and crystallizations of the “spirit” in shaping and mobilizing a specifically Jamaican anti-colonial resistance within a wider Caribbean setting. The first section following the historical background, “Gothic Hauntings,” is particularly interested in the gothic as a mode of engagement with the specter of the Haitian Revolution. This revolution frequently haunted both colonial and anti-colonial discourses as a seeming moment of rupture within imperial capitalism, an event inaugurating capitalist modernity in the violent overthrow of the supposedly feudal economic system of slavery, even though the transatlantic slave trade had in fact made possible the emergence of capitalism. If white planters and colonial administrators feared the possibility of black rebellion as a return to atavism in the form of black savagery and violence, newly freed blacks actively reacted against the new regime of putatively free-wage labor conscripting them into service as a return to atavism in the form of black enslavement. Thus, while warnings about the repetition of the Haitian Revolution in Jamaica and elsewhere justified control over former slave populations, the revolution also inspired resistance among newly freed Caribbean blacks. I argue that the constant invocation of the Haitian Revolution in both colonial and anti-colonial discourses on black labor,

in their repeated return to the repulsive and resistant black body and its supposed (un)willingness to be transformed into a laboring subject, can be read as a manifestation of the uncanny. The specter of the Haitian Revolution emerges as simultaneously welcome and terrifying in key texts produced over the course of a century, including the mid-nineteenth-century debates between Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill prior to the Morant Bay Rebellion; the doubling or repetition of those debates in the late nineteenth century between J.A. Froude and J.J. Thomas; and the two very different twentieth-century dramatizations of the Haitian Revolution, companion pieces to the much more famous prose history *The Black Jacobins*, by C.L.R. James during the period of decolonization in the Caribbean and Africa.

While that section tracks the haunting of a spirit, the following section, "Shadows and Spirits," concentrates specifically on the "inspirit-ing" of one of the historical rebel leaders, George William Gordon, in two twentieth-century fictional texts, Roger Mais's play "George William Gordon, a Historical Play in 14 Scenes" (1947) and Claude McKay's poem "George William Gordon to the Oppressed Natives" (1912), which are both informed by the psychic and social legacy of slavery in the Caribbean.

Orlando Patterson famously characterizes slavery "as a relation of domination" in which slaves might possess nominal legal status, but enter a state of social death in which they are simultaneously marginal to and integrated within the master's society.⁷ Slaves are alienated from their home and their community, at the mercy of violence, and without social existence outside of their relationship to their master.⁸ Slaves are not necessarily defined through their relationship to labor. *Contra* Hegel, who sees slaves as coming into consciousness and recognition through work, Patterson claims that while the condition of slavery does not depend upon forced labor, "[t]his does not mean that the slave cannot be *used* as a worker. Indeed, his slaveness, especially his natal alienation, made possible his effective exploitation as laborer in conditions where no other kind of laborer would do. But this does not in any way mean that slave necessarily implies worker," and the slave was not used as a worker in most precapitalist societies.⁹ Yet, as Laura Brace cautions, to insist upon seeing slavery in terms of *either* social exclusion or labor and as a condition of *neither* belonging nor freedom obscures how property is *both* a source of alienation and a form of social cohesion. She instead insists on examining the slave as a "shadow member of society," simultaneously part of and excluded from the market, civil society, and kinship networks.¹⁰

While Patterson conceptualizes social death in terms of the relationship between master and slave, Achille Mbembe sees it as spatially produced. The enslaved and colonized are transfigured into shadows captured within the geographic and psychic space of the plantation or colony.¹¹ On the plantation the slave fetches a price and has value (as property), and so is “kept alive but in a *state of injury*, in a phantom-like world of horrors and intense cruelty and profanity ... Slave life, in many ways, is a form of death-in-life.”¹²

Both Mais’s play and McKay’s poem attempt to reverse this paradigm of the “death-in-life” of the slave and the colonized, and to resist the disciplinary tactics of both imperial capital biopolitics and necropolitics by drawing from Caribbean spiritual practices to imbue the historical figure of Gordon with life *even* in death, a form of life-in-death. The receiving of the spirit in Christian charismatic groups and African ancestral religions deconstructs the opposition of flesh and spirit to reveal how the spirit can only be animated in and through flesh and flesh enlivened through an inspiring. In drawing from a specifically Afro-Caribbean religious context and practice, both Mais and McKay question the opposition between the material and the ideal, the flesh and the spirit.

The final section of this chapter, “Spirit of the Age: Creole Nationalism,” examines a more capacious understanding of the spirit, an exploration of a “spirit” of an age that directly follows from the Morant Bay Rebellion as a later moment of resistance against both exploitative labor practices and shifts in peasants’ relationship to the land. While family plots became accessible to former slaves-cum-peasants in the period prior to the Morant Bay Rebellion, increasingly scarce land forced peasants from rural areas into urban areas and even abroad in search of work. Peasants were thus forced to become proletarians and either labor or search for labor in increasingly desperate conditions. Anti-colonial creole nationalists were able to capitalize on such conditions to form trade unions, which would soon transform themselves into political parties agitating for national independence from colonial rule. Revolting (repulsive and resistant) bodies were thus captured and deployed for anti-colonial nationalist purposes. In examining the explicit and implicit engagement with a masculinized creole anti-nationalism in V.S. Reid’s novel *New Day* (1949) and Una Marson’s poems “The Stonebreakers” and “At the Prison Gates, Jamaica 1937” (1937), I argue that while Reid’s narrative constructs the longed-for nation-state as constituted *by* the fair employment of laboring bodies and the commercialization of family

land, Marson's poetry more ambivalently reads this nationalist project as potentially indifferent to attempts to alleviate the conditions of laboring bodies and disruptive *of* the protections offered by family land.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

While localized Jamaican histories form the crux of this chapter, they are inseparable from an understanding of the political structuring of the West Indies, which comprises the English-speaking former British colonies of the Caribbean, as well as the syncretism of the Caribbean, which has been variously and productively seen as a hybrid "cultural construction" insofar as "Caribbean identities ... are products of numerous processes of migration," making the Caribbean less "a geographical location" than "a series of mixtures, languages, communities of people."¹³ As Shalini Puri has claimed, the traditionally purist discourses of imperialism and most nationalisms does not fit easily in the Caribbean, which has always relied on various forms of cultural hybridity (perhaps at the expense of racial hybridity).¹⁴ Antonio Beñítez-Rojo argues that the Caribbean plantation "produce[s] a kind of socioeconomic instability whose morphology is repeated," thereby setting apart the Caribbean "as a *societal area*,"¹⁵ and contributing to the emergence of its creolization, which in its complexity productively defies any unity and stability.¹⁶

The recovery and writing of Caribbean histories in and through literature have preoccupied both artists from and theorists of the Caribbean. Edward Baugh's seminal essay "The Quarrel with History" (originally published in 1977) asks its readers "to examine or reexamine our idea of history, to look again at the question of what is history, and also to examine our notions of what constitutes achievement."¹⁷ If European history understands the past through official records, written documents, and a linear construction of time, counter histories might understand the past through oral narratives, memories, and cyclical constructions of time. Baugh turns to literature, specifically the work of Derek Walcott, as a way of understanding this "quarrel" with official European history. Such a "creative approach" becomes necessary, as Édouard Glissant writes, when "the rigid demands made by the historical approach can constitute, if they are not restrained, a paralyzing handicap."¹⁸ In contrast to the "linear, hierarchical vision of a single History" of Europe, Caribbean histories are multiple: "It is not this History that has roared around the edge of the Caribbean, but actually a question of the

subterranean convergence of our histories. The depths are not only the abyss of neurosis but primarily the site of multiple converging paths.”¹⁹ These subterranean (underground and thus unseen) Caribbean histories have been excavated in and through literature not only for the purpose of reclaiming the past, but also for claiming a future. In his formative work *The Black Atlantic* (1993), Paul Gilroy sees the resistance crystallized within the Morant Bay Rebellion in particular as significant “[i]n the work of reinterpretation and reconstruction, reinscription and relocation required to transform England and Englishness,” especially in “the cleavage in the Victorian intelligentsia around the response to Governor Eyre’s handling” of those events.²⁰ Yet the rebellion not only transformed English national identity, but significantly shaped Jamaican national consciousness as well. In Simon Gikandi’s words, West Indian writing “would not be merely an attempt to reclaim a repressed past through the imaginary act; it would also function as an attempt to invent an emancipatory Caribbean narrative of history,” producing a trajectory of struggle that could thereby influence contemporary resistance movements.²¹

The British wrested control of Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655. The Spanish, who began to colonize the island in the early fifteenth century after the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1494, fled to Cuba. Their former slaves escaped the encroachment of the British to form one of the earliest Maroon communities, which existed in the more impenetrable mountainous areas of the island and had the “ability to defend, feed, and demographically sustain itself either by new recruits or, ultimately, through natural increase.”²² Although the transatlantic slave trade had first come into existence under Spanish rule when “slavery spread to Jamaica in 1511,”²³ the expansion and formalization of the slave trade developed under British colonial rule with the creation by royal charter of the Royal African Company in 1672. By this time the indigenous Arawak-speaking Taíno population had been all but decimated, leading to a search for new sources of labor. The Company supplied the chattel slaves who would expand the cultivation of the island’s agricultural industries through the plantation system, which required hard labor. Various scholars have shown that modern slavery was always first and foremost an economic system in which white servitude initially helped finance black slavery.²⁴ The alarmingly high mortality rates of the white indentured servants and indigenous peoples who constituted the “original” group of forced labor in the Caribbean led to the importation of

black slave labor from Africa. By the late seventeenth century the cultivation of sugar, as the predominant crop of the island and as the greatest source of profit from the West Indies (then comprising St. Kitts, Bermuda, Barbados, and Jamaica), made these colonies the most valuable in the British Empire. From the eighteenth century until the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, almost a million Africans were shipped to Jamaica as slaves. The population of slaves on the island would grow exponentially: in 1700 the slave population numbered 45,000; in 1800 it had reached 328,000; and in 1808 it peaked at 354,000.²⁵

Jamaica had witnessed resistance to white plantocracy and colonial government two centuries before the Morant Bay Rebellion. The first slave revolt in 1673 involved 300 slaves who mostly originated from the Gold Coast. After murdering the plantation owner in the parish of St. Ann, the escaped slaves fled to the interior, where they established one of the most significant Maroon communities in Jamaican history. Several more rebellions followed, including the 1690 rebellion involving over 500 slaves from a single parish, many of whom escaped and joined Maroon communities. A number of uprisings took place during the eighteenth century, including Tacky's Revolt of 1760, which exploded while Britain was fighting the Seven Years' War against France and Spain. As an "island-wide conspiracy," it raged on for 6 months and resulted in the deaths of over 1000 slaves and 60 whites.²⁶

The Christmas Rebellion, or Baptist War, of 1831, led by Sam Sharpe, was one of the largest slave revolts in the West Indies and involved as many as 60,000 slaves.²⁷ The rebel leaders were also leaders in the Baptist church. Sharpe was a Baptist lay preacher and not only used his position to forge connections that would help organize the rebels, but was driven by the belief that the Bible prohibited slavery. Although the suppression of this rebellion resulted in an official death toll of 207 slaves (400 slaves were probably actually killed) during the rebellion and the execution of 376 slaves in the court martial,²⁸ the outbreak of the rebellion would precipitate the British Parliament's abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1833.

Under the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, slaves were to receive full freedom after a 6-year period of "apprenticeship" beginning in 1834. After the mistreatment of "apprentices" by planters, former slaves were given full freedom in 1838. Slave owners were compensated for the loss of their "property" and sole source of labor both financially and through the importation of indentured South Asian and Chinese agricultural

laborers to the British West Indies. Between 1838 and 1917, around 400,000 South Asian indentured servants set foot on West Indian shores; 18,000 Chinese indentured servants arrived, mostly between 1853 and 1866.²⁹ Despite the high-flown rhetoric of moral rectitude, abolition was primarily economically motivated. While abolitionists may have sincerely believed in their cause, the actual impetus for emancipation came from economic catalysts, including, most especially, the expansion of industrial capitalism and the need for an industrialized work force based on wage labor to accrue capital.³⁰

In Jamaica, religion shaped resistance to both slavery and wage labor as political-economic and cultural systems.³¹ Various African-based religions, especially the Obeah–Myal complex, helped coalesce opposition to enslavement. Obeah was known both as a practice of healing, involving ritual knowledge and the use of herbs, and as a practice of sorcery, for which it was banned by the colonial government in 1760. Myal, first recorded in the late eighteenth century, was closely associated with Obeah.³²

Such African-based religions persisted because the British colonial government refrained from converting slaves to the practice of Anglicism. However, the arrival of various Protestant sects from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth had a profound influence on Jamaican religious practice, especially through the work of Black Baptists such as George Leile (Lisle) who began arriving after the American Revolution. Some Black Baptists, such as Moses Baker and George Gibb in particular, “reinterpreted and indigenized the Christian message in its Jamaican context, emphasizing, for example, John the Baptist over Jesus and spirit possession over other forms of worship.”³³ The Native Baptist movement drew its strength from “the relative autonomy and charismatic authority of the catechists or class leaders on the fringe of the orthodox Protestantism” such as Sam Sharpe; the ability of members of the orthodox Baptist church to take part in and incorporate into their worldview African-based religious practices; and the influence of the Great Revival in spreading this religion.³⁴ The Great Revival, which had spread to England, the United States, and Jamaica by the early 1860s, began in the west of the island before moving east. While “the missionary version of the Revival” was short-lived, the upsurge in religious interest and practice particularly affected Afro-Creole religions, insofar as “the majority of the revivalists were motivated by the native Baptist and Myal forms of the movement.”³⁵ Afro-Jamaican religious practices, deriving

from a number of African belief systems, shared an elasticity of form that accommodated certain common practices and beliefs, including “the ability of divination to reveal specific causes, the active role of the dead in the lives of the living, the responses of the deities to human actions, and the close relationship between social conflict and illness or misfortune.”³⁶

The twentieth century saw the growth of revivalist strands based in Baptist African Christianity, including most significantly Pocomania (or Pukumina) and Revival Zion. Although all forms of revival worship were “characterized by call-and-response biblical preaching, singing, dancing, and manifestations of the spirit,” differences existed within each religion’s cosmology: “Whereas Revival Zion tends to focus on the heavenly spirits and the archangels, angels, saints, and prophets, Pocomania concentrates on other more earthly spirits, which are seen by Revival Zion practitioners as evil.”³⁷ In addition, the Jamaica Native Baptist Free Church, popularly known as Bedwardism after its founder, the Native Baptist preacher Alexander Bedward, was established in 1889 and remained influential from the 1890s through the 1920s in its calls for socio-economic justice. The movement attracted thousands of followers from “the most oppressed classes in Jamaica: the peasantry, the semiproletariat, and the agroproletariat.”³⁸ As a result, the colonial government was threatened by the movement’s ability to mobilize the masses, leading to frequent clashes between the colonial authorities on the one hand and Bedward and his followers on the other, and culminating in the arrest and subsequent trial of several hundred Bedwardites after a 1921 march into Kingston.³⁹ Bedwardism’s anti-colonial stance directly influenced both Marcus Garvey and Garveyism during the 1920s and the labor movements of the 1930s.⁴⁰ Rastafarianism in turn grew out of Garveyism, especially the latter’s espousal of a return to an African homeland and the belief that God’s image reflected that of his black worshippers. Rastafaris additionally saw the newly crowned emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie (formerly the nobleman known as Ras Tafari), as a messiah for those of African descent who “were the true Israelites, exiled in Babylon, awaiting their return to Zion.”⁴¹

The influence of Pentecostal religions from the United States on Jamaican religious practices and beliefs followed the invasion of US monopoly capital in the form of banana production through the United Fruit Company in 1875. Religious fundamentalism in the United States functioned “as a key ideology of monopoly capitalism,” and in Jamaica religious “[f]undamentalism, which became indigenized in the course of

the socio-historical development of the country, coincided with the need to encourage the producing classes to accept their own exploitation by foreign economic elites.”⁴² Religious fundamentalism was especially popular among the urban and rural poor.⁴³

Religion shaped the Morant Bay Rebellion in profound ways. Baptist churches as well as Afro-Caribbean syncretic religions such as Myalism had gained ground during the Great Revival of the early 1860s, providing a focal point for organized resistance against increasingly untenable living conditions.⁴⁴ After emancipation, the ex-slaves found themselves living in increasing poverty in a country still controlled by the white planters as the price of sugar dropped, the burden of taxation fell overwhelmingly on the poor, drought devastated the region’s agriculture, wages were cut, and the price of food and clothing increased as a result of the American Civil War. Hunger was rampant. In addition, during the 1860s labor was a contentious issue, as large estate planters, with the backing of Governor Eyre, demanded the importation of more indentured laborers from China and East India. Yet, “[f]or small settlers and Baptists, immigration elevated the debt, increased taxation, and further displaced native laborers from the estates.”⁴⁵ While these conditions facilitated the missionary-led Underhill meetings (named after the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, Edward Underhill⁴⁶) as a forum to air economic grievances, it was Native Baptists such as George William Gordon who “appropriated religion to politics in a more deliberate way than had ever been done before by a native Jamaican not of the peasantry or laboring class.”⁴⁷

In October 1865, the black Deacon Paul Bogle led between 200 and 300 Jamaican men and women into the town of Morant Bay. They hoped to precipitate a general rebellion throughout the island against the power of the white planters. The rebels were confronted by a small force of militia that opened fire, killing 7 people. But the militia was soon overwhelmed by the rebels who, by the day’s end, had killed 18 people, officials, and militia, and taken control of the town. In the days that followed, 2000 rebels roamed the countryside, killing 2 white planters. Although the revolt did not spread to other parts of the island, Governor Edward Eyre responded with ferocious repression. Troops of British soldiers and Maroons were sent to hunt down the poorly armed rebels. Despite the fact that they met with no resistance, the soldiers shot or hung everyone they came across and burned down over 1000 houses. According to the official figures, 439 people

were killed during the crackdown, over 600 men and women were flogged, and many also received long prison sentences.⁴⁸ Black women played a crucial role in the Morant Bay Rebellion, as evidenced by testimony collected by the Jamaica Royal Commission, reports of the flogging and execution of female rebels by the government, and newspaper and eyewitness accounts, which often cast these women as “unnatural” for engaging in such activity.⁴⁹ After being captured by Maroons in the employ of the colonial government, Paul Bogle was tried in a short court martial and then hanged. The opportunity was also taken to retaliate against the mixed-race, plantation-owning opposition politician George William Gordon, who was tried and hanged despite the lack of evidence against him. Yet according to reports issued in the aftermath of a Royal Commission inquiry, Gordon himself had not participated in the rebellion, even if his speeches may have inspired the rebels.

Eyre’s supporters argued that the “irrational,” because supposedly causeless, violence of the mostly black rebels in Jamaica needed to be dealt with repressively. The colonial government’s massacre caused an outcry in Britain, led to charges (that never went to trial) against Eyre of murder, and provoked furious debates in the British and Jamaican colonial press regarding Eyre’s actions. Many British public intellectuals such as Carlyle and Charles Dickens agreed with Eyre’s ruthless suppression of the rebellion and its leaders. Other public figures, including J.S. Mill, Thomas Huxley, and Charles Darwin, voiced some sympathy with the concerns driving the Morant Bay Rebellion, framing it as an example of colonial malfeasance and using it as an opportunity to argue for reforming existing conditions in the colonies.

The rebellion would lead to the imposition of Crown Colony rule in 1865, which was engineered by Eyre and which transferred governmental power from the House of Assembly, a representative body and “for a long time the political instrument of the planter class and its allies,”⁵⁰ to the Colonial Office, effectively tightening the colonial screws by eliminating local representation and “demonstrat[ing] that planters’ fear of potential black retribution was stronger than their commitment to local political participation.”⁵¹ Such paternalism denied the ability of black Jamaicans to self-govern or represent themselves, despite the expansion of the franchise in the metropole (through the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884 in England). Following these changes, the members of the white oligarchy complained of high taxes (actually paid by the black and brown masses in the form of land, housing, and food taxes)

and of their absence in positions in the Jamaican governing bureaucracy, among other things.⁵² Their dissatisfaction would lead to constitutional changes in 1884, allowing the election rather than nomination of some members of the Legislative Council, which was to purportedly advise the Governor, who nonetheless retained veto power.⁵³

During the 1930s, the global economic depression, falling sugar prices (due to competition from European beet sugar and a rise in US-backed sugar production in the Hispanic Caribbean and Brazil⁵⁴), a decline in the banana industry, high unemployment rates, fewer avenues for labor migration outside Jamaica, and the return of those who had migrated abroad earlier came to a head and climaxed in 1938 with the spread of labor protests across the Caribbean. These protests would lead to the formation of the first and most influential trade unions, which in turn would lead to the establishment of Jamaica's first two major political parties: the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), which would metamorphize into the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) under Sir Alexander Bustamante, and the National Worker's Union, which was affiliated with the People's National Party (PNP) under Norman Manley. Jamaica's first general elections with universal adult suffrage were held in 1944 and declared a victory for the JLP when it won two-thirds of the seats for the House of Representatives. Jamaica would join with ten other Caribbean countries to form the Federation of the West Indies, which it voted by popular referendum to leave only 3 years later in 1961. Jamaica was granted independence from the UK in August 1962.

GOthic HAUNTINGS

Haiti and Jamaica had long been linked politically as well as in the British and Caribbean popular imagination. During the eighteenth century, both French Saint Domingue (Haiti) and British Jamaica had been highly profitable colonies.⁵⁵ During the mid-nineteenth century, free blacks in both Haiti and Jamaica participated in what Mimi Sheller terms a "peasant democratic ideology" that not only created "black publics" within both the nation of Haiti and the colony of Jamaica, but fostered radical movements around the Caribbean as well as internationally through the influence of Caribbean activists.⁵⁶ Haiti was seen as an ever-present influence on and therefore a looming threat to Jamaican colonial stability, both in Jamaica by white planters, who feared the possibilities of black insurrection and revenge, and abroad in England and even the

United States, which would only abolish slavery in 1865.⁵⁷ These fears were further inflamed by accusations by Governor Eyre against George William Gordon that he had incited the Morant Bay protestors by exhorting them to act as the oppressed blacks had during the Haitian Revolution, a point that Gordon refuted in his closing remarks at his trial.⁵⁸

Indeed, the Haitian Revolution haunted Jamaican and wider Caribbean political discourse throughout the nineteenth century. For most white Jamaican planters and British imperialists, the possibility of a repetition of this cataclysmic event, a return of the familiar and once known dread of black revenge, fixated itself on Jamaica.⁵⁹ Yet for most blacks and some whites, white planter discourse on how to prevent or avenge such an eventuality presented the terrifying possibility of the specter of a return to slavery. By suturing together a discussion of several seemingly disparate texts, including four socio-economic political tracts and two plays published over the course of a century, I show how the malleability of Haiti as a trope used simultaneously to evoke both oppressed black labor as well as black revolt against oppressive regimes of labor leads to the continual invocation of the event of the Haitian Revolution as a supposed rupture in imperial capitalist time and space. To put it another way, the uncanny manifestation of Haiti as a familiar yet estranged and haunting presence periodically recurs in both imperial and anti-colonial discourses during the height and decline of British imperialism. In both discourses, Haiti represents a simultaneous irruption into and eruption out of capitalist modernity through the figure of the black worker. Yet while in imperialist understanding the black worker is read as either or both repulsive or resistant because undisciplined, lazy, recalcitrant, violent, and racially other, in anti-colonial discourses the black worker is read against that grain as either industrious or justified in his or her rebellion. I illustrate this by first considering the mid-nineteenth-century debate in the periodical press between Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill on Jamaica, and then again the doubling, indeed the uncanny repetition, of that public ideological battle in another late nineteenth-century debate between James Anthony Froude and John Jacob Thomas. I end with a consideration of the proliferation of C.L.R. James's representations, or revisitations, of the Haitian Revolution in prose, but particularly in dramatic form.⁶⁰ I see all five writers, despite differences in chosen genre, authorship, and historical conditions of production, as engaged in a complex call and response in which "what's past

is prologue,” so that the figure of the black worker, the revolting body of British imperial capitalism as manifest in Caribbean slavery and colonialism, is both repudiated by and yet a constitutive aspect of capitalist modernity.

For Freud, the uncanny is ambivalently un/homely, an anxiety that “is actually nothing new or strange, but something that was long familiar to the psyche and was estranged from it only through being repressed.”⁶¹ It manifests in the form of reanimation, repetition compulsion, and doubling, and even “evokes fear and dread.”⁶² Indeed, as Freud notes, for many the uncanny is experienced to the greatest degree “by anything to do with death, dead bodies, revenants, spirit and ghosts.”⁶³ The remnants of such “primitive fear” among modern educated people who have long since ceased to believe in the return of the dead nevertheless reveals a lingering atavism, a reappearance of what had been long repressed by the unconscious and now resurfaces.⁶⁴ John Fletcher notes that Freud’s discussion is based in a “historically specific structure of experience,” which depends upon a “modernizing repudiation” of the dead and ancestral.⁶⁵ Yet while modernity comes into being through the seemingly rational rejection of attachment to and reverence for the dead, this repression continues to haunt modernity’s conscious in the form of the uncanny, as captured within the genre of the gothic.

The gothic is always set firmly within the “place of modernity and cannot occur by definition in the realm of the premodern or the traditional, even though its material is often the very stuff of premodernity and tradition that returns to haunt modernity from within.”⁶⁶ As Chris Baldick has shown, the gothic tradition flourished in Europe and the Americas and featured texts usually entrenched within “the inherited powers and corruptions” of institutions of privilege and authority, whether the feudal aristocracy or the Catholic Church.⁶⁷ Roger Lockhurst has more precisely located this tradition in “clusters at the colonial edges of England” such as Ireland and Scotland, which are “subjected to cruel and unusual forms of political disempowerment.”⁶⁸ I would add to these “clusters” that often neglected part of the Americas, the West Indies. Allusions to and engagements with the Haitian Revolution by British and West Indian writers reveal the ways in which the uncanny manifests through the haunting fear for some of enslavement and for others of black insurrection. Both slavery and black insurrection constitute imperial capitalism’s very modernity—in the dispossession of bodies and land necessary for “primitive” accumulation and

reaction against that dispossession—even as they are seen as “premodern.”⁶⁹ The fears surrounding both black enslavement and black insurrection operate in the register of the personal as well as the social, in the realms of the repressed as well as the oppressed.

Over 15 years before the Morant Bay Rebellion and several decades after the Haitian Revolution, the Victorian man of letters Thomas Carlyle proclaimed his fears that Jamaica would become a “Black Ireland” or another “Hayti,” the specter of the successful slave rebellion against the French 50 years earlier even now haunting this Scotsman. For Carlyle, in “Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question” (1849), the problems in Jamaica were not the result of an imperial economy, founded and maintained through “free” slave labor, but of a lazy black population, whose members preferred to gorge themselves on pumpkins rather than mark the full measure of their worth in work, which for Carlyle was the means and ends, the “sacred appointment,” of (black) human existence.⁷⁰ Carlyle despairs that in the sunny and fertile West Indies, where pumpkins are abundant, the black man can subsist on “half an hour a day” of work.⁷¹ As a result, no effort is made to help the white man, who “himself, cannot work.”⁷² Any demand by the white man for the black man’s labor in the cane fields is met with a refusal to supply such labor unless demands for higher wages are also met, “till no conceivable opulence of cane crop will cover such wages!”⁷³ Inveighing against liberal economics as a “dismal science,” Carlyle expresses disdain for the laws of supply and demand as disrupting the natural order of things: the rule of a certain class of white men over everyone else.⁷⁴ Carlyle also dismisses the suggestion of importing new black labor, fearing that such an oversupply will create a “black Ireland,” overpopulated, starving, and mismanaged. Instead, he argues that the black man has the “right” to work competently on land owned by others (white men) and “to be *compelled* to work as he was fit, and to *do* the Maker’s will, who had constructed him with such and such prefigurations of capability.”⁷⁵ Indeed, the black man may be actively compelled to work, it is implied by Carlyle’s passive constructions, by the (white) proprietors of the land.

For Carlyle, those who have rightful proprietorship over the land are those who best utilize its rich and fertile soil to produce a variety of crops (fruits, sugar, spices): the virile Anglo-Saxon men who tamed and cultivated the West Indian jungles.⁷⁶ Willfully obscured, disdained, and dismissed at various points are those black laborers who actually till the soil, plant the seeds, and reap the harvest for the benefit of the white

owner. Carlyle's sympathy for the supposed plight of the white planter population extends into a critique of the supposed inaction anticipated of England in the West Indies, as if "there remained nothing but to suppress Chartist riots, banish united Irishmen, vote the supplies, and *wait*, with arms crossed."⁷⁷

Although he denies any intention to reenslave black Jamaicans "if it can be avoided," Carlyle's feudal critique of imperial capitalism can be read as an extended, and at points hysterical, harangue for the reinstitution of a labor regime that bears a remarkable likeness to the institution of slavery.⁷⁸ He contends that while for the colonized supposed freedom merely means the freedom from guaranteed work, even if it results in poverty, true freedom means the obverse, the security in remaining a "servant hired for life."⁷⁹ Despite Carlyle's support for the colonial enterprise in Jamaica and its white plantation owners, his critique actually highlights the contradictions of freedom for the former slaves-cum-wage-laborers under imperial capitalism. As Thomas Holt points out, emancipation from slavery meant the supposed freedom to sell one's labor power: "the 'problem of freedom'—understood as the task of socializing ex-slaves to respond to the work incentives of freemen—could be addressed only by thoroughly reforming the ex-slaves' culture so as to make them receptive to the discipline of free labor."⁸⁰ Yet the actual freedom desired by post-emancipation blacks was in fact the freedom from work in service for another. As Marx observed in 1857 in one of his few comments on the West Indies, there seemed to be "utterly delightful cry of outrage"⁸¹ by West Indian plantation owners regarding the refusal of the emancipated blacks of Jamaica to work on the sugar plantations:

They have ceased to be slaves, but not in order to become wage laborers, but, instead, self-sustaining peasants working for their own consumption. As far as they are concerned, capital does not exist as capital, because autonomous wealth as such can exist only either on the basis of *direct* forced labor slavery, or *indirect* forced labor, *wage labor*.⁸²

In other words, both forms of labor, whether enslaved or waged, have been forced upon the blacks of Jamaica. It is only wage labor that blacks have the putative "freedom" to refuse.

Very soon after Carlyle's incendiary essay was published, J.S. Mill issued a resounding riposte in "The Negro Question" (1850).⁸³ Mill's abolitionism scathingly dismisses Carlyle's moral turpitude in

“propound[ing] that one kind of human beings are born servants to another kind,” as well as Carlyle’s self-serving logic in defining what constitutes work and his valuation of work as an end in itself.⁸⁴ Yet Mill’s own relationship to work is complex, informed largely by a utilitarianism that sees work not as an end in itself but as a means to live: “In opposition to the ‘gospel of work,’ I would assert the gospel of leisure, and maintain that human beings cannot rise to the finer attributes of their nature compatibly with a life filled with labor.”⁸⁵

For Mill, while everyone must work to live, no one should be compelled to work beyond that. Further, “each person is bound, in justice, to perform his share; and society has an incontestable right to declare to every one, that if he work not, at this work of necessity, neither shall he eat.”⁸⁶ He goes on to note with irony: “We would not withhold from the whites, any more than from the blacks, the ‘divine right’ of being compelled to labor. Let them have exactly the same share in the produce that they have in the work ... and make the best of supply and demand.”⁸⁷ Mill’s classical liberalism sees labor bought and sold on the free market as fairly compensated and non-coercive. He notes that as a result of “fifty years of toil and sacrifice” by abolitionists, for the last decade blacks now “afford the unusual spectacle of a laboring class whose labor bears so high a price that they can exist in comfort on the wages of a comparatively small quantity of work.”⁸⁸ In Mill’s understanding, contrary to Marx’s labor theory of value, those items necessary for life (clothing, housing, food) require less time to produce than to consume. Insofar as a worker can produce more than he consumes in the same amount of time, value does not depend upon the extraction of unpaid surplus labor (the capitalist who requires the worker to labor beyond that time necessary to sustain himself as a working individual), as Marx would illustrate in the first volume of *Capital* (1867).⁸⁹ It instead depends upon supply, demand, and exchange. For Mill, the worker under capitalism does not suffer temporal theft, but rather delights in temporal overabundance, able to balance work with leisure. The capitalist is able to profit from the worker’s labor without exploiting that labor insofar as the worker can easily produce surplus goods without the application of surplus labor. Thus, the capitalist accrues wealth not from the worker’s surplus (unpaid) labor, but from the surplus goods the worker produces and the price that can be demanded for those goods on the market. Indeed, Mill’s argument in this essay seems to draw from an argument made earlier in *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), in which he casts the

worker in the role of capitalist: the worker advances his work (to be paid later in wages) for profit just as the factory owner advances his money (capital) in the expectation of profit.⁹⁰ For Mill, it is not the economic system of capitalism and its exploitative basis in supposedly free wage labor, but Carlyle's retrograde feudalism and its supposedly anti-modern advocacy of coerced labor in the form of slavery that should be decried.

Fifteen years after publishing "The Negro Question," Mill would head the Jamaica Committee, founded in December 1865 as a check on the government's legal proceedings in the aftermath of the Morant Bay Rebellion. The committee repeatedly attempted to have Eyre prosecuted for instituting the court martial that legally sanctioned George William Gordon's murder. In response, Carlyle established the Governor Eyre Defense and Aid Committee, which raised funds to cover Eyre's legal expenses.⁹¹ Carlyle and Mill's debate of 1849–1850 would thus be repeated in the immediate aftermath of the Morant Bay Rebellion.

This debate recurs yet again during the late nineteenth century between two different actors—the English travel writer J.A. Froude and the Trinidadian linguist and folklorist J.J. Thomas. Like Carlyle, his biographer and erstwhile disciple J.A. Froude touted the importance of outdoor physical labor as the source of man's development, declaring in *Oceana, or, England and Her Colonies* (1886) "that a race of men sound in soul and limb can be bred and reared only the in the exercise of plough and spade" and "never amidst foul drains and smoke black and the eternal clank of machinery."⁹² Because the island nation of England is unable to support its growing population, the colonies are seen as the natural place for its people to move and flourish, especially since they could there depend upon slave labor. Even if slavery was a practice of some cruelty, those taken from Africa are nonetheless spared from the sinful lives of those living unattended by Western civilization in the darkness of Africa.⁹³ Froude's interest in the production of healthy white British bodies depends upon the rhetorical cultivation of "unhealthy" (physically weak, mentally unsound, and morally degenerate) black and brown bodies.

As with much late nineteenth-century colonial discourse, by which time racist ideologies had hardened, race was a justification for capital accumulation and domination. In *The English in the West Indies* (1888), Froude declares that the colonies must be administered by the British if they are not to fall into chaos or insurrection. The only choice remains between "either an English administration pure and simple like the East

Indian, or a falling eventually into a state like that of Hayti, where they eat the babies, and no white man can own a yard of land.”⁹⁴ Although the claims of Haitian cannibalism are outrageous and incendiary, it is the fear of white landlessness in the face of black self-governance, especially in Jamaica where George William Gordon had once engaged in a “rash attempt to imitate Toussaint l’Ouverture,”⁹⁵ that actually haunts Froude when he claims that “the state of Hayti stands as a ghastly example of the condition into which they will then inevitably fall.”⁹⁶ For Froude, like Carlyle before him, Haiti in particular stands as a simultaneously “ghastly” and ghostly reminder of the loss of empire, especially with another specter, that of the United States, haunting British colonial possessions in the Caribbean and Froude’s fear that these colonies would annex themselves to the new imperial upstart. His Caribbean anti-picturesque is driven by the fear of the potential devolution of these colonial possessions into a dystopia in which whites are divested of their land and then murdered by their former slaves, who are no longer disciplined *by* labor. In other words, in this dystopia “freed” labor acts “freely.”

J.J. Thomas’s riposte to Froude’s text, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (1889), bemusedly notes the obsessive fears of English colonialists over the possibility of a repetition of the Haitian Revolution. Counteracting this dread with careful logic, he castigates Froude’s immoderation in both language (he is “the bond-slave of his own phrases”) and thought (his “enthusiasm for or against admits no degree in its expression, save and except the superlative”).⁹⁷ Thomas’s most damning indictments come when he exposes the hypocrisy of Froude’s anti-capitalist ethics, which sits uneasily with his promotion of the supposedly feudal golden days of an ironically modern capitalist economic system of plantation slavery and British colonialism.

Blaming conceptions of black labor on the overseers hired to manage estates in the absence of the original landlords, “who were mostly gentlemen as well as agriculturalists,” Thomas excuses the latter to blame the former for perpetuating stereotypes “concerning the Negro’s incorrigible laziness and want of ambition,” thereby affecting the black laborer’s wages, since blacks were paid “not according to the importance and value of the labour done, but according to the scornful estimate which they had formed of the Negro personally.”⁹⁸ The contempt voiced by the overseers partially feeds Froude’s “pro-slavery prophecy,” which asserts that giving blacks any political power would result in a devolution of civilization and negates the possibility of black self-government, even

while flirting with the return, or the regression, to plantation slavery.⁹⁹ Disputing Froude's contention that whites have had thousands of years of political "training" in liberal institutions that blacks have not had, Thomas notes that "these qualifications [posited by Europeans as necessary for self-governance] are conspicuously mastered by the Negro" even as self-governance is denied him.¹⁰⁰

For Thomas, the ability of blacks to self-govern seems to extend naturally from the ability and willingness of blacks to engage in labor, evidenced by the fruits of that labor in the plots of land bought and cultivated by free blacks in the post-slavery period (discussed in greater detail in the last section of this chapter).¹⁰¹ His arguments fit within post-emancipation discussions about rights and citizenship, which were "framed as one about the character of freed men," including a white planter discourse bemoaning the black man's inability to become a responsible freed worker and thus citizen, and a black populist discourse "expressing pride in working manhood, demanding a reasonable family wage, and reinforcing the rights of former slaves."¹⁰² Constructing the freed black man as a responsible worker and householder allows Thomas also to construct this figure as a responsible citizen. Like Mill, then, Thomas espouses a liberalism that trusts in and relies upon the inherent equality of people operating within a capitalist market. This market reveals blacks as industrious when it is not manipulated by those whites in power (for example, by not paying wages fairly according to "the value of the labor done"¹⁰³). Unlike Mill, however, Thomas's calls for limited self-governance five decades after Mill's essay was published reveal the politics of enfranchisement during the latter period, in which the extension of the franchise was seen as a possibility, but "prohibitive" income and property qualifications guaranteed that only a fraction of the Caribbean colonial population was able to vote, since the franchise was "clearly skewed in favor of merchants, landowners, and attorneys" who were usually white or colored.¹⁰⁴

The repetition of the Carlyle–Mill debate by Froude and Thomas revolves around a lingering dread of the two different specters haunting these four writers: either the horror of black insurrection and the revenge of the oppressed in the constant invocation of Haiti by both Carlyle and Froude, *or* the horror of the reinstitution of slavery, which takes on a more tragically personal resonance in the black West Indian Thomas's polemic than in the white Englishman Mill's broadside. Within the historical context of the nineteenth-century Caribbean, which in less than a

century witnessed the forceful overthrow of both slavery *and* colonization by blacks in Haiti; the abolition of slavery in the West Indies; resistance movements against economic and political elites in Jamaica; and the limited enfranchisement of non-whites in the West Indies, the uncanny manifests either in the fear of a loss of authority *by* whites or of authoritarian rule *under* whites. In other words, for the feudalists Carlyle and Froude, the supposed whittling away of white colonial power and the subsequent waning or even questioning of European imperial authority underlies their fear of the black “freedom” *from* forced labor supposedly brought by capitalist modernity. For the liberal economists Mill and Froude, the regression from Enlightenment reason and a return to premodern authoritarianism underlie their fear of the loss of black “freedom” to engage in wage labor within capitalist modernity through a possible return to the supposedly feudal regime of slavery. Unacknowledged by all four writers, however, is that the rapacious desire for capitalist accumulation, which drove the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery, and the transition to wage labor are *both* constitutive of imperial capitalism’s modernity.

While the Morant Bay Rebellion is thus haunted by the Haitian Revolution and itself haunts the Jamaican labor movements of the 1930s, the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) seems an echo of the French Revolution (1789–1799), which would again resound in the December 1851 coup by Napoleon’s nephew, Louis Bonaparte. In breaking up the Legislative Assembly and eventually declaring himself Emperor Napoleon III the next year, Bonaparte seemed to repeat the “original” coup of 18 Brumaire (November 1799) by the “original” Napoleonic dictator. In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), Marx famously contends that the contemporaneous moment is invariably informed, or haunted, by the past:

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries, and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language.¹⁰⁵

The past haunts the present with its spectral presence, not seen but felt, possessing contemporary actors and scenes and directing their movement. The nightmarish quality of this past, this “tradition,” haunts this “new scene” with its “borrowed language,” transforming past tragedy into present deadly farce. Yet the appearance of this later struggle disguised its real social content: even if the proletariat was not ready to take power at this stage, this class was being readied for future struggles. In other words, the new struggle does not merely replicate the old but incarnates it. As Marx goes on to write: “the awakening of the dead in those revolutions served the purpose of glorifying the new struggle, not of parodying the old; of magnifying the given task in imagination, not of fleeing from its solution in reality; of finding once more the spirit of revolution, not of making its ghost walk about again.”¹⁰⁶ Thus, the invocation of the past is not a haunting by the dead, but a summoning of the spirit of the past, a necessary calling up or calling forward as a strategy of resistance.

As Marx reminds us, every revolution looks back to past struggles. Further, for C.L.R. James, “[t]he violent conflicts of our age enable our practiced vision to see into the very bones of previous revolutions more easily than heretofore,” so that the initial publication in 1938 of his prose history of the Haitian Revolution is invested “with something of the fever and the fret” of his age and informs his narrative of an earlier epoch.¹⁰⁷ Not only does the past inform an understanding of the present, the present haunts an understanding of the past as well. The Haitian revolutionaries may mimic the clothing and military titles of the French revolutionaries with ragged silks and rusty weapons, but “despite these absurdities” used to intimidate their inferiors, the “slave leaders [Jean François and Biassou] were showing a sense of order, discipline, and capacity to govern” that spoke to a new revolutionary purpose, markedly different from and recasting in a new light that of the French Revolution.¹⁰⁸

James would initially dramatize history as fiction with his play on the hero of the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804, *Toussaint Louverture: The Story of the Only Successful Slave Revolt in History*, written in 1934. The production in 1936 at London’s Westminster Theatre featured, for the first time on the British stage, a cast that included black professional actors, including the American star Paul Robeson. The writing of this play was followed by a rewriting of fiction as history in the prose narrative *The Black Jacobins*, first published in 1938. This prose narrative was

later minimally revised in 1963 to include a preface, additional notes, and a fascinating appendix linking the Haitian Revolution to contemporary independence movements in the Caribbean and Africa. James, along with the Trinidadian scholar of drama Dexter Lyndersay, would then later radically revise the 1934 play and retitle it *The Black Jacobins*. This later play, first performed in 1967 in Nigeria, is arguably not just a revision but a revisitation of the singular event of the Haitian Revolution.¹⁰⁹ The latter incarnation altered crucial elements of the original, especially in its portrayal of Toussaint and Dessalines:

If *Toussaint Louverture* was about the vindication of national liberation struggles written in the age of colonialism, in *The Black Jacobins* James and Lyndersay explored what lessons the Haitian Revolution might hold for national liberation struggles in the age of decolonization.¹¹⁰

James's writings reveal the ways in which Haiti haunted his entire intellectual life and his understanding of contemporary events. The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the American occupation of Haiti (1915–1934), and the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (1935–1936)¹¹¹ inform James's compositions of 1934 and 1938. The Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) and the decolonization movements in Africa and the Caribbean during the late 1950s and early 1960s inform the afterword for the 1963 prose revision and the radically altered play of 1967. As both the first and last iterations of James's grappling with the representation and legacy of the Haitian Revolution, the two plays are my focus here, even though they are typically overshadowed in scholarly consideration by his magisterial prose narrative. In terms of genre, these plays crystallize James's political preoccupations, since they must of necessity compactly dramatize what can be more capaciously explored in a more straightforward historical account. As two very different plays focusing on the singular event of the Haitian Revolution and written at two very different times, the differences of these dramas from one another reveal the varied influences of James's contemporary historical contexts upon the texts.

Most critics of both the prose narratives and the revised play focus on Toussaint's fraught relationship with the Haitian masses, who often disappear as both individual as well as collective actors throughout the text. James was well aware of this issue, as illustrated by both his multiple revisions as well as his portrayal of Toussaint as a victim of a tragic flaw—the stoicism that serves him well in the early stages of the revolution, but prevents him from explaining his questionable sympathies and

actions to those under his leadership. On the one hand, scholars such as Cora Kaplan contend that “Toussaint *and* the black masses are the composite heroes of James’s narrative and analysis.”¹¹² On the other, those such as Kara M. Rabbitt make the point that while the character of Toussaint allows James “to develop one of the strongest arguments for hegemonic accountability and revolutionary pluralism possible,” as well as to nurture the seeds of James’s subsequent positioning “against the concept of a vanguard party, against that of an educated elite leading a passive mass,” his “poetic and dramatic rendering of Toussaint in *The Black Jacobins* ironically seems to efface that very element: the people.”¹¹³ David Scott sees both positions as beside the point, claiming that criticizing the prose narrative’s focus on Toussaint at the expense of the roles taken by the slave masses does not fully capture what is at stake “for our postcolonial present.”¹¹⁴ The text should instead be read as wrestling with the constitution of power and its production of agents, so as to understand Toussaint “as a conscript—rather than a resisting agent—of modernity.”¹¹⁵ If we follow Scott’s argument that the significance of James’s and other anti-colonial texts is not that European power was necessarily limited and resistance to that power always existed among the colonized, but rather the way “colonial power transformed the ground on which accommodation or resistance was possible in the first place,” then perhaps we must also look within the two play versions at another, seemingly marginal character, Dessalines. It is this character’s largely sympathetic presence as an agent of resistance in the first play that haunts James’s rewriting of him as a figure of premodernity in the second, indicating the shifting possibilities of “accommodation or resistance” from the context of the play’s first production in 1934 to its revision in 1967.¹¹⁶

The 1934 playscript portrays Toussaint as coming into, rather than already having found, his revolutionary calling. He has not yet established himself as a revolutionary thinker or leader, and instead experiences the pangs of self-creation as a secretary and aide-de-camp to Boukman, only gradually ascending the ranks and assuming the role of revolutionary leader. On the other hand, James’s 1967 play begins with a brief prologue featuring seven types of individuals—the slave, the barber, the thief, the entertainer, the waiter, the courier, and the leader—all of whom move onto and off the stage in various combinations. Their brief scenes, some pantomimed and some spoken, poignantly voice the barbarity of slavery on the island, the casual cruelty

of the white colonists, and the oppression and stirrings of resistance among the black slaves. Towards this prologue's end, the courier delivers a message to the island's slaves, informing them of revolts by black slaves in Guadeloupe and Martinique and by "white slaves in France" against their masters. The courier is shot dead and as the slaves scatter, we see the black soldier and later military leader, Dessalines, standing over his corpse, shouting "We will kill them all. Every one."¹¹⁷ The prologue ends with the leader, Toussaint, reading the work of the French humanist philosopher Abbé Raynal, thereby alluding to, even before the first act begins, a clash in ideology and a battle for power between Toussaint and Dessalines. The Enlightenment values and forgiveness for the white planter class of Toussaint stand in stark contrast to the voodoo practices and the unchecked fury towards that planter class of Dessalines.

Yet in both the 1934 and 1967 plays, Dessalines, unlike Toussaint, is able to see the possibility of reenslavement plotted by the French. In Act I, Scene 3 of the 1934 play, during a meeting of the rebellion's leaders who debate how to deal with the French revolutionary Government Commissioner Roume, Toussaint insists that they have promised him "safe conduct."¹¹⁸ Dessalines protests the inherent untrustworthiness of any white man, regardless of his revolutionary credentials, noting "[w]e must kill them or they'll kill us."¹¹⁹ While Toussaint argues that slaves are not yet ready for full freedom and that the white planters will refuse "consent" for such a request, Dessalines denies the need *for* consent, asserting "[t]here are no more slaves. We are all free men. We shall remain free or die."¹²⁰ Dessalines's suspicion of any and all Europeans is soon vindicated. Napoleon Bonaparte's coup leads to his unsuccessful plans to "restore slavery" in Haiti (through the revocation of the law abolishing slavery passed by the Convention in 1794, and the subsequent restoration of slavery in the existing French colonies, including Martinique and Guadeloupe, in 1802). Napoleon's arrest and imprisonment of Toussaint in 1802 lead to the latter's death in prison in 1803.¹²¹ After Toussaint's death, the historical Dessalines once again donned the mantle of revolution after learning that Napoleon was determined to reintroduce slavery. He ousted the French from his island in 1804, proclaimed the island the newly independent country of Haiti, and in 1805 declared himself emperor. The 1934 play ends, however, with James's character Dessalines mourning the death of Toussaint and rousing his fellow revolutionaries into action and freedom: "San Domingo no more.

Haiti! The old name the island had before these Europeans came to brings slavery and degradation. Haiti!”¹²² Dessalines’s proclamation of continued black solidarity and resistance despite the death of his beloved colleague contains the promise of future liberation and glory for Haiti and its people.

The 1967 play, however, not only introduces the historical figures of Moïse, Toussaint’s nephew, and Henri Christophe, one of the rebel leaders who would go on to rule part of Haiti, but also depicts Dessalines as a ruthless tactician who betrays Toussaint. Here, Dessalines plots with the French to have Toussaint captured:

Now the insurrection is near ... It is Toussaint who stands in the way. He will never give the signal the people are waiting for. He still believes in liberty and equality and a whole lot of nonsense that he had learned from the French. All I have learnt from the French is that without arms in my hand there is no freedom.¹²³

The tragic upstaging of Toussaint by Dessalines is represented both metaphorically and literally in the 1967 play’s final scene, which ends with the newly crowned emperor of Haiti, Dessalines, receiving news that Toussaint has died in prison and exclaiming: “Toussaint L’Ouvverture could have been king of San Domingo, but he would not take it ... I am sorry for him, but we can’t do anything about it now.” The stage directions note that Dessalines and his “weeping” wife, a friend of Toussaint’s, begin to dance and “[a]s the lights begin to fade around the periphery of the dance, there is gradual movement off [the stage] by groups of soldiers.”¹²⁴ The British representative, to whom Dessalines has promised friendship based on the murder of every remaining member of the white French planter class, remains standing to one side, and “Marie-Jeanne and Dessalines freeze in a final tableau as the lights fade.”¹²⁵ The stage upon which the new emperor and empress dance serves both as the literal platform of power for the newly crowned emperor within the play, and also as the metaphorical staging of despair overtaking the playwright and his hope for the future that subtends the earlier play and its characterization of Dessalines.¹²⁶

The Dessalines of the revised play betrays not only Toussaint but also, perhaps more significantly, the Haitian people, as revealed by the character of Moïse. The historical Moïse, a hero of the black masses who opposed his uncle’s reintroduction of forced labor on

the plantations, was rumored to have supported a mass uprising against Toussaint's regime, leading to the former's arrest and execution in 1801 and weakening the latter's support among the masses. In the 1967 play, Moïse is sympathetic to the rebels, who use his name as a rallying cry, but does not participate in their revolt. He is, however, critical of Toussaint for maintaining the plantations to prevent a reversion to subsistence farming, and for refusing to declare the independence of the island from France. He is also critical of Dessalines for the ruthless labor practices employed by him on his 30 plantations (a charge that Dessalines denies). Both Dessalines, who appears in the 1934 and 1967 plays, and Moïse, who only appears in the 1967 play, act variously as critics and foils of Toussaint. Yet in the revised play, Dessalines can also be read as embodying a premodernity that threatens the (postcolonial) modernity of both Toussaint and Moïse. While Dessalines is haunted by the return of slavery in the original play, his character haunts the revised play with the possibility of a return to repressive rule over the Haitian masses, exemplified by the oppressive and perhaps even horrific working conditions of the black masses under the black rebel leaders themselves. For James, this later characterization of Dessalines during the late 1960s signifies a return of the repressed, the haunting fear of a return to a pre-Enlightenment and anti- or pre-Marxist socio-economic ideology. Despite the promise represented by the recent Cuban Revolution (1953–1959), the liberatory possibilities of anti-colonial resistance were already overshadowed at this moment by the various betrayals of the masses by their own bourgeois leaders within the newly formed postcolonial nation-states.¹²⁷ Such a betrayal had earlier haunted another black Caribbean intellectual, Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961).¹²⁸ While this fear would not temper James's continued activism and commitment to the power of creative expression, it threads itself through this last play nevertheless.

Despite the disappointment clearly writ in the 1967 play, the overarching narrative thrust in both editions of James's more famous prose history, *The Black Jacobins*, is one of possibility and liberation, the revolutionary potential of the masses materialized if not entirely realized in the haunting example of the Haitian Revolution. For the writers considered in the next section, however, liberation was understood within another framework: as the embodiment of the spirit through the flesh and the animation of the flesh through the spirit.

SHADOWS AND SPIRITS

The possibilities of liberation from an oppressive colonial biopolitics infuse the texts examined in this section. The Obeah–Myl complex posits what Barry Chevannes describes as “[t]he multiple concept of the soul[, which] is still found in Jamaica: the soul, which goes to hell or heaven; the spirit, which can journey during sleep; and the shadow, or inner self, of which the visible shadow is but a reflection.”¹²⁹ In its radical deontologization, this religious philosophy finds kinship with Derridean hauntology, which deconstructs the primacy of being and presence and attends to the figure of the ghost as an ethical responsibility to the “other” and that “other’s” alterity. Similarly, Myl seems to question the “metaphysics of presence.” Not only does it allow for the alterity of the self through the shadow, it also allows the other to inhabit one’s self, radically altering that self, through spirit possession. While neither Roger Mais’s play “George William Gordon, a Historical Play in 14 Scenes” (1947) nor Claude McKay’s poem “George William Gordon to the Oppressed Natives” (1912) explicitly discusses the Obeah–Myl complex, both arguably draw from its philosophical tradition as texts that deontologize colonial biopolitics. In Mais’s play the shadow serves as the trace of not what is definitively lost but what is always seemingly absent and yet present, a constantly “deferred presence”¹³⁰ of self by other, of speech by writing, of benevolence by “malice,” of freedom by oppression, of conscious by unconscious, and of life by death. In McKay’s poem, on the other hand, the revivification of the dead through the living supplements the poet, replacing or substituting poet with spirit, while simultaneously adding spirit to poet.¹³¹ Both texts, composed in primarily performance and oral media that nevertheless circulated in print form, do not merely depict the historical figure of Gordon, but attempt to present him as an embodiment either through the medium of the stage drama, in which Gordon would be performed by an actor, or through the medium of poetry, in which Gordon would be voiced by the poet. As an embodiment, a body reintegrated with spirit, Gordon is transformed in both Mais’s play and McKay’s poem from a revolting (repulsive and resistant) body into a rebelling agent of history.

As a wealthy landowner and member of the Assembly, the historical Gordon, the educated son of a black slave woman and white plantation owner, presented a direct threat to the rule of the planter class, insofar as his sympathies lay with the poor black masses. In the first scene of

Mais's play, for example, Gordon explains to his white wife (a stand-in for an audience requiring exposition on political and historical context) that he fears the dissolution of the House of Assembly, since the ruling class in Jamaica would "rather go back to Crown Colony government" than agree to representative government.¹³² As Tim Watson points out regarding the complex negotiation of politics on the island:

the Colonial Office tried to promote the interests of the island's merchant and professional class, the majority of whom were [mixed-race] "coloureds," as a counterweight to the anachronistic power of the white planters. This involved a delicate balancing act, since extending the franchise, for instance, to include more "coloureds" also risked empowering those elements in Jamaican society more sympathetic to the interests of the black peasantry.¹³³

Gordon, who was inspired by the plight of the poor and the politics of resistance that informed the religious revivals among the peasantry, was baptized into the Native Baptist Church in 1861 after leaving the Established Church and building the Tabernacle, his own Native Baptist church in which Paul Bogle would act as a deacon, in Kingston.¹³⁴ Eyre's antipathy towards Gordon was based not only in political antagonism but also in religious difference, insofar as Eyre's devout Anglican beliefs, which promoted a bourgeois morality that conflicted with those of religious dissenters, was at odds with Gordon's more liberationist vision.¹³⁵

The Jamaican nationalist writer and artist Mais (1905–1955), the product of a middle-class creole family, would evince a commitment to black working-class politics and resistance that was cemented during the 1938 anti-colonial labor protests (discussed in greater detail in the last section of this chapter) and would lead to his interest in representing the lives and hardships of the poor underclasses. Imprisoned for 6 months for sedition in 1944 after declaring in a front-page article for the PNP-supported left-wing newspaper *Public Opinion* that "Britain's real aim in the war was to keep the colonies in a permanent state of subjection, poverty and degradation," Mais became a celebrated anti-imperialist agitator.¹³⁶ While in Jamaica he worked as a journalist and literary contributor for *Public Opinion* (1939 and 1952) and wrote over 30 plays for stage and radio, as well as a trio of novels that were later published while he was in Europe: *The Hills Were Joyful Together* (1953), *Brother Man* (1954), and *Black Lightning* (1955).¹³⁷

Never fully performed during Mais's lifetime, "George William Gordon" dramatizes the life of the eponymously named hero, whose political opposition to Eyre and the established white planter class prior to the Morant Bay Rebellion earned him the governor's ire and made him a certain target for murderous political retribution.¹³⁸ Depicted as a warm-hearted martyr, Gordon remains mysteriously ill and thus physically weak and frail throughout the play, in contrast to both the aggressive Eyre and the martial and regal Bogle (depicted in only one scene) and in seeming anticipation of Gordon's ultimate demise. Gordon's illness and physical decline may also be read as alluding to the presence of some malicious force acting against him.

As a reflection of the inner self, "the shadow of a living person could wander, get lost, or be stolen," whether "as a consequence of the individual's own malice or the effect on him of someone else's malice, usually through the instrumentality of Obeah," and so was potentially under threat.¹³⁹ Further, the "self can be harmed by imitative magic performed on the shadow" and such harm could lead to madness and degeneration.¹⁴⁰ The shadow, which belonged to the living person, could be subject to harm if captured by an Obeahman. If a person's shadow was taken, they "would then deteriorate rapidly and eventually die if the shadow was not restored" by a Myalman.¹⁴¹ In Mais's play, the shadow, as the vulnerable projected inner self of a community that is represented by George William Gordon, becomes estranged from the self. Such estrangement within the community, which awaits a future reintegration and return to wholeness, is "the effect" of the "malice" of a colonial government.

Composed of 14 scenes, the play tracks the increasingly aggravated relationship between Gordon, Eyre, and Eyre's lackeys; the training of Bogle's men in preparation for the March from Stoney Gut; and the rebellion itself and its aftermath. The opening of the play sets the stage for the upcoming rebellion and the final revenge of Governor Eyre against his political rival, Gordon, which is staged in the last scene. Each of the 14 scenes ends in a "blackout" during which, "while the scene is being changed, the voice of the unseen chorus is heard."¹⁴² Although Mais's nationalist play certainly desires the audience to identify with the struggles of Gordon within individual scenes, these choruses also serve to jar the audience from a complete identification, distancing viewers from the historical Gordon's mid-nineteenth-century context in order to draw parallels to the late 1940s, when the play was written. Recalling the chorus of

classical Greek drama, Mais's chorus is simultaneously central to the play as a privileged spectator and marginal since it is neither actor nor agent.¹⁴³

Mais's use of the chorus may arguably draw from Brechtian techniques and strategies, as elaborated in Bertolt Brecht's essay "Alienation Effects in Chinese Acting" (1936), including the erasure of the fourth wall to prevent actors and thus the audience from empathizing with the characters and thereby producing a "distantiation" effect. This effect alienates the viewer, preventing their passive and unconscious consumption of the performance through the subversion of conventional theatrical codes and ideologies. The viewer is then forced to actively engage with the play, which can then affect their conscious mind and perhaps go so far as to produce something approaching a revolutionary consciousness.

The revolutionary consciousness of Mais's play is undeniably influenced by a tradition of black prophecy, which "functions as a form of social criticism, a redemptive discourse that argues for the ending of colonial and racial oppression."¹⁴⁴ Prophetic language and struggle are "poetic and visionary," "rooted in conceptions of history," and can be characterized both politically and religiously as millenarian, insofar as they "sometimes break from monochronic time frames and develop conceptions and historical narratives that collapse past and present, making no linear chronological distinctions."¹⁴⁵ The disembodied voice of Mais's shadowed chorus haunts the play with its abstract prophecies for the future, but also grounds it within a specific anti-colonial historical context in its commentary on contemporary political events (as in the chorus following the scene surveying Bogle and his men).

The initial vocalization of this black prophetic chorus between Scenes 1 and 2 seemingly establishes a dichotomy between body and spirit:

Man that is of mortal flesh
Can give but flesh
Can give no more
To the butcher of the flesh

Man that is of spirit
All that is of spirit
That is of a man
Is rendered up all to the idea
That is man, and immortal

The giving in the spirit-way
 Is for the service of
 All time, eternal
 Not alone today¹⁴⁶

Gordon cannot escape the vicissitudes of mortal flesh, which is subject to weakness and death; yet his spirit, his animating principle, seems to live on. While in biblical tradition the “Word was God” and “the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us,” so that flesh has been formed to embody the words of a Christian god, as Hortense Spillers has shown, within the history of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery, “before the ‘body’ there is the ‘flesh.’”¹⁴⁷ Unlike the body, which can be made captive; can be atomized and anatomized; and is produced within discourses of race, sexuality, economics, biology, and law, flesh is “that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourses, or the reflexes of iconography.”¹⁴⁸ In other words, flesh reveals the violence enacted upon and below its surface, a violence that is often sexualized; it also reveals the capacity for resistance. Drawing from Spillers’s discussion, Alexander Weheliye explains:

If the body represents legal personhood qua self-possession, then the flesh designates those dimensions of human life cleaved by the working together of depravation and deprivation. In order for this cruel ruse to succeed, however, subjects must be transformed into flesh before being granted the illusion of possessing a body.¹⁴⁹

In Mais’s chorus, this “mortal flesh” both reinstantiates and subverts the true subject of Western philosophy, “Man,” by revealing man (*always* man) as not body and mind but rather as flesh and spirit. Unlike the socially overdetermined and captured body, the flesh belongs only to the subject, the man of “mortal flesh.” Flesh can only be “give[n]” even “[t]o the butcher of the flesh,” but such giving is limited, since flesh is bound in time and space. The spirit, however, is capacious, seemingly encompassing both man in the flesh as well as “the idea/That is man,” so that “giving in the spirit-way” is “eternal,” the always already deferred presence of flesh.

Yet for Mais, the act of giving, as an act of agential sacrifice, differs from/defers the gift as object, which reaffirms obligation through the unspoken expectation of obligation or recompense. Immediately

following the only scene depicting Paul Bogle and the other black men of Stony Gut, Mais's chorus repudiates freedom as a gift bestowed by the British. Freedom must be fought for and won:

But once enslave a man take away his freedom
 It is not yours to restore again
 But must be fought for and won and wrested
 A freed bondslave is a bondslave without chains
 Or iron collar about his neck
 But a free man is not bondslave to any man
 For a bondslave to become a freeman
 He must wrest again his freedom, or find death
 And this was the way for these men
 And there was no other way.¹⁵⁰

Enslavement is not merely a physical or legal relationship, but a psychic one. In Mais's seemingly Hegelian formulation, true freedom is only possible through a "life and death struggle" and not through legislative action or royal proclamation. In *The Phenomenology of Mind* (1807), written immediately following the Haitian Revolution, "Hegel insists that freedom cannot be granted to slaves from above. The self-liberation of the slave is required through a 'trial by death.'"¹⁵¹ However, freedom from slavery or colonialism can be made possible in and through revolutionary resistance expressed through violent action, as Fanon repeatedly insists in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Such violence "progress[es]" from the self-hatred of the colonized to "hatred and rage" directed against the colonizer,¹⁵² a transformation that allows the colonized to spectacularly disavow their rejection of the "inferiority" they are "made to feel" by the colonizer.¹⁵³ For Fanon, this results in a "violent praxis [which] is totalizing" by bringing the whole populace into the struggle of "annihilating the colonist," a struggle from which retreat is impossible.¹⁵⁴

While the play's chorus posits violence as a necessary tool for the transformation of a society and psyche, the colonized leaders, namely Gordon and Bogle, depicted within the scenes dismiss violence as a last resort. Instead, the possibility of official, state-sanctioned colonial violence haunts the play and its characters. The stage directions that preface Scene 5, the single scene featuring Bogle as a character, describe him as "a dignified, commanding figure of a man, worthy descendent of a probable line of African chiefs" preparing to lead his men, who "are formed up in double ranks like well drilled soldiers," to march to

Morant Bay. Once there, Bogle informs them, they will “give an account of ourselves,” peaceably resisting the calls for their arrest.¹⁵⁵ Deliberate violence (always off stage) is rather the provenance of the state, which perpetuates a regime of terror most explicitly stated in Eyre’s threats to Gordon to “stop[his] ranting tongue”¹⁵⁶ if the latter does not want to find himself “hang[ing] a noose around his own neck.”¹⁵⁷ These threats of violence also circulate as shadowy possibilities in Scene 9, which begins with a conversation between Gordon’s two black maids, Esther and Mary, about the rumors of “de white peoples killin’ of de black peoples,”¹⁵⁸ and Gordon’s comment to his friend, Dr. Fiddes, that “[i]t is hateful to think of men hanging by their necks, choking...”¹⁵⁹ These threats are finally realized in the last four scenes of the play, beginning with Eyre’s reference to the court martialing and execution of the rebels and ending with Gordon’s execution.

Gordon’s hanging, undertaken without due process but within the exceptional emergency power of a colonial state that forcibly transferred him from Kingston to Morant Bay, which was under martial law at that time, operates in a colonial state of exception. As Achille Mbembe writes, like the frontier, the colony is “the location par excellence where the controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended—the zone where the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of ‘civilization.’”¹⁶⁰ In other words, these shadow figures are subject not to a biopolitical paradigm (the management of the life of populations), but a “necropolitic[al]” one in the way “weapons are deployed in the interest of maximum destruction of persons and the creation of *death-worlds*, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*,” as in, for example, occupied Palestine.¹⁶¹ The enslaved and colonized are transfigured into shadows captured within the geographic and psychic space of the plantation or colony, where death is life’s absent presence.

Mais reveals traces of life even within Gordon’s death, as in the play’s final scene, which consists of a tableau: an empty noose swinging on the gallows where the martyred Gordon has just presumably been hung after the court martial, and a whistling British sentry who presides over the scene. For Mais the noose seems to have served, for many years, as a powerful trope for the resistance and sacrifice of the rebels. An earlier short story entitled “The Noose” (1942) also relies on this image, epitomized in its very title. The story, as Katrina Williamson has described,

depicts the romance between a white planter, a mulatto woman, and her black husband who has been captured, whipped, and eventually hanged for his part in the Morant Bay uprising. Williamson sees the “triangular white-black-mulatto drama” of this story as an

allu[sion] to the corresponding racial pattern formed by the leading protagonists in the rebellion, Eyre, Bogle, and Gordon. That pattern was repeated in Jamaican politics in 1942, when white colonial authority was pitted against discontented black masses, for whose interests brown middle-class politicians, such as Manley, Bustamante, and Mais himself were campaigning.¹⁶²

This repeated triangulation might be read as a simultaneous acceptance and rejection of politics as a scene of racialized libidinal investment. The noose itself may also allude, of course, to the history of lynching of blacks in the American South. Yet the repetition of this political antagonism, as well as the symbolism of the noose, which within its empty circle signals the absent presence of the now dead and once living Gordon, can also be understood as a cycle that circles back to the beginning, but with a difference.

The chorus at the play’s end leads the audience to an/other beginning before the final curtain:

In the end
All things are
As in the beginning
Break off here
Touch there
Make whole again
Make mend

All things
Are at the beginning
The beginning
Is the end.¹⁶³

To circle the end back to the beginning is not to deny the possibility of change, but to “[m]ake whole again/Make mend,” to put back together before yet another revolution of the cycle. Gordon’s

martyrdom depends upon a vision of future redemption to which Mais seemed particularly drawn (he would use similar millenarian imagery in portraying his Christ-like Rastafari hero in the novel *Brother Man*). This freedom is deferred both within the historical context of the play (from its setting in 1865 to the time of its writing in 1947, 3 years after the approval of the constitution and the granting of universal suffrage in 1944) and from the moment of its writing (in 1947) to a future which would only be realized with independence in 1962, when the community's once-estranged and projected inner self, its shadow as reflected by Gordon, reintegrates to form a new nation.

In Myal, a person's spirit departed their physical body upon death, remained for a few days around the burial site or place of death, and then journeyed to return to the ancestral land, where other ancestral spirits also dwelt.¹⁶⁴ This transition was enabled by "elaborate burial rituals which were performed to appease or please the spirit and facilitate its journey."¹⁶⁵ After generations of remove from Africa, when the connection of the living to the continent was no longer as strong, the ability of the spirits to return to an African ancestral homeland seemed to weaken, so that "precaution was taken to placate the spirits of relatives and friends and to neutralize those of enemies," since these spirits, known as *duppies*, might remain "wandering the island."¹⁶⁶ Barry Chevannes notes that one "function of the spirits is the possession of the living. Spirits are not feared on account of this, and spirit possession is considered not only a normal part of religious worship but an honor. It is the way some people are chosen for a higher life."¹⁶⁷ If a haunting terrifies, possession by the spirit, the speaking of a soul through another medium (a living body), distinguishes.

To be inspirited (a transitive verb and state) is to be enlivened, revived, animated. Such spirit possession may indicate the need for resolution, restitution, or voice in a structurally oppressive system. In her poetic account of the sociology of haunting, Avery Gordon notes:

The ghost has its own desires, so to speak, which figure the whole complicated sociality of a determining formation that seems inoperative (like slavery) or invisible (like racially gendered capitalism) but that is nonetheless alive and enforced [and is] pregnant with unfulfilled possibility, with the something to be done that the wavering present is demanding.¹⁶⁸

This “something to be done” for the historical-fictional figure of Gordon leads to the restlessness and wandering of his spirit, which possesses Claude McKay, the poet of “George William Gordon to the Oppressed Natives” and demands redress in a “wavering present.”

This early-career poem by McKay was first printed in 1912 in the London periodical *TP's Weekly*, before appearing in the Jamaican periodical the *Daily Gleaner* just as McKay left Jamaica for the United States.¹⁶⁹ Published during a period of boycotts and agitation in Kingston, when civil disobedience would later become “riots” over a 14% increase in tramcar fares,¹⁷⁰ this poem is much more militant than “Passive Resistance,” published just a littler earlier in April 1912 in the *Daily Gleaner*. Having just left with great relief his reluctantly performed post in the Jamaica Constabulary in Kingston the year before, McKay “did not condone the rioting, but he embraced the cause of the passive resisters.”¹⁷¹ While the speaker of “Passive Resistance” promises that “There’ll be no more riotin’” but instead “a strong though bloodless war,” the speaker of “George William Gordon to the Oppressed Natives” highlights the economic, political, and social issues that continually haunted black Jamaicans during the post-abolition era into the present, and seems to promise active, even bloody, resistance in reaction to such oppression.

The periodicals in which “George William Gordon” was published certainly account for its seemingly cautious radicalism. For example, as editor of the *Gleaner* from 1904 to 1942 and a prolific author in his own right during the early part of the twentieth century, Herbert de Lisser profited greatly from his literary and journalistic work and supported those whose economic interests, the merchant capitalist class, most readily promoted his.¹⁷² De Lisser continually placed himself in opposition to the working classes, trade unions, lower-class black Jamaicans, and even the colonial government when it opposed his merchant interests. In his novel *Revenge* (1919), de Lisser summons the specters of the Morant Bay Rebellion from his position in the brown middle class.¹⁷³ While Bogle is viciously betrayed by a Maroon leader who seeks revenge, the reality of Maroon involvement was much more complicated. Under the leadership of Colonel Alexander Fyfe, they did in fact help stamp out the rebellion and, according to legend, track down Paul Bogle.¹⁷⁴ Yet de Lisser’s narrative of the rebels’ betrayal by the Maroons in the name of an ultimately self-interested revenge plot not only delegitimizes both the

rebellion and its causes, but also centralizes race and desire over economics and land.¹⁷⁵

McKay's poem on Gordon, on the other hand, ventriloquizes the voice of George William Gordon as a fierce "native" son of Jamaica:

O, you sons of Afric's soil,
Dyin' in a foreign land,
Crushed beneat' de moil and toil,
Break, break de oppressors' hand!

Wake de lion in your veins,
De gorilla in your blood;
Show dem dat you ha' some brains,
Though you may be coarse an' rude.

Wil'erforce has set your free,
Sharpe an' Buxton worked for you;
Trample on de tyranny
Still continued by a few!

Keep before you Clarkson's name!
Ef your groans caan' win de fight,
Jes' to put do'n dis great shame
Lawful 'tis to use our might.

England paid you' ransom down!
Meant to save you from the pain;
Now, freed men o' England's crown,
Burst de cruel tyrant's chain!

Never would an English mind
Bow beneat' such tyranny;
Rise, O people of my kind!
Struggle, struggle to be free!

Shake de burden off your backs,
Show de tyrants dat you're strong;
Fight for freedom's rights, you blacks,
Ring de slaves' old battle-song!

Gordon's heart here bleeds for you,
 He will lead to victory;
 We will conquer ever foe,
 Or togeder gladly die.¹⁷⁶

McKay's speaker seems to direct his address not only to a group of would-be rebels, but also to an audience that should sympathize with and understand the motivations and actions of those would-be rebels. Thus, this poem may be read as a transformation of the dramatic monologue, a genre in which the speaker, addressing a silent auditor (distinct from the audience), appeals for that auditor's sympathy and perhaps even empathy.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, the resurrection of Gordon's voice within this lyric may be read through a genre that Diana Fuss identifies as a "corpse poem," or "lyric utterances ... from inside" the grave, thereby entombing Gordon within the space of poetic utterance.¹⁷⁸ However, reading this poem as a spirit possession, the inspiring by the rebel Gordon of the poet McKay, allows us to see how those who have been dealt untimely deaths, whether through subjection to "justifiable homicide" in a state of exception (court martial in Gordon's case), the denial of proper funeral services, or because their earthly work remains unfinished, are not dead matter (corpses). Rather, they are spirits enlivening living matter. Such enlivening provokes action by those living, those "sons of Afric's soil," from Gordon's place of literal entombment, Jamaica.

Although in taking on Gordon's voice anti-colonial struggle is clearly waged on the battlefield of economic deprivation and political marginalization, the links to England cannot be so easily severed: "Now, freed men o' England's crown,/Burst de cruel tyrant's chain!" The catalogue of British names, including the abolitionists William Wilberforce, Thomas Buxton, and Thomas Clarkson, establishes both McKay and Gordon's loyalty to England and the liberal humanism of those early nineteenth-century British activists, even while invoking the "otherness" or difference of those who are apostrophized in the first line as "sons of Afric's soil," fought for by the rebel leader Sam Sharpe during the 1831 Baptist Rebellion, which brought an end to slavery. McKay's invocation of Sharpe in particular establishes "a genealogy of resistance," in M. NourbeSe Philip's words.¹⁷⁹ Such resistance manifests itself against regimes of labor, whether slavery or wage labor: "Dyin' in a foreign land,/Crushed beneat' de moil and toil," where "moil"

proclaims drudgery but also indicates ceaseless agitation and unrest. McKay's poem, inspired by Gordon who is in turn inspired by his enslaved ancestors, asks what living flesh, once fungible and now proletarianized, can do to "[s]hake de burden off your backs." If the "burden" has accreted over generations and through centuries of oppression, the "backs" that successively carry that "burden" are weighed down more heavily over passing years. While on the one hand the inspiring of McKay *by* Gordon *by* the ancestors of the enslaved substitutes one figure's "burden" for another's (replacing Gordon's marginalization with the slaves' oppression, for example), on the other it communalizes that "burden" not just across one generation (McKay's or Gordon's contemporaries) but over several generations (including the enslaved ancestors of poet and speaker), and in so doing augments resistance.

The prosopopoeial figure of Gordon identifies himself with African "soil" in an early invocation of negritude (which Senghor and Césaire would shape into a movement in the 1930s), establishing Africa as a unifying geographic place, idea, and symbol. Such an identification does not preclude a simultaneous association with Caribbean "soil," insofar as Gordon's black Caribbean rebels, the descendants of slaves, can claim an African ancestry. Yet in a seemingly contradictory but necessary silencing of that other hero of the rebellion, Paul Bogle, whose peasant blackness made him an unacceptable figure of resistance, McKay also seems to radicalize, proletarianize, and "blacken" the supposedly more moderate, Anglicized voice of Gordon. The latter would become a hero of Jamaican creole nationalism, especially from the 1930s to the 1960s. McKay's "almost instinctive and visceral expression of solidarity with the black oppressed" meant that his support for Jamaican nationalism—dominated by creole interests at this time and seen as disloyal to a British Crown that had supported the black masses (for example in its backing of abolition) against the interests of the white plantocracy—was rather more vexed.¹⁸⁰

McKay was encouraged to use "Negro dialect" by Walter Jekyll, his first patron and champion, and many of his early poems are imbued with a romanticization of the Jamaican peasantry and their alignment with an (English) aristocracy against the stifling middle classes.¹⁸¹ Michael North notes that McKay would eventually react against this literary and racial straitjacket by moving away from dialect poetry upon his departure from Jamaica, realizing that "the nonstandard is maintained as a carefully

limited escape from the standard, a ‘natural’ alternative to the rigid conventions of culture.”¹⁸² By this time, dialect used as a response to standard English had already become “a harmless curiosity.”¹⁸³ While Charles Bernstein similarly claims that the dialect of McKay’s 1912 collections (*Songs of Jamaica* and *Constab Ballads*) “plays as a minstrel show: charming, even ingratiating,” he concedes that “in their themes they corrode the very authoritativeness to which they appear to be kowtowing, accumulating a counter-hegemonic force that mocks every surface pretense of accommodation.”¹⁸⁴ In “George William Gordon to the Oppressed Natives,” McKay treads a careful and deliberately ironic line between, on the one hand, establishing pan-African community and identity through a recourse to and recovery of primitivism, which as North points out was constrained by its role as a “nonstandard” discourse, and on the other, critiquing the racist implications of such primitivism. Those called to “Wake de lion in your veins,/De gorilla in your blood” are also asked to “Show dem dat you ha’ some brains,/Though you may be coarse an’ rude.” Physical power does not negate intellect or empathetic identification, as McKay shows in subverting, by tempering, stereotypes of black strength (and brutality).

This poem enacts both poetic manifesto and historical reimagining in the deliberate confusion regarding the identity of the speaker. Does Gordon speak directly to “the [o]ppressed [n]atives,” as the title would indicate, or does an unnamed spokesman for Gordon, who enjoins the masses on behalf of Gordon’s “bleed[ing]” heart, speak? Yet rather than attempting to read the poetic speaker as identifying either as Gordon or as an unnamed spokesman (perhaps McKay himself), to read the poem instead as an inspiring of the poet by Gordon and of Gordon by his enslaved Afro-Caribbean ancestors allows its audience not merely to hear resistance voiced, but to feel it embodied and to participate in the demand for restitution that animates this poem.

SPIRIT OF THE AGE: CREOLE NATIONALISM

In his discussion of the African postcolony, Achille Mbembe, in a nod to Hegel, defines the spirit of an age as “something distinctive and particular” that can be said to encompass “a set of material practices, signs, figures, superstitions, images, and fictions.”¹⁸⁵ Mbembe differentiates between an age, understood not in terms of time but as “a number of relationships and a configuration of events,” and the multiple *durées*, the

“discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another, and envelope one another,” that an age contains.¹⁸⁶ This section examines late 1930s and early 1940s Jamaica as a “time of entanglement,”¹⁸⁷ an age that foregrounds a seeming transition from the colony to its “post,” partially in the consolidation of a (contested) creole nationalism that elided race and class differences under the banner of multiracial bourgeois progress, and in so doing attempted to capture and co-opt the revolting (poor and protesting) black Jamaican body for its own political purposes. Such creole nationalism would not be directly challenged until the 1970s,¹⁸⁸ and would be eventually supplanted during the 1990s with what Deborah Thomas terms “modern blackness,” a racialized working-class vision of citizenship, heralding a new “spirit of the age.”¹⁸⁹

While industrial capital models such as the plantation system, which beginning in the 1880s was transitioning from declining sugar to more profitable banana crops, were key sites of employment for most Jamaicans, subsistence farming on family land remained an important source of revenue. More importantly, the influence of West African religious practices and philosophies shaped attitudes towards family land, which cemented kinship and community through “a religious respect for the earth, for a piece of ground where the living could settle, the unborn enter, the dead could be buried, the deities could descend, and the ancestors could be venerated locally.”¹⁹⁰ Since kinship in West African traditions is determined both horizontally, “to embrace everybody in any given local group,” and vertically, “to include the departed and those yet to be born,” family land was an important site of convergence for these horizontal (regional) and vertical (ancestral) connections.¹⁹¹

The right to family land became possible after emancipation. The former slaves had some experience with economic independence insofar as they managed and reformulated concessions granted by the planter class, for example “in the cultivation of provision grounds, the disposal of surplus produce within an internal slave-marketing system, the slow but sure accumulation of liquid capital and the availability of land unused or unowned by planters,” even before Baptist missionaries began advising ex-slaves in setting up free villages after emancipation.¹⁹² These missionaries, who saw such lands as crucial in developing an interest in bourgeois family life and morals in the ex-slave population, would help exponentially increase the number of “registered peasant freeholds” in order “to have small settlers register their titles and thereby become

enfranchised under the electoral laws so as to influence future elections to the Assembly.”¹⁹³ However, even when capital was lacking, newly freed blacks sometimes occupied abandoned or unclaimed land.¹⁹⁴

Despite its cultivation by a newly freed laboring class (freed from slavery but also “freed” into wage labor) and the Baptist missionary view that these plots of land would engender an appreciation for private property, family land remained at odds with the alienability of territory under capitalism. Glissant sees the Caribbean as coming into being through networks of relation rather than filiation, through circulatory interactions between various cultures, so that land is a place of coming together rather than possession: “Territory requires that filiation be planted and legitimated. Territory is defined by its limits, and they must be expanded. A land henceforth has no limits. That is the reason it is worth defending against every form of alienation.”¹⁹⁵ If anti-colonial resistance begins to imagine into existence the modern independent Jamaican nation-state, and if that nation-state comes into being in and through the territorial claiming and possession of land from the British Empire, conceptualizing that land as just yet another force within the process of production thereby alienates it from the community. As such, national land, in which individuals produce surplus labor for an oligarchy of anti-colonial elites who have nonetheless benefited under imperial capitalism, is antithetical to family land, in which communities labor for their own sustenance and continuation.

This section focuses on three texts that distinctly capture the anti-colonial, pro-labor spirit of an age dominated by an anti-colonial creole nationalism that evinced a complex relationship to both land and labor, which it viewed in the same productive terms as imperial capitalists. V.S. Reid’s novel *New Day* (1949) and Una Marson’s poems “The Stonebreakers” and “At the Prison Gates, Jamaica 1937” (both from her 1937 collection of poems *The Moth and the Stars*) engage both explicitly and implicitly with a masculinized creole anti-colonial nationalism that drew its impetus from trade unionism and labor protests. I argue that while Reid’s narrative of a nation coming-into-being and his imagining of a national community construct the longed-for nation-state as constituted by the fair employment of laboring bodies and the commercialization of family land as part of a masculinized creole nationalist project, Marson’s variously voiced poetry more ambivalently reads this nationalist project as potentially indifferent to attempts to alleviate the conditions of laboring bodies and disruptive of the protections offered by family land.

Both texts illustrate, whether in support or critique, the ways in which creole nationalism ultimately co-opts the black revolting body in pursuit of political power through claims to represent the simultaneously resistant and repulsive poor and working classes.

Caribbean writers of the 1930s and 1940s such as C.L.R. James, Roger Mais, V.S. Reid, and Una Marson wrote during a period of great political and social upheaval immediately following the labor riots that began in 1935 and peaked in 1938, which were the result of widespread unemployment and underpayment of wages; increasing poverty and hunger; as well as minimal public spending on education, healthcare, and housing, leading to skyrocketing costs for all three.¹⁹⁶ Economic uncertainty and labor unrest were features of the late 1930s across the West Indies, including Saint Kitts, British Guiana, Barbados, and Trinidad. Striking workers were energized by those newly returned laborers from abroad, including from Cuba, Central America, and the United States, as a result of the economic downturn of the late 1920s and 1930s, and by veterans whose experience abroad during World War I had helped facilitate the earliest protests of 1918-1920.¹⁹⁷

While the 1938 movement “aimed for reforms that were certainly radical in the context” of the period, those reforms “could be met within the confines of the existing colonial political system and capitalist economy.”¹⁹⁸ As Khitanya Petgrave points out, lower- and middle-class blacks “seized the initiative from the peasant-wage laborers to agitate for improved [working] conditions of the ‘masses’” based on racial identification with those masses, as well as the belief that it would improve their own socio-economic standing.¹⁹⁹ During this time political moderation was important for the middle classes, who sought to establish themselves as respectable under the influence of religious discourses and in response to racist discourses bemoaning the lack of family values and work ethic of the black population.²⁰⁰ The 1938 movement would result in the organization of labor into trade unions; however, it would also result in a split between the two leaders of the workers’ movement, Alexander Bustamante and his cousin Norman Manley. Manley’s PNP, founded in 1938, concentrated on self-government and social democratic reform, especially in maintaining an independent peasantry in the face of large-scale agri-business. Bustamante’s break from Manley led to the creation in 1943 of his JLP, which focused on harnessing the support of the working class under the banner of economic reconstruction.²⁰¹

The labor unrest of the period would shape a range of novels focused on the working class and peasantry by a cadre of mostly male writers writing during the 1930s and 1940s, who would additionally embark on “the quest of the West Indies for a national and cultural identity.”²⁰² In “The Occasion for Speaking,” an essay from *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960), George Lamming famously categorized the West Indian novel in its formative stage as a genre focused on the lives of the peasantry:

For the first time the West Indian peasant became other than a cheap source of labor. He became, through the novelist’s eye, a living existence, living in silence and joy and fear, involved in riot and carnival. It is the West Indian novel that has restored the West Indian peasant to his true and original status of personality.²⁰³

The peasant, traditionally seen as only “a cheap source of labor,” was now seen as worthy of representation as the only true West Indian subject. Ironically, this peasant who was exploited for his labor power now additionally became a source of commodification for literary export, since, as Lamming later notes, the illiteracy of the peasant classes and the philistinism of the middle classes in the West Indies forced serious writers to market their works abroad. Yet despite Lamming’s idealization of the peasantry, the lives of the urban lower classes also became a central focus for early twentieth-century West Indian fiction. Yard fiction, of which C.L.R. James’s 1936 novel *Minty Alley* would become the paradigmatic example, was heralded by critics such as Kenneth Ramchand as quintessentially West Indian.²⁰⁴ Focusing on the “yard life” of the poor and shockingly frank in their depiction of sexuality, poverty, and violence, these novels were largely written by men from the middle classes, although many early, pre-1937 instantiations of this genre not only featured female protagonists,²⁰⁵ but also included now obscure works by women writers.²⁰⁶

Victor Stafford Reid’s first and most well-known novel *New Day* (1949) focuses initially on the romanticized peasantry. The novel chronicles Jamaican history from the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865 to the first general elections in 1944 after the granting of universal suffrage, through the eyes of 87-year-old John Campbell and three generations of his mixed-race family. Reid, who would hold positions in a postcolonial Jamaican government and believed in the importance of inculcating a sense of pride in Jamaican history and culture in the country’s youth, would only a decade later again make the rebellion his focus in

one of three children's books, *Sixty-Five* (1960).²⁰⁷ Written from the perspective of a young black boy, this children's book traces the rebellion through the narrator's relationship with his remarkable grandfather and their involvement in the events of the rebellion itself.

While both *New Day* and *Sixty-Five* are invested in the lives of the peasantry who led the March to the court house at the beginning of the rebellion (part of Bogle's Stony Gut community), *New Day's* narrative moves well beyond an initial focus on the Morant Bay Rebellion. As this text tracks the life of John and his brother Davey, whose father works as a headman on George William Gordon's estates, to Davey's grandson, Garth, an educated public figure, it shifts its focus from the brown peasantry to the brown middle class, mapping out the trajectory of middle-class creole nationalism.

Reading the major racial categories as black, brown (mixed-race or colored), and white (*buckra*) also requires recognizing that these racial categories are not fixed but fluid, "socially constructed and politically contested."²⁰⁸ Race and class were often overlapping markers of social status: "for most of the twentieth century ... dark skin (and associated physical features) often but not always signaled poverty and lack of opportunity," so that "[t]he racial system in Jamaica is, therefore, perhaps better described as a *race-color* system" in which race-color "is often linguistically entangled with class."²⁰⁹ The brown middle class determined the course of mainstream anti-colonial protest and Jamaican nationalism²¹⁰ until the 1970s, when its influence was supplanted by a black nationalism that challenged creole class and cultural dominance.²¹¹ The members of the mixed-race Campbell family of Reid's novel are often described as having golden, sun-colored hair and seem to become even less marked by blackness as successive generations of Campbell men marry "whiter" women, locating political power within brown characters who often act as the metaphorical and literal incubators for future generations of leaders and present-day mediators between the black masses and the white colonial government.

The narrator's older brother, the rebel Davey, acts as a self-appointed but trusted political representative for the poor black masses. Davey escapes the militia who try to hunt him down during the rebellion and later travels to Kingston, to testify as "a man who marched close with Deacon Bogle."²¹² Although represented in the novel as preaching the end of imperial rule, Bogle historically only protested against "poor conditions and injustice."²¹³ While in *Sixty-Five* Bogle's rashness leads to

rebellion and death, drawing contempt from the young hero's grandfather,²¹⁴ in *New Day* Bogle is supplanted by the character Davey. In the latter novel, Davey is portrayed not as hotheaded but as passionately committed to fighting against inequity. Indeed, he ends his long, rousing testimony in Kingston with the following promise (or threat): "Representative government will come back to our island one day, one day. And mark me, Your Honours, there will be no *buckras* making the laws then, but the said poor like whom they have killed."²¹⁵ When asked by one of the commissioners at the hearing why Davey, as the almost white son of a well-respected, well-employed, "hard-working, thriving" father, "join[ed] the rebels of Stoney Gut," Davey answers: "Where my family once locked their door everybody around us, 'cept for the wealthy *buckras*, hungered. Everybody around me were my people, and when they hungered, hungered me too."²¹⁶ Despite his health and well-being, Davey's body acts as the sensitive medium through which the physical oppression and suffering of other bodies, especially repulsive because racialized black bodies, are mediated.

This acute sensitivity to others' suffering leads Davey to envision alternatives to the systematic exploitation of newly "freed" black wage labor during the post-slavery period. By founding a labor community that he names Zion, the promised land, on the small island of Salt Savannah Cay off Jamaica, which he populates with a group of families, Davey is able to create an agriculturally self-sufficient community that feeds and houses itself and even collects guano to ship to Jamaica. Yet Davey's increasing severity, in refusing to plant flowers ("grown for the devil's garland") for example, as well as his intolerance of idleness or luxury (silks, dancing, and rum), transform an interesting communist experiment into an arid religious collective ruled by a demanding master.²¹⁷

After Davey's death, his son, James Creary, inherits the plantation and turns it into a "business" with paid wage laborers. James also eventually opens a shop where the laborers can spend their coins to buy "useless" goods, or luxuries, that will be inconspicuously consumed on this minimally populated island. James's attempt to introduce consumer capitalism on the Cay leads Johnny's friend Timothy to remark that "[b]etter than this it was in Bro' Davie's time—God rest the dead!—when wages went to feastings and building new homes" and agricultural surplus was only produced when needed by the community.²¹⁸ As the young wage earners return to Jamaica and the system of the Cay unravels, the

narrator willingly and James angrily return to Morant Bay, “purse fat with coin,” to establish banana plantations.²¹⁹

The difference in Davey’s and James’s economic and social philosophies and the novel’s representation of those philosophies reveal the work’s vexed relationship to capitalism. On the one hand, Davey is cast as the novel’s hero, driven by a sense of justice in his willingness to rebel against an oppressive colonial economic system and visionary in his creation of a seemingly anti-capitalist spiritual commune. Yet his inability to countenance any material comforts beyond bare necessity leads to the failure of that commune. On the other hand, James’s obsession with profit and status as well as his promotion of conspicuous consumption reveal the superficiality of his character. Thus, while “communism” is critiqued for its inability to satisfy material desire, “capitalism” is also critiqued for its creation of material desire. The solution to these extremes lies in the trade unionism, or “socialism,” espoused by the more temperate character of Garth. As Nana Wilson-Tagoe points out, the novel’s vision of political reform seems to cast aside “the spirit, consciousness, and values” of the 1865 rebellion when it moves to the mid-twentieth century and its non-violent political moderation.²²⁰

By the late 1930s, decades after Davey’s death, his grandson Garth (son of James Creary and his English wife, who both die of the plague) returns to Jamaica from England at the commencement of his legal education. Garth, the beloved of his uncle Johnny, has flowered into Jamaican nationalist manhood, illustrated by his eagerness to take on the role of labor organizer. Denouncing the English ownership of sugar factories employing workers on a pittance, Garth’s first major initiative involves organizing the workers on his own plantation and training them in collective bargaining (through trickery) to agitate for better hours, fair pay, and so on. “[T]ransparently modeled” on Norman Manley, of whom Reid was a friend and supporter,²²¹ Garth agitates for a new constitution, full representative government, and complete adult suffrage, but does so cautiously, realizing the need for moderation during the Crown Colony government’s heightened wartime militarization. Garth’s cousin Fernandez (modeled on Bustamante), on the other hand, craves the political limelight and is frequently arrested and jailed.²²² Within the novel, trade unionism allows plantation laborers to agitate for better working conditions, but it also serves an ameliorative function within an existing capitalist system, in part by presenting a vision of community

that does not replace but recasts familial structures within newly emerging and ultimately patriarchal socio-political dynamics.

Even as Reid links the line of struggle from the moment of the 1865 Morant Bay Rebellion to the labor protests of the 1930s in *New Day*, he does so through a patrilineal genealogy that effectively writes out women and women's labor, both productive and reproductive. As Curdella Forbes has pointed out, this novel "valorizes the messianic image of the middle-class intellectual and portrays men as the sole participants in the Jamaican political tradition."²²³ It does so in part through a vision of these men as the only, or at least primary, participants in the Jamaican family as well. This is done, in part, by superseding the male characters' erotic and/or romantic relationships with women with a "natural" connection to the land that allows for a masculine auto-biogenesis.

The narrator's repeated reminders to his reader of his brother Davey's role in the rebellion and the latter's founding of Zion valorizes him as a heroic individual, a man who acts on behalf of his community rather than with it:

My bro' is a man what marched with Bogle and who told the Queen's Commissioners. He has walked the deep Blue Mountains like a ghost, and you could no' tell him from the trees. His own self, he has sailed out from the Bay and brought up on the Morant Cays.²²⁴

Again, Davey is

[a] man who went in and out o' Morant bay when redcoats and Maroons, thick like fleas on dogs, were seeking for his blood. He is a man who took his bro' and the woman he loved and sailed blue water to his own island, where he built his land with his own two hands and made the sand island to flourish with green.²²⁵

Davey dies years after when a tree falls upon him, on this land he "built," or cultivated, during a hurricane, thereby "naturally" linking both his adult life and death to a fertile soil that fosters and nurtures his descendants, Davey's "seed." This in turn naturalizes Davey's and his family's inheritance and stewardship of the land of the Cay and eventually on the main island of Jamaica when Davey's brother, son, and grandson return there to cultivate large-scale banana plantations. Crucially, in serving as a metonym for women's wombs, family land—and by extension

national land—renders the female characters themselves (the wives of the Campbell family) beside the point as citizens of Jamaican and/or political agents. In the narrator's family lore, the Morant Bay rebel Davey originates a line of male heirs culminating in the person of Garth, who attempts to politically organize and thereby represent a newly class-conscious peasantry at the dawn of the 1940s. As Garth tells his uncle in a reference to the more recalcitrant senior workers he attempts to organize, "[o]ld trees cannot grow higher ... [u]nless you graft on new growth which can at least be straighter than the old tree."²²⁶ New growth, new men, and new ideas must be grafted onto old growth, old men, and old ideas if such masculine auto-biogenesis is to continue; Jamaican women are inconsequential.

While Reid's novel links family land, which is extended here to a family's commercial territories, to the nation in an attempt to reconcile upper-class creole nationalism to an idea of paternal care for the lower-class black majority, Una Marson's poems "At the Prison Gates, Jamaica 1937" and "The Stonebreakers," both from her third collection of poems *The Moth and the Stars* (1937), evince greater suspicion of such nationalism in their critical engagement with the gendered urban and rural working-class laboring body.²²⁷ Indeed, many of the poems in this collection explore women's experiences and were daringly experimental in style, drawing from blues and jazz traditions.²²⁸

Marson can be grouped among a coterie of women writers and activists working from the 1920s to the 1940s, including the activist Amy Ashwood Garvey, the journalist Amy Jacques Garvey, the educator Amy Bailey, the artist Edna Manley, and the politician Mary Morris Knibb, who were all involved in the anti-colonial, nationalist, and labor struggles of the period (often influenced by Garveyism and/or working on behalf of women and women's access to education, employment, birth control, etc.). Marson, whose published works circulated mostly in Jamaica and who trained as a stenographer, emigrated briefly to England where she worked for the BBC, helping guide the program "Caribbean Voices," which introduced West Indian writers to a British audience, and where she also worked as secretary to the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Sellasie during his visit to the League of Nations in the mid-1930s.²²⁹

Marson returned to Jamaica to write and produce her most famous play, "Pocomania," which allows a glimpse of a complicated feminist response to the rise of national sentiment months before the labor

uprisings of 1938 (the play was actually performed in that year) and which was celebrated in Jamaica as the first play written by a Jamaican and performed for Jamaicans.²³⁰ As Leah Rosenberg has detailed, this play revolves around the choice a young brown woman named Stella must make between the patriarchal confines of middle-class marriage and the freedom represented by the religion, Pukumina, which involved practices of ancestral worship, spirit possession, and healing.²³¹ Since middle-class domesticity was unavailable to most women, one response to the masculine spheres of nationalism and Rastafarianism was the attraction of women and men from the lower classes to Pentecostalism,²³² which “presented a model of moral perfection that they could make their own in opposition to the more established churches.”²³³ Ultimately, Stella chooses marriage, though reformed into a supposedly slightly more egalitarian enterprise, and in the process asserts middle-class respectability against the “peasantry as a site of primitivism.”²³⁴ Despite this play’s seemingly conservative ending, much of the poetry Marson wrote around this time evinces a deep empathy for oppressed groups, especially men from the urban and rural working classes and women of all classes.

“At the Prison Gates, Jamaica 1937” presents the observations of a speaker intensely sympathetic to but outside of and distanced from the troubles facing the working-class male laborers she describes:

They marched
 To the prison walls and knocked at the gates,
 And when he who was director came forth
 They spoke and said unto him,
 “We are hungry, we need food for our bodies,
 We would join your band of prisoners
 And work, so be that we are fed.
 We are men—we need work, we need food.
 Our wives and sweethearts live in poverty,
 We have nothing to take to them;
 We are strong—we would work—but
 No man will employ us.”²³⁵

The “they” of this poem, the poor working men without work who ask to “join your band of prisoners/And work, so be that we are fed” on the chain gang, are heard by both the speaker, who records their pleas, and the prison director. The director’s inability in the second stanza to provide for “the sorrowful army/Of Kingston’s unemployed”

forces these men to continue their march onwards.²³⁶ Thus, the irony of free waged labor within imperial capitalism lies in the workers' willingness, even preference, to be literally caged rather than unemployed. These repulsive (poor, underfed, desperate) bodies have not lost their will to resist, but their resistance seems as interminable and as futile as their marching. In the third stanza, the discussion among the "[w]ealthy, overfed, over indulged" of providing public welfare through "land" and "money," by building factories, or providing unemployment funds is merely "talk" meant to assuage "[t]heir conscience [that] smote them."²³⁷

These men are witnessed in that stanza by the speaker, who is introduced here as an "I"/eye, a speaking subject who acts as witness: "And I looked,/And behold I saw numerous [rich] men."²³⁸ The last stanza emphasizes this speaker's sympathy for the plight of these men who continue to march and whom she continues to observe in both sight and sound and whom the politicians continue to discuss but not help:

And so through all the night and day
 I see the weary and hungry
 Crowds marching—every day
 More hungry—every day more sad;
 And I hear a great stir of voices
 Among those who rule the land
 In politics and those who rule in gold.
 But the tramp of the weary feet still sound,
 On they March—must they March on forever?²³⁹

The worn feet of these jobless workers testify not to "useful" labor, but to the useless toil of days, perhaps lives, spent marching. That the stanza ends with the speaker's aural rather than visual observations—hearing the sound of tramping feet rather than seeing them—continues and emphasizes a rhythm that is then abruptly broken with a seemingly rhetorical question that, in its directness, implicates a presumably middle-class audience and echoes far beyond the prison walls as a symbol of oppressive British rule. The glaring absence of any allusion to the political trade unionism of Manley and Bustamante or of middle-class organizers of the working classes seems to indict even creole nationalism within the class of politicians who merely speak—in other words that "great stir of voices"—but do not act.

As a counterpoint to the implicitly and explicitly constructed masculinities of Reid's novel as well as to Marson's own poem discussed above, "The Stone Breakers" is voiced by two female laborers. Both of Marson's poems present images of stoic resistance: of women whose bodies have been exhausted by labor in both the household and outside the household, and of men whose bodies have withered away through a denial of the sustenance that waged labor provides for themselves and their families. Both poems present bodies that labor outside the home. But while "At the Prison Gates" explicitly places itself within the public sphere and within a realm of political agitation, however futile that agitation, "The Stone Breakers" takes place in the more intimate sphere of dialogue between two fellow laborers who call one another Liza and Mary, working in apparent isolation from others.

The latter poem presents class politics through a self-conscious use of poetic form in two key ways. First, its use of patois recalls my earlier discussion of McKay's poem insofar as it deliberately situates itself in and through the language of the people. Second, the construction of the poem as a dialogue between two laborers without a mediating third voice (the poet as speaker) allows the audience to eavesdrop on a casual conversation between two cousins and friends, and thus gain access into the private lives of these working-class women. In so doing, the poem's "image of the stonebreakers answered the search for an authentic literary code that would expose the harshness of Jamaica's socioeconomic hierarchy to its complacent bourgeoisie."²⁴⁰ While most working-class women were employed as domestic labor or as field hands, many were forced into physically demanding and exhausting jobs such as coal loading or stone breaking,²⁴¹ seen most explicitly in Mary's enumeration of bodily pains:

"Liza me chile, I's really tired
 Fe broke dem stone,
 Me han' hat me,
 Me back hat me,
 Me foot hat me,
 An' Lard, de sun a blin' me."²⁴²

The speakers' bodies are not the site of middle-class domesticity, but of unending and dispiriting physical toil. The lament by Mary,

“‘Liza me chile, I’s really tired,’” is met in the following stanza with the response of her interlocutor, Liza: “‘Cousin Mary ... I’s weary of dis wol.’”²⁴³ Both Liza and Mary seem to agree that “‘dis life is hard,’” as Liza notes in the third stanza.²⁴⁴

Present only in references to a “‘wotless pupa”” who gambles and drinks, men are otherwise absent as laborers and as caregivers, creating a financially straitened community of female labor and hardship, as detailed by Liza to Mary in the third stanza:

“But why fe do, Cousin Mary,
Me haf fe buy frack fe de pickney dem,
Ebry day dem hab fe feed.
Dem wotless pupa tan roun’ de bar
A trow dice all de day—
De groun’ is dat dry,
Not a ting will grow—[”]”²⁴⁵

The fertility of Liza’s body (the children, or “‘pickney,”” she “[e]bry day dem hab fe feed”) is juxtaposed against an infertile soil that yields nothing (“‘De groun’ is dat dry,/Not a ting will grow—”) for those children. The poem presents a contrast with the earlier poem, “At the Prison Gates, Jamaica 1937,” with a community of men who voice themselves and cast themselves as providers and heads of households: “We are men—we need work, we need food./Our wives and sweet-hearts live in poverty,/We have nothing to take to them.”²⁴⁶ That poem engages the audience’s sympathy for these men by tempering their working-class poverty with middle-class domesticity, those “wives and sweet-hearts” who need their men’s care and their wages. The presumably once (or even still) “wives and sweethearts” of “The Stone Breakers,” on the other hand, must care for themselves and their children and cannot rely on male heads of households. Sympathy for Liza and Mary is generated through the self-description of exhausting productive and reproductive labor; they suffer not from a dearth of work, as in “At the Prison Gates,” but, ironically, from an overabundance of it.

Both poems mark not the possession and inheritance of family land, but the dispossession of the urban and rural black working classes from *any* claim to fertile and thus self-sustaining land in Jamaica. In other words, the territorialization necessitated by capitalist industrialization depends upon the economic and structural weakening of poor black

families (ironically even as these families are disciplined into the nuclear family form by capitalism), as both men and women must leave their homes and children to find or perform pitiless and unceasing work. Such work is explicitly gendered, since men disproportionately work in factories, as seen in “At the Prison Gates,” while women disproportionately work in agriculture or domestic service, as illustrated in “The Stonebreakers.” While the protest of the workers in “At the Prison Gates” seems to fit into a traditional trade unionist narrative, espoused by the creole nationalist leaders of both the JLP and the PNP, the presence of the speaking “I” disturbs that “great stir of voices” of politicians in the public sphere. This speaker hears behind that “great stir” to the sound of the “weary feet” that continues despite the rhetoric of politics. More explicitly, the women of the “The Stonebreakers” will not benefit from such trade unionist politicking, which would focus largely on men’s labor. These speakers’ catalogue of hardships, less supplication than enumeration, are directed not to politicians or to their men but to each other and to “de good Lard,” who “knows/All about we sorrows.”²⁴⁷ For these women, only “de good Lard” can be asked to provide relief, since the creole nationalism that promises a more just future for the working classes does not seem to touch their lives or uplift their spirits. In Marson’s poetry, the promise presented by such politics during the 1930s and 1940s in Jamaica seems to be implicitly critiqued and dismissed as merely “a great stir of voices.”

CODA

The concept-metaphor of the “spirit” has continued to haunt modern Jamaican politics, as in the recent rebuff by Britain’s recent Prime Minister David Cameron for slavery reparations to the former West Indian colonies. Cameron’s refusal to acknowledge the slave labor that haunts contemporary commodities disavows, as Marx explains, how commodities obscure both the (surplus) labor embedded within them, but also the labor embedded within those commodities used to produce them, so that the value of these “constituent elements ... undergoes a metempsychosis. It deserts the consumed body to occupy the newly created one.”²⁴⁸ The embedded labor of older commodities transmigrates to newly produced commodities in the constant circulation of capital across geographic and temporal boundaries, thereby ensuring the trace, perhaps even the haunting, of a living legacy of slave labor from old to new commodities. In testifying to the “spirit” of the Caribbean

people and proposing to build a new prison in Kingston to house those Jamaicans incarcerated in Great Britain at the latter's expense as an alternative to reparations,²⁴⁹ Cameron has assured that the humanity of the prisoner, as the modern-day instantiation of the slave who provides forced labor, "appears as the perfect figure of a shadow."²⁵⁰

NOTES

1. Jean Besson, "Baptist Churches: Jamaica," in *The Encyclopedia of Caribbean Religions*, Vol. 1, eds. Patrick Taylor and Frederick I. Case (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013): 106.
2. Abigail Bakan, *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 5.
3. Deborah A. Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 41.
4. Clinton Hutton, "The Revival Table: Feasting with the Ancestors and Spirits," *Jamaica Journal* 32.1–2 (August 2009): 28. See also Shirley C. Gordon, *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianization and Emancipation in Jamaica* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1998). Gordon notes the "strong resurgence of Obeahism" in St. Thomas in the East, the site of the rebellion (91), and argues that many of the poor of St. Ann were Native Baptists (105), indicating that the two religious strands might be syncretized in certain areas or by certain communities or individuals.
5. Hutton, "Revival Table," 28.
6. In addition to Gordon and Bogle, the other official national heroes include Nanny of the Maroons, an eighteenth-century Jamaican slave turned military rebel who fled to the hills and formed a community of escaped slaves; the leader of the 1831 Baptist War, Samuel Sharpe; and the three most prominent nationalist labor leaders from the 1930s, Marcus Garvey, Norman Manley, and Alexander Bustamante.
7. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 334. Although a group of critical theorists grouped under the rubric of Afro-pessimism have liberally drawn from Patterson's phrase "social death" to discuss how the category of race makes possible the idea of the human (the human is the not-slave, the not-black), a number of scholars have questioned the extent of Patterson's formulation.
8. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 38, 46.
9. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 99.

10. Laura Brace, *The Politics of Property: Labor, Freedom and Belonging* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 171.
11. See the debate between Afro-pessimists and Afro-optimists.
12. Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics." *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 21.
13. Carol Boyce Davies, *Black Women, Writing, and Identity: Migrations of the Subject* (London: Routledge, 1994), 13.
14. See Shalini Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial: Social Equality, Post-Nationalism, and Cultural Hybridity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
15. Antonio Benítez-Rojo, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. James E. Maraniss, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 38. He draws here from the work of historian Sidney W. Mintz.
16. Benítez-Rojo, *Repeating Island*, 74. See also J. Michael Dash, *The Other Americas: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998). Dash has outlined the history of theorization of the Caribbean through a focus "on the work of regional intellectuals," including, for example, Benítez-Rojo, as well as Jose Martí, C.L.R. James, Frantz Fanon, and Édouard Glissant, all of whom "have compellingly extolled a Pan-Caribbean ethos and aesthetic" (x).
17. Edward Baugh, "The West Indian Writer and His Quarrel with History," *Small Axe* 16, no. 2 (July 2012): 64.
18. Édouard Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays*, trans. J. Michael Dash (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 61.
19. Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse*, 66.
20. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (New York: Verso, 1993), 11.
21. Simon Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo: Modernism and Caribbean Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 7. Although the Caribbean encompasses a wider geographic scope and more extended colonial history, including British, Spanish, and French colonization, I use the term to discuss the region and its history, politics, economics, and culture more generally; I use the term West Indian to refer to English-speaking (British colonized) parts of the larger Caribbean.
22. Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 61. Such communities protected themselves against colonial governments through battle, but "once maroons had established their right to coexistence through fighting, almost inevitably, they signed treaties that established a complex web of political, social, and economic interconnections" (65).
23. Colin A. Palmer, *Freedom's Children: The 1938 Labor Rebellion and the Birth of Modern Jamaica* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 7.

24. See Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Hilary Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989); and Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).
25. B.W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Barbados: University of the West Indies Press, 1995), 61. See also Mervyn Alleyne, *Roots of Jamaican Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1988), 28. Alleyne notes three migrations of Africans, primarily although not exclusively of West African origin, to Jamaica: from 1498 to 1655 under Spanish occupation, from 1670 to 1808 under British slavery, and from 1841 to 1865 during the post-slavery period as indentured servants in agriculture.
26. Gad Heuman, *“The Killing Time”: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 35.
27. Manisha Sinha, *The Slave’s Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 213.
28. Bakan, *Ideology*, 65.
29. Aisha Khan, “Africa, Europe, and Asia in the Making of the Caribbean,” in *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, ed. Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 400. The early twentieth century would witness non-indentured immigration from China and the Middle East, including Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria.
30. See Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*.
31. Barry Chevannes, “Introducing the Native Religions of Jamaica,” in *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews*, ed. Barry Chevannes (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 1.
32. Patrick Taylor and Judith Soares, “Jamaica,” in *The Encyclopedia of Caribbean Religions*, ed. Patrick Taylor and Frederick I. Case, Vol. 1, A–L (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 421.
33. Taylor and Soares, “Jamaica,” 421–422.
34. Chevannes, “Introducing,” 8.
35. Gordon, *Our Cause*, 93.
36. Robert J. Stewart, *Religion and Society in Post-Emancipation Jamaica* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 196.
37. Taylor and Soares, “Jamaica,” 423.
38. Taylor and Soares, “Jamaica,” 423.
39. Veront M. Satchell, “Colonial Injustice: The Crown v. the Bedwardites, 27 April 1921,” in *African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making*

- of *Caribbean Society: History, Biology, Culture*" ed. Horace Levy (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2009), 46–67.
40. Taylor and Soares, "Jamaica," 423.
 41. Taylor and Soares, "Jamaica," 424.
 42. Taylor and Soares, "Jamaica," 424.
 43. Taylor and Soares, "Jamaica," 424.
 44. See Richard D.E. Burton, *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 108–114 and Robert Stewart, "A Slandered People: Views on "Negro Character" in the Mainstream Christian Churches in Post-Emancipation Jamaica," in *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 179–201.
 45. Matthew J. Smith, *Liberty: Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
 46. Underhill helped coalesce Baptist missionaries' resistance to the colonial government through a public letter written to the Secretary of the State for the Colonies, highlighting the economic and political distress of the black population in Jamaica. See Heuman, *Killing Time*.
 47. Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 161.
 48. Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 154 and Edward Bean Underhill, *The Tragedy of Morant Bay: A Narrative of the Disturbances in the Island of Jamaica* (London: Alexander & Shepherd, 1895), 65.
 49. See Gad Heuman, *Killing Time* and Mimi Sheller, *Citizenship from Below: Erotic Agency and Caribbean Freedom* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 82–84.
 50. Patrick E. Bryan, *The Jamaican People, 1880–1902: Race, Class and Social Control* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies, Press, 2001), 11.
 51. Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 32.
 52. Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 12.
 53. Bryan, *Jamaican People*, 13–14.
 54. O. Nigel Bolland, "Labor Protests, Rebellions, and the Rise of Nationalism," in *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, ed. Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 461.
 55. Jean Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 90.

56. Mimi Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 5. See also Smith, *Liberty*, which extends Sheller's study to explore the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the US occupation of Haiti and the movement of US capital into Jamaica.
57. Smith, *Liberty*, 149.
58. Smith, *Liberty*, 150.
59. Haiti may have haunted nineteenth-century European colonialism, but it seems that American right-wing neoimperialism haunts Haiti. Witness Pat Robertson's infamous comments following the devastating earthquake in 2010 that this catastrophe was divine retribution for their revolution, aided by a supposed pact signed with the devil, two centuries earlier. See, for example, Michael Tomasky, "You See What We're Up Against," *The Guardian*, 14 January 2010, accessed 29 June 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/michaeltomasky/2010/jan/14/haiti-us-politics>.
60. Haiti haunted the Caribbean and African-American imagination throughout the twentieth century, as seen in George Lamming's essays *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960), Aimé Césaire's play *La Tragedie du roi Christophe* (1964 when it premiered); and Alejo Carpentier's novel *The Kingdom of this World* (1949). The latter two writers take as their focus Christophe, who established himself as king of Haiti after Dessalines's assassination. See Maya Deren, *Divine Horseman: The Living Gods of Haiti* (Kingston, NY: Documentext McPherson & Company, 1953) for further information on Haitian religious beliefs and rituals.
61. Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McIlintock (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 148.
62. Freud, *Uncanny*, 123.
63. Freud, *Uncanny*, 148.
64. Freud, *Uncanny*, 149.
65. John Fletcher, "Marx the Uncanny? Ghosts and their Relation to the Mode of Production," *Radical Philosophy* 75 (Jan/Feb 1996): 35.
66. Fletcher, "Marx the Uncanny," 35.
67. Chris Baldick, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Book of Gothic Tales*, ed. Chris Baldick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), xx.
68. Roger Luckhurst, "The contemporary London Gothic and the limits of the 'spectral turn,'" *Textual Practice* 16, no. 3 (2002): 536.
69. For a discussion of slavery as central to capitalist expansion, see, for example, Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* and Robinson, *Black Marxism*, among others.

70. Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* XL (December 1849): 673. It originally appeared pseudonymously, but Carlyle's authorship was quickly revealed.
71. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 672.
72. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 672.
73. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 672.
74. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 672.
75. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 673.
76. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 674.
77. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 674.
78. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 676.
79. Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse," 677.
80. Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), xxii. See also Christopher Taylor, "The Refusal of Work: From the Postemancipation Caribbean to Post-Fordist Empire." *Small Axe* 18, no. 2 (July 2014): 1–17. Taylor makes a similar point and then goes on to argue that the contemporary anti-work movement and its erasure of slavery from its histories "amounts to a symptom of disavowal, an attempt to exorcise the specter of a Caribbean past that haunts the structures of rule and refusal constitutive of post-Fordist Empire" (2).
81. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 325.
82. Marx, *Grundrisse*, 326.
83. Mill's essay was originally published as an anonymous letter in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* XLI (January 1850). See Catherine Hall, *White, Male, and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992) for a discussion of the competing conceptions of middle class masculinity shaping the debate between Mill, Carlyle, and their respective supporters.
84. John Stuart Mill, "The Negro Question," in *The Collected Work of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson, Vol. XXI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 92.
85. Mill, "Negro Question," 91.
86. Mill, "Negro Question," 91.
87. Mill, "Negro Question," 92.
88. Mill, "Negro Question," 88–89.
89. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 652.
90. See John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (New York: The Colonial Press, 1899), 401. See also Sydney Olivier, *White Capital and*

- Colored Labor* (London: Independent Labor Party, 1906). Many decades later the Fabian socialist Sydney Olivier, who acted as both colonial secretary and Governor of Jamaica (1907–1913), argued that in a modern industrial system in which the “negro” is an independent wage earner and educated like the white man, the former will advance to a higher “level of understanding and self-reliance” (19).
91. Sarah Winter, “On the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica and the Governor Eyre-George William Gordon Controversy, 1865–1870,” *Branch*, accessed 22 June 2016, http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=sarah-winter-on-the-morant-bay-rebellion-in-jamaica-and-the-governor-eyre-george-william-gordon-controversy-1865-70.
 92. James Anthony Froude, *Oceana, or England and Her Colonies* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1886), 8.
 93. Froude, *Oceana*, 81.
 94. James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies, or The Bow of Ulysses* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1900), 56.
 95. Froude, *English*, 193.
 96. Froude, *English*, 71.
 97. J.J. Thomas, *Froudacuity, West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (Philadelphia: Gebbie and Company, 1890), 28 and 29.
 98. Thomas, *Froudacuity*, 251–252.
 99. Thomas, *Froudacuity*, 158.
 100. Thomas, *Froudacuity*, 182.
 101. Thomas, *Froudacuity*, 206.
 102. Sheller, *Citizenship*, 110.
 103. Thomas, *Froudacuity*, 252.
 104. Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1998), 109. See also Anne Spry Rush, *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). By 1944 only 10% of Jamaicans were enfranchised (50).
 105. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1998), 15.
 106. Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire*, 17.
 107. C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*, Second Ed. Revised, (Vintage Books: New York, 1989), xi. This quote comes from the preface to the first edition of the history.
 108. James, *Black Jacobins*, 94.
 109. See Christian Høgsbjerg, Introduction to *Toussaint Louverture: The Story of the Only Successful Slave Revolt in History, A Play in Three Acts*, by C.L.R. James, ed. Christian Høgsbjerg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

110. Høgsbjerg, Introduction, 27. While the revision was first published in Errol Hill's 1976 anthology, *A Time...and a Season: 8 Caribbean Plays*, and republished in a reader edited by Anna Grimshaw (1992), the 1934 playscript has only recently come to light. Christian Høgsbjerg's discovery, in the archives of the University of Hull, and editing of the 1934 playscript have brought this earlier version into publication for the first time.
111. See Raphael Dalleo, "'The Independence So Hardly Won Has Been Maintained': C.L.R. James and the U.S. Occupation of Haiti," *Cultural Critique* 87 (Spring 2014): 38–59 and Christian Høgsbjerg, "'The Fever and the Fret': C.L.R. James, the Spanish Civil War and the Writing of *The Black Jacobins*" *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory* 44, no. 1-2 (2016): 161–177.
112. Cora Kaplan, "Black Heroes/White Writers: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Literary Imagination," in *History Workshop Journal* 46 (Autumn 1988): 53. For a historical account of the Haitian Revolution that concerns itself specifically with the masses and a subaltern perspective, see Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1990).
113. Kara M. Rabbitt, "C.L.R. James's Figuring of Toussaint-Louverture: *The Black Jacobins* and the Literary Hero," in *C.L.R. James: His Intellectual Legacies*, edited by Selwyn Reginald Cudjoe and William E. Cain (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 126, 127, and 128.
114. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 105.
115. Scott, *Conscripts*, 107.
116. Scott, *Conscripts*, 119.
117. C.L.R. James, *The C.L.R. James Reader*, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 70.
118. C. L. R. James, *Toussaint Louverture: The Story of the Only Successful Slave Revolt in History, A Play in Three Acts by C. L. R. James*, edited by Christian Høgsbjerg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 61.
119. James, *Toussaint*, 61.
120. James, *Toussaint*, 63.
121. James, *Toussaint*, 104.
122. James, *Toussaint*, 132.
123. James, *Reader*, 104.
124. James, *Reader*, 111.
125. James, *Reader*, 111.
126. Dessalines was assassinated in 1806 while trying to quell a revolt led by the mulatto leader Alexandre Sabès Pétion, who, along with

- Christophe, would eventually gain control of the country. Christophe proclaimed himself king of northern Haiti in 1811 after being stripped of power by Pétion, who had gained control of southern and western Haiti. Christophe's kingdom would be reincorporated into the Haitian Republic in 1821 after his death in 1820.
127. James was particularly affected by the fall of the Pan-African socialist leader Kwame Nkrumah, who had helped wrest the Gold Coast from British colonial rule in 1957. After serving first as prime minister and then president of the newly created nation-state of Ghana, Nkrumah was deposed by a military coup in 1966.
 128. See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 97–144.
 129. Chevannes, "Introducing," 7. See also, Jean Besson, "Myal, Revival and Rastafari in the Making of Western Jamaica: Dialogues with Chevannes," in *African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making of Caribbean Society: History, Biology, Culture*, ed. Horace Levy (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2009).
 130. Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 9. Derrida writes of the trace: "Since the trace is not a presence but the simulacrum of a presence that dislocates itself, displaces itself, refers itself, it properly has no site—erasure belongs to its structure" (24).
 131. See Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). In his discussion of Rousseau, Derrida notes that the first signification of the supplement is that which "adds itself, it is a surplus, a plentitude enriching another plentitude, the *fullest measure* of presence. It cumulates and accumulates presence" (144). The second signification is that which "adds only to replace. It intervenes or insinuates itself *in-the-place-of*; if it fills, it is as if one fills a void" (145).
 132. Roger Mais, "George William Gordon: A Historical Play in 14 Scenes." In *A Time...and a Season: 8 Caribbean Plays*, ed. Errol Hill (Trinidad: University of the West Indies, 1976), 6.
 133. Tim Watson, "Jamaica, Genealogy, George Eliot: Inheriting the Empire After Morant Bay." *Jouvert* 1, no. 1 (1997), <http://english.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v1i1/WATSON.HTM>.
 134. Smith, *Liberty*, 131.
 135. Smith, *Liberty*, 131.
 136. Karina Williamson, "Re-inventing Jamaican History: Roger Mais and George William Gordon" in *Beyond the Blood, the Beach and the Banana*, ed. Sandra Courtman (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004), 395.

137. See Kamau Brathwaite, "Roger Mais," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Volume 125, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean and Black African Writers*, ed. Bernth Lindfors and Reinhard Sanders (Detroit, MI: Gale Research Inc, 1993), 78–81. See also Evelyn J. Hawthorne, *The Writer in Transition: Roger Mais and the Decolonization of Caribbean Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989).
138. Errol Hill, Introduction to *A Time...and a Season: 8 Caribbean Plays*, ed. Errol Hill (Trinidad: University of the West Indies, 1976), xi.
139. Steward, *Religion*, 141.
140. Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 28.
141. Alleyne, *Roots*, 86.
142. Mais, "George William Gordon," 12.
143. See Casey Dué, *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), which reviews scholarship on the role of the chorus in ancient Greek tragedy.
144. Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 19.
145. Bogues, *Black Heretics*, 19.
146. Mais, "George William Gordon," 12.
147. Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 67.
148. Spillers, "Mama's Baby," 67.
149. Alexander G. Weheliye, *Habeas Viscus: Racializing Assemblages, Biopolitics, and Black Feminist Theories of the Human* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 39.
150. Mais, "George William Gordon," 46–47.
151. Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 55.
152. Fanon, *Wretched*, 31.
153. Fanon, *Wretched*, 17.
154. Fanon, *Wretched*, 50.
155. Mais, "George William Gordon," 43.
156. Mais, "George William Gordon," 28.
157. Mais, "George William Gordon," 30.
158. Mais, "George William Gordon," 69.
159. Mais, "George William Gordon," 71.
160. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 24.
161. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 40.
162. Williamson, "Reinventing Jamaican History," 394.
163. Mais, "George William Gordon," 99.
164. Alleyne, *Roots*, 86.

165. Alleyne, *Roots*, 86.
166. Alleyne, *Roots*, 86.
167. Chevannes, "New Approaches to Rastafari," in *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews*, ed. Barry Chevannes (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 23.
168. Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 183.
169. Winston James, *A Fierce Hatred of Injustice: Claude McKay's Jamaica and His Poetry of Rebellion* (London: Verso, 2000), 89.
170. Richard Smith, *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, Masculinity, and the Development of National Consciousness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 35.
171. James, *Fierce Hatred*, 87.
172. Leah Rosenberg, *Nationalism and the Formation of Caribbean Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 69.
173. De Lisser wrote a series of historical romances on Jamaica in which he fictionalized historical events such as the Spanish conquest of Jamaica in *The Arawak Girl* (1936–1937) and the 1938 labor rebellions in *Haunted* (1939–1940).
174. See Kenneth Bilby, "Image and Imagination: Re-Visioning the Maroons in the Morant Bay Rebellion," *History & Memory* 24, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2012): 41–72, for a discussion of the Maroon community's oral histories of the rebellion.
175. See Rhonda Cobham-Sander, "Fictions of Gender, Fictions of Race: Retelling Morant Bay in Literature," *Small Axe* 8 (September 2000): 1–30 for a discussion of the gender politics of de Lisser's novel as well as a number of other texts centered on the rebellion.
176. Claude McKay, *Complete Poems*, ed. William J. Maxwell (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 15–16.
177. See Paul Peppis, *Sciences of Modernism: Ethnography, Sexology and Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
178. Diana Fuss, "Corpse Poem," *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 4 (2003): 1–2.
179. M. NourbeSe Philip, *A Genealogy of Resistance and Other Essays* (Toronto: The Mercury Press, 1997).
180. James, *Fierce*, 93. The early nineteenth-century battle between the English Parliament, conflated with the British Crown, and the Jamaican plantocracy over abolition influenced attitudes in the Caribbean until the mid-twentieth century: "the masses of black people in the British Caribbean believed that the imperial crown had their interests at heart and the local ruling class did not" (94). But such loyalty was politically expedient as well, since it provided the black masses with a recourse from the local brown elite, who would eventually take control of a newly independent Jamaica (94–95).

181. Michael North, *The Dialect of Modernism: Race, Language, and Twentieth-Century Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 109.
182. North, *Dialect of Modernism*, 111.
183. North, *Dialect of Modernism*, 117.
184. Charles Bernstein, *My Way: Speeches and Poems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 128.
185. Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 15.
186. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, 14.
187. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, 16, italics removed.
188. See Rachel L. Mordecai, *Citizenship under Pressure: The 1970s in Jamaican Literature and Culture* (Kingston, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 2014).
189. Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 11.
190. Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 197. See also Besson, *Martha*.
191. John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1989), 103.
192. Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 21.
193. Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 21.
194. Sydney Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 160.
195. Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 151. See also Glissant, *Caribbean Discourse*, where he writes that for the “[c]omposite peoples” of the Caribbean, establishing a lineage is an impossibly unnecessary act of myth-making (141).
196. See George Padmore, “Labour Unrest in Jamaica,” *International African Opinion*, 1, no. 1 (July 1938), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1938/unrest-jamaica.htm>.
197. Bakan, *Ideology*, 100.
198. Bakan, *Ideology*, 12.
199. Khitanya Petgrave, “Education, Race and Respectability in Jamaica, circa the 1938 Labor Rebellion,” in *African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making of Caribbean Society: History, Biology, Culture*, ed. Horace Levy (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2009), 75.
200. See Thomas, *Modern Blackness* and Diane Austin-Brooks, *Jamaica Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
201. See O. Nigel Bolland. *On the March: Labor Rebellions in the British Caribbean, 1934–1939* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995) and Palmer, *Freedom’s Children*.

202. Belinda Edmondson, "Race, Tradition, and the Construction of the Caribbean Aesthetic," *New Literary History* 25, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 112.
203. George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 38–39.
204. See Kenneth Ramchand, *The West Indian Novel and its Background* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970). However, Leah Rosenberg points out that yard fiction drew on tropes from the even earlier novels of Thomas MacDermot. See Rosenberg, *Nationalism*.
205. See Patricia Joan Saunders, *Alien-Nation and Repatriation: Translating Identity in Anglophone Caribbean Literature* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007) for a discussion of this trend in Trinidadian yard fiction, for example.
206. See Evelyn O'Callaghan, *Woman Version: Theoretical Approaches to West Indian Fiction by Women* (London: Macmillan, 1993). See also Belinda Edmonson, "The Urban-Rural Dialectic and the Changing Role of Black Women: *Jane's Career*, *Banana Bottom*, *Minty Alley*, and *Pocomania*," in *The Routledge Companion to Anglophone Caribbean Literature*, ed. Michael A. Bucknor and Alison Donnell, (London: Routledge, 2011), 157–164.
207. See Daryl Cumber Dance, "Vic Reid," in *Fifty Caribbean Writers: A Bio-bibliographical Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Daryl Cumber Dance (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 377–389. Reid's other two works for children also take explicitly historical subjects: *The Young Warriors* (1967) depicts an eighteenth-century Maroon community and *Peter of Mount Ephraim* (1971) focuses on the Baptist Rebellion of 1831.
208. Sheller, *Democracy*, 12.
209. Mordecai, *Citizenship*, 6.
210. See Puri, *Caribbean Postcolonial* for a critique of the creole as "a figure of Caribbean hybridity," insofar as it represents the syncretism of African and European cultures to the exclusion of the Caribbean's Asian populations (65).
211. See Mordecai, *Citizenship*, 18–25.
212. V.S. Reid, *New Day* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1985), 187.
213. Nana Wilson-Tagoe, *Historical Thought and Literary Representation in West Indian Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 45.
214. In Reid's children's book *Sixty-Five*, the character of Paul Bogle is portrayed as foolhardy and foolish, moved to action more by the finesse of his own rhetoric than through an actual readiness for leadership, and

- the young narrator's grandfather evinces contempt for what he sees as Bogle's lack of moderation.
215. Reid, *New Day*, 195.
 216. Reid, *New Day*, 189.
 217. Reid, *New Day*, 207.
 218. Reid, *New Day*, 236.
 219. Reid, *New Day*, 237.
 220. Wilson-Tagoe, *Historical Thought*, 233.
 221. Indeed, Reid's final work was a biography of Manley, *The Horses of the Morning* (1985).
 222. Williamson, "Re-inventing," 391–392.
 223. Curdella Forbes, *From Nation to Diaspora: Samuel Selvon, George Lamming and the Cultural Performance of Gender* (Kingston, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 2005), 43.
 224. Reid, *New Day*, 201.
 225. Reid, *New Day*, 338.
 226. Reid, *New Day*, 256.
 227. Both poems were later again included in her fourth and final collection of poems, *Towards the Stars* (1945).
 228. See Delia Jarrett-Macauley, *The Life of Una Marson, 1905–1965* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 117–128.
 229. Marson's writing was "recovered" only in the mid-1980s, when Honor Ford-Smith published a literary biographical analysis placing Marson within a feminist activist trajectory. See Honor Ford-Smith, "The Value of an Angry Woman: The Importance of Una Marson," *Sistern* 15, no. 1 & 2 (1983): 24 and Honor Ford-Smith, "Una Marson: Black Nationalist and Feminist Writer," in *Caribbean Quarterly* 34, no. 3/4 (September/December 1988): 22–37.
 230. Rosenberg, *Nationalism*, 160.
 231. Rosenberg, *Nationalism*, 165.
 232. Austin-Brooks, *Jamaica Genesis*, 25.
 233. Austin-Brooks, *Jamaica Genesis*, 32.
 234. Rosenberg, *Nationalism*, 175.
 235. Una Marson, *Towards the Stars, Poems* (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1945), 58.
 236. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 58.
 237. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 58.
 238. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 58–59.
 239. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 59–60.
 240. Delia Jarrett-Macauley, "Exemplary Women," in *Reconstructing Womanhood, Reconstructing Feminism: Writings on Black Women*, ed. Delia Jarrett-Macauley (New York: Routledge, 1996), 44.

241. Jarrett-Macauley, "Exemplary Women," 45.
242. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 48.
243. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 48.
244. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 48.
245. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 48.
246. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 58.
247. Marson, *Towards the Stars*, 49.
248. Marx, *Capital*, 314.
249. Rowena Mason, "Jamaica should 'move on from painful legacy of slavery,' says Cameron," *The Guardian*, 30 September 2015, accessed 14 June 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/30/jamaica-should-move-on-from-painful-legacy-of-slavery-says-cameron>.
250. Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 21.

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