

Part 1. "THE DAY OF THE BROOM" (1)

Part 2. "GUANABOA"

Part 4 "THE DRUMS"

~~3~~ The Day of the Broom (2)

THE DAY OF THE BROOM

The day had been incredible. So, as it turned out, was the night. A half million city dwellers would forego sleep. Bars and clubs, leglally closed all day, had opened at the ~~close~~^{end} of the polls. In the high back country and in seaside towns, the other million and a half would mostly stay awake this election night. They would gather in knots and ~~clusters and~~ crowds, in living rooms, at corner lamp-posts, cross-road shops, choosing by inclination, or necessity, where to sweat, or chortle, as the night wore on and the polls reported.

Tuesday, January 12, 1955, was the incredible day - the day of the broom. A small conflict ^{gathers} ~~engaged~~ around ~~the~~ the creation of the brooms. O.T. Fairclough, the plump, tough publisher of Public Opinion, thinks ~~the~~ ^{the idea for the broom symbol} came out of a Party executive meeting at Drumblair, one night, the old Manley residence near Shortwood. Vivian Blake, the one-time Party vice president, more precisely recalls it originating with Party Secretary Sydney Veitch. Veitch, leg-puller had proposed ~~is~~ a rotund indefatigable ~~gakerzzhazanzazzsuggested~~ that Mr Manley be welcomed from a United Kingdom conference by partisans bearing brooms and slogans of Sweep Them Out, them being the incumbent Labour Party government. Out of mood at a serious Party conclave, the ~~was~~ met with strained grins. ~~Proposed~~ ^{and clearly} ~~was met with~~ ^{But something} ~~from the straight-laced party~~ ^{clearly}, though, however it sprang, its effect on the campaign was notorious. People are led by symbols or they march behind them. Whatever it was, the broom became that time's token. It would lead ^{the} up to then, ~~the~~ uncommitted voter, by its com-

Pranks were not popular with people getting into a fight for their political lives.

suggests butchery
The idea found favour on the streets. Brooms began appearing at party rallies, on the automobiles of the faithful.

pelling ~~zushz~~ urgency that overrode the magic of Bustamante. Not that
 there were not issues enough ~~issues~~ to supply the muscles for a ^{in a sweeping} sweeping,
 or other more ~~polizzical~~ studied political strategies. A Party which HAD
 BEEN RULING FOR ten years, a volatile, often fractious, newly
 enfranchised electorate, had ~~had~~ a guarantee of collision built into it.
 Moreover, recurring scandals, which had packed off two cabinet ministers
 to jail, were warranted to rattle the best entrenched leadership.

Alexander Bustamante ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 's Jamaica Labour Party had
 been in power since 1944 when the struggle for political self determination
 had entered the decisive stage

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GUANABOA

PART TWO

A
1

As in other seasons, it was a good year for a few, an average one for most. Politically, they were in a halfway house in 1893. They were working a ~~democracy~~ ^{new colony} salted with a dash of democracy by nine elected members, under a President nominated by the Crown from among the electorate. * But the Governor still contained the final power and

* 1 each from Kingston & St. Andrew, St. Thomas and Portland, St. Mary & St. Ann, Westmoreland & Hanover, St. James & Trelawny; 1 each from St. Catherine, Clarendon, Manchester, St. Elizabeth; 9 ex-officio members and the President, Dr. James Phillippo who served only 8 months when he died at his residence, Saxthorpe House at Constant Spring.

not many had the vote.

The Island's 700,000 people, engaged ^{ed} their skullduggery or grace under a government chosen by six percent of their peers, ^{They} were closing a century that had canted the colony from an economy held up by slavery, to a society where skill and sweat could be converted into gain.

How were they faring in ~~1893~~ ^{for food and work} socially and economically in 1893?
~~at that time~~ ^{at that time}

At today's prices, food would seem cheaper - new potatoes fetching twopence a lb, and butter from Hanover parish selling for two-&-sixpence a lb - until you remembered that a pound of butter was the equivalent of ~~500 stumps~~ a week's wages for many. Labour rates were low. An estate labourer must uproot 500 stumps, or weed six acres of grass, to buy a cut-rate Sunday suit off Nathan ^e Co's peg (considerably more if he required tailor-mades).

2
B.

Socially, the common ~~people~~ people had little.

^ The government he had no hand in electing, had no anxiety to please him. For example, the primary purpose of the 25-year-old Lands Department was not to settle the landless but to eject the black peasants from Crown property in the highlands, the area found to be most "suited to the labour of white men in the open air."

But if the wealthy still straddled the ridges, the bolder among the poor were coming out and filling the roads. True the Anglicans were established; but the old rural "slave church" of the Moravians was moving to town.

Increasingly, each year, a rising class of small artisans had been knocking for notice. Dissent was no less in 1893, with cobblers lobbying for closing the door to the flow of India-rubber footwear, carpenters assailing the McKinly Act which put a tariff on timber while letting in tax-free prefabs, and tailors demonstrating for a cut *down in the* ~~in imported~~ *of* ~~readymades~~ *suits.*

their

What was even more far-reaching, taking/cue from the recent English enactment which made masters and servants equal before the law, one newspaper was asking in a carefully small voice whether a way could be found to "give workers some rights."

?

Nevertheless it was a good year for purveyors. Henderson & Company's elegant leather carriages *of* ~~with~~ "mail coach axles and steel tyres" were selling well. At Louis B. Winkler's music store at No 18 King Street, Mrs. Corinaldi was successfully plugging her latest schmaltz, La Premiere Pensee to a downtown flow of uptown ladies accoutred in French sateens and shot surah silks. A steamboat named Britannia docked with a full load of determined American tourists who rode in horse-drawn hackneys through the

corduroy road to ^{the} Bog Walk Gorge and lunched at the Rio Cobre Hotel, to inaugurate that lucrative subtribe of the tourist trade, the ^{one-day} cruise tripper. In spite of an uneasily growing frequency of bankruptcies --- and a certain graveyard humour which saw the Theatre Royal on North Parade open its season with the farce "Ready Money" --- there was plenty of money in circulation ^{made up of} Mexican and Spanish doubloons, U.S. double eagles and British golden sovereigns.

¹⁸⁹³ It was also an election year and the head-rolling season ~~and~~ ^{early} opened. Councillors on the St. Catherine parish board were being "dissolved for persistent default in their duties." Voters, all six percent of them, were being urged by the five dailies in circulation, to show on polling day, and to oust, as one editor wrenchingly put it, the "meddling, muddling, tinkering, tentative legislature of the last eight years." The times were not particular for reticence, nor entrepreneurs for honesty, so shopkeepers who slipped "hickory in coffee, sand in sugar and stones in currants" were ^{being} crushingly exposed in the Press.

^{1893 was also} A year of high fettle ~~too~~ for the lively islanders of all races. Under the "Big Tree" on South Parade, Kingston, black youths single-sticking their Turnbull & Company's "pimentos". ^{were} under the South Parade Big Tree, highbooted white boys ^{were} brawling with Mandeville town constables in Mr. Palache's lunch room. Fighting Chinese ^{sometimes tumbled} dicemen ~~tumbled~~ out of Barry Street doors and into the police waggons. In the Hussein Festival, Indians ~~to the bloody for for~~ ~~there against~~ ~~the~~ FACTIONS OFTEN ~~from a man long game gone sour, colliding Indians at the Rio Minho dis-~~ locked in doughty battle for ~~passing~~ the passage of their bamboo shrines.

4
D

But lively or not, it took some luck to survive if you were born in the eighteen-nineties. These for infants, were the lethal years, when staying alive past childhood was a statistical coup.

Some random samples numb. Almost any month, half the dead were babies. The determined helplessness of the period, today savages the mind. Once, upon the approach of a cholera epidemic, one community leader could offer no stronger hope than to exhort all "like brave men and brave women, be prepared for the worst." *Even if your youthful

* The governor Sir Henry Blake, of stouter stuff, took hope, because unlike the outbreak of 40 years before, the streets of Kingston were "no longer being paved with horse manure."

durability proved able, there were other hazards outside the edge of childish comprehension; ^{e.g.} ~~for~~ the fury of the lawcourts could send a nine-year-old girl to the reformatory for seven years, for stealing three halfpennies. As it did. And worse.

Yes, 1893 was like any other year in that ^{portion of our} ~~past~~ ^{past}, heatwave and all.

The heatwave was a blanket over the island those first days of July. It was intense on the plains and in the lower valleys ^{but} easier in the high country as that about Mandeville. July fourth, the American Independence holiday, was not legally observed in the island; ~~but~~ the activity of shipping ports ^{however, there to be} provided for United States consulates in eleven Jamaican towns*, ^{On July 4th in these years, the ports paid the diplomatic courtesies} and also caused those ports to be full of "dressed" ships and cannon salutes. ~~On Tuesday morning~~ Away from the ports, in the farm lands, it

* U.S. Consulates used to be in

In Kingston, Falmouth, Montego Bay, St. Ann's Bay, Savlamar, Port Antonio, Milk River, Port Morant, Port Maria, Old Harbour, Black River.

was life as usual.

The heat had been ^{mild in} ~~earlier~~ about Manchester parish, where the coffee and pimento crops were promising to be good; ^{yet} the evening showers were not unwelcome, especially in the region of Old England and Richmond. Red dirt and scrub growth required all that water. Lying on that broad height between Richmond and Old England is the property of Roxburgh where late Tuesday, ^{FOURTH,} July ~~4th~~, N.W. Manley was born.

Roxburgh is four miles up a rocky slow ascent from the quaint little roadside village near Williamsfield called Royal Flat. The road works up ^{into the} ~~into the~~ brick-red earth and stonewalls found all over the parish, past some rolling pastureland. The air is exceptionally clear with long views to Newport. At Jones Depot, a narrow parish road leads off on the right to Roxburgh gate. The house is some 500 yards in ~~from~~ ^{Manley was born in} the gate. ~~It was~~ a well built farm house surrounded by pimento barbecues and that symbol of the above-average ~~the~~ Manchester farmer, ^{the} rather high water tanks for domestic and pasture use. ^{N.W. Manley's father, J.A.S. Bala, owned Roxburgh}

4-B

Thomas Albert Samuel Manley was born in Porus. ^{He was the} Son of an English migrant whose ^{and his} Don Juan charms ~~was to establish~~ commercial travelling ~~and to~~ ^{resulted in} ~~coverage in~~ Porus, Black River and Kingston, ^{His three sons,} with sons in all three places and a daughter in St. Elizabeth. T.A.S. Manley became a produce dealer. At his marriage to Margaret Shearer he bought the property at Roxburgh and lived there. Margaret was a daughter of Alexander Shearer, the Irish potato farmer who had fled the famine to Jamaica and settled in Hanover as a Lucea pen-keeper. He sired 4 daughters and a son. His remarkable progeny was to include most of the leaders in the new nation's first decades: N.W. Manley and his son Michael, Alexander Bustamante, Hugh Shearer --- and N.W.'s wife, Edna Manley. By all accounts, T.A.S. Manley was a very successful produce dealer. He had an office in Porus to which ^u he ~~committ~~ed each week day. An aggressive young businessman, unusually farsighted for his time, T.A.S. Manley was a pioneer in the export of citrus even ~~on~~ ^{upon} entering ^{ships} on a one-man charter to move his fruit to the U.S.A. by ~~leased ship~~. Sometimes he lost. Hot sun and calm seas sabotaged the unrefrigerated voyage of the Manley schooner-rigged.

^{over his death} Margaret Manley and her ~~children~~ moved to Guanaboa Vale. ~~They had four children,~~ Vera, Muriel, Norman and Roy in ~~that order~~. A small woman of tremendous strength of character, she set about with courage and axe to make the Belmont logwood groves raise her family.

Guanaboa Vale is one of the most beautiful districts in St. Catherine and rich in the country's early history. ^{TAKE IN "A"} The Manley boys were registered at the Guanaboa Vale Elementary in the west shed of the Rio Cobre. If not riotously fertile, it is fine for pastures on the long easy slopes almost always usefully grassed and for cocoa; but even better for two high-spirited fellows with its limitless land for horseback riding and a near pond for swimming.

4-C

A man of great personal charm, the house at Roxburgh was on occasions overnight host to American importers on a trade mission for fruit and spices. He had one drawback. The father of the man who was to be Jamaica's foremost lawyer had a fatal love for litigation. A lawsuit just before his death took its ruinous course all the way to the Privy Council in London before it financially felled him. As a result, and aggravated by a pimento blight which had eliminated the income on Roxburgh the fiscal affairs of the family were in considerable discomfort when he died. Fortunately for them, Margaret Manley was an indomitable mother.

Sometime before his death, when a pimento blight began ruining Roxborough he had with his father-in-law Alexander Shearer acquired a 2000 acre property at Guanaboa Vale called Belmont. Grandpa Shearer had earlier left Blenheim to manage Belmont. ^{TAKE IN} Margaret Manley and her children ^{GRANPA Shearer was} moved to Guanaboa Vale to live with her father, then an ailing man, partially blind. Norman, the third child, was about seven.

*One source remembers it ~~was~~ as a 1600 acre holding.

From here much of the 17th and 18th centuries campaigns against the Maroons were mounted. An officer-led mutiny in the English army was put down here and the two leaders, ----- hanged in the nearby capital at Spanish Town. What appears to be the loopholed military Hq still stands in a light wood across the road from the church. Inside the church are tombstones of officers who had landed with Cromwell's Army ^{San de Balis} of Conquest in 1655. Altogether a good place to come to, it is part of the great glade etc.etc.

A
CMT
See
P-2

(4-1)

The Belmont house was a commodious five bedroom bungalow of deep verandahs and a commanding view of the countryside. N.W. Manley was in later years to call ~~it a ruinate~~ it a ruinate property but certainly the old Spanish sugar estate had paying stands of logwood and pastures and a heavy tenancy. The family and "Grandpa" Shearer managed a living far from inconsequential. There were buggies and dogcarts, riding horses and church pews, governesses for the children and later boarding schools. Indeed there came the time when the bills for Margaret Manley's maternal ambitions amounted too rapidly for her income and like generations of Jamaicans she took the migrants' route to America accompanied by her sister Elizabeth, leaving the children with their aunt, Mrs. Shrimpton * widow of a Methodist minister who lived in Rae Town, Kingston. Her father had died by then and her plan was to move the children to the U.S. But the American dream soon faded. Foreign ladies in America, especially from "coloured" countries, were expected to work in the scullery and Margaret Manley was not walking that American way of life. She and her sister sailed for home.

After a short stay at Wolmers, the girls were boarded at Hampton, a school then expensively reserved for daughters of the gentry while Norman attended Wolmers and stayed with the aunt in Rae Town, at that time a middle class suburb on the city's eastern foreshore. He stayed at Wolmers for a year and was pulled back closer home to his "parish" high school, Beckford & Smith's in Spanish Town, riding horseback twenty miles each day to and from school mostly at a gallop that brought many warnings from the local law enforcers. He finally entered his third secondary school when with his brother, Roy, they enrolled at Jamaica College. There he was to make marks in scholarship and athletics, unrivalled in the total by any of his countrymen before or since.

See
Foot-
note
on
Page
5

*Dr. Muriel Manley tells the story of Aunt Shrimpton going to Elenheim, Hanover, to take her small nephew to Kingston where he would live with her but returned with his sister Maud instead after he refused to go, clutching the gateposts and bawling until he turned blue. Seems as if Nephew Alexander Bustamante would only move to Kingston when he could run the place.

Belmont was a property to gladden a boy's heart. Two large pond's proffered fishing and swimming throughout the long summers of school vacation; birds flocked the great glade with its acres, guava groves yielding shoots of baldpates, pigeons, ducks; There were miles of riding trails twisted up and away towards the Juan de Bolas foothills. The boys roamed the Vale, inflicting their pranks upon the indulgent countryside: Roy, the younger, impulsive, outgoing as an explosion of laughter; Norman, lean and hard riding, the highest priest of high jinks.

The countryside was lenient since these were the good years for the new grown creole aristocracy, remotely controlled by the ascendant whites at a carefully encouraged level of arrogance to be the ruling divisives among the non-white masses. They could have turned rogue, as did, traditionally, the descendant encounters of master and female fieldhand, living highbooted and spurred above the populace. Conversely, given that at this season in our society, Quality was a word denied the affiliates of the Manleys' tribal persuasions, they could have been genteel fallow. That neither was the case had its reasons in the work-laws laid out by Margaret Manley, a small woman whose cadenced strength held the children even. Widow Manley's Belmont statement declared that labour, and only labour brought rewards. She herself handled cattle and the portal agency her resourcefulness had acquired for Belmont (it was kept in the house) with equal profficiency.

Everybody worked at Belmont: the girls at whatever was going for young ladies of the times, the boys at chopping wood and cleaning pastures. "We grew up to neither gifts nor pocketmoney," N.W. Manley said in later years. "We made our wages." Home from Jamaica College in the holidays and some weekends, he was to

hone his skill with the axe until he could make his wages and better than most of the Belmont professionals on the property's logwood stands. In his sixties before his massive heart attack, he was still handling the 3-foot splitting axe with skill. At Belmont, it bought him the guns and saddles for the sport which was his passion. *

* At Jamaica College, he led his team to win the Perkins Shield for shooting, the country's oldest interscholastic trophy.

Margaret Manley died when N.W. was 18 but the spiritual energy which had welded this volatile and highly talented family into a unit at Guanaboa Vale, still held.

It also appeared that old Thomas Manley's nicely developed discernment for the precendential that had made him an inland produce buyer from Porus, into a lessee of blue water ships, was not lost in his children. When Vera won a music scholarship to England and with Norman going after the Rhodes, it seemed appropriate a time for a wholesale migration to the United Kingdom. By August, 1911, Muriel was in King's College and Roy a public school boy at Thelstead, Kent. The two years he lay over in Jamaica was unseasonably tidal for the youth to whom it had mostly broke good. It was to an extent typical of the later man that a kind of extramarginal instinct led him through the three classrooms of the country's current educational system, teaching in the three fields, primary (Titchfield), secondary (Jamaica College) and Agricultural (Hope Farm School). The knowledge and insight in education and agriculture gathered through his faculties for body and detail, was to cultivate authority in those practices upon his ascent to political power. But that also was the year he buffeted with a fever that almost took him. The Manley bout with typhoid was phenomenal. His well slung athletic lbs dropped to lbs.

He had attended the races at Knutsford the day before, in apparent good health and certainly good spirits for his flutters fell swiftly and his

"But that was characteristic of him. He did everything full "blooded," said his friend Leslie Clerk recently. "We left Knutsford together, on the Hope tram after the last race. Next morning, he was dying."

He was too tough to die but it was close. Weak and gaunt to a death's head, he was three weeks in the old "Hostel" hospital in East Street. He had made plans to travel (with Leslie Clerk) to the United States then go on to Oxford, England, but those were aborted while he mended at the Hope foothills residence of his friends, the Josephs*. He finally sailed for England on the

*One of the Josephs, Sir Hector, was to become Chief Justice of _____.

(ship _____ on _____ 1914.

The illness had a crucial effect upon a sector of his career. Exceeding athlete as he was, he would have undoubtedly dealt definitively with the record books on the Isis. In track, field and team games, his prodigious performances have made him the all-time unsurpassed among schoolboy athletes. His 10 seconds for the 100 yards created in his vintage year of 1912 at Jamaica College, remained unbroken for 41 years. That he never made a Blue in his first year at Oxford could be due solely to the post effects of his illness. In his second year he had other more important matters to attend to, having enlisted in the Royal Field Artillery and committed to the Somme.

Bogli confirms that
NWM went WOLMER
1 YEAR - BUT RECORDS
ALL DESTROYED

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The heatwave ~~had sweltered the countryside for a week~~
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the American Independence holiday, was not legally observed in
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the island; ~~although~~ the activity of shipping ports ~~net=only~~
United States
provided for/consulates in eleven Jamaican towns* and also
caused those ports to be full of "dressed" ships and cannon
salutes this Tuesday morning. Away from the ports, in the farm

FOOT
NOTE

*In Kingston, Falmouth, Montego Bay, St Anns Bay,
Savilamar, Port Antonio, Milk River, Port Morant,
Port Maria, Old Harbour, Black River.

lands, it was life as usual.

The heat had been easier about Mandeville Manchester
parish where the coffee and pimento crops were promising to be
~~rain~~ showers were
good but the evening ~~thunderstorm~~ was not unwelcome, especially
in the region of Old England and Richmond. ~~where~~ Red dirt and
that
scrub ~~xxxx~~ growth ~~was~~ required all that water. Lying on a broad
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Tuesday, ~~on~~ July 4th,
Roxburgh where late ~~that day~~, N.W. Manley was born.

up a rocky slow ascent from the
Roxburgh ~~xxxx~~ is four miles from ~~Royal Estate~~ that a
roadside village called Royal Flat.
quaint little ~~xxxxxx~~ near Williamsfield/ The road works up
into the likely ~~xxx~~ brick-red earth and stonewalls found all
over the parish, past some rolling pastureland. The air is
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a narrow parish road ~~leads~~ to Roxburgh gate. ~~in~~ The house is
some 500 yards in from the gate. It was a ~~quite situated~~ well built farmhouse
surrounded by pimento bushes and that symbol of the above average of the hardy farmer,
rather huge water tanks for domestic and pasture use.

BEFORE THE HOUSE, GET FACTS FROM FRANK HILL

OR TOM CONGANNON

ALSO GET NWM'S DESCRIPTION OF HIS PARENTS FROM
MY TAPE AND FROM MCFARLANE'S (SEE FRANK HILL)

6

Son of an English migrant ~~Lord~~ Don
man ~~charm~~ was to establish ~~the~~ LINEAGE
in Poms, Black River ~~6~~
and Kingston with sons in all 3 places and a daughter in St. Elizabeth TAS Manley
born in Poms, A he became

Thomas Albert Samuel Manley was a produce dealer. ~~He~~ had ~~At his~~
~~married~~ Margaret Shearer, a daughter of Alexander Shearer the ~~Irish~~ ~~potato~~
farmer who had fled the famine to Jamaica and settled in Hammer as a ~~Luca~~ ~~penkeeper~~. Most of
~~Luca~~ ~~penkeeper~~ whose remarkable progeny was to include ~~all~~ the
leaders in the new N.W.
prime-ministers of the nation's first decades: Manley and his son,

Michael, Alexander Bustamante, ~~and~~ Hugh Shearer --- and N.W.'s wife,
By all accounts, T.A.S. Manley was a ~~moderately~~ ~~successful~~ ~~very~~ success-
Ednax Manley. ~~By all accounts a moderately successful~~ ~~successful~~
~~Before he had an office in Poms to which he commuted each week day.~~ ~~Mar-~~ ~~See~~
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Norman, Ron, and ~~Norman~~ (the ~~youngest~~ ~~brother~~ ~~Ray~~
garet Manley and her two sons, ~~A younger brother~~ ~~who was killed~~
CHILDREN and daughter, ~~Muriel~~ ~~and~~ ~~Ray~~ moved to Guanaboa Vale.
in ~~World War I~~ left ~~each~~ ~~other~~ ~~for~~ ~~Guanaboa Vale~~ ~~where~~ ~~with~~ ~~her~~

~~Read~~
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Guanaboa Vale is one of the most beautiful ~~districts~~ ~~in~~ St
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maiea, and-outstanding-in-the-island. ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~great~~ ~~glade~~
lying
in the west shed of the Rio Cobre. If not riotously fertile, it
on ~~lovely~~ ~~tilted~~ ~~plate~~
is fine for pastures/in the long ~~low~~ ~~hills~~ ~~contours~~ easy slopes almost
usefully ~~was~~ ~~and~~ even better
always / ~~usually~~ ~~grassed~~ ~~for~~ ~~cocoa~~ ~~but~~ ~~to~~
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The Manley boys were registered at the Guanaboa Vale Elem- ~~STET~~

Elementary
*** much of the 17th and 18th centuries
From here, / ~~in the 17th century~~ campaigns against
An officer-led mutiny
the Maroons were fought mounted. / ~~It was a fortified~~ in the
English army was put down here and the two leaders, _____
hanged in the nearby capital at Spanish Town. What appears to
military Hq
be ~~A~~ the loopholed / ~~xxxxxx the resident army~~ still stands in a
Inside
light wood across the ~~x~~ road from the church. ~~And~~ the church are
officers who had landed with
~~xxxxx~~ tombstones of ~~xxxxxx~~ Cromwell's Army
of Conquest in 1655. Altogether a good place to come to, it is
part of the great glade etc etc

entary. ~~xxxxxx~~

7

S-bedroom

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After a short stay at Wolmers, the girls were boarded at Hampton, ^{a school then} while Norman attended Wolmers and stayed with the aunt in Rae Town, ^{expensively reserved for the clergymen of the gentry} at ~~there~~ a middle class suburb on the city's eastern foreshore. He stayed at Wolmers for a year and was pulled back closer home to his "parish" high school, Beckford & Smith's in ^{Spanish Town}, riding horseback twenty miles ^{mostly at a gallop that brought many warnings from the local law enforcers.} each day to and from school. He finally entered his thrid secondary school when with his brother, Roy, they enrolled at Jamaica College. There he was to make marks in scholarship and athletics, unrivalled in the total by any of his countrymen before or since.

~~THE 100 & 220 RECORDS AT JC SHOULD BE TAKEN IN ANOTHER PLACE.~~

FOOTNOTE

*~~Muriel~~ Dr Muriel Manley tells the story of the Aunt Shrimp-ton going to Blenheim, Hanover to ~~collect-a-small-nephew-t~~ take her small nephew to Kingston where he would live with her but returned with his sister Maud instead after he refused to go, clutching the gateposts and bawling until he turned blue. Seems as if Nephew Alexander Bustamante would only move to Kingston when he could run the place.

Belmont was a property to gladden a boy's heart/. Two large ponds proffered fishing and swimming throughout the long summers of school vacation; birds flocked the great glade ~~where acres of~~ ^{with its acres} yielding ~~SHOOTING OF~~ guava groves ~~provided private shooting preserves of~~ baldpates, pigeons, ducks; ^{There were} miles of riding trails twisted up and ~~away~~ away towards the Juan de Bolas foothills. The boys roamed the Vale~~XX~~ inflicting their pranks upon the ~~indulgent~~ ^{indulgent} countryside: Roy, the younger, impulsive, outgoing ~~like~~ ^{as} an explosion of laughter; Norman, lean and hard riding, the high priest of high ~~gun~~ jinks. ^{lenient since these} The countryside was ~~indulgent~~ ^{indulgent} ~~for these~~ These were the good years for the new brown creole aristocracy, remotely controlled by the ascendant whites at a carefully encouraged level of arrogance to be the ruling divisives among the non-white masses. They could have turned rogue, as did, traditionally, the descendant encounters of master and female field-hand, living highbooted and spurred above the populace. Conversely, given that at this season in our society, Quality was a word denied the affiliates ~~but for the vigour of the family they could have been genteel poor~~, of the Manleys' tribal persuasions, they could have been genteelly fallow. That neither was the case had its reasons in the work-laws laid out by Margaret Manley, a small woman of ~~awesome~~ ^{whose cadenced} cadent strength ~~kek~~ held the children ~~steady~~ even. ~~To-earn-required-labour~~ ^{labour, and} The Belmont statement declared that ^{she herself handled cattle and the postal agency she acquired for Belmont (it was kept in the house) with equal proficiency.} only labour brought rewards. ~~everybody worked at Belmont: the girls at whatever~~ ~~so it was a case of everyone earning at Belmont~~ was going for young ladies of the times, the boys at chopping wood and weeding cleaning pastures. ^{grew up to} "We ~~neither~~ neither gifts nor pocket money," ^{in later years} wages." N.W. Manley ^{more} said to me one day at Nondimir. "We made our ~~some~~ Home from Jamaica College in the ~~summer~~ ^{some} holidays and/~~weekends~~ weekends, he was to hone his skill with the axe until he/~~challenged any of the Belmont~~ than any of the Belmont professionals on the property's logwood stands. In his sixties before his massive heart attack, he was still handling the 3-foot splitting axe with ~~a-rare~~ ^{it} skill. At Belmont, ~~it~~ bought him the guns and saddles for the sport which was his passion.*

FOOTNOTE: * At Jamaica College, he led his team to win the Petin Shield for shooting, the country's oldest interscholastic trophy.

18 but the energy which Margaret Manley died when N.W. was 17. The elder sister, the spiritual energy which had welded this volatile and highly talented family into a unit at Guanaboa Vale, still held. Vera, the eldest, had obtained a music scholarship to England and was soon followed in August, 1911, a bid for by Muriel and Roy, leaving Norman to make another stab at the Rhodes scholarship which he just held. He just failed in 1913. at first bid Muriel went into King's College and Roy became a public school boy at Theistead College. Just over a year later, Norman went up to Oxford (Jesus College).

It also appeared that old Thomas Manley's nicely developed discernment of the

that had made him a prototype for the precendential that had made him, an inland man, all produce buyer all the way inland and set him up as a leader of ships all the way inland produce buyer from Porus, was not lost in his children. Blue water ships, from Porus, into a lessee of deepwater ships, was not lost

in his children. When Vera won a music scholarship to England going after the Rhodes, it seemed appropriate and with Norman seeking the Rhodes, they made up their minds a time for a wholesale migration to the United Kingdom. By that all four would go to England.

August, 1911, Vera Muriel was in King's College and Roy a public school boy at Theistead, Kent(???)

lay over was unseasonably tidal The 2 years he was alone in Jamaica turned out a seasoned for the lad boy youth fellow to whom it had mostly broke good. It was to an extent typical of the later Manley man that a kind of extramarginal instincts led him through the teaching areas - schoolrooms classrooms of the three phases of the educational process - country's current educational processes system, He taught at his old Jamaica in the three fields, primary (Titchfield), as secondary (Jamaica College) and Agricultural (Hope Farm School). The knowledge and insight gathered through his facility for detail and body was to give him political authority in those political disciplines upon his ascent to power.

But that also was the year he was buffeted with a fever that almost took him. Astley Clerk Leslie Clerk The Manley bout with typhoid

See
ge
Topham
Favored
man-child

he
land
over a
Jamaica
wanting to
be called
and much
more
inspired and so on

His well slung athletic
was phenomenal. ~~It well built~~ _____ lbs dropped w to _____ lbs. ~~Weak~~
~~and gaunt to a death's head~~

He had attended the races at Knutsford ~~with his friend~~
~~Leslie Clerk~~ the day before, in apparent good health and certainly
for his flutters fell swiftly and his "But that was character-
good spirits even/though his horses ran slowly. ~~But-by-morning-he~~
istic of him. He did everything full bedied," blooded," said his
~~was-in-a-raging-fever-and-was~~
friend Leslie Clerk recently. "We left Knutsford together, on
the Hope tram after the last race. Next morning, he was dying."

He was too tough to die but it was close. Weak and gaunt
to a death's head, he was three weeks in the old "Hotel" hospital in
East Street. He had made plans to travel (with Clerk) to the United
States then ~~on~~ on to Oxford, England ~~xxMedical-care-and-~~
at
for while he mended in the Hope foothills residence of his friends,
the Josephs*. He finally sailed for England on the (ship _____
* One of the Josephs, Sir Hector, was to become Chief Justice
of _____.

on _____ 1914.

Exceeding athlete as he was, in ~~undoubtedly~~ (crucial, the athletic) sector of
The illness/had a profound effect upon his career. ~~It~~ Fine
dealt definitively
~~schleebethat~~ ~~seheely~~ he would undoubtedly have gone-down ly
with _____ field and team games,
Isis in the record ~~xxx~~ books on the Isis. In track, and field, his pro-
digious performances have made him still the all-time unsurpassed
among schoolboy athletes. His 10 seconds for the 100 yards created
in his vintage year of 1912 at Jamaica College, remained unbroken
for 41 years. That he never made a Blue in his first year at Oxford
could only be due solely to the post effects of his illness. In his
second year he had other more important matters to attend to, having
enlisted in the Royal Field Artillery
taken-the-King's-Shilling and committed to the Somme.

Once told Chester Davis:
"If Rose who thinks won't act,
those who don't, will."

Such as the ~~time~~ day when, footloose in London, they entered an ~~had gone to an~~ auction room and in an excess of good manners, each time the ~~banker~~ ^{banker} ~~banker~~ ^{spieler} nodded in their direction, politely nodded back. They

Only Luke treats of a most unique episode in the Master's life, when he formed a travelling company of the Twelve and journeyed into all the cities

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naturally ended up owning the instant stock, a load of cheap alarm
clocks. Numb but functioning, they hired a barrow, waited-for
and
the end of the short English day, / then quietly as possible trundled
it to the Embankment and dumped the whole lot in the Thames.

But summer came and with it, August.

N.W. Manley, then turned 21 and his brother Roy enlisted
together in the Royal Field Artillery and were soon in France. Roy
was killed in action, in-19___, in a way ~~marked~~ ^{marked} by his character
when ~~in the face of~~ ^{under heavy} enemy fire he broke from shelter to rescue a
fallen soldier. The sequence contained ~~TRAGIC~~ ^{TRAGIC} irony
that he was ~~carrying~~ ^{carrying} an already dead soldier on his back ^{was already dead.}

N.W. Manley's soldiering produced a ~~kind of~~ racial crucible
emerged with no visible scars. Yet
out of which he ~~rose~~ ^{emerged} the experiences
could have been traumatic. The English enlisted man, especially ~~the~~
the Cockney tribe, was ~~not~~ ^{more particularly}
~~known for~~ ^{noted} neither for tact nor ~~for~~ ^{for}
A foul-mouthed phrase smith of quick ~~and~~ ^{of} dexterity,
of startling veracity

Heart. A ruthless phrase smith of quick dexterity, the "darkie"
in his ranks was ~~always~~ ^{But being put} godsend. At least at first. ~~But it may~~
through the process may ~~have helped~~ ^{have helped} in refining his character for the
future rough and tumble.
He had led ~~all his life~~ ^{through} through college, in sports field and classroom and
was ~~in~~ ^{already} in a way "even then a national hero," as Sir John Carberry, ~~the~~
retired colleague
former Chief Justice and an early professional colleague asserts. The
raw ~~English~~ ^{English} must have ~~rattled~~ ^{assaulted} assaulted
sudden exposure to the power of the peasant ~~on his back~~ ^{his} his ego.

The ~~lost~~ ^{Tommy} lost no time in deciding who would be the
Company foil; but then, gradually, certain ~~facts~~ ^{facts} commenced to emerge.

It appeared that the "darkie" was not only much better educated than
any of them and possessed of a wicked tongue ^{out-}
but he could also ~~shoot~~ ^{shoot} better, ~~than they~~ ^{than they} ride,
out-box and ~~even~~ ^{was} an incomparable
out-run the best and ~~even~~ ^{was} an axe-wielder.

He was also handsome, a fact not lost upon many of the pinched specimens from the
Whitechapel purlieus. Their ~~TRIAL~~ ^{TRIAL} worship of ~~don~~ ^{don} saw in him the ~~darkie~~
"gent" or "gurner." When incoming replacements began the baiting that was as

"Darkie" was changed to "Bill" ^{to Bill}

Manley's four years of war were to ~~have~~ ^{sometimes} strongly affect his life, both in outlook and insight. A man/given to curious self-effacement and deep, quiet regard ^a for diverse ~~people~~ ^{humble, the} few, he was ~~in~~ for the first time ~~in~~ ^{to} commit his life with the ~~losses~~ / ~~folk~~ of a race that was half his, the English workingman. At Guanaboa Vale ~~and~~ as at ~~Roxburgh,~~ his working hours in the field were more than balanced ^{at the evening return to the} by the/genteel country-house vitality and skill maintained for her children by the/~~skill-and-courage~~ of the ~~determined little ones~~ ^{(mother) Margaret} Manley. He spoke little of his soldiering but when he did, the affection/was evident. ~~Leaders are rebels with a winning cause, A common denominator among leaders~~ Leaders are revolutionaries with a winning cause differing only in/degree of change./~~Manley shared~~ ^{perhaps a blood} affected by what people thought of me," he has said, sharing/~~a sentiment with~~ ^{a the fondest} with his ^{blood} cousin Bustamante. But ~~even~~ ^{Young} held delineation of our proudest ~~character~~ trait can be eroded by wear./Gunner Manley's ~~until-his-character~~ found that/what people thought of him could/~~affect-his~~ where he thought there was none.

"Colour meant nothing to me," he has said of his years before the war. "I did not, could not allow it to be an obsession since I was totally without any idea of 'white superiority.' The only superiority I accepted was (that) of 'excellence'. I had an unquenchable belief in 'excellence'."

USE P.9 IN HIS DIARY FOR FIRST COLOUR PREJ AGAINST HIS BROTHER.

^{wartime and} But postwar Britain was to change his illusions;

~~into a faded fantasy~~
~~without bitterness but~~ ~~not~~ make him
~~not~~ ^{to} ~~remind him~~ ~~but~~ ~~to~~ ~~define~~ ~~where~~ aware of the cold
~~brutal facts~~ outside the walls of academe.

Waincoat

natural to them as spitting
they were swiftly and obscenely set to rights by the old hands
in the platoon. TAKE IN SUPPLEMENT

When he became a political leader of his country, the
~~the~~/splendid possibilities of ~~interesting~~ his wartime expe-
to ~~LINKING~~ upon/sensation-

riences ~~an~~ an anti-white attitude ~~was~~ not ~~been~~ lost ~~to~~ the
seeking He ~~Manley~~ steadily denied ~~the~~ posture ~~of~~ ~~incidence~~.

English journalists. ~~He~~ ~~Manley~~ ~~discrediting~~ but I cannot recall him ~~of~~ the occurrence. ~~Manley~~. In

~~seem to~~ why ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~not~~ ~~been~~ ~~made~~ ~~an~~ ~~officer~~, ~~Manley~~ ~~shot~~ ~~back~~=" trauma. ~~the~~
public life, ~~gave~~ ~~any~~ ~~clues~~ he gave no clues to wounds ~~for~~ ~~that~~ ~~tensions~~

~~Manley~~. One must believe he defeated that season, ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~young~~ as
~~Manley~~ he was, with the integrity that was to be his peculiar grace in the

ears ahead. ~~Manley~~ Before the war was much older, he had become the Com-
pany guru, writing their letters, addressing their problems, supplying a
~~the~~ ~~letter~~ ~~writing~~, ~~feared~~

~~Manley~~ foot-locker contact with an educated
world ~~that~~ ~~most~~ of them ~~had~~ ~~never~~ knew only to exist. He has never

seemed strong on the science of dismantling, or the art of walking
~~Manley~~. He was a shy man ~~who~~ ~~cherished~~

away. ~~Manley~~ ~~was~~ ~~to~~ ~~prove~~ ~~Manley~~ partial to his
ways but also with a profound respect for his judgment ~~as~~ was particularly

~~Manley~~ ~~ways~~ So that when he was offered a commission, it was proven in
quietly his later poli
~~Manley~~ refused. "I did not want to leave my companions," he tical
life.

~~Manley~~ once told a BBC interviewer. Manley

~~Manley~~ the war, through
Norman Manley fought through ~~the~~ Ypres and the Somme and won the
then and resumed at

a Military Medal, ~~Manley~~ was demobilised ~~he~~ ~~returned~~ to Oxford for
the

a career that was ~~Manley~~ distinguished by awards of ~~a~~ Certificate of
The day before

Honour Bar Finals and the Lee Prizeman (Essay) Gray's Inn ~~Manley~~ his viva
He was the last

where he was called to the bar on April 20, 1921. ~~and~~ admitted to the of the
Jamaica Bar on
orals, he

~~Manley~~ August 30, 1922. But just before
fulfilled an

When the young war hero and scholar
important engage-
ment when he mar-
ried his younger
cousin Edna of
Challington,
Cornwall.

premise he
rule
costs
A ~~part~~ ~~he~~ ~~share~~ by
meeting he stipulation
fulfilling the
demand
stipulation

(Open with dramatic piece re Jamaica of that year)

On August 30th, 1922, in Chambers before Mr Justice H.I.C. Brown, Mr H. Kaye Ryan, the Irish & ~~(??)~~ acting Attorney General made an application for the admission to practice on behalf of Mr N.W. Manley. Mr "yan properly pointed out that the papers which had been filed with the Court showed that the said Mr Manley had passed all the necessary examinations and had been duly "called to the bar in the Mother Country."

Sitting behind the ~~Mr=Justice=Brown~~ plain wooden table in his steamy Chambers, Mr Justice Brown, wig ~~was~~ pushed back and ~~on~~ white cuffs showing, He entered upon his professional with a skill and ~~his~~ that was almost unbearable. He had been well schooled in the craft, the year he stayed in England after his bar finals.

gravely leafed through the pages and made his legal seal. The lean young man in the artfully aged gown ~~and wig~~ and wig thoroughly squared on his high forehead, stood, bowed and delivered his neat little speech of affirmation. ~~and He~~ less than a ~~rather 29~~ dozen of ~~of~~ affirmation. ~~before he~~ was duly enrolled among the ~~the~~ barristers which comprised the private ~~bar~~ bar.* ~~in practice on the island~~ He had fulfilled the first requisites of the Cecil Rhodes' award which had enjoined that his candidates ~~should~~ be chosen only on the basis that they were strong, scholarly leaders. How he would meet the ultimate, the ~~relative~~ ~~(???)~~ hope of the old Empire building donor ~~builder~~ himself that his beneficiaries would possess the qualities which would be "like ~~only~~ in after-life to guide them to esteem the performance

of public duties as their highest aim", was still hidden ~~in~~ behind the cool, ~~composed~~ almost icy ~~calm~~ self possession of the 29-year ~~old ex-soldier~~ ^{war veteran. TAKE IN PIV} ^{of memory}

* In private practice included C.H. Beard, E.F.H. Cox, J.L. King, ~~G.H. McGregor~~, Josiah Oldfield, HM Radcliffe, ~~H.K. Ryan~~, A.B. Rennie, J.A.L. Reid, Philip Stern, K.C., J.A.G. Smith, F.C. Tomlinson, ~~in the last decade~~, ~~there had been only between 1910 and 1921, no new barristers had been admitted.~~

to
The Jamaica ~~in~~ which N.W. Manley returned from the war was not much different from the Guanaboa Vale days. The Empire still ^{was} ^{airily}

J.C. Manley

^

^

bemusing the world, working its curious alchemy upon its subject in just about people with ~~unbroken~~ ^{occasional} silences save for the brief flurries of the Sepoy Mutiny and the ~~crusades~~ ^{flares} in Africa. ~~It was~~ ^{Jamaica was an English outpost,} a tophatted, ~~and training its police officers in Dublin, Ireland,~~

It 3/4 a week for domestic servants, this would be a real sacrifice for some.

The impending wedding of English Princess Mary was frontpage story daily newspapers for ~~two months~~ ^{for two months} before the nuptials. *Locally we were clamping down on Chinese immigration and inviting Explorer Mitchell Hedges to come

*An island-wide appeal for the contribution of a shilling by every woman in the land to purchase a wedding present for the Princess. ~~It was launched by Smith's daughter, wife of the Governor~~

The city streets were unpaved ~~except~~ ^{high and low} for a few cobbled ones. Influenza was killing in Europe, including ~~a pope~~ ^{around} The island's entire revenue was under ~~two~~ ^{£2-} million pounds and expenditures/just over £21-million.

clean Kingston Harbour of man-eating sharks.

later the protagonists ~~with whom he would/engage.~~ He came home to none of ~~his antagonists.~~ Bustamante was overseas. A was putting ~~it~~ ^{it} together a ferocious U.S. squad of treasury agents/~~were lightening the search on~~ Federal frame in ~~Western Samoa~~ which to indict Marcus Garvey. Politics was ~~only~~ ^{only} gents, one each to a parish. But

PROFLUENCE

a part-time exercise for a handful of ~~voluble gents~~ ^{gents} in his ~~power for politics.~~ ~~The~~ ^{the} professionally, the lists ~~of~~ ^{of} were already up. His most formidable opponent would be J.A.G. Smith, ~~just over 100,000 people lived in the Corporate Area.~~ ~~the population of Kingston was less than one-fifth what it is today.~~

a voluble law lion whose ~~eloquence~~ ^{eloquence} could ~~heavily~~ ^{heavily} left his reduce ~~his opponent in a lather judge and~~ ^{WEARY} opposing counsel to a blob of lather.

Smith straddled the bar, a lean ~~black~~ ^{black} aristocrat whose ~~appearance of~~ ^{appearance of} unfeigned air of /grace-under-pressure from the white Bench was not lost upon ~~the~~ ^{the} jurymen.

He was immensely successful, appearing in most of the importance cases ~~presented~~ ^{prior to} for a dozen years ~~before~~ ^{before} Manley ~~came~~. He represented Clarendon in the Legislative Council, ~~a tireless~~ ^{an abrasive relentless} battler for citizens' rights with an unqualified distaste for ~~local~~ ^{local} the people's rights

~~Norman and Edna~~ ^{NORMAN and Edna} ~~and their son Douglas~~ ^{and their son Douglas} Colonial officials. ~~and Beryl~~ ^{and Beryl} ~~lived long~~ ^{lived long} ~~close friends~~ ^{close friends}

for ~~some~~ ^{for} a few weeks while he looked for Chambers and visited

NOT
FOR
THE
PROTON
TRUST
OF NDU
A
COWEN
FOR
PUBLIC
FC

FOR
PUBLIC
FC

TAKE IN
16-A

Get
Sina to
sketch
under
planer
0/1/1/1/1
& drive
way also
increase

D/Blair
0924
656x

Waverly
- wanted to be
close to John
wants very hot
fast home
5 months.

House across Road NERARA YALIA
(3) They kept house & buggy & house for the ranchman
in 1921, and
born in England, one year after
the capture.
Working the Acre, Phoenix
free lands in front with which they kept
black Egyptian Slavery.

hat
as
irst
ar?
sed to
ide
uggies
owork?

painters, sculptors, dancers, statesmen and the better royalty which frequented Drumblair for so many years.

Among the prized possessions in the lightly furnished flat of

~~As a result of the~~
~~As a result of the~~

impecunious young couple ³⁰
the ~~young family~~ were the ~~thirty~~ ^{him} or so cups and trophies ~~which~~

~~had~~ won by ~~him~~ in sports. Today they would no doubt ~~be~~ have

been national memorabilia but for a burglary. ~~They have been~~
They were ~~lost~~ lost.

One was thought the burglar was a hungry collector

~~had been together with the burglar~~ since he also

stole Douglas' Glaxo. In lieu of the Glaxo they acquired a goat,

~~Edna's~~ ~~they~~ ~~had~~ ~~acquired~~ a shaggy Egyptian black,
~~to be kept in the flat of Mr. Douglas~~
from the soldiers at Up Park Camp and moved to Worthington Avenue.

They sold the single buggy

~~in~~ ^{Norman} ^{driving} which ~~had~~ had been ~~to~~ to his chambers and invested in a
two-year old Essex and a couple of linen dusters.

They remained at Worthington for ^{several months} ~~several months~~ including

a move ~~across~~ across the road to another larger house called "Newara
two words of

Yahlia" ~~of~~ reputed Indian ~~origin~~ ^{ability} origin believed to be an invo-
cation to the Moslem Allah. ~~The following year, Edna~~

~~had~~ ~~produced~~ her second son, Michael, and the black Egyptian was working

overtime. ~~Both being~~ ^{Both being} passionately fond of
horses, they were also

the owners of a fine animal named "House of Lords" which was ~~very~~

~~known~~ to achieve a minor fame on Mr Dolphy's track at
in

Maverley/ ~~Edna's~~ Edna's very successful gymkhana appearances.

[In 1924 they moved to ~~Drumblair~~ a fine place in the
woods above Half Way Tree named
DRUMBLAIR.

Of the changes, he not
only coped, he
carried it.

his warmth
For ~~the~~ ^{his} ~~size~~ ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{banked}, not unkindled.

Even at middle age and beyond, they
/They had a faculty for attracting the young and gifted.
was from the first ~~that~~ ^{was} of such to ~~raise~~ ^{then} less
If his impatience, ~~was~~ ^{encourage} ~~traumas~~ ^{among} ~~the~~ ^{shining},
his approval endured peculiarly through, ~~xxxxxxwarmthxxxxxxbankedxxxx~~
~~these white with failed to watch, there~~ much abrasions. ~~He~~ had
it appeared, because of uncertainty but more ~~for~~
been a shy youth, not ~~painfully~~ ^{not even} ~~cautiously~~, but
a mind whose native, ~~He~~ could listen as long as it took, ~~See back~~
an incisive- incisiveness dictated an unwinking fix on facts. ~~xxx~~
integrity had the luck ~~such~~ ^{that} ~~xxxxxxrecognized had gained~~
~~could no more evade~~ ^{it} fetches ~~that~~ ^{people} ~~xxxxxx~~ recognition
was not dictated by contact, ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{and} which could account activity
in public response ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{This accounts} for the phenomenal ~~xxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxx~~ to his return.

So far, the young Manley had gained success in two fields:
~~the~~ as ~~N. scholar~~ ^{obvious} ~~who was~~ the first ~~really~~ ^{obviously} darkskinned Jamaican
to ~~win~~ ^{secure} a Rhodes, and ~~for~~ the prodigious performances which had
made him a legend in the schools' athletic contests. These
~~gained him the records in the 100 and 220 yard school runs~~
were the visible, highly lauded exploits. His ~~scholarship~~ ^{and white} at Oxford
was less noticeable; ~~and the war and typhoid had~~ barred him from ~~adult~~
athletics. ~~the playing of~~ His new graduate field of the law lay before him.

~~What was the~~ How challenging ~~or~~ and tough was the field?
The Jamaican Bar was small in size and ~~middleweight~~ ^{That} ~~in quality~~ ^{locality}.
J.A.G. Smith's ~~sized~~ ^{advocacy} was strong on the legalities, ~~but~~ ^{low} on
~~and a wet within squib in~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{between}
techniques and ~~quite~~ ^{quite} ~~xxxxxx~~ pyrotechnics. ~~The whole roll numbered~~
~~xxxxxx~~ ^{only} ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} No new barristers
had been admitted to the Jamaican bar in ~~the decade~~ ^{eleven years} before N.W. Man-
ley's enrollment. The only King's Counsel, Philip Stern, was already
aging. ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{The} brilliant young
~~xxxxxx~~ ^{incoming} man let ~~a~~ ^a whiff of fresh air
into the musty corridors of the tired old ~~bar~~ ^{Litigants} like what
was showing ~~flocked~~ ^{they} ~~to his chambers to open for him~~
~~they~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} a 32-year run that ceased
only when he retired from the bar to ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{Premier} of Jamaica.

FIRST CASE. HAS HAZEL GOT IT IN HER NOTES? CHECK.

His success at the bar was fantastic only in the percentages. The fact was, he
was bound ~~to~~ ^{to} succeed. ~~As~~ ^{As} a former chief justice, Sir Adrian ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{one kind of}
career was publicly labelling him a "genius" in the famous Alexander novels that ~~xxxxxx~~
former chief justice, Sir John Cockburn put down his greatness to "ability and hard work." ~~xxxxxx~~
Cockburn ~~observed~~ ^{observed} that "his mind had the ability to ~~see~~ ^{see} certain points which would
develop into big things and he could discard trivia." ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} who worked with Manley
in chambers for three years 1925-27 ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} while he "could be bitingly sarcastic
in court he was generous to a fault with everything and everybody."

For ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~decades~~ ^{decades},
there was no important case ~~in the three decades~~ ^{in which} Manley did not
figure. In the civil courts, his ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{winning} advocacy at the Papii lola and ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{also}
the ~~Vickers~~ ^{xxxxxx} matters ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx}

CHAPTER

(the Coke chapel nursery of our politicians)

on The Parade

A redbrick sidewalk outside the city's chief park was the cradle
of Jamaica's modern politics. A flight of six or eight steps -
the western
a couple of hundred feet long on the west and southern approaches
to the Coke Methodist chapel, that landmark gothic in brick at
the corner of East Parade and East Queen Street, was for many
three decades the main forum for every city seeker after office. Facing
the old Victoria Park where by day the shady old banyan trees
drooped shaded and cool ~~textured~~ to the green curved-back
sheltering in shelter and comfort (newspaper-reading and arguing)
benches/holding-in comfortable a generation of touts, orators
and candidates, the Coke Step in the evening afforded a platform,
high enough for effective haranguing,
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ wide and flat for ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
pacing, and ^{Traffic-free} in broad below, ~~traffic-free~~
the occasional horse-drawn hackney, Crowds flocked to
rolls were small but the campaign quality vigorous.
it. Voters ~~Crowds flocked to it~~ / In the flicker of three-burner
kerosene oil lamps on poles (wealthier/candidates sometimes afforded
carbide flares) the rhetoric pros
rattled from such stalwarts as

The lights burnt late at Drumblair ~~E~~ but for other reasons. His details
lawyer Now well into his thirties, Manley's capacity for taking
law briefs, was already infinite; coal off the altar. His study
with through exhaustive research, powerful preception and a
studied intellect exceeded rivalry. As most
memory not short of uncanny, he was a consummate actor. The aquiline
courtroom giants, he was a consummate actor. The aquiline
features with the theatrical flow of hair beneath the wig, ~~the~~ The
and strikingly gestures in the
eloquence, and beautifully controlled casually grand
the ability by the lay of his head or a ~~gesture~~^{partial} of his robes to compel attention,
manner, gave him a style so ~~calm~~^{dramatic} ~~that although widely~~^{imitated was never a great as painful for his flat.}
It was a curious side of his character that he seemed to exude the same

he did his home or among
 same warmth to a jury as/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in the intimacy of/~~xxxxxxxx~~ those
 whom he liked, And Surely not when engaged ON politics,
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ but hardly ever elsewhere. Quite as ~~if~~ though ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
 instructing his ~~own~~ choice of affection. His knowledge of law was, of
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ prodigious, but acquired
 course, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ by account of his contemporaries, ~~but his ability~~
 by ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ work.

For years the/~~xxxxxxxx~~ Drumblair fell dark
 A source I consider impeachable declares that he
 for only four hours each night. ~~xxx~~/would sleep ~~for~~ from two a.m. to
 catching

six a.m. for a stretch then by way of/~~xxxxxxxx~~ up, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ he would
 really flake out, ~~xxxx~~ one night by
 sleeping from midnight to six ~~xxxx~~ a.m. However

long and
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that may be, his success was/~~xxxxxxxx~~. We ~~xxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a-~~xxxxxxxx~~brilliant-versatility-for-either-criminal-or-civil-matters-
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ equal-brilliance-in-civil-and-criminal-matters-~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Some ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in the wings there must be a fellow ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ picking through that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ wealth from which ~~xxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Manley's courtroom /~~xxxxxxxx~~ The profession

~~xxx~~ in quick order recognized his remarkable gifts. Many ~~xxxx~~
 law
 young lawyers had unabashedly took to lurking in the seedy/library
 then serving the Supreme Court on the second floor of the Public Build-
 ings in the hope of obtaining a gratuitous opinion on some knotty
 point. His natural generosity ~~xxxx~~ for a/~~xxxx~~/while ~~xxxxxxxx~~ him
 in the ploy (PLOY) and When he did catch on, he took to Sunday ~~xxxxxxxx~~
 library
 visiting the ~~library~~ on Sunday mornings but soon a suprising num-
 ber of ~~legal-practitioners~~ the ~~xxxx~~ commandment.

Solicitors and the rapidly growing bar were soon filling up
 up the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ seats of the courts in which he was
 appearing.

as the presiding Justice
 The "Yes, Mr Manley" from the Bench/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ outset
 called on the defence, was always to mark the/~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
 of a virtuoso ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ achievement that for force of
 wit, elegance and skill was unmatched then as now.

Manley the Lawyer
~~xxxxxxxx~~

asks its own book;

reluctant conclusion

And ~~it is~~ an unavoidable but/~~xxxxxxxx~~ since

much of the clout in his political career came from the insights
 into the Jamaican character

/he had gained through ~~xxx~~ working in the law. He was to defend

all over Jamaica,
 high and low, rich and poor and all races/in every island parish.

civil State
 His/advocacy was to ~~xxxx~~ prepare the ground for every/~~xxxxxxxx~~
 before took

social reform since/the land/~~xxxx~~ noticed in 1938. But his
 bourgeois

~~xxxxxxxx~~ origins and elite now, effectively screened him from

the scene./~~xxxxxxxx~~ Spanish Town Road saw him only ~~xxxxxxxx~~

In the courts he brushed Trench Town, but
 at the race track he sat in the Stewards' box. The truth is ~~is~~ the

earlier Manley looked less a likely political fellow than ever shouted

a slogan. Yet although little known, Norman Manley had long before plotted
 a course ~~xxx~~ which led to its ultimate, politics.

CHAPTER

SEEN WHETHER
MICHAEL WILL
FREE THAT
IS OWN
E CISION
OR POL
IENCE WAS
RESULT
HIS PA'S
FLUENCE.

came ~~very~~ close to
Yat Law was ~~very~~ nearly being a non-starter in
Manley's plans for his Law
his ~~scholarship~~ future. ~~When~~ it claimed him only after
it
he had come to terms with his ~~long~~ decision to enter politics
at a ~~certain~~ point of his career. It should be noted that that

even during those early days, when he lived the life of the young
man about the upper town, he never lost touch with the ~~market~~-
did not turn his back on

~~proper~~ place. Ex Although he ~~took his seat~~ in the steward's
sat in the cheaper seats
box nor ~~sat in the gallery~~ at his beloved boxing matches, ~~his~~ it
worked as collateral, later, were folk-sports, and which

~~sports~~ that his ~~sports~~ were those of not
with which he was identified. ~~There~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~any~~ ~~public~~ ~~spots~~ in
kept him visible in the public eye. Almost casually, he was being
~~shaped~~ ~~for~~ ~~his~~ ~~course~~. ~~That~~ of the cool, aloof young lawyer

~~Meanwhile~~, in the bosom of home, ~~A~~ side/hardly ever on view away from

his family was ~~with~~ ~~glowing~~ ~~rejoicing~~ ~~on~~ ~~their~~ ~~lives~~ ~~with~~
was ~~as~~ ~~usual~~. ~~with~~ ~~growing~~ ~~warmth~~ ~~feeling~~
~~growing~~ ~~with~~ ~~His~~ ~~love~~ ~~for~~ ~~pranks~~ ~~and~~ ~~unconventional~~ ~~behaviour~~ ~~ways~~
could reduce them to apprehensive shivers, throw them into
~~howling~~ ~~laughing~~ ~~or~~ ~~reduce~~ ~~them~~ ~~to~~

~~giggling~~ ~~howling~~ laughter. He was a man notoriously care-
less of his safety, thinking nothing of climbing trees or mounting

high roofs by an ingenious but precarious system of double ladders.
A great lover

~~Sagittarius~~ of classical music, his own performance never strayed
virtuoso ~~but~~ blowings of

beyond/~~constant~~ ~~virtuoso~~ ~~playing~~ ~~on~~ the mouth-organ. ~~which~~ His
expert stroking ~~wonderfully~~ indecent folk-mentos jelly
~~rendering~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~national~~ ~~indecent~~ ~~mentos~~ still shake

memories. On the long summer days up at Nomdmi, ~~in~~ the Blue Mountains
fully give leave to,

near Guava Ridge, ~~they~~ could play the imp. ~~tazze~~ that was never
out of reach

very-far in his most serious moments. (Time and again, in
and parliament, a tiny antenna would wave for a crack,
courtroom ~~at~~ ~~legislature~~ ~~it~~ ~~would~~ ~~show~~ ~~apparently~~ ~~innocently~~ ~~although~~
suspiciously enabling to his cause.)
to be ~~swiftly~~ ~~and~~ ~~skillfully~~ ~~suppressed~~.

The law may have been apprentice to his politics. For
PRACTICING with clients among
~~practising~~ up and down the land, brought him rich and poor,
scrutiny
it placed him in/~~contact~~ ~~with~~ as hardly another profession would.

He was a compulsive researcher and sought rationales --- to a fault.

REMEMBER
THE PIC
EDNA TELL
OF HIM &
ST ANDREW
PUP.

Pub spots
were full-
spotted

* FOOTNOTE

public spots in
done well.

endeavored

their resort cottage

he

* 8. 1937 left N. A. C. ...

21

~~END OF A CHAPTER:~~ What was becoming evident was that there was a growing "look to Manley" among the younger non-white concerned young men of in the country.

for
~~CRASH~~ identity/which the
had the / that the early stirrings of
He owned all the requirements of the common Jamai-
had begun to vaguely hunger. He was a strong dark presence, accom-
~~panied by a hunger for a new way of life, a new way of thinking.~~
The hunger was not widespread. Karl-Marx,
~~Marx's philosophy was not widespread.~~ A sprinkling of young intellectuals
cautiously
had ~~found~~ discovered Karl ~~Marx~~ Marx and was ~~tentatively~~ brushing
which was supposed to fetch
their fingers over the mosaic/ of political power to the work-
ing class. Marx's philosophy ~~had~~ ^{grew} the growth in
~~was~~ than an agrarian economy; the tight wage-bond between the
mill-owner and ~~worker~~ ^{HAND} at large
~~than~~ than the loose irrelation of the
~~farmer~~ ^{peasant} farmer. ~~Marx~~ Marx had ~~been~~ laid ground for his philosophy

plished like hell, in a sea of vapid tea-slopping English
mouths faces that occupied a dark distant suburb (?) moved
called St-Andrew floated like ghosts back of the
jalousies ~~faces~~ of wealthy suburbia St Andrew. He
had proven he could run, jump, talk and looked bet-
ter than them all ~~(who said our people couldn't be good as They?)~~ and (who said our
people couldn't be good as They?) swallow your collar
studs, friend, he had been to Oxford!

on economic power to produce ^{the} political ~~power~~ for the working class but
in the vast cane ~~fields~~ and banana fields that was Jamaica in the
bauxite mining
decades before the Fifties, with no ~~aluminum mines~~ or factories
for an industrial working class would be crunching to
foreseeable, the wait/~~was~~ ^{for}
the passionate ^{of} impatient ~~the~~ long exploited.

black
There was no/middleclass, but an urge existed, especially
among the ~~highly educated~~ sons and daughters of the rising artisans.
^{late,} occurred, a ~~transform~~ transform
It was, among these, that the irony of Marx/~~in practice~~
that had the ~~hopefully~~ young,
into a peculiarly thorough hopefully bourgeoisie, clamouring for
a transfer of power to the "middle-class," ^{hold just} ~~perhaps~~ to/keep in trust
until the "working-class" was ready. But irony is a shortcut to reality,
~~under circumstances.~~ The new politics took hold. It began to replace

proconsul

On Tuesday March 10, wearing his panoply of plumed hat and and short sword, the Governor, Sir Edward Denham, a rotund, peasant-featured Devonshire man(???) LOOK UP IN 1937 HANDBOOK) opened the year's legislature with the usual "throne speech" citing the colony's successes, glossing over ^{The} failures, and promising "Bright Gem future felicity in its role as a ~~loyal~~ ^{loyal} gem of the Empire."

~~Governor=Denham~~ While he made an early acknowledgement fall in of a ~~drop~~ in expected revenue, ~~by=some=~~ creating instead of a £10,000 surplus, a deficit of five times that amount, the Commander-in-Chief at the end could look into 1937/38 and report: "I do not think ~~that~~ there can be any doubt that the great resources of the island will be able to cope with the demands made on them, during the coming year, in spite of the many problems and difficulties which we have still to meet." The blame ~~of-course~~ ^{was not} for the year's failure, of course ^{placed where it belonged} ~~was not~~ ^{non-options} on poor planning, ^{which were looked back through Governor's mind, to Britain and the whole question of colonial rule,} but on the weather, "the storms and hurricanes which have in the past been responsible for the setbacks which the Colony has sustained."

^{If was not} True, ^{had} rainstorms near the end of 1935 ^{caused} had ~~produced some~~ ^{an} effect on the 36/37 banana crop but there were other unaccountables, such as the mysterious spiriting away of the profits on rum export. "It is difficult to account for this loss in an industry which has had a particularly good year," ^{Denham said} ~~said the Governor~~ plaintively. ^{and} ~~X~~ also cited the annual heavy drag on revenues by the inefficient railway system, and the accelerated movement of work-seeking /country folk to the towns, a tide he hoped to ~~stem~~ turn by a rural works programme.

Another uneasy ^{cloud} cloud on the horizon ^{had appeared} was ~~the coming from~~ ninety miles off the north coast where the Cuban authorities, their requirements of ^{new} ~~need-for=cheap~~ lowcost energetic Jamaican labour ~~was being opposed~~

Budget -2

having become an impediment by reason of political relevance,
~~through-political-relevance~~
 were making noises for their ~~xxx~~ repatriation by the Jamaican
 and having murmuring: I am sure
 government/~~=said~~ Denham hopefully: "The Cuban government/are good
 neighbours ... and will avoid any embarrassment to this government."

All the same, Governor Denham with better prophecy than
 took a clear-eyed view of the future when he
 most politicians/added: "With a rapidly increasing population and
 the risk of its being further augmented from outside, it is essen-
 tial that the policy of agricultural development, and a programme
~~obscure the-customary~~
 of works should be steadily pursued;" ~~only-to-messle-it-by-his~~
 only to lose his fine sighting when he made the customary bow to Empire
~~bow-to-Empire="May-our-king-and-queen-be-long-spared="/>~~ by observ-
 ing that his constituents as a "happy, peaceful and contented
 people." ~~The-fact-is-that~~

The fact is that ~~a-year-fres~~ by the time the annual ^{Throne} Speech Day/_n again
 had rolled around, his "happy, contented people"~~x~~ were rioting in
 the streets.

~~But 1937~~
~~However, in the Manley years~~
~~Although such of the coming trouble could be inference~~
 As the man at the helm with all the lines to hand, it was
 thought
 significant that Denham/~~that~~ "the prosperity of the Colony" largely
 dependent on ... banana cultivation." Now the wind blew dictated
 whether the economy stood or fell. In the Manley years, ^{the} 1937 ¹³⁸ ~~was the~~ ^{be}
~~not only~~ ^{saw him embark on}
~~a strong year~~ ^{growth-but-on} an endeavour that was to/the
^{from law}
 commencement of the great curve into socio-politics. It was the year
 of the founding of Jamaica Welfare Limited.

[1938's ^{Throne} Speech Day was on Tuesday March 8, ~~when~~ ^{the} ~~giving~~ ^{curiously} of his stewardship
 led former Denham to intone: "It has indeed been a good year" based on the
 inflationary information that "imports were considerably higher than they have been for the past
 6 years." ^{why, the weaker, damn it.} Add the causes? ~~Denham~~ Said Denham within 3 minutes of
 the commencement of his speech: "Our balance would have been still larger had it not been for a
 somewhat dull December caused by the bad weather at the end of the year which induced
 people to be more economical in their expenditure." He saw the past year as "prosperous"
~~perhaps it was not that he had seen the~~
~~some ambivalence~~
 (A little later he would report with ~~that~~ "a good season for production also caused
 a decline in food imports.")

but for whom? Jobs were scarcer than they had ever been. Youths leaving school had, in the majority cases, no hope of regular employment for years to come. ~~(A-recognition-of-the-desperate~~ that the usually tightfisted government was dipping into its Earthquake Relief Fund to borrow £1000 towards the £2500 estimated required for a Boys' Club "to meet the needs of unemployed youths and boys in the provision of healthy instruction and amusement..." But just to be on the safe side, a loyalty-intensive bonus/ ~~tax~~ of £4000 "for go made to the Police immediately before the bricks ~~Police~~ ~~just~~ ~~of~~ ~~£5000~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~granted~~ flew in the May riots.

One of Denham's hopes that year was the promise of a massive Public Works programme which would increase the vote for Extraordinary Works by some 50%. But the small, ill-staffed PWD which had been hard pressed to spend £250,000 ~~could~~ had the faintest of chance to liquidate ~~at half~~ ~~The-old-rule-the-island-enjoyed-as-a-colony-was~~ more in 1938. There was not exactly a lack of talent ~~in~~ for securing the island's resources, ~~for turning to industry and providing~~ ~~planter~~ ~~resources,~~ ~~Coconut-producer~~ jobs. Coconut/growers establish had in the same year sought permission to/operate a soap factory ~~as-a-by-product;~~ to supply ~~island-needs~~ the island's needs; ~~with-the~~ others ~~had~~ ^{asked} requested to be allowed to put up a cement factory; but since either would have/ ~~meant~~ ~~the-offsetting~~ been in competition with both were flattened at a British imported ~~product;~~ Soap birth by the British governor. English-rulers==

charisma they to lead them out of notion into reality.

Manley came closest to the one who could do it. He was young, considered rich, handsome, eloquent, ~~and~~ determined enough for identity, ~~that he was not only a~~ ~~Rhodes scholar~~ ~~and~~ ~~had a seat in the Jockey Club, the then quite inaccessible~~ ~~exclusiveness of the~~ ~~white~~ ~~club~~ ~~and~~ ~~Englishman and~~ ~~highly~~ ~~sallow~~ ~~Ten~~

LAW

It befitted that as the ~~courtroom~~

or mulatto. What ~~crystallised~~ the up before

had made him brought him ~~rather~~ ~~foreseeably~~ in the eyes of his people

(the idea the abstract would

as a potential leader political standard bearer. ~~A courtroom action~~ be

would crystallised ~~through~~ through a ~~courtroom action~~.

TAKE IN 1937 Supplement

CHAPTER

The Jamaican economy in 1937 depended on the export trade in sugar and bananas but In 19__, some ~~stems~~ ~~of~~ ~~bananas~~ ~~were~~ ~~exported~~ ~~to~~

Britain and the U.S.A. The economy of the country ~~was~~ ~~hung~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~banana~~

tree much as it did to the cane. ~~Its~~ ~~social~~ ~~impact~~ ~~was~~ ~~never~~ ~~more~~

difficult from the Sugar was a once yearly harvest crop was ~~less~~ ~~than~~ the cane. ~~since~~ ~~the~~ ~~latter~~ ~~brought~~

when for three months there occurred the great gatherings of

down to the sugar plains

reapers on the cane estates. They came for the single purpose

earning quick wages and returning

of cutting canes and returning home, mostly to the mountains.

has been

The banana man ~~was~~ ~~always~~ ~~considered~~ ~~the~~ ~~weightier~~ ~~citizen~~.

He usually was a landowner, however small, of sturdier independence.

as it did the weekly

His crop came in all year, bringing ~~as~~ ~~it~~ ~~did~~ ~~these~~ ~~fine~~ "banana

~~Banana~~ ~~held~~ ~~whatever~~ ~~the~~ ~~more~~ ~~respectability~~

day" ~~when~~ ~~he~~ ~~paraded~~ ~~his~~ ~~port~~ ~~town~~ ~~praising~~ "God and my right hand that I

~~say~~ ~~to~~ ~~each~~ ~~district~~ ~~at~~ ~~least~~ ~~once~~ ~~weekly~~

am a banana man." Bananas held, conceivably, respectability.

~~farmers~~ ~~union~~ ~~national~~ ~~organisation~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~

The island's first ~~cooperative~~ ~~society~~ ~~formed~~ ~~among~~ ~~the~~ ~~banana~~ ~~growers~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~face~~ ~~of~~

opposition from the most powerful private enterprise ever to operate

in the Caribbean, the United Fruit Company.

XXXXXX

The founding of the *in Jamaica*
~~The/Jamaican~~ banana business is credited to Captain
 American
 Dow Baker, a 19th century/sea captain working out of Port An-
 tonio. In the 1920s, the island was still the largest banana
 exporter, *almost* ~~nearly~~ exclusively (with Africa) servicing the Euro-
 banana
 pean market. The United Fruit Company with its vast/plantations
 virtually owned the US market ~~also~~ and also *shipping and*
 and concessions in Central America ~~however,~~ controlled the ~~the~~ marketing

"A" COPY on Page 24 "A"

The Company was a monolith that controlled the economy of several Caribbean countries with ruthless efficiency. Ferocious in encounter and backed by the gunboat scowl of the United States, its might knew no limits. It penetrated and sometimes changed the governments of Latin American countries which became known as ~~ex~~ "banana republics." It, of course, liked monopoly.

programme
 Company/~~policy~~ willed. "It was in these circumstances that a few brave and farsighted men began to believe that it was possible to plan for a cooperative big enough to own their own ships and strong enough to force the Company to bargain with them," Mr Manley, ~~once~~ *was*
later to say of its founding.
wrote.

The men included *Charley Johnston*, Sir Arthur Farquharson, Captain List, R.F. Williams, William (???) Joysey and others. They country's first cooperative, the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association, was ~~the~~ *put the=industry* created to/~~battle~~ make "banana days" steady and even-priced. Its incoming would/*fundamentally* change the life-style of the farmer

--- and also come near to spelling disaster for ~~Advocate~~ Manley's political future. But the immediate compensation was excellent. ~~Says=he~~ ^{But=meanwhile=he=was} "These were men who knew about Jamaica's economic problems, understood them and were worried about them. He was quite early inside the scene. As the island's

leading barrister, he was brought in to draft a Constitution for JBPA, a task that took him the ^{nearest} ~~most~~ he had ever been to the gut-issues ^{of wages,} ~~unemployment~~ and 1938.

^{one of the} ~~A~~ key to the success of the ^{enterprise would} ~~cooperative~~ would be the relationship between individual growers and the cooperative.

~~most~~ Many of the farmers were financially dependent on the ^{United Fruit} ~~Company~~ to whom they would ~~and were~~ likely to sell their fruit in crisis times, to the embarrassment

A binding ~~contract~~ ^{binding to both} was the answer. Several

all-night sessions at Drumblair, involving long discussions of

social and economic conditions, drew him ^{core-structure of} deeper into the ~~concerns of~~ the people. He had known ~~his own~~ Guanaboa Vale

inside out, ~~had dug~~ dug ditches, ~~rode horses~~ rode horses, cut wood and in spite of ~~the~~ ^{HAD BEEN} ~~he~~ ^{essentially} ~~the bread~~ a country boy when he ~~had left~~ sailed for England. He grew up at Ypres, Passchendaele Ridge and at Oxford. He had a sound knowledge of ~~up in France and at Oxford, as the disposal of the Allied Forces~~ of

B¹¹B COPY OR Page 24 "B"

The creation of the Jamaica Banana Producers Association for buying and shipping fruit to overseas markets once exclusive to the UFCo, awakened its corporate fury. It turned savagely on the smaller company. (Or cooperative, as it really was.)

bootleg deliveries ~~at the~~ to them. On the other hand, a ^{drop in} ~~lessening of~~

an uncomfortable increase
 UFCo's ~~requirements~~ demands meant/~~a disastrous~~ ~~surge~~ of supplies
 to the Coop. The problem was how to hold the Coop growers to the
 it proved, but through
 terms of their contracts. No way, ~~but by~~ ^{prosecute} the courts;
 and guess who had to ~~appear~~ ^{prosecute} for the Coop.

Manley was having his first taste of ~~the~~ ^{rocky road} ~~highway of political existence~~ ^{highway of political existence} (walked by public figures. He had quit
~~existence in politics~~ Prosecuting for the Coop and securing
 convictions for penal breaches of the contract was not the easiest
 way to ~~popular confidence~~ ^{subordination} popularity, even for the fellow whose skill

and and hard work had helped ~~to~~ ^{create} ~~the~~ ^{feared} the one organization ~~that~~ ^{was} designed
 with the planters' prosperity in mind. ~~The~~ ^{his} small banana man didn't like it nor him. ~~Later he was to laconically recall~~ ^{But not for} dilemma with:
 "Circumstances had their way." ~~But not for~~ ^{MEANT A BEAN} He was not a man to be hung up. Soon,
 long, ^{Governor} he was helping to organise a dele-
 gation to Denham seeking a way out of
 the horns.

"The Governor was almost hostile," he ~~recalled~~ ^{remembered}.

"He vigorously counter-attacked in defence of Elders & Fyffes. He argued,
~~the shipping~~ ^{the shipping} and nothing could shift him, that the Jamaica Banana Producers' Associa-
 tion was not really a cooperative at all except in name. Eventually, we
 forced him to do something so he took refuge in a very familiar tactic.
 He set up a Commission to examine the banana industry in Jamaica and other
 producing ~~countries~~ territories and to make representations.

"The Commission made a very good report. In effect, they
 found that the cost of production in Jamaica was one of the highest in
 the world, that the problems facing the cooperative as a competitor with
 Fyffes, were insoluble and that some special agreement would have to
 be worked out."

^{bullying all} ^{bullying} ^{the obstacles} ^{nothing over the horizon} ^{out of its way} ^{bull dogging}
 The juggernaut company, used to ~~grounding~~ ^{grounding} its own way in
 the ^{republics} ~~banana nations~~ south of Florida, would be having its first confront-
 ation with a group that had not only ~~challenged~~ ^{disagreed with} its monopoly but ~~challenged~~ ^{challenged} it. Such heresy brought out the UFCo's high ^{priest} ~~negal~~ himself, Sam

Zemurray, ~~came~~ ^{to} Jamaica. The meeting between these two dissimilar men, avowed Rock-Ribbed
 Ma Manley says of him:
 "Zemurray was a remarkable man. As a boy, born of Bessara-
 bian parents who migrated to America, he had made money fishing ~~out~~ ^{out}
 banana rejects, mostly ripens, from the docks in New Orleans. He had built
 up a great banana organisation by totally ruthless methods but he had a
 clear head and an understanding of the problems of a country like ~~maica~~ ^{maica}

CAPITALIST and the socialist in to North and to two out (P.T.)

Mr. Reid:

Miss Silvera from the West India Reference Library found the information on Sir Edward Brandis Denham in the 1935 Handbook where there is also a photograph of him. It did not state the county. This is the information which she gave me.

"Sir Edward Brandis Denham, K.C.M.G. (1931)
K.B.E. (1927), C.M.G. (1922) born 1876.
Educated at Malvern & Marton College, Oxford
(Exhibitioner) 1899"

She has also checked in his Obituary.

Rolling ^{back} over the sketch

so as to open up other aspects of the matter. I talked about the history of our people, the difficulties they faced, the values that might be learnt from the cooperative movement."

He ~~had~~ had gone for an hour's meeting. He stayed for four. Zemurray was "absorbed, sympathetic and understanding."

so
Manley was not/ingenious as to believe that he could change Zemurray but he gained what he had been after, an opening of the tough old Russian mind. He would of course have no truck with the Association in ~~cooperative~~ its ~~cooperative~~ structure. Manley recalls that "we

~~we~~ worked out an ingenious plan (that) was acceptable to Zemurray. And off to New York went Charlie Johnson, Richard Williams and I to work out an agreement with an organization that was not to be a cooperative but a strange form of Company in which all the shareholders would be ~~old members~~ ^{members} of the cooperative."

He was very proud of his ~~work~~ ^{found} role in ~~forming~~ ^{found} the Producers' Association and ~~its re-structure~~ ^{of its subsequent re-structuring}, a fault ~~blazed-a-trail~~ ^{blazed a trail} among them. The Association ~~blazed-a-trail~~ ^{was a trail-blazer for} most of us would applaud. ~~foundings of the~~ ^{among them} the other commodity groups which have ~~profoundly~~ ^{profoundly} shown ~~the primary~~ ^{more profitable} ~~markets and sales~~ ^{the way to/better markets} ~~the way to/better markets~~ ^{markets.}

But even more profoundly, Manley's involvement in the business ~~on~~ ^{island's} to ~~materially~~ ^{changed} the/social structure.

They reached

After eight the agreement for "this strange form of Company." ~~Eight~~ days of relentless bargaining negotiations with the Young Turks of the troops, agreement on the form of Company's legal/machine ~~an agreement was reached~~ contract.

It would ~~regard which would~~ ensure that ~~the banana board~~ fruit ~~could be sold~~ bought at a price based on the current ~~market price on the~~ English market ^{price.} The market would be shared in a one-to-four ratio with the UFCO's subsidiary, Elders & Fyffes.

"It was a unique and remarkable agreement," Manley has said of it. "I do not think anything quite like it was to be found elsewhere anywhere=else in the world."

a remark not inmoderately

~~Which was not remarkably~~ modest of him, since he did most of the drafting. [In another two days of point-by-point discussion, the draft was adopted by both Jamaicans and Americans. ^{He was a satisfied} ~~The=satisfied~~ man as he wound ^{up} his affairs and prepared to return to Jamaica. ^{Then} But one morning just before they left, Sam Zemurray dropped his thunder-bolt.

If one, in brief, a self ~~tax~~ capitalist planter by

"He took my breath away with a proposal which he said ~~was~~ derived from his talk with me in Jamaica. He proposed that the Unified Fruit Company ^{to} would set aside one cent per stem (of bananas) exported from Jamaica to form a fund to be administered by an organisation to be created by me for the good and welfare of the people of Jamaica, with emphasis on the rural people."

AS things stood, ~~pointed~~ Manley points out, this would be 25 million cents ~~year~~ (U.S.) ~~or \$120,000~~ annually. At today's money, this would be over \$2-million a year. No mean expenditure to be tackled and packed with the seeds of self destruction since he would have virtually absolute by one man, ~~with unlimited~~ power over its distribution. After forming a "competent executive Board," Manley was to be free to plan with his Board as he thought best. There would be more, much more money too; for Zemurray promised that the other American fruit companies working out of the Jamaican market would ^{also} ~~be made to~~ join in. *etc*

25,000,000
15,000,000

recognised he ^{was} facing
 That night in New York, Manley hardly slept. For he/~~was on the~~
 the emphases
~~threshold~~ of a shift in/~~emphasis~~ of his life. The athlete turned
 the upon the road
 soldier, ~~and~~ scholar and advocate was entering/~~a hallway~~ that would
 take him ~~culminating~~ he was to know. ~~But~~
 open into the/~~most profoundest~~ last discipline/~~of his life~~ more im-
 mediate ~~too~~ was the fact of his creation, the agreement which would
 die ~~That night I began to realize some of the problems that~~
~~faced me. I was going home to get them to accept~~ ~~lived~~
~~a radical alteration in their status~~ ~~affected the lives of~~
~~...~~ ~~his countrymen in~~
~~the profoundest way~~
 since

For the moment, ^{however,} in the manner ~~as~~ that had become familiar to
 brother advocates, ~~others~~
 his/~~fellow-brethren~~ ~~and would later to~~ ~~when he served the~~
 exclusively ~~the banana contract,~~ convince
~~rather,~~ he bent his mind/upon the matter at hand, ~~A~~ He must/~~persuade~~
 the growers "who could not fail to see that their child, the thing
 that they had committed themselves to build and bring to maturity (the
~~the~~ banana cooperative) was quickly being brought to an end."
^{unlovely} thought of persuading the
 Equally ~~was~~ ^{the} ~~task to persuade the elected~~ Legislative
 engage
 Council in which his arch rival J.A.G. Smith was a power, to/~~agree~~
 into law ^{banana concord}
~~the~~ the Manley-Zemurray ~~plan~~ ~~agreement~~ which would have no validity
 legislation. ^{last}
 unless by special/~~legislature~~. But it turned out that the/~~latter~~
 was cleared first, ~~and quite easily~~. A number of the key politicians
 were themselves planters and controlled by the UFCo, as J.G. Kieffer,
 the general ^T manager of the Company in Jamaica, bluntly ~~x~~ observed
 to Governor Denham at a Kings House meeting.

Manley, ever quick to appraise public opinion if not/~~necessarily~~ ^{persuaded}
~~guided~~ by it, realized that the Zemurray offer/~~of a cess~~ ^{could be regarded as}
^{poultice}
 a/~~sep~~ for the grievous wound he had inflicted in Jamaican pride;
^{as some thought} "that I had betrayed the Co-op
 or even ^{worse} ~~as Manley~~ and sold them out for what
 would prove to be just a plaything of my own."

^{on reaching home}
 Cannily he said nothing about the Zemurray offer but pro-
^{seek} ^{for}
 ceeded to ~~seek~~ approval ~~of~~ the proposed new Company. ~~A~~ tumultuous
 Ward Theatre meeting of planters where Charlie Johnston in an
 won by a small margin on the vote which
 inspired speech/~~gained the a slight edge~~ followed.*

*Manley at the Ward spoke for one hour and ~~was~~ faced a
 gruelling barrage of questions for nearly 3 hours from
 a suspicious, hostile crowd.

That, then,
was out
of the
way
and
when

~~By the time~~ he ~~had~~ returned ^{from} New York ~~to~~ after a second visit to square the Zemurray offer, and announced the birth of Jamaica Welfare, the nice timing and ^{welfare} settled it gently into / a warm editorial welcome from the Daily Gleaner/~~was a good way~~ the country.

Jamaica Welfare tapped a deep stream of middle class interest in Jamaica, ^{Manley has said.} School teachers were anxious to ~~come-in~~ (work with us) in terms that meant no financial benefit to them but answered a deep feeling that rural Jamaica needed special help. ~~Manley has said.~~ Those were the people that responded most ^{readily} to the call for self-government which I was to raise just two years later ~~and~~ (through) the Peoples National Party."

Let's
clean up
this. Below is taken in further

He describes as a "dilemma" that Jamaica Welfare became the most important social body in the country just a year after it was formed, he was then becoming leader of the PNP / and "deeply involved in the most active politics Jamaica had ever known. What was I to do?"

stamped
JWLtd
with his
own per
sonali
ty

What he did was to lay ~~down the strictest~~ ^{Jamaica} inside Wel- have been a fare, an exercise that certainly lost to him what could/ ~~certainly be~~ ^{an interdict on politics} the ruling kept him from much ^{and gave him a} so low as to have made him out of ~~most~~ all field activity ^{politically} in those early ^{years} a ~~low~~ profile/ ~~that left him almost~~ nearly invisible ^{for several} crucial years. He may, as a mature politician, have lived to regret it. He once observed that what is done by one "as an example / his not going to set an example at all."

And ^{also} what is inescapable is that in the ^{first} of Jamaica it put new ^{character} ~~character~~ life and meaning in the countryside.

It came to be known that an act of faith had committed the land and people ~~to a better future~~ and affected the future of the country in the profoundest way.

NOW TAKE IN BACK OF PAGE 25

Nevertheless, he stamped Jamaica Welfare Ltd with his own personality: practical and imaginative, and wholly involved.

Free- Footers

a sort of European
swagger in the cities
had drawn attention
from the country
slight of the
villages where
~~unhappy~~ life etc
since the
entry of

~~THEN TAKE IN BACK OF PAGE~~

the countryside

where life grubbed along in ~~grim~~ ^{the same manner that W.D. had from} fashion much as it had in ~~the~~ ^{same} old ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~time~~ ^{time} ~~when~~ ^{when} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~first~~ ^{first} ~~settled~~ ^{settled} ~~since~~ ^{since} ~~1838~~ ¹⁸³⁸

the ~~two~~ days. Low wages on the estates, poor husbandry on the
sundering of the family-acre to satisfy the
holdings and the ~~thorough-going~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~of the family-acre~~

X inheritance at the XXXXXXXXXX inheriting children
X claims inheritance of sons and daughters, laid heavily on rural

life. Landsman worked out as were the workers, undernourished and tired. ~~and tired. and tired.~~ Back on the other side the savings of by the pastoralists present

~~the city and towns~~ The city and towns were not much better off.

Jobs were scarce, and wages, in an oversupplied market, subject to the decision of the employers. ~~Nothing to say,~~ ^{the employing class} they took conditions.

full advantage of the/~~situation~~
Society was a peculiar pyramid. The more normal if
The ~~pyramid-economy~~ ~~The~~ ~~usual~~/bad structure

where the broad base of exploited workers supported the few at the top, was further complicated by ~~the /xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a

long
long long
clothes
sub material

The arroyos did not last flooded the land.
Opening and exposing long neglected areas.

The brackets meet
It ~~now into~~

* long established returns

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{washed} for the answer to their problems. In this way, it antedated the ~~man~~ publicised and admirable Operation Bootstrap of

Puerto Rican governor Munoz Marin --- and only failed to ^{achieve as much} ~~be~~ widely ~~acknowledged~~ ^{Under P.R., it had no ~~that~~ ~~them~~} because of its stricter exchequer. What ^{U.S. Federal} ~~can~~ ^{else} ~~if~~ ^{new} did was to ~~spark~~ ^h unleash a dynamo of energy ~~and~~ in Norman Manley that had been waiting for just such a switch.

One of Manley's quite particular gifts was his extra-
ordinary ability to attract recruits on a/blood-sweat-tears; a
gift which would itself manifest in even more astonishing ways
when later he began the building of a political party. In 1957, =
the untried task of engaging the people in,
~~he was able to~~ of engaging social reform ~~among into the people~~
through self-help, he brought together a group of young men
who were to become minor legends by the quality/and quantity ---
of their work.

~~ominciled~~ ^{IN} two ~~a neat if unstudied / combination of use of history,~~
ancient groups, wealth and the military; ~~which has their target possible,~~ JWLtd established
~~that once~~

Office ^a in the crumbling mansion at Hanover & East Queen Streets, ~~the~~ ^{the one} ~~the~~ ^{domestic}
the 18th-century townhouse
~~=====~~ ^a of sugar baron & merchant ~~and~~
up to the 'Thirties, ~~the~~ ^{the} headquarters of the Kingston Militia. The kind

social service Jamaica Welfare was the sale of ideas.
of welfare they were offering was for sale, not gift, ~~They could~~
The fieldmen of Welfare could, successfully, only gain access to their clients by communicating ideas ~~as on a~~

~~M.R.~~ Mr Manly knew he needed Messianic young men, articulate and outgoing, to go abroad carry the message. He found them and they did it - by bridging up the two worlds of the poor people's clothes and welfare and military

Supplement

26 C

round, homely names to a
Jamaica boy

71

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

It was back then Jamaica, ~~THESE~~ in the
not possible to get closer to ~~THESE~~ Penzance and its countryside

British Isles, than at Cornwall. Penzance in Cornwall. / It
has more sunny days than any place in
England. Its gardens grow the
and vegetables

blossoms/familiar to the Blue Mountain country of Jamaica. Fruit

trees flourish in the open year. Close to Penzance are

such homely hamlets as Mousehole, Gulval, ~~THESE~~ good, easily-taken-to

they are really satellites of Penzance and were later grouped
Newlyn is also close by. / Newlyn has a special fame as the place

on earth from which the elevations on ordnance maps are calcula-
ted. It also ~~THESE~~ extraordinary attraction for artists.

The magnificent coastline, ruggedly beautiful, the light, and the

profusion of foliage, assists the choice. / Across the water are

the storied Isles of Scilly. ~~THESE~~ Within a Sunday walk of

England's most westerly (Land's End) and southerly (Lizard Point)

of England. / There was already old when our Arawaks were

reaches. / And ancient? ~~THESE~~ Fine romantic reasons, plus being warm and comfort-
able.

greeting Columbus.

In this countryside of
To the extraordinary appeal of the ~~THESE~~ its high ground

and ocean, its colour, and the splendid isolation, from the

land, Edna Swithenbank grew up in a country pastor's

manse, ~~THESE~~ in spirit whom her future husband first saw

as a ~~THESE~~ "a little girl of fourteen, a strange, shy

and highly individualistic person, quite unlike the rest of her

family and indeed unlike anybody I had ever known." He had

turned twenty-one, embarked on the Rhodes but destined to

the ~~THESE~~ green fields of the ~~THESE~~ the bloody

France. The relationship ~~THESE~~ survived the four year interruption

in a way that not frequent among the very young, but not without

earnestly and
some help from Mother Nature who hand/thoughtfully kept at work,
despite a war, and brought her on to "a most exciting girl" ~~IN THE~~ as he recorded
appreciatively on from France. special strengthzness and
paratizon for his return/ There must have been a pazziax/lightzand
in the of the
Beauty zzzzzzz relationship, two sensitive ~~be~~ highly zzz intelligent
touch and grow together ~~so in~~ captive to its racial mores, ~~THESE~~
young people/in a society ~~that would frown on their love because of~~
~~STIMULATED~~ as England, itself tightlipped
its-racial-mores about its sickness to a in the postwar ~~EMERGED~~
Schizophrenia of affecting it did not exist as it enacted statutes
against it. They ~~loved~~ met and saw and were ~~amazed~~
A decision that ~~must~~ shed its own inner candescence CANDESCENCE
And even Later, ~~in~~ Jamaica, the creativity
since there were no days of wine and roses in shattered England, ~~deeply~~
The creativity of their love was to open ways of ~~achievement~~
-The-glew-remained-throughout-their-life-together
of astonishing breadth
ments, in a severely of-startling-dimensions and diversity.
limited island/unequalled-by-their-contemporaries-
They were both lightning bolts from but
from different parts of the cosmos, he with his compelling logic, and
awesome activity

photo the body mostly

Edna
ARTIST'S ineluctable ~~compulsion~~ TO SWERVE and challenge
she with the ~~type of the artist's~~ ~~swerving~~ ~~to meet~~
~~devil-must~~
the ~~time~~ at every crooked crossroads. ~~What happens between them~~ They strode
and stumbled and strode again in triumph of spirit,
incarnations and certain of the mode and direction of the ~~path~~
journey. Edna, ~~with a subject but a mind~~ ~~physically strong~~
with a malicious wit that ~~wrinkled~~ the ~~dompans~~ as it
battered the ~~vision~~ ~~was~~ ~~perhaps~~ ~~without~~ ~~ideological~~ ~~INTENT~~,
creating the ~~legs~~ ~~that~~ ~~would~~ ~~establishing~~ the pattern of ~~work~~ ~~and~~ ~~active~~ ~~concern~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~social~~
~~re~~ ~~and~~ ~~artistic~~ ~~standards~~
among creative young people
That would one day lead her critics into ~~charging~~ her with ~~ambitions~~ ~~of~~ ~~founding~~ a school.
But the ~~facts~~ shattered the ~~evidence~~. While Droablaire with its grounds and trees and rambling
old house, ~~its~~ ~~two~~ ~~gifted~~ ~~companions~~ and ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~frequency~~ ~~of~~ ~~proficients~~ ~~and~~ ~~tyros~~ ~~usually~~
hanging about ~~did~~ ~~suggest~~ ~~that~~ ~~inevitably~~ ~~there~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~a~~ ~~wide~~ ~~range~~ ~~of~~ ~~talents~~
in ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~that~~ ~~Edna~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~only~~ ~~painter~~
and sculptor, but novelist, essayist, ~~and~~ ~~doctor~~, preacher, newspaper writer, gardener, and
even a few ~~samples~~ ~~could~~ ~~have~~ ~~done~~ ~~those~~ ~~ambitious~~ ~~little~~ ~~good~~. She liked people.
And so, a salon, conceivably, but no school.
what ~~reads~~ ~~true~~ is that ~~she~~ ~~turned~~ ~~a~~ ~~passionate~~ ~~energy~~ ~~into~~ ~~every~~
influence ~~that~~ ~~could~~ ~~provide~~ ~~assistance~~ ~~for~~ ~~struggling~~ ~~artists~~. She guided the talents of
the ~~disorderly~~ ~~into~~ ~~disciplined~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~works~~ ~~when~~ ~~the~~ ~~rent~~ ~~was~~ ~~due~~. She held Saturday
morning classes for children at the Junior Center in East Street and founded Focus
classes for ~~adults~~ ~~that~~ ~~writers~~ ~~were~~ ~~dying~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~vine~~ ~~for~~ ~~want~~ ~~of~~ ~~outlets~~.

essentially serious

DIARY P. 33

September 26 E

[Handwritten signature/initials]

of the
academic
bride is
34 to all
who meet to us

She shared Norman's interests in boxing and helped with the training of a ^{FINE LIGHT} ~~light~~ fighter of the Divides named St Andrew Pop. ^{when her husband's} ~~later~~ ^{community} ~~in~~ ^{was to go} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~work most~~ ^{and} ~~even deeper~~ ^{and} ~~wider into~~ ^{and} ~~child care~~ ^{and} ~~and women's welfare~~ ^{and} ~~but the~~ ^{and} ~~fact~~ ^{and} ~~observation here is that~~ ^{and} ~~at a time long before~~ ^{and} ~~self interest showed~~ ^{and} ~~she had~~ ^{and} ~~been~~ ^{and} ~~promising~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~make~~ ^{and} ~~her choice for~~ ^{and} ~~freedom~~ ^{and} ~~an individual~~ ^{and} ~~freedom~~ ^{and} ~~that should~~ ^{and} ~~shock~~ ^{and} ~~7~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~belong~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~world~~ ^{and} ~~people~~ ^{and} ~~whose~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~shelter~~ ^{and} ~~they were~~ ^{and} ~~shackles~~ ^{and} ~~from~~ ^{and} ~~all~~ ^{and} ~~human~~ ^{and} ~~beings~~ ^{and} ~~learning~~ ^{and} ~~only~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~need~~ ^{and} ~~for~~ ^{and} ~~freedom~~ ^{and} ~~requirement~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~need~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~love~~ ^{and} ~~It~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~case~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~her~~ ^{and} ~~character~~ ^{and} ~~stumbled~~ ^{and} ~~upon~~ ^{and} ~~death~~ ^{and} ~~before~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~his~~ ^{and} ~~writing~~ ^{and} ~~on~~ ^{and} ~~English~~ ^{and} ~~ways~~ ^{and} ~~at~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~war's~~ ^{and} ~~end~~ ^{and} ~~He~~ ^{and} ~~as~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{and} ~~said~~ ^{and} ~~then~~ ^{and} ~~(DIARY P. 33)~~ ^{and} ~~would~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~ignore~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~matter~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~colour~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~problem~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{and} ~~had~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~plagued~~ ^{and} ~~their~~ ^{and} ~~yearful~~ ^{and} ~~relationship~~ ^{and} ~~stirred~~ ^{and} ~~up~~ ^{and} ~~sufficient~~ ^{and} ~~apprehension~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~him~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~notice~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~unconscious~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~their~~ ^{and} ~~engagement~~ ^{and} ~~had~~ ^{and} ~~been~~ ^{and} ~~taken~~ ^{and} ~~brought~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~no~~ ^{and} ~~"immediate~~ ^{and} ~~warmth~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~approval~~ ^{and} ~~"~~ ^{and} ~~from~~ ^{and} ~~her~~ ^{and} ~~family~~ ^{and} ~~But~~ ^{and} ~~events~~ ^{and} ~~proved~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~they~~ ^{and} ~~knew~~ ^{and} ~~their~~ ^{and} ~~mind~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~turned~~ ^{and} ~~out~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~be~~ ^{and} ~~near~~ ^{and} ~~made-in~~ ^{and} ~~-heaven~~ ^{and} ~~than~~ ^{and} ~~most~~ ^{and} ~~similar~~ ^{and} ~~relationships~~ ^{and} ~~In~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~burst~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~quiet~~ ^{and} ~~exuberance~~ ^{and} ~~at~~ ^{and} ~~his~~ ^{and} ~~look~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~almost~~ ^{and} ~~swimming~~ ^{and} ~~much~~ ^{and} ~~later~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~fact~~ ^{and} ~~some~~ ^{and} ~~45~~ ^{and} ~~years~~ ^{and} ~~later~~ ^{and} ~~(Long~~ ^{and} ~~Diary~~ ^{and} ~~P. 32)~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~be~~ ^{and} ~~compromised~~ ^{and} ~~into~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~writing~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~brochure~~ ^{and} ~~on~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~topic~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~monogamy~~ ^{and} ~~In~~ ^{and} ~~those~~ ^{and} ~~fructifying~~ ^{and} ~~days~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{and} ~~might~~ ^{and} ~~just~~ ^{and} ~~be~~ ^{and} ~~on~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~edge~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~made~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~best~~ ^{and} ~~selling~~ ^{and} ~~test~~ ^{and} ~~for~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~quaintness~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~indelicacy~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~subject~~ ^{and} ~~matter~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~agony~~ ^{and} ~~may~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~have~~ ^{and} ~~float~~ ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~best~~ ^{and} ~~selling~~ ^{and} ~~But~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~truth~~ ^{and} ~~is~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~they~~ ^{and} ~~did~~ ^{and} ~~manage~~ ^{and} ~~an~~ ^{and} ~~adely~~ ^{and} ~~constitutional~~ ^{and} ~~organic~~ ^{and} ~~structure~~ ^{and} ~~But~~ ^{and} ~~raised~~ ^{and} ~~hell~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~kills~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~within~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~monogamous~~ ^{and} ~~bounds~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~for~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~many~~ ^{and} ~~turned~~ ^{and} ~~into~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~boredom~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~ever~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~be~~ ^{and} ~~what~~ ^{and} ~~his~~ ^{and} ~~"wild~~ ^{and} ~~bird~~ ^{and} ~~on~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~tall~~ ^{and} ~~tree~~ ^{and} ^{and} ~~on~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~bare~~ ^{and} ~~hill~~ ^{and} ~~"~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~phrase~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{and} ~~once~~ ^{and} ~~used~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~describe~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~"elusive~~ ^{and} ~~beauty~~ ^{and} ~~"~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~thought~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{and} ~~never~~ ^{and} ~~identified~~ ^{and} ~~But~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~she~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~their~~ ^{and} ~~love~~ ^{and} ~~affair~~ ^{and} ~~an~~ ^{and} ~~elusive~~ ^{and} ~~happening~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~great~~ ^{and} ~~beauty~~ ^{and} ~~between~~ ^{and} ~~two~~ ^{and} ~~creatures~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} ~~afternoon~~ ^{and} ~~She~~ ^{and} ~~was~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~happy~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~coincident~~ ^{and} ~~Wednesday~~ ^{and} 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sub-manipulation with servants ^{themselves,} ~~being~~
 another ^{another} ~~infra/exploitation where~~ ^{unable to resist the luxury of}
 exploiting ~~the process of this~~ ^{cheap pool of} cheap labour sources. As
 Union Leader ~~As Coombs~~ ^{he was} pointed out (although ^{ing} complain of the hardship ^{it caused} to
 his ^{union} members), a barmaid earning ten shillings a week had to pay
 her own maid ~~a quarter of that~~ ^{two-and-six weekly a week}. Although ^{yet} Such a situation
 could not help but deepen the divisions among the people ^{it} also
 represented an upward ^{ing} ~~group~~ towards a black middleclass. ^{But} Neither
 would ^{it} fail to ~~nourish~~ ^{nourish} unrest. History's rough justice
 ordered ^{occur} that the outbreak should ~~come~~ at the first serious effort at
 an effect ^{ing} a change in the wage-labour pattern. **TAKE IN SUPP "A" & "B"**

WIDE BREAK HERE

~~CHAPTER~~ ^{but} Although Manley may not have known it, the apprentice
 years were drawing to a close. ^{MALE IN PSC 44 September} A bad bout of flu had put him down
 in February, ¹⁹³⁸ postponing ^a visit to the United States and England
 for ^{a few} ~~several~~ weeks. He finally flew out on the "Jamaica Arrow", ^{one of the new}
 Pan American ^{see planes which had begun a Caribbean service,} ~~flying~~ to Miami, enroute to the U.K. Edna had
 left on a similar flight the week before --- ^{that trip} ~~making~~ ^{being done in} the record
 breaking time of 3 hours 20 minutes to Miami --- to be on hand for
 the opening of her ^{Author} sculpture exhibition of sculpture in England. It
 was a great success, with ^{introducing the artist. They} Hugh Walpole ^{giving the opening speech,}
 returned in March. A month later, Tate & Lyle,
 They ^{returning in the last half of March,} the giant
 sugar industrialists and marketers of England, entered the
 the old Charley estates
 Jamaican sugar with the purchase of ~~lands in~~ at Frome in Westmoreland.

CHAPTER CHAPTER

The plains of Westmoreland
^{about} ~~are~~ ^{less than} 25% of Westmoreland parish lies above 1000 feet,
 an unusual feature in Jamaica where

CHAPTER

~~Westmoreland~~
~~The parish of Westmoreland~~

its feature.
 An unusual feature about the parish of Westmoreland is that ^{in all, is} over 75% of the land ^{great Westmoreland plain} below one thousand feet. Well watered and of heavy fertility, the ~~parish~~ ^{area} was the choice of Tate & Lyle, the English international sugar people, for locating their ~~great~~ ^{central} ~~estate and~~ factory. In 1937, they ~~sugar/central at Frome~~ ^{bankrupt} They bought lands extensively, mostly from the old/Charley estates, and settled down to the ^{task} ~~start~~ of becoming the potent factor in island agriculture. The "central" they began building at Frome would be the largest and by far the

most modern sugar factory in the British Caribbean territories. It would replace the half a dozen near decrepit mills ~~is~~ scattered over the Westmoreland savannah.

There had never been a shortage of workers on these plains. They ^{come} ~~came~~ in thousands from the larger towns, Sav-la-mar, Grange Hill, Little London, Peterfield, from the numerous small settlers around and from the mountain districts of Darliston and Hanover. Hundreds of resident workers ~~XXXXXX~~ occupied the estates' "barracks" during the weeding, or out-of-crop, season, between April and December; but at harvest-time, a veritable flood of wage-seekers descend on the ~~estate~~ factory compound and the ripe cane fields. This, then ^{was} ~~the~~ pattern ^{of the 'Thirties:} the regular workforce of hoemen, ~~spademen~~ ^{spademen}, cane planters and so on function all year, while the great regiments march in at crop-time for the two or three months ^{FOOD} when the mills roll. ^{HONKY TONKS SPRING UP, SELLING LIQUOR AND WOMEN. KEROSENE} The whole countryside is then transformed. The long, ugly barracks, often an old sugar store of flaking Spanish walls or knocked-together boards, primitive and sickly insanitary, are packed with itinerant cane cutters ^{and loaders} who, like any man-jack footloose on foreign territory, away from the discipline of home and brood, tend to turn ~~to~~ lusty, boastful and brawling. The huge works about to begin at Frome, the biggest industrial enterprise ever ~~conceived~~ ^{drew} in Westmoreland (or, at that time, in Jamaica), ~~was~~ ^{in flow} such an influx of ^{labourers} ~~workers~~ as had never before gathered at Frome. What was more, much more, the great divisions of unemployed in Kingston, ^{seeking a piece of the action} bore down ~~on~~ on Westmoreland. The climate for trouble was never better.

As city workers they were accustomed to higher wages from the sugar belt ~~was~~ ^{and they} ~~was~~ ^{that, too many} ~~was~~ ^{lost turned up for the limited} ~~was~~ ^{if many jobs.}

Lamps flicker over heated crown- and - ANOTHER dice games or three card CON-MEN and the pencil-in-the-belt ~~san fire~~ ^{artists} ~~artists~~ ^{ginals}, those SAM-FIE

cleight-of-hand artists ~~especially~~ ^{whose skill, have largely disappeared} in the ^{ONRUSH} ~~of~~ ^{of} racing and the national lottery.

Not were the chances for trouble lessened by the attitudes of the estate management. It was the tradition on most sugar estates, and certainly in Westmoreland, that the middle management posts, field book-keepers, overseers, office clerks, were filled by whites or mulattos; generally arrogant men who rode their mules and wore their ~~Balaclavas~~ Balaclavas with the air of cavalry officers. Although just about 140 miles from Kingston, Frome was half a century behind in labour relations; indeed, had hardly left 1838. Fines and other disciplinary measures were levied on the field workers by whim. One estate even notoriously had its own private ~~policy~~ ^{book} of stout stone ~~was~~ ^{was} for ~~looking up~~ ^{looking up} its estate law breakers.* The book-keepers and

*Not only in Westmoreland were the estate almost laws to themselves. P.A. Bovell, ~~manager~~ ^{attorney for} Caymanas Estate in St. Catherine and a Justice of the Peace, ~~was not only~~ ^{in the 1938 troubles} ~~first~~ read the Riot Act (as a J.P.) ~~himself~~ ^{himself} but swore in his senior staffers, armed them and gave order to fire on a crowd at his gate, wounding ~~six~~ 6. Irate Spanish Town people began marching on Caymanas but police stopped them.

overseers, strong well-fed ignorant men/ pursuing the ancient prurience of slave times, begetting bastards among the female field hands, or laying their quirts across the shoulders of a hoe-man, were hardly the kind/ ~~to~~ ^{to} easily take to the brash, more "democratic" city migrants who were already fired with the ~~dissidence~~ growing dissidence in Kingston through the enquiries of men like St William Grant and Bustamante --- whom Grant had by now brought ~~him~~ before his public forum in ~~the Victoria~~ and around the Victoria ~~park~~ Park.

The distance between the deeply rural Westmoreland and the capital was more than long, dusty roads. Folk had grown old and died in the parish without venturing ~~east~~ east of Bluefields. Even among the educated, there was a distinctive Westmoreland way with words, e.g., "bile" for "boil", "yawm" for "yam."

Into this anachronism came the hungry city hordes, attracted by the promise of jobs, impelled by the same hope which had sent their parents into the cane fields of Cuba and ~~the streets of Costa Rica~~ Costa Rica, the canal at Panama, ~~and the streets of~~ the streets of Harlem, and other migrant adventures; among them ~~such~~ at ~~Frome~~ Frome, such diverse men as Alfred Francis, an "honest-minded man with my box of tools and hymn-book" who would be tried as a "ring-leader" of the riots, and sea-pilot Vicker Hayden, doubling as a roving Gleaner reporter whose early despatches gave spot coverage of the "dollar-a-day" riots.

CHAPTER

What ~~has~~ has now come to be known as the "dollar-a-day" riots" occurred

The event was a ~~wrench with the past~~
 at Frome. ~~When it should have been a tear in the pattern of employment~~
 practices in the colony. The ~~nearest~~ occurrence ^{the closest}
 bearing a resemblance ¹⁹²⁴

to the Frome Riots had taken place in Kingston in the ~~early 1920s~~
 recorded as

the Darling Street riots. As at Frome, it was the open-
 ing ~~jobless~~ ^{to the army of unemployed}
 of a specially large ~~work~~ opportunities ~~for employment~~ --- the
 decision to asphalt ~~surface~~
~~reconstruction of~~

all the streets in the city, ~~then~~ then sur-
 faced in macadam --- ~~causing two results~~ ^{which caused} two results: a

sudden overweight in the balance of employment by migrant workers (this
 time from the country) flooding the site, and the sour grape syndrome

of the disappointed inciting the lucky ones to ask for more. ^{As} ~~like~~ in

Oliver Twist, the keepers were aghast.

just recently employment
 After all, in a House debate on ~~condition~~ conditions at the

Mental Hospital, only that indefatigable champion, J.A.G. Smith, had

conviction
 shown any ~~passion~~ in roundly condemning the system which saw ~~now~~ hard-
 ship in a

~~hip-in~~ female nurse doing 28 or 35 consecutive nights duty of 12
 H.E.

hours a night. In fact, one member, ~~Bernard Samuel~~ Vernon from St Mary

had even suggested that when a nurse had to be fired for being ^{caught} ~~asleep~~
 nodding

~~asleep on the~~ any of the 35 nights, the Director of Medical Services

should "hold a little enquiry for the sake of what I call giving satis-

action to the country. After ~~that~~ that, the dismissal can take place." Vernon

~~comment~~ was a ^{joking} ~~man~~ man but his comment,

~~that statement~~ evoking no chuckles from the House, one must conclude ^{that at}
 least to his hearers, ^{being} in earnest.

~~that~~ the Hon. Mem. was ^{dead} ~~on his feet~~

Three pence a day increase ~~from~~ The day began at 6.45 and ended 3.30 pm. A rumour that pay jumps of over 100% to 4/- a day was just ready enough to send some into crazy (kind of) mob scene.

Friday, April 29th, 1938; workers at the West Indies Sugar Company's (Tate & Lyle) paytables took their wages among growing grumbles that they should be paid a dollar (i.e., four shillings) a day. Their pay had been cut to the new lower wages had lost some friends among the old planter families of Newmoreland by offering some slight wage increases. The rumour that this was endorsed at present money, forty cents) a day. A rumour had fast-gone by the story had taken hold. The rumour that of a Daily Gleaner story, endorsing this Over a thousand men and women were involved. Speeches and rumours fed the field book-discontent; the attitudes of the traditionally feisty/supervisors did keepers and white collar supervisory staff did nothing to ease it. Information leaked from Company by some Company officials left no By-Monday-morning, officials left few doubts that that would stay with the with the old room for doubt that of Tate & Lyle XXXXXXXXXXXX status-quo the bust.

payroll. By Monday morning all was ready for flashpoint.

The new factory, going up a quarter of a mile from the old would be the largest in the British West Indies. The old ramshackle wooden frame one which factory was however still in use, taking off its last crop. It stood about a hundred yards from a road, behind a cut in the lovely stone wall often found at the ancient sugar mills in the west. Beyond the yard and old factory yard was the square market square of Frome, called, in the West-fashion, oreland fa-way, the "chambre", "shambre"*. At the wall which

*Perhaps from "shambles", Old English for a meat market. dialect

was used as a kind of breastwork to take cover from the police bullets, fire,

four were killed and 9 wounded by bullets and a bayonet charge.

THIS TO GO ON NEXT PAGE. slowly mounting many people

The weekend ended early Monday morning in a The crowd had begun gathering at daybreak/after the weekend of mounting tension induced as much by a real grievances the legitimate as a rash little labour leaders the events had thrown up on of mini-leaders swarming on every farm every farm.

There These were the years before riot-control weapons, of tear gas; even batons of the day were met with

in the customary Mark VII rifles and fixed bayonets. Newspaper accounts claim that at six in the morning, there were some three hundred people on the Frome compound, singing and listening to THE SPONTANEOUS LEADERSHIP BY DAY INSTANT REVOLUTION. speeches from self-proclaimed leaders. Facing them were about a hundred armed police with a couple of Irish inspectors in charge.

The violence began at eight o'clock after with an attack on a sugar truck and a visit to the quarters of a particularly disliked estate official who, fortunately, was not at home. A rush on the old wooden office building sent the manager, Lewis A. Grant and his staff scurrying for into hiding (Grant himself being saved by a field worker, Rufus Jones, who upturned a barrel over him). NY

the police opened fire
 Soon after ten/~~and the reading of~~ followed ~~immediate~~ by shooting,
 bayonet charge.) Sticks and stones being no match for ~~their~~, the
 crowed swiftly melted into the adjoining canefields, leaving ~~the~~ dead
 Three policemen ~~received~~ and wounded. ~~Three~~ were hit by stones,
 So the Frome riots ended, fires
 one-receiving except for the retaliatory canefields/lit
 by fleeing workers. The casualties included six women and seven men;;
 of the four killed, one was
~~one of the~~ a woman.

See
 previous
 page

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CHAPTER

lit

PTO

But the fires/at Frome were to spread around the island. ~~within~~

~~days there were troubles at GO TO INSTITUTE & LOOK UP IN MAY TO JULY~~

ALL DISTURBANCES.

PAGE 31 SUPPLEMENT

was on
 Manley, at Frome defending the "rioters" ~~the~~ the CLIMACTIC
 May 23rd, 1938. ~~came~~ Edna Manley, ever close to her husband's ideals
 personal covenant, instantly
 and ~~had~~ sensed that his place was in the
 city. She ~~wired~~ wired to Sav-la-mar: Hell has broken loose in Kingston.

ASK EDNA WHAT HE MEANS BY DENY RUMOUR IN 2nd WIRE

He got in late to Drumblair and was briefed on the day's events.

GET BERNARD LEWIS TO GIVE YOU GLEANER A/C ALSO STANDARD

MRS
 LUCIE
 GRAY
 J.A. PROB.
 League

MRS
 MARTIN
 SMITH

HERBERT
 MACDONALD

UWI LIBRARY

Within days there were troubles in at ^{outbreaks} ~~and sporadic labour~~ ~~outbreaks~~ ~~labour~~ were breaking on ~~banana loading ports.~~ ~~bananas~~ ~~loading~~ ~~ports.~~ / protests/~~break~~ out jumpily/~~at~~ estates and/~~sea=~~~~outports~~ The city seemed quiet, but only on the surface. of the local police To the statement of an English ~~police~~ inspector/that Kingston was quiet, St William Grant (by then ~~ackn~~ being reported as Alexander Bustamante's chief lieutenant) retorted: "No sir, Kingston is not quiet!X On the contrary, the city/~~and=the=entire=~~~~island~~ is seething!" The influential tramcar ~~with=unrest=~~ their semi-skills among in a largely labouring ~~populace=community~~ that rode with them, swaying, ~~ad=semi~~skills / people=~~community~~ and the glamour/~~ON~~ theXX/rocketing were driving-platforms, /about to be made obsolete with their ~~trans~~ streetcars. Plans ~~had~~ were completed for the transport takeover by The Ken Hills (P) motor-busses and the car lines torn up. ~~Ken=Hills~~/National Reform Association/~~had=taken=up=the=~~case and holding street meetings on the issue./A=~~few=small=~~~~tx=~~~~steps=~~had ~~few~~ small steps towards improv- ing bettering/~~urban~~ conditions bettering/urban life among the poor, e.g., roads and /a housing scheme in Trench Town, then an untracked wilderness of ~~=leantes=~~ and cacti/~~and=leantes=~~coconut bough huts.) But those three weeks in May would be the ~~best~~/~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ Jamaica. ^{and of the CRSE} ~~known to~~ The new Jamaica was ^{about to} ~~begin to~~ enter its birth. ^{WOES}

In Montego Bay, /largest urban/~~community~~ in the west half of the island, A.G.S. Coombs was planning a hunger march. Coombs, tall, tough and dedicated leader, was the pioneer labour leader of the colony and president of the Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union.

May

The/climax, which had been approaching from Frome, commenced in , Kingston and Montego the islands two main ~~entry~~ ports/~~in=the=month's=~~~~third=~~week Bay. Stevedores in the northside town struck on Saturday, May 21 when lightermen manning the pontoons taking sugar casks to the Royal Main Line cargo ship "Lombardy" lying in the stream, demanded a shilling (ten cents) (five cents) ling a hour/instead of the sixpence/rate. The strike shut down the

waterfront, thus joining the city portmen who had begun the process PTO on Friday May 19 with a demand for 1/- per hour, up from 9d, by 200 stevedores at the VF's wharf. The company on the previous day when they tied up the Grace Wharf at Hanover Street.

The banana boat, "Jamaica Planter", had docked with 750 tons ^{next door to the "Graham" Pier where they had the agent Port Antonio}

process on ^{thursday} Friday May 19 with a demand for 1/- an hour, up from the regular=9d
 ninepence, by 200 stevedores at the United UFCo's wharf pier. The
 Company confidently and promptly moved the vessel next door where
 , then the=lowest next to coal carriers, the
 a few hundreds of hungry banana loaders/could be expected to reach lowest
 in the
 for the ninepence a=day rate. Patiently the banana loaders waited for water-
 front's social
 the vessel to be moored, then shook their heads at the flabbergasted order,
 Company officials. "If there had been no strikes, you would not have
 we wanted to make us into stevedores," said a spokesman for the humble
 day's
 banana loaders. It was the/ringing declaration;ef=the=day; a spontaneous
 identifierfication of interests that foretold the future.
 reach ===It=was=a-ringing=declaration=
 The Company
 took the ship to Port Antonio, eighty miles round the coast, where, for
 the moment, the old order still stood. Next day it was the turn of
 given the treatment
 the Banana Producer's "Jamaica Planter" to be/boycotted=by=the by the
 longshoremen who now had their tails up.

Even while a Westmoreland magistrate was handing out stiff
 sentences to the Frome folk for the happening on the Tate & Lyle's
 estates, the protests were spreading into every parish. In St Ann, led
 by the indomitable A.G.S. "F"ther" Coombs,
 /500 workers were demonstrating against the public works department and
 parish council's
 the/local=government employment conditions. In St Catherine, L.W. Role, a local labour leader was a
 agitator
 for
 reform.
 Kingston street sweepers
 downed their brooms in their headquarters at the old Cart Stables and
 demanded "at least 30/ a week and the removal of East Indian foremen,"
 had a virtual
 X curiously a field in which Jamaicans of Indian extraction were=con-
 sidered=excelli monopoly.

demand= weekend became

The/city explosion=really hectic on the Sunday (May 22)

when at all day sessions on the waterfront, Bustamante and St William
 Grant made marathon speeches for unity, ending the day with their
 mass meeting
 regular Sunday/sessions in the Kingston race course. The result of the
 day's activities was a complete shutdown ef=the= on the piers and a
 readying of the scene for the next two powerful daysX which would
 the=whole=commercial
 bring te=a=ful the city's entire commercial life to a halt.

~~CHAPTER~~

Early on Monday morning, May 23, a swiftly moving multitude of working people surged through Harbour Street, ~~and~~ King Street and the other main downtown thoroughfares, overturning garbage cans, closing down the early opening/corner groceries, commandeering street cars, whipping strikeXbreaking breakers on the piers and ~~store~~ shutters of those mer- foolhardy enough their stores. hauling down the/~~shutters-of-stores-as-fast-as~~ ^{chants} to have opened/

Local police and the English regiment on station were put on patrol but not before the city was closed. Firemen, tramwaymen, sanitation workers, all/~~declared-official-strikes-by-demanding~~ for better wageX (some streetcar conductors were paid about five cents an hour, fire brigadenen from about \$2.80 a week).

Riflemen, of course, had no place in riot control, ~~The-rifle-armed-forces-were-of-course,~~ especially

when the rioters were themselves had no explosive weapons, mostly pieces of piping and the ubiquitous coco-macca stick. ^{** TAKE IN BACK} Before the day was out, police rifle-fire had killed Mrs Sarah Thomas, a harmless candle-seller and her small son, Stanley, at their gate/~~in~~ Matthews and wounded another 9-year-old sonx Henry; Lane, Mrs Jackson of 137 Princess Street looked through her uupperfloor window and received a .303 bullet in her back. Some time in that forenoon

too, hhistory made a punctuation in the Jamaica story. Alexander Busta- mante and St wWilliam Grant, ^{passing the Central Police Station on Sutton Street on their way to address} addressing the striking firemen at the main firehouse in Sutton Street near to the Central police station, were pounced upon by a police party which rushed outdoors and arrested them were arrested for "disorderly conduct."

CHAPTER

On Monday May 23 at 10 AM, NW Manley was in the law to have with those retained by the W.I.V.Co for, as he told the Frome Riot Commission, "watching the proceedings in the interest of W.I.V.Co." ^{*** PTO} ~~Manley had been at Frome during the past week defending some of the fellows charged with rioting.~~ Edna Manley, knowing exactly the way her husband's mind was/~~turned,~~ ever more strongly to the personal covenant he had made many years before, instantly sensed that his place

story
A discreet ~~little~~ paragraph in one newspaper carefully refraining from any strong criticisms of the authorities had observed that "...as a means of dispelling possibly riotous assemblies ... it ~~is suggested that it has been~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ certainly is a tremendous pity that this innocuous yet effective weapon (teargas) has not yet been introduced into ~~Namibia~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~as a means~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ Jamaica."

Gleaner Tuesday May 24.

He can not get a proper name

*** The most eminent and sought after barrister on the island, wealthy Wisco would have made sure to get the best legal brains to protect its part in the disaster. It was not a personal wish ~~to make Wisco the only lawyer in the island~~ inclination for Manley but a due to his integrity as a lawyer. His own sympathies were with the workers. Within a few days, he would be publicly saying that "for many years, we have been educating our people and we have been making them conscious of their powers and their rights. It is high time if it was realised that we have got to make a step forward and organise and train the people so that they can properly use their power for legitimate ends. No progress will ever be made until this end is recognized and met." GLEANERZ 25/5/38

But in the beautiful Georgiaa courtroom that morning on Savlamar's Great George Street, he was all advocate, during the job his education and training had made him so skilled in.

He was careful to explain his part to the Commission. If required by them, he would assist "in bringing facts" before them. He "did not desire to interfere unduly or to ask to be allowed to interfere unduly. Anything I do will be with the view of giving the fullest assistance for the fullest enquiry to be made from everybody's point of view."

But not everybody TOOK KINDLY TO his place at the enquiry. Already there were detractors at work ~~whispering that he was a man who was~~ ~~defaming him for what they termed~~ a "big business" man. *when ~~that~~*

the trouble was in King's, Edna Manley etc

She sent him a wire. laconically brushed in was in the city. /With her usual lucidity, she/~~explained~~ the picture. All hell, she explained, has broken loose.

"I came home late," Manley says ~~PUT IN DIARY EXCERPT ON THIS THEN PICK UP AGAIN IN NEWSPAPER STORY AS I'VE DONE BELOW~~

See BACK AND SUBSEQUENT

~~With Audley Morais, a wealthy race track and cinema operator, and merchant G.M. DaCosta, Manley went to the Fire Brigade station to talk with the men. It is~~

~~completely typical of Manley that even in these early stages, he was~~ Manley must have been conscious of the company he kept. ~~for even~~ He was ~~certain that, almost~~ **NOT A**

~~St William Grant, obviously so much a man of the people, nor flamboyant~~ Bustamante, very much in spite of his Caucasian appearance, a son of the angel of soil. ~~He~~ If his ^{heavenly but} destiny was moving him towards the political leadership of his country, that pragmatic guide was using the available help. ~~MANLEY~~ In ~~that=fateful=week,~~ those fateful two days, ~~Manley=with~~ Bustamante's companion was St William Grant, a unmistakably black and already a veteran street corner battler for black rights; Manley walked with Morais and DaCosta, both white or ably "passing." Moreover, H.S. Burns (Speedy) Burns, a rising young journalist was writing of "A Soviet Jamaica" and of "a Communist group" waiting to "make 1940 a peak year." (Gleaner St May 21). Under the same headline a Montego Bay reporter ~~spoke=of~~ "Communists from Cuuba were responsible for the recent Frome riotX and other present strikes

in the island;" Cuba, ~~MAN~~ where Bustamante was fresh from; a little detail not calculated to rest lightly with the Establishment/~~people=MANLEY~~ ^{ones. To them,} Manley would seem ~~It=would=take~~

a safer repository for whatever small degree of leadership they would ~~let=pass~~ allow to percolate through to "the people."

Flanked by ~~the~~ his two companions and ^{white} ~~Facing the irate firemen, Manley~~ facing the irate firemen, ^{Manley's willingness to be involved and identified with the unrest made him open to charges} Manley quietly ^{spoke} ~~the/~~ reminder he was to ~~use~~ make so often in his political life. "I believe/~~that~~ I am a person whom you will trust." Then with the confidence in his own ability that has ~~been~~ often ^{ruffled the feathers} ~~annoyed~~

too. "It has been rumoured," he stated, "that I have advised some of ~~the~~ the activities of the past few days. It is sufficient to say that nobody knows me could possibly believe that I could think that Jamaicans interested would be served by letting loose the irresponsible ~~disturbance~~ of the past two days. But I believe that the genuine labourers themselves are responsible enough to know that they can secure their rights by different

VICTOR REID
Valley Hill Farm
Rock Hall PA
St. Andrew

Page 31 Supplement 4-A

Box 129
Kingston 10.
Jamaica.

He was and Edna lit sharply into him. His "exciting"
~~Edna~~~~xxxxxxx~~~~was-not~~
woman was not about to allow ~~tardiness in-his~~ any little matter
"the law's delay" and the real ~~beginning~~ to
like/rough winding roads to frustrate/~~his-pursuit-of~~ start/~~his~~
~~rea~~ ~~ra~~Xce.

"I come late and am abused," Manley was to write wryly
thirty years afterwards.

It was an evening of ~~man~~ talk, conjectures and plans at
Drumblair, phone calls and visitors flowing in and out, tasting and
in a hundred years since the 1831 rebellion
testing the happenings which for the first time/~~when~~ English
been warped
warships had ~~anchored~~ close inshore so their cannons could rake
shut
the streets, had quite/~~closed~~ down the ancient city. After his usual
After his breakfast
short sleep, Manley was up early./ ~~He-drove~~ of
as he ~~impishly~~ puts it,
he drove ~~down~~ into the city, parked and proceeded to/"perambulateX"
The ~~blank~~ deserted, ~~xxxxxxx~~ downtown, shuttered
the=~~street~~ the streets. Kingston=~~was~~ / ~~were~~ eyeless in the sunlight, the
streets in
~~strangely~~= a strange, ~~silent~~ speechless defacement of X strewn garbage
and
pans, broken windows and occasional explosive bursts of noise as X
looked for all the
roving squads of people ran a block and disappeared, ~~xxxxxxx~~~~was-in-a~~
world like a place of ^{SUN} bleached twilight. Its state was
~~state~~/described by the Jamaica Standard:~~XX~~ "Something in the nature of
a general strike has been declared in Kingston. Something in the nature
of martial law prevails.X"~~XXXXX~~

The paper went on to say: "For the most part, the strikers
are ill-informed, lacking in leadership and in many cases, know not
what they want." So, also, were the employers and the government.

Lacking in elected leadership, the central government had to
look to the Mayor (then Dr O.E.Anderson, a general practitioner from Cross
Roads) and Council to provide liason with the people. * ~~XX~~ Meanwhile for

* The elected members were also out of touch. Public Opinion newspaper of Saturday May 31, 1938
commented: "Elected members... have palpably failed to look after (our) interests. NOR WILL THIS

PEOPLE RECEIVED THE NEWS OF FROME.

the employers, UFCo's acting manager C.M. Hislop was moaning: "We might never had a deputation from our workers at all. If we had we ~~might~~ have been able to consider their case. Even now, should we receive such a deputation, we might give the matter some consideration." ^{ration}
Might have been able to and Might give the matter some consideration

Even now the ~~X~~ truth of it hadn't hit them, that the working people had declared against ~~were=declaring~~ the old unilaterals in labour-employer relations.

Manley "perambulated" to the fire brigade station where he met Audley Morais and DaCosta. ~~Proprietors in the~~ wood-&-brick city of the were particularly concerned with the brigade strike. Neither/especially class, trusted/nor possessing the charisma that would demand a hearing, they saw the godsend in Manley.

"They insisted that I break up the strike," says Manley.

Audley Morais was a wealthy race track ~~own~~ and cinema operator; G.M. DaCosta was a merchant.

~~They~~ They were still turning up to be recruited in the elite ~~as~~ "special constables" wearing their white polo helmets ^{or burlap bachelors} and recovering from flying ^{severe injuries} as their heads ^{made} ~~made~~ ^{early} ~~early~~ ^{finding} ~~finding~~ targets in the dark.

~~The~~ whip-wielding diplomacy was preferable to industrial relations of the day went in behind the white crack. a negotiated settlement of the trouble was as alien to their thinking as moccasins to polo ponies.

reseller
slave
owner

Brahmin

were for wholesale military intervention to break the/~~vicious~~ /
now ~~being called~~ being ~~popularly pegged~~ popularly pegged deliriously
strikesX/nombeingpopularlycalledtomagicnumber pegged/to the
idea
~~Frontier=idea~~ that happiness was a dollar-a-day."Charlie Johnson
was a tower of strength against force," Manley has written. "He
~~can~~ sees ever
~~more~~ that all wages must go up.X He sees very far" But/scrupulously
if sardonic, h
he sees and is

Richard
writer and act.
hattermion

Hugh Buchanan
~~member of the~~

* Bucha
was the
his own
1937.
A man of
seiwewe
popular
with B
hell
which/s
and Grai
happy, i
of KNA
Treasur
Commb's'

"B" COPY

at Supplement P37

An endorsement by Ken Hill's National Reform Association somewhat eased the pain. "The NRA is resolved to cooperate with Mr Manley in his efforts and makes an appeal to one and all concerne dto free their minds of any doubt," stated Hill. "The NRA is so convinced of Mr Manley's sincerity and honesty ... that its (proposal) to the dock workers (to form) a registered trade union with Mr Bustamante as president was valculated to strengthen Mr Manley's hands in the negotiations with the shipping companies. The idea of a trade union for longshoremen is not new. Mr Manley and Mr Campbell have themselves ~~advised~~ (so) advised

Added Bill: "Mr Manley is forming no new organisation; only seeking a pooling of ~~all~~ the resources of all existing bodies. He enjoys a a unique position in this island. He is trusted by Capitaland can be trusted by Labour as well."

~~RECEIVED~~ 1944

lashing his frie

Reform Associati

self hotly again

slamming at Denh

ston will burn."

former
who paid
conference
particu-
ways
to attain
lary of the
the groups
I Bustamante
never been
strongly anti-M
er he had
llusioned
he said.
eral secretary
had expelled
akeover
at

UNTIL
HIS
DEATH

Soby

His suspicion of and failure to use the new fangled microphone (gravelly, voluminous like Chapman next day "fully sympathized with his dislike of this instrument") made the task of "reaching" the men all the more arduous. GLEANER 27/5/38

The Thursday morning meeting pulled in over 2000 waterfront workers and ^{W.A. Williams, a delegate of the workers} ~~carried~~ ^{bore} a mixed success. ~~Edna~~ (and, curiously, the Director of Public Works) joined him on the coal car from which he spoke, mood and declamations at the No 1 pier. The ~~meeting~~ ^{of the men} made it clear that ~~the men~~ regardless of the concessions offered them, breaking the strike there would be no ~~return~~ until Bustmante and Grand were freed. They would accept ^a ~~the~~ shilling-a-hour settlement (double for overtime) plus the freeing of their two leaders. Manley ~~x~~ in turn made setting up himself as it clear that he was not ~~assuming~~ a labour leader. regarded "...The people whom you ~~regard~~ as your leaders had the misfortune to be arrested and put in jail," he told them. "They are still in jail. In that situation I felt that somebody who had the cause of the people at heart ~~and~~ should come forward ... and let you realise that there were intelligent people in the country that sympathize with your position and were prepared to put forward your case and to speak on your behalf.

"I am not a labour leader. I am a lawyer and my work is in the courts where I work for anyone who desires my services to the best of my ability ... When the time comes that organisations are to be formed by labourers to protect themselves and their rights, I do not say that it will be possible for me to form these organisations, but I am prepared to give my services free. Working people are entitled to elect their own representatives to lead them... men who know their

No.
In case of reply please quote the
date of this letter and the following

Kingston, Jamaica
24, Church Street
Wayne's Barbers
Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation



Edna
Aggie Bland

conditions ... their grievances ... men whom they can meet, men whom they can trust."

outset.

So he ~~made his name~~ established his role at the ~~outset~~ He would advise, not lead. He was filling a breach, waiting for the release of Bustamante, a matter that was in the "hands of a very great lawyer and very great worker for the people," J.A.G. Smith. ~~As it proved, that~~ ~~the Smith rescue~~ ~~was to~~ ~~founder~~ ~~stubborn~~ Supreme Court sitting all day ~~and only~~ they would only be freed after some fast/~~back~~ King's

House by Manley. (SEE NW'S DIARY) Observing that he had been approached by strikers' representatives who were on the platform beside him, ~~to~~ negotiate with ~~the shippers~~, he ~~reported the results~~ ~~an hour more~~ to make the rates elevenpence an hour.

It was rejected out of hand.

For an hour, he reasoned from the coal car, reminding them that any increase they received would be paid for by Jamaican producers ... "It will be your own people who will have to be considered as well as yourselves." (GLENER FRIDAY MAY 27)

He pointed out that none of the earlier "negotiators" had been able to secure ~~a promise for even~~ "one farthing ~~promise~~" and that "at any rate, this is something." ~~When they were told that not only had the two shillings~~ ~~an hour overtime demand been turned down, but that~~ ~~nothing~~ would be

added to the present $1/4$ and $1/6$, the ~~planks~~ ~~of the~~ old finger-jetty fairly shook with their hurt roar. It took a firm, disciplined resolve to face them with the facts of negotiation:

"Bargaining is a word that you will hear more and more in Jamaica from now onwards, ~~when~~ the labouring people are striking for better conditions. You cannot strike and stick out forever on one price. There is more than one thing to consider. When the price of dock labour goes up, ~~food is going to become more expensive...~~ ~~there are many~~ people working 10 hours a day in factories for ten shillings a week."

It was upon disciplined resolve as well as
BACK OF PAGE 37 ... C
handling to

The crowd was dis-
intended and uneasy
but ~~was~~ standing
beside
on the
corridor

It took adroit/~~and~~ ~~man~~ keep the big crowd in the frame of
mind that would leave the way open for still more talk. ~~X~~ ~~MAN~~ Out
of that dockside
~~Whithams~~ ~~meeting~~ came one of the workingmen who would have
a ^{Subsequent} ~~Important~~ influence on the labour movement. ~~W.A. Williams~~ ~~was~~
a tall, powerfully built black man ~~of~~ ~~se~~ strong personality and big,
impassioned voice. ~~He~~ ~~made~~ him a quick leader.* At the end of a
*During the war, he was interned with Bustamante, Ken &
~~NEWSPEWENFORSHAWARTWYDLNABRREVENENBETMENBWEWENEBE~~
Frank Hill, ~~put in the rest~~ ~~and others~~.

~~his~~ speech for solidarity in their demands, he raised the ~~one~~ single
song which above all else, could be counted upon to hold ^{fix a} ^{on any} a Wst
of the ~~pre~~ ^W ^{world} war 11 years.
Indian crowd/fixed, ~~God Save The King~~ Hats ~~in~~ and caps instantly
off, the ~~x~~ men whom Sir Leonard Lyle, the head of Tate & Lyle had
savagely assaulted for ~~AMERICAN~~ "not remotely" resemble ^{the} English
only recently ~~WENTHESEREESAVESS/ANPPEADUETHWRESEWICHACOUNTE~~
labourer
were in life or mentality" (GLENER WEDNESDAY MAY 25) ~~speaking~~
stood at attention as they sang, ~~then~~ ^{God Save The King - and} dispersed. ~~and~~

FRANK Hill gave me
the description of
Williams.

RECEIVED
JUL 10 1964
FBI - NEW YORK



writeX: "Hired labour costs
3/- (female) and 4/* (male)
a day.

38

changes slowly. Ian Fleming, in a dull
book on Jamaica edited by sometime journa-

Supplement P. 3F

He

classes

Manley had been seen by the upper echelons of the ~~bandwidth~~

society as a buttress against Bustamante whom they regarded as a

dangerous fellow. Manley, by his life-style and accomplishments,

would understand and protect their interests. Gleaner ~~Establishment~~

writers exhorted the workers to "Listen to Mr Manley!" (ESTHER CHAPMAN,

MEM MAY 27, 1938) A Gleaner editorial titled Patriotism, lauded ^{ing him as it sought to} ~~the longshoremen's fears~~ ^{soothed} ~~may have wrought~~ ^{the opposite effect of inflicting} ~~and the~~ ^{new} ~~the~~ ^{defiance.}

^{broken} "We are sanguine that stevedore labourers who went on
strike from various wharves are aware that Mr N.W. Manley's
initiative in offering his services to the Government to conduct
negotiations between labourers and shipping men, accords with
patriotism..." Mr Manley is not the individual to shirk his
responsibility because he happens to be counsel for a shipping
company, or that he is organiser and chairman of Jamaica Welfare
Ltd, to which the United Fruit Company and Standard Fruit
Companies contribute money to further the objects of an orga-
nisation which has entered upon its programme ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~assist in~~ ^{to} ~~(rural improvement)~~ ^{to} ~~Citizenship and patriotic~~ ^{to} ~~service transcend self interest...~~ ^{We are confident} ~~We are confident~~ ^{that negotiations which Mr Manley is} ~~conducting between strikers and shipping men will result~~ ^{in a complete understanding between the parties."}

by landing
his integrity

But that Thursday etc Another editorial

as mediator by the Other Side, the Governor, King's House and

company suggested. On the other hand, Bustamante, in the words of a
notoriously conservative 1938:

/ Gleaner columnist (Esther Chapman, May 26/ "A Woman's Commentary")

was a "local labour leader who has been given formidable importance

as the result of ill-advised publicity of a special nature." / It could

have been the kiss of political death. How surely did he magnify the

danger?

the Fairly closely, in the context of the year. The ^{fact} of

STERN

*H. EXASIAN E. Allan, appointed to the Frome Commission of Enquiry by the Governor, replying to a Gleaner Reporter's question on its work, (TRUMAN, VIN TOLD ME FROM RJR BY PHONE ON 4.6.71) ruefully retorted: "I have to be careful what I say being the only black sheep in the lot." He was later made a Knight, the "first black knight"; b2

afternoon, made a subtle nod in this direction:

"I am very glad to be able to say that Government in keeping with its promise, on representations made by those of us who are working in the labour interests --- and I believe supported by the employer interests --- has appointed a Conciliation Commission."

The Commission included High Court judge Sir Henry Brown,
Collector General(??) O.E.
A.H.Hodges, Legislator C.A.Reid, ~~and~~ Mayor Dr/Anderson, United
Fruit Co's head J.G.Kieffer and H.P.Jacobs. (Brown and Sir Charles
of the April 6th
Doorly had been the two Commissioners/~~already~~ Commission
set up by Denham to enquire into the island's wage~~K~~ rates. Their

findings would be "placed at the disposal" of the conciliatory board.) *So thick he made help them "assuming"* *P.T.O.*
 was
 Manley, now in the thick of things, and finding ~~that the~~
 proportions which
 manham ~~in spite of the valuable assistance I have had,~~ *"already given him."*
3 TET
 render it necessary to call for more help." But the helpers he wanted

must be "sincerely on the side of labour." He called for them to "come to see me at 10 o'clock this (Friday) morning." ~~THEY WERE NOT THERE~~

High on the list of "valuable assistance" was that being rendered by his wife Edna and a ~~man~~ dockside lunch seller named Aggie Bernard. Miss Bernard, one of the great and ^{almost} forgotten patriots of

BAIN
ALVES

The document, drawn up by NRA president Noel Nethersole and general secretary Ken Hill was a part of the strategy/which ^{by} give Bustamante ~~XX~~ ~~would~~ they hoped to/gat/special ~~stanz~~ validity as a leader and obtain consequent /careful treatment by the courts. The government would be less likely to throw away the key to his cell by a massive sedition sentence. At the meeting, *Manley* ~~The document xxxxx explained xxx Manley xxx the~~ ~~xxxx~~ of a meeting ~~xxx~~ /spoke ~~xxxxx~~ lawyer and firmly refuted any suggestion/~~that~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~he~~/personal ~~xx~~ interest ~~xx~~ in office/. "I am not going in for politics," he said. "I have no time for politics. ^(so) I hope there will be no jealousy or suspicion in this cause.X"

Buchanan
He showed them the underground pamphlet which had been
circulated the day before: Workers! Do not trust Manley and Camp-
bell. They are the tools of capitalists. Support Bustamante and
Grant. *The dockers shouted*

He had got the crowd to indicate their disapproval
After/~~XX~~ OF
the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ pamphlet, ^{and then} Manley made his first public statement on
the friend of capitalists spectre with which his detractors were
continuing to haunt him.

xx

"It is perfectly true that as a lawyer I represent a great number of companies, ^{he said} but I do not represent more companies than I ~~can~~ He applied his ~~knack~~ ^{using} represent poor people in our law courts. X" ~~It is a~~ ~~knack~~ ~~of~~ ~~spreading~~ ~~the~~ ~~prosecu-~~ ~~tion's~~ ~~case~~ ~~to~~ ~~his~~ ~~own~~ ~~advantage~~ ~~by~~ ~~pointing~~ ~~out~~ ~~that~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~because~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~close~~ ~~acquaintance~~ ~~with~~ ~~big~~ ~~business~~ ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~was~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~go~~ ~~and~~ ~~speak~~ ~~on~~ ~~your~~ ~~behalf~~ ~~to~~ ~~men~~ ~~who~~ ~~will~~ ~~trust~~ ~~me~~ ~~to~~ ~~put~~ ~~your~~ ~~cause~~ ~~fairly~~."

~~xxxxxfairlyx~~

Manley's speech that morning to the assembled dockers

~~His speech~~ has been credited with being the clearest exposition

up to then of a trade union. It was simple, deliberately repetitious ^{ti}

on certain issues, persuasive and ~~urgent~~ ^{urgent}. He spoke without a

phone but ^{but his voice today} ~~carried~~ ^{carried} well over the great ~~works~~ ^{yard of tarred xinx}

goods sheds and empty rail cars, ~~stilled~~ ^{stilled} now by the general strike.

"Many people have asked me whether they must put their signature tures on a piece of paper that is being circulated for the formation of a Union. My advice to you, ~~is~~ ^{is} : sign it. Because by doing so, you are only promising to join a union.

(must select)

"If you agree to join, you ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~(must)~~ ^(must) men to represent each wharf and give them power to get assistance in such matters as drawing up of a Constitution and formation of an executive, , w what subscriptions, benefit schemes etc will be arranged by the n union, and how it will assist you in times of crisis.

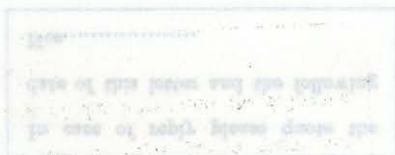
"The strength of the union is in unity. You must train yourselves to be loyal to your union and to stand together in decisions. ~~of which~~ ^{of which} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~union~~ ^{union} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~way~~ ^{way} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~loyal~~ ^{loyal} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~union~~ ^{union} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~stand~~ ^{stand} ~~together~~ ^{together} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~decisions~~ ^{decisions} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~which~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~union~~ ^{union} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~way~~ ^{way} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~loyal~~ ^{loyal} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~union~~ ^{union} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~stand~~ ^{stand} ~~together~~ ^{together} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~decisions~~ ^{decisions} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~which~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~union~~ ^{union} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~only~~ ^{only} ~~way~~ ^{way} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~loyal~~ ^{loyal} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~union~~ ^{union} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~stand~~ 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men will be able to hold out as long as their terms are not met. As time goes by, there can be a benefit relief for members but you cannot start that at the moment. It will be three or four years before you can. But the time will come if you stick together; if you are loyal to the union. Do not allow people to split you into groups. Do not allow quarrels to divide your ranks. The first step is to teach that difficulties can be adjusted by compromise. Remember, you cannot all lead at the same time.

"Those who are doubtful about (a union) , I ask you for a little trust, a little patience. You may never have another opportunity. You may never have all the men sticking together as they have done today.

~~XX~~

"Be careful and wise in the choice of the people who lead you. You do now only want men who can talk, but men who can think. There is nothing so bad that something good cannot come out of it. Perhaps what has happened in Kingston may be the starting point of further developments for ~~the~~ the ultimate benefit of this island.. Trust your union, serve it and you will build up and strengthen security and hope for yourselves."



~~James~~
Mrs. Bernard opened her own private soup kitchen
at No. 9 Prince Street to feed the strikers.

"hot lunch"
~~A=paster=and=his=Children's=Lunch=Fund=Committee=Rev=A.H.Webb~~
~~Rev A.H. Webb~~
~~Rev A.H. Webb~~

But neither of them could have gone very far without the aid of a
pastor, ~~Rev A.H. Webb~~, who stretched his terms of reference
put
to the limit to ~~the facilities of his Children's Lunch~~
Fund Committee at the service of the strikers. X He was publicly
commended by Mrs Manley for "the magnificent way in which he came
to the help of hungry strikers (producing) a meal for 1,500 at
four hours notice." **GLEADER SAT MAY 18**

TAKE IN SUPPLEMENT

Kingston, Jamaica.
24, Church Street.
Mayors' Chambers

Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation.

No.
In case of reply please quote the
date of this letter and the following



Manley they had decided to double the overtime; but that, Manley he told them acidly, was too late to be enough. "I told them to release Bustamante or Kingston will burn," he wrote later. Df in motor cars Anderson agreed with him and the Board took off/for King's House. Manley first stopped at the fire brigade station to keep his firemen ~~WUWU~~ cool and then motored to King's House to join the Board.

He took the long, slow, patient road (because he recongnized ^{ed} with the dockers, ~~WUWU~~) decided ~~WUWU~~ a new deal for labour. ~~WUWU~~ the that here would be/~~WUWU~~ ~~WUWU~~ BE tough, ~~WUWU~~ competitive, ~~WUWU~~ truculent, longshoremen, ~~WUWU~~ ~~WUWU~~ unlike the ^{itinerant and scathing} workers on the sugar estates, ~~WUWU~~, ~~WUWU~~ kingpins of ~~WUWU~~ ~~WUWU~~ were a cohesive group, ~~WUWU~~ of winches & high wheeled drays their enclave/from Port Royal Street to the sea.

NOTE: IT IS MY BELIEF THAT JAMAICANS ARE TODAY ILLITERATE BECAUSE WE HAVE LEFT OUR ORAL TRADITION BEHIND FOR MATERIAL GAINS AND HAVE NOT YET LEARNT TO REALLY READ. THERE IS AN A LITERACY GAP! THAT WILL ONLY BE FILLED WHEN WE HAVE LOST OUR GREED=FOR HUNGER FOR MATERIAL THINGS. ITS "NEVER SEE COME SEE."

The lights were burning in Denham's office at King's House where men worked to relieve the beleaguered downtown anxious ~~WUWU~~ to the south now and deserted dark/save for police prowl waggons and occasional bands of youths window-breaking sport. bent on/~~WUWU~~ At King's House, Manley says ~~WUWU~~ conically, there "is a mad party."

They were waiting for him. Of the seven or eight men present, only he had been in close physical touch with the strikers all day. He had seen the moods and felt their approbation as well as their disappro- had ~~WUWU~~ been in battle with friend and foe val. He ~~WUWU~~ during the day and the previous night. He had fought with fellow lawyer, ^{volatile} Richard ~~WUWU~~ Hart, the young passionate Marxist and Hart's friend Buchanan, vitriolic On the wage increase to the longshoremen, he and devotedly anti-Manley./ ~~WUWU~~ had worked to reeling, only to have the offer rejected by the immovable stand/~~WUWU~~ shilling-an-hour ~~WUWU~~ modeled by the intransigent W.A. Williams in had hardened the years of ~~WUWU~~ whom/~~WUWU~~ exploitation. ^{from} wharf owners.

laywer whose sympathies
He had crossed swords with/Ross Livingstone, a lawyer whose sympathies he
suspected to be elsewhere
and had rebuked Nethersole, his close
friend and fellow Rhodes Scholar. Manley was annoyed with Noel
"Crab" Nethersole for "jumping in the Union business with the
National Reform Association," perhaps because he saw Nethersole's
action as liable to put up the backs of such powerful factions as
Ken Hill's catch-all NRA which
the Gleaner and the wharf owners. Nethersole had brought
together disparate people
as merchant J.B. Stevens and communist

Buchanan, conservative U.Theo McKay and agitator St William Grant,
been also the crucible in which
had which had crystallized the anti-esta-
blishment ideas that had prepared the ground for support of
the young Jamaica
Standard, the lively, robust and very professional daily then

rivalling the Gleaner. The Only the cheerful and intelligent assis-
tance of his wife Edna had lightened, considerably, the burden of
the day. "great work did more to help than all I did," Manley
has declared.

he
As it was, it was an edgy man at the heel of his day
just after
arrived at King's House at dusk. To their anxious queries on
the city,
to the state of Kingston he offered no comfort. With unkindly candour,
even yesterday's
hope had worn out. He would
no longer promise a quiet city in return

for Bustamante's release. Yesterday's failure to grant Bustamante bail
had stiffened the strikers' resolve to hold out and had
convinced many that only a violent overthrow of the system would do.

This fairly crumpled the Board of Conciliation and with
their
rising panic, they throw the baby into Manley's lap and make him
a one-man Board of Conciliation. "I am asked, unanimously, to see
Bustamante and see if he will give assurances satisfactory to me," he
says.

TAKE IN SUPPLEMENT

perhaps from new information

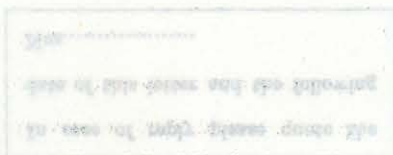
SUPPLEMENT

for page 42

A missing essential was a deep-rooted sympathy for the wretched condition of the poor. While the arch conservative London Times was scoring the "long years of neglect by the Colonial Office, local governments and employers" for the "standard of life of the West Indian labourer" which was far below even being "halfway tolerable", the Gleaner was blasting away at the "Coloured Social Welfare Societies in London and George Padmore ~~XXXX~~ for observing that "while Tory politicians sing of the glories of the Empire on which the sun never sets, for millions (of other) British citizens ... the sun never rises."

journalist,
*George Padmore, a Trinidadian, was a long time/fighter ~~XXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
historian and fighter for black rights. He died in
Ghana.

UWI Libraries



in fact," Manley says, " (attorney)
trying to get Bu
clair (his lands were ne
meal
had a quick/~~SWACK~~ and
the prison. Behind the
ls, the cousins met and
SYL MAC'S INTERVIEW):/
just before
around 1932, ~~Wenewywha~~
was to recall, but they
good in 1934. They had p
a no

He had seen Smith at King's House meeting.

across to Drumblair (his 1
acres), Manley had a quick
summons came from the prison
high redbrick walls, the cou
ars. (FOLL EX BASIL MAC'S I
ations
with him around 1932
to Cuba, Manley was to recal
came back for good in 1934

(MACFARLANE TAPE ENDS HERE)

CHAPTER

The release of Bustamante/~~was a deliberate~~ and Grant/~~play played against~~ was a play staged with/with elaborate--that no harm came to the system. Manley had already MCFARLANE'S TAPE (Bustamante) "persuaded ~~Denham~~ that it was essential to release him ~~from jail~~ and stipulated that I must go myself and see him in jail and be satisfied where he stood. ~~Manley had said he was to give evidence in the court~~ ~~that in my judgement, as the person in touch with all the strikers in Kingston, it was both safe and essential to let him out of jail.~~ END OF MCFARLANE

The assurance received, Manley kept the play going by ~~saying~~ talking Bustamante's counsel J.A.G. Smith into ~~staying~~ ^{OVERNIGHTING} in town overnight instead of to ~~Smith~~ heading out for his beloved Clarendon constituency for his weekly political fence-mending. Gravelly, ~~Manley says, we laid "plans for renewing the application on my evidence"~~ ^{next day.} But since the granting of the application was a foregone conclusion having been decided at King's House the night before, Saturday's sitting in Chambers at that time not in the cast was a formality --- although ~~known to any~~ known to any except the principal players. Bail went to Bustamante (£250) and Grant (£250) and they were released to a rocking, jubilant city. ~~It was~~

A triumphant motorcade rolled out of the Tower Street penitentiary gates ~~in~~ in the early afternoon and drove the mile to the No 1 Pier between deep lines of cheering people. With Manley, ~~and~~ and solicitors Bustamante and Grant in the procession were Smith, Ross Livingston and Allan Wynter. Edna Manley was already in the crowd at

"Rome was not built in a day!" cried NW at Trench Town (Pen) on Monday afternoon. "Rome was not built in a day!" cried Busta ^{4:30} later that day after he had in Mandeville after leaving NW in Trench Town (GLENER Tues 31) a kind of

the pier, with Sievright, Ansell Hart and Willie Foster Davis, ~~the~~ the unofficial ~~delegation~~ from now taking the road / ~~the middle class who were~~ ^{IN A RETURN} ~~to the people~~ TO THE PEOPLE. ~~THE~~ ^{THE} MIDDLECLASS WOULD BE THE BINDING STRENGTH OF THE PNP FOR A YEAR YET, IN THE STRUGGLING

but arguable whether they did not alienate the mass support which adult suffrage was so soon to capapult into supreme importance.

TAKE IN BACK

On the face of it, it was a jolly meeting, with congratulations passing to and fro among the leaders on the coal railcar (to which Manley had led them with an athletic bound then turning to assist up the less fit fellows); but the lines were being drawn. There ~~and there~~ were already a few well defined ones, such as Manley's noting ~~that~~ Smith's studied avoidance of ~~crediting him with any~~ part in the ~~successful~~ bail application, and Bustamante ~~at the~~ second of the afternoon's two meetings, one-upping the Manley ~~twopence~~ increase with the promise of double pay for overtime, a request the shippers had denied Manley, ^{but which had been agreed to on the Friday evening and kept quiet at Manley's} negotiations. Odd little quirks occurred too, such as Bustamante addressing the meeting as Comrades --- a word that became anathema later for its place in the PNP tradition; and Manley advocating the forming of a "Labour Party", destined to be his most fearsome political nemesis. Incidentally, the ^{first} cousinly bond between the two Shearer descendants was being known to most of their audience for the first time when Bustamante revealed it.

[The meeting ended ~~and~~ and, Manley says, "Smith and Bustamante rush off in an enthusiastic crowd. I go home sadly. The first round is over." *]

* Actually a ^{news} report of the day (Gleaner Monday 30) says Bustamante ^{Adyn Ashen} ~~port~~, Smith, and Living were well borne away on the shoulders of the dockers. "Mr Manley was not lifted because he wanted to remain by the side of Mrs Manley."

insistence.

"They announced offer to double overtime," he wrote in some diary notes "but I advise against publication." He later elaborated: "B"

Page 2 of his diary, entry for Friday.

but arguable whether/ix they did not alienate the mass support which adult suffrage was so soon to catapult into supreme importance. *Lee Bulk*

On the face of it was a jolly meeting with congratulations passing to an fro ~~waxwax~~ among the leaders on the coal/^{railcar} ~~cart~~ platform ~~(to which Manley had led them with an athletic bound andxxxxxist~~ then turning to assist up the less fit fellows) but the lines were being ~~being~~ and there were already ~~already/drawn/ welldefinedxxxx~~ ^{well defined ones} ~~xxxx~~ ^{while} ~~xxxx~~ ^{right} ~~xxxx~~ ^{declaring that "through} ~~coal Bustamante/at the front of his speech was/immediately~~ ^{Mr Manley we succeeded in getting an increase of a twopence but I have} ~~got xxx the companies to agree to double pay for overtime."~~

~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{occurred, sud} ~~some of them with~~ ^{Odd little quirks} as Bustamante addressing the meeting as ~~Comrades~~ ^{xxxx} and Manley advocating the forming of a Labour Party, the cousinly bond between the two Shearer descendants was revealing. ^{being known for the first time} ~~with Bustamante/makingxxxx/xxxxxxx~~

what Manley regarded as Smith's
such as Smith careful avoidance of mentioning the part he
played by (Manley) had played in getting Bustamante the release
of Bustamante and part

destined to be
his most
FEARFUL
political
trial.

Incidentally,
to most of their
audience

COUSINLY FEUD

SLAVERY IS NOT MATTER OF LABOUR
FOR NOTHING. NO SUCH THING.
SLAVERS GET PAY IN FINE,
SHELTER, LAND TO WORK.
IT IS OWNERSHIP - OWNED
BY OTHER MEN. THAT'S
THE ROB.



So brotherly in fact that they agreed to pay ~~double~~ double for overtime on the dock although they would not budge from the two pence straight time increase. It was a gain anyway and ~~the men~~ Busta-Lumsante was able to ~~triumphantly~~ return to the pier with fresh success/ ~~at that~~ a to match Manley's. It was at that later mass meeting, 4.30 in the afternoon, the strike was called

It was a good year for Manley and Bustamante to be ready in;
and a good year for the dead ones whose in memoriam was the
clocker and sugar
courage and the hammering spirit of the/cane~~field~~ workers and dockers,
the firemen and the banana carriers and all those others who ~~had~~ stood
~~this xxx~~
~~xx~~
and single-mindedly grasped the time.

Weymouth, Dorset,
24, Church Street,
Birmingham, Jamaica.

Jungston & St. Andrew Corporation.



PAGE 45 SUPPLEMENT "B"

Concerning this, Manley said later:

x /"On Wednesday, the wharf owners and shipping agents had agreed to raise the rates of pay by twopence an hourday work," Manley says, ~~the~~ "overtime rates remaining unchanged. This offer was rejected by the men who at the same time insisted that they would stand on strike until such time as Mr Bustamante was released. Late on Thursday, the Concilia ion Board was appointed and all Friday the Board was working with interviews with myself and with the dock owners and shipping agents. It was through mediation of the Board that the dock owners and shipping agents raised their offer so as to include double overtime on the twopence increase."

GLENER, MONEYA 30 HEADLINE: TIME RIPE FOR LABOUR PARTY
IN JAMAICA, SAYS MR M.

chambers
On Sunday May 29 in his/office at No 25 (or 21) Duke Street,
Manley called in ~~the~~ the press and stated some "planks" in his
"platform" for permanent improvement." Although he was to again
state categorically that "this is not a political campaign", he was
at
in the same time and place declaring ~~for~~ it to be "the golden
Party
opportunity for forming a Labour/~~Party~~ in Jamaica."

But it does not appear that he was thinking of a partisan
party. "not to be political
It was/~~to~~ be a Party which will supplant any other organisa-
tion working for the people of the country." He thought that its
first and most important function was to "co-ordinate by affiliation,
every existing people's organisation so that there could be one
central organisation keeping in close touch with the active groups
working all over the country for the good of the people."

sweep
In This puzzling if graceful/~~brushing~~ towards a One-party
colony-state
functioning/~~the~~ would draw immense strength from its affiliation
to "a Trade Union with all their members, the Citizens' Associations
and all the Leagues and Associations which are working to a common
end."

He had the potential strength among the workers. "At present,"
he said, "there are thirty-three separate groups of employees who have
sent delegates to me and whose cases are going to be presented to the
(Conciliation) Board." ~~the~~

he
It could be that with the forming of his "labour party,"/~~the~~
was presuming that ~~a~~ the employing class
~~the~~ would be in fact, or would be
grouped in a Conservative party. He had, as proven later, a passion-
ate belief in "the two-party system." However that may be, his urbanity
remained; ~~the~~ "Meantime, ~~the~~ it is gratifying to know
that many employers of labour are negotiating improvements for their
workmen without the need of further strikes. ~~the~~ As did the

steel: "There is no doubt ~~about~~ that the hour has struck for an allround improvement of every class of labour and it is just as well that employers should recognize it and do their duty promptly. "

That ^N also made memorable uttering ~~Manley's~~ Sunday/has been/~~also~~~~particularly~~ for the/~~stating~~ the ~~early~~ road. Lots of the of his ~~small~~/credo indicating his political/~~beliefs~~=A=few/perceptive and guilty caught the drift and looked to their defences.

"The country has got to realise that there is going to be an allround increase of wages throughout the length and breadth of Jamaica and the cost of it has got to be met. [This can only be done by increasing taxation on the people that can best afford to bear it.

[Luxuries and amusements have got to be taxed and the taxes on food have got to go down, because the cost of living is in any event going to go up. [Income tax has got to be increased. Wages rates in have Kingston/~~are~~ gone up and are going to stabilise themselves at a higher rate.

of the
"That means that the tendency/~~for~~ people to come into Kingston to look for work is going to increase. It can only be stopped by comprehensive re-organisation of the programme of land settlement and improvement of living conditions in the rural areas.

"The necessity for the development of agriculture and other local industries is imperative as an immediate programme,.

"We have been talking about it for years and we are still talking about it and doing nothing.

"Relief work for unemployment must be spread over wider areas in the country. These are just a few of the immediate necessary measures."

That ended, Manley turned to what he termed his "planks ~~for~~ in our platform for permanent improvement." These, he stated, would include among several others:

"A proper scheme of industrial insurance,...

"An old age pension scheme...

"Bringing into force of scales for minimum wages..."

And he could hardly have endeared himself ~~for~~ to the ~~the~~ ~~the~~

Both N & Bunta were consumed by the burning demand for ~~the~~^{freedom} from the exploiters for ~~the~~^{the} ~~state~~^{state} ~~and~~^{and} ~~both~~^{both} were counselling patience to the barefoot victims. "Rome was not built in a day!" cried Bunta. That same afternoon they left.

CHAPTER

An early good from the evil was the ~~in~~ substitution of
a 9-hour day instead of the/ten normal ten for labourers, and a
25% increase on their 3/- a day. The/award was special, seeing that
the workers were getting all that they ~~agreement-of-the-Conciliation~~
~~Board-tszthese=was=extraordinary~~ asked for. And although
the award applied in the/first-place instance to Public
Works Department people, it
was a pacesetter. ~~NOBODY KNOWS HOW MUCH THE AFRO-MALE~~
*** TAKE IN *** SIDE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEIR WOMEN APING
NOTE. ~~CAUCASIAN HAIRSTYLES~~
June broke hot all over

the country with every town and large estate under armed protection of the guard police, regular and volunteer military. Demands for the 25% increase per day came from/~~private-as-well-as-civil-~~ MUSLIMS IN THE U.S., THE RASTAS IN JAMAICA) HAD TO DO WITH THE RISE OF THE AFRO AND ~~THE~~ RELEASE THE EXTRAORDINARY BEAUTY OF THE BLACK WOMAN. Violence whipped through the countryside from St Thomas westward to

Trelawny. The earlier ~~at Frome, Hanover,~~
~~===== xzzzzz~~ battlefields, a little spent, a little shower
to challenge the bullets and bayonets, fared quieter. The battle style
strikes were adopted
of the Kingston/~~riots=teek~~ in the rurals, with frequent
"invasions" of the country towns by hundreds of workers from out-
lying estates marching down Main street, overturning garbage cans,
banging on automobiles, aiming their anger at the instant enemy,
the Chinese shopkeeper-capitalist in their midst. Manley, now the
"Labour Mediator" ~~By~~ of the media if not so officially chosen, and in
similar vein, Bustamante, the "Labour Leader," were ~~zzzzzzzzzzzz~~ com-
panion~~x~~ troubleshooters, going everywhere at short notice to quell
the protests by their presence or by promissory note.

The mob was a giant child,
capable of fearsome acts on a quick-rising anger, but equally ^{capable of} subject
^{Marching in} to ~~keeping~~ step to
~~zzzzzzzzzz~~ "We are jolly good strikers" to the tune of We are jolly
good fellows. ^{and} Or standing at parade-attention, staves and machettes
shouldered, ^{at the raising of} ~~when a leader raised~~ God Save the King.

The Manley homily of that "Rome was not built in a day," first
enunciated by him on the city waterfront during the dock strike and
echoed by Bustamante at the ^{rural} ~~country~~ trouble spots, was the ^{letterhead under} ~~paper on~~
which ^{both men} ~~they~~ wrote their notes to the ~~several~~ categories of obdurate
strikers demanding the three shillings a day and upwards in the
cane and banana fields.
port towns and in ~~the=fields~~ The emphasis of both ~~men~~
was for peace and patience while the data they gathered was being
referred to the Conciliation Board. In the west, A.G.S. Coombs ^{head of the Jamaica Work-} ~~also~~ ^{men and Tradesmen}
^{at holding down} strove tirelessly/~~te=held=down~~ the issues to ~~orderly~~ some order
~~but~~ although
although it took considerable skill as say at Savlamar where sanitation
were
carters/~~reported~~ being paid 16/- for a 64-hour week. (GLENER JUNE1) ^{* FOOT-NOTE}
~~But~~ Neither Manley nor Bustamante, struggling/~~#####~~ under
their leadership had
the ~~weight of~~ avalanche of grievances which/~~the=weight~~ attracted,
could see over the heads
~~had-any-time-for=~~ of the crowds at a few thin lines on the fringes.
These were the "clerks", an inclusive self-styled ~~nomenclature~~
~~calling-themselves-the-middleclass~~ selfconscious ^{Label} adopted

by * Coombs' skill was uncommon. In Montego Bay, his oratory so soothed and pleased
that many from H&A ASax were joining in applause at his meetings. GLEANER JUNE 7

label alternating with "middle-class" and adopted by citizens in
~~XX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 "clean" jobs. Barrister Campbell, a ~~short~~ squat, gnome-like
 & battler whose ~~XXXXXX~~ *brave* *MSc in different discipline*
~~XXXXXX~~ formidable scholarship included a couple of master's ~~XXXXXX~~ *ers and ????????*
 had formed his/ ~~clerk~~ *clerical* union *which* *effective*
 where their cause received ~~rather~~ *in/and* impoverished help, like from
 E. Barrington Williams, ^a ~~tail~~ *tail* gangling black who ran a little known
 organisation called the Social R^uconstruction League/^{who} was calling

四庫全書

FIRST TEN DAYS OF JUNE BITTEREST:
SHOOTINGS ALL OVER ISLAND: ISLINGTON
FOUR KILLED MANY WOUNDED
DENHAM DIED JUNE 2 THURSDAY AFTERNOON
IN KPH. BECAME DELIRIOUS & DIED ~~2x57x~~ 3.01
WITH BISHOP SARA OFFERING PRAYERS & OFFICIALS
AT BEDSIDE. (GLEAGER June 2)

meetings "in defence of the Middle-class"; ~~At the printers' union~~ ~~meeting~~ ~~meeting~~ Bustamante ~~was~~ flailing "Jamaica's great middle class for their spinelessness" which made them live "in constant fear, despising

the lower classes and in a dilemma to know where they socially belonged." And ~~the drama~~ ^{HE} ~~made a plea for~~ ^{version} "50 to 50 ans" for middle class farmers. (Glean Time is Edit)

What they ~~were~~ were to prove/ later was that they belonged in
~~politics~~ emotional
 politics; although their / attachment to the PNP was to dis-
 credit that party for

many years in the eyes of the mass voters. In the meantime, several of the more thoughtful and public spirited had

aligned themselves with the new urgency being generated through Man-
~~ley's activities.~~
 ley's activities. **

with N.N. "crab" Nethersole
At May's end, Manley, ~~has been called~~ as his deputy. *Agd*

~~XXXXX~~ called a meeting ~~in~~ in the offices of Dr J.L.Varma where a number of committees were formed to "study reconstructive ideas" and to offer their findings to the Conciliation Board. Five committees were set up to study finance, nutrition, adolescent & adult education, recreation and unemployment. Manley himself never attended the early meetings.

being "owing," said a report (GLEANER JUNE 2) "to his activities else-
where," ~~miszzzzzzz~~ he was too busy fighting brush fires all over the
countryside but he had previously mapped the strategy of "social and
rural reconstruction" which the group would study. The division of

a maladroitness one.

the definition was not altogether ~~accidental~~ "Rural" reconstruction reserved ~~be given~~

tion/~~had~~ a right ~~to be given~~ for special approach. Plant diseases ^{had}

said the Jamaica Standard in an editorial, "have" caused many large estates

~~to be almost abandoned~~ (See appendix) ASK GLORIA TO TYPE OUT JA, STAND. EDITORIAL MAY 31.

~~X~~ to be almost abandoned. ~~There are parts of Jamaica where~~

the sight of money is an extreme rarity. There are hundreds of people in

certain districts who have not known work of any kind for years," ^{ran a Jamaica Standard} No ^{editorial}

wonder ~~that~~ the anger lasted so long in the previously ~~disceptively~~

mild mannered countryfolk. Something like panic/~~gripped the gentry~~ in

the rurals. ^{They took to seeking} ~~at~~ making for strongpoints/~~and~~ the first shout in

the valley.*

*A rumour ~~that~~ of an attack on Frome sent the harried English expatriates racing ~~posthaste~~ down the road to Savlamar where they took refuge ~~aboard~~ aboard a ship in the harbour.

But while with Bustamante he was logging ~~many~~ much mileage in the uneasy outlying places, ^{Manley} ^{town} was not neglecting his/~~city~~ commitments. He/led demands of the Water Commission workers into meetings with the Commission chairman, including some for the skilled plumbers, masons,

fitters, carpenters. ~~As~~ ^{the significance of Manley's interest} increases for the various categories of

city employees were won, ^{insistent and steady} Manley kept up a ~~near~~ running commentary on ^{seemed to be} lost or ignored

a ~~factor~~ ~~most~~ ~~lost~~ by all the labour leaders of the time. "It (is)

inevitable that taxation will increase," ~~he said~~. ~~The long overdue rise~~

~~in income tax is bound to follow~~. There must be an adjustment of the

burdens of taxation so that it falls more heavily on the class of the

community that can bear it. "...I am very much alive to the fact that the

~~increases of wages which are being made, and which are bound to come, will~~

~~impose great burdens on the island's resources~~ ^{he said}

^{He had his precedent right Trinidad, which had completed its own labour vote cycle the year before, had seen a hike in its cost of living by ten percent. (Planner P110 in)} He urged continuously ~~far~~ that "our troubles will not be solved" ^{"Q"}

unless some comprehensive group of plans for dealing with unemployment ^{Swaps with}

can be found." He declared that above all, there should be "an acceleration

of of the programme of land settlement and development of (our) industrial

CHRISTIAN SYSTEM BY ALEX CAMPBELL

of "professional men and other leading men." (CLEARER WED June 8 3p)

C H A P T E R

Jamaica had become used to bury its dead in the weeks since Frome. Some ~~THE~~ ferocious police ~~work~~ of their ~~Frame~~ and ~~XXXXXX~~ military work (and ~~some~~ sabre rattling on sidewalks and in canefields. auxiliaries) had left several dead/~~XXXXXX~~ The ailing of the govefnor, Edward Brandis Denham, had passed almost unnoticed in daily reports of ~~violent~~ armed clashes ragged the/~~continuing battle between the~~ battalions He died on Thursday, June 2 and of unemployed and state forces./~~XXXXXX~~ after and was the series of crises ~~had~~ aggravated an old stomach ailment/~~XXXXXX~~ buried at sea off Port Royal --- ~~the first~~ in near 150 years to have died in office. ~~He~~ had been a quietly determined man, unclouded but liberal in his relations with blacks; a not frequent quality among ~~the~~ his people of the time. ** PTO a way, a In/~~XXXXXX~~ Denham's death was/~~the~~ turning point in the 1938 revolution. True, there was Islington to come --- a few hours after Denham's death when four were killed as police fired into a ~~the~~ crowd of demosntrators in the St Mary village --- and others The Hon Dr Veitch, member for Hanover, was to lead him* * * * * shootings and deaths to follow, but the troubles had peaked. ~~His~~ SEE BACK ~~and Denham's acting successor~~ acting successor, C.C.Woolley, the colonial secretary, had hardly moved i

into King's House before he was announcing a million dollar land

The scheme had been Denham's, settlement scheme. ~~XXXXXX~~ planned (and

announced) without ~~the~~ any reference to his legislative council. lavishly

The scheme, ~~was~~ ~~wid~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ acclaimed by the Press, had of course

its neat little rider that nothing could go forward until the

country ~~returned~~ to "normal." In any case, it would be cheaper

to operate than ~~the other~~ ^{another} which had not gone beyond the idea stage. plan for

This was a/migration of ~~XXXXXX~~ Jamaicans to then British Guiana (Guyana) and British Honduras (*Belize*).

To Manley, the ~~new~~ new land deal was "the best piece of news I have seen for the people of Jamaica since I was born." He seemed to have known even more, for he hinted ~~the~~ ^{the same} at Islington/~~that~~ Sunday ~~night~~ evening that a four-million dollar four-year plan was also a possibility. He suggested that ~~XXXXXX~~ repayments be ~~xxx~~ spread over a 20year period "so it would not break their backs ~~to pay for the~~ ^{to pay for} the lands." * PTO

~~remained~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ in his

Woolley ~~acted~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ was / acting post for a few weeks months, He a mildly popular man of good Establishment metal ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~was~~ ~~quite~~ ~~popular~~ who performed conventionally ~~is~~ in recommending/a "tangible recognition" ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~police~~ but said nothing of the militia --- presumably because they had talked to A.G.S.Coombs in Montego Bay about their pay. GLEANER WED JUNE 8 38)

On Tuesday, June 14, Secretary of State Malcolm MacDonald announced ^C that he was sending a Royal Commission. He was also sending a new governor.

of the Commssion, Manley said: "Merely to assess past errors of blame will not help the future. The future depends on ourselves and on the efforts the of ~~our~~ people of this country. But our needs want recognition." Of the ~~new~~ governor Sir Arthur Richards, he ~~does~~ ^{does} ~~not~~ ^{seem to have} comment.*

* H.A.C. "Cockpit" Simpson, sitting member of King's House and one of the several old ~~freed~~ ^{freed} legislators who had failed absolutely to bridge the ~~resolution~~ ^{gap} "did not" ^{personally} think the Commission will do any good. Wed June 15 Gleaner

what had happened was that the

only just beaten out of place

The Denham Land Settlement plan had ~~ready~~ forestalled that of ~~his~~ *Manley's* Rural Reconstruction Committee*which two days later was reporting its own/recommendations;~~ZZZ~~/similar only in that the Committee's proposals also rested on land use. ~~But~~ The Manley plan was for a "complete reorganisation of rural conditions".

"Members were Manley, Dr W E McCulloch, a nutrition expert and ~~public~~ social thinker, Graham Hawkins, N N Nethersole and Miss May Farquaharson.

The Committee saw a land programme spending 4-million dollars in ten years "commencing with an immediate expenditure of one-million dollars." They ^{this} considered/the immediate amount which in the period of time can provide any real solution of problems of unemployment or achieve the genuine and basic reconstruction of the whole island economy."

Manley thought that the settlers should come from four categories: the unemployed; small farmers with an initial capital who needed credit facilities, more agricultural knowledge and assistance in marketing and who are already on government land settlements; other small settlers also requiring credit etc; agricultural labourers on estates who should be given lands near to his employment.

The closely reasoned plan went into details of of finance, including ~~A~~ suggestions for some modest increases ~~in~~ taxes on income, ~~and~~ luxuries and entertainment. But it also recommended "compulsory acquisition of all properties in Jamaica which are at ~~present~~ present used exclusively or principally for renting lands in small lots to agricultural tenants." Either in the fall of events there was no time to see the drops for the rain, or it was a season of kindness to the Mediator, but only a right friendly short comment came from the Gleaner which thought the Report "constructive" because it included "what is essential to the welfare of producers as a whole.X..."

It was the season for reports. Curiously, an almost identical document was turned in by a Committee of the arch-conservative Imperial Association, fixing the same amounts, ~~but not, of course, according to such heresy as compulsory acquisition.~~

In case of reply please quote the date of this letter and the following

Corruption

upward was working when left



Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation

upward was meeting

Sadly because was being stated

Challenge to sanity

NOTE ~~B~~ BUSTA'S MENTAL AGILITY IN SEVERAL INSTANCE

CHAPTER

signally of an Oriental cast
When Manley thought to be of mixed (European) blood.

The new governor would be Sir Arthur Richards, an old colonial Pacific hand. His last post was in the Fiji Islands, a point that the irrepressible JAMAICA STANDARD took into consideration with an editorial warning the new chief that "head-hunting also exists in this island ... more than one governor has lost his head because of the activities of a certain group here." (STANDARD JUNE 15, PAGE 144 in scrapbook "Q"). Both Bustamante and Grant had been/freed of all the charges lodged against them on/Empire Day arrests, ~~the~~ Crown ~~withdrawing~~ having withdrawn ~~the~~ ~~refused to accept~~ its case. * ~~only~~

*They were defended by J.A.G. Smith, the ~~only~~ elected member ~~to escape Dr W.E. McCulloch's strictures for their "complete lack of leadership" in the crisis "most noticeable and highly to their discredit."~~ (GLENER WED JUN 15 PAGE 146 in scrapbook "Q")

The triumph brought a new surge to the demands for unions. Barbers, railwaymen, hotel ~~workers~~ employees, workers of every category were meeting in schoolrooms and lodge halls and pledging their three-pence and sixpence ~~a~~ weekly dues to battle the old exploiters. It was a good ~~XXXXXX~~ wine, ~~settling to the stomach and wise in to~~ ~~XXXXXXZZZZXXXXXX~~ ~~the head if~~ ~~when~~ *But it should* treated with respect. ~~Manley~~ It must lay on good food, and would travel well on a contented mind. Manley was the only one of the ~~bleom~~ *have* of labour leaders ~~which~~ who seemed to/recognized the ingredients for ~~XXXXXX~~ its required ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~the~~/lasting benefits; e.g., his committee on rural reconstruction which recommended a 20-year land settlement scheme based on a system of cooperatives.

Time and again, from press and platform, he was to hammer at the theme ~~that~~ of more-and-more; more employment and more wages ~~meant~~ *would* *only come from by* more production from more resources. *allied to a political awakening for the national crisis* It was good foundation stuff but ~~not~~ carried no news to the ~~people~~. They were looking ~~to~~ not for *OF INSTANT VICTORY TROOPS*

The second round would take him into country so strange, & ~~new~~, so ~~different~~,
~~the men~~, challenging to ~~sanity~~ sanity, where black school leaders give the ~~them~~ ~~part~~
 test parts to white children in Narnity plays.

~~CHAPTER~~

But The next round would be far more gruelling. He was 45 years old in 1938, thin and strikingly handsome, ~~often~~ aloof as a lone tree= pine on a mountain~~to~~/people=men=But ~~he could take~~ be jovial and even funny. He was long on wit but often hurtlingly brief ~~the=bark=effx=for=these=close=to=him=~~ He had a genuine liking for ⁱⁿ clever people ~~whannaxintegrity~~ the company of ~~clever intelligent=people~~ who did not feel imperilled by ^{INTELLIGENCE,} hard work or integrity. It thinned his circle~~x~~ but ~~purified~~ strengthened ~~steadied~~ his mind. ~~It=was=the=code=of=his=personality~~ He was a man of utter absorption, obedient to the best demands of ~~his~~ himself. "You cannot/~~move~~ or hold or bind," he once said, "unless your whole self is histrionically engaged in the real sense./~~words~~ are nothing." ~~He=~~ He spoke for all ~~his=the~~ disciplines ~~his=genius=took~~. ~~This=~~ ~~in=a=way=~~ ~~sense=~~ ~~did=for=~~ ~~all=his~~ ~~that~~ ~~attracted~~ ~~gammus~~ engaged his genius, not least of all for politics. He was shortly to meet a man as ^{also in politics} "histrionically engaged" as himself.

CHAPTER

(On OT FAIRCLOUGH & FORMATION OF PNP)

who avows that his ~~residence-in-Haiti-taught~~ 8-year residence ~~was=a=says=of=the=formation=of=the=Peoples=~~ in Haiti ~~National=Party=quote=from=Tappe~~ made him convinced that "Jamaica should be self-governing", ~~was-the-first-to-see~~ may not have been the first to see in Manley the "natural leader" of his country, but ~~was-the~~ certainly was ahead of/~~the-rest~~ in doing something about it. Fairclough, ^{a handshell not given to} ~~no man to be swayed~~ by sentiment, had nevertheless seen in the much maligned black republic that "the average Haitian, man for man, of whatever class, literate or illiterate, was a better human being than the Jamaican." He became convinced that the cause ~~Jamaicans being~~ "colonial, and the lay in the fact of/Haitians being ~~Xa~~ proudly independent people."

He had returned to Jamaica in 1932, ^a ~~anxshdratex~~ young man in whom his island of the Thirties lit no fires of loyalty but made more obdurate by the ~~science=system~~ savage system of ^{racism} ~~subtle=~~ paternal racism which gently but firmly settled her black children at ~~which ensured expulxex for the blacks~~ the foot of the table. The Haitian experience had ^{WIPE HIS MIND OF} ~~left him unprepared~~

Jamaican intellectuals existed. When it came back to him, he would have fled to ~~MAX~~ Brazil but for ^{light} ~~the~~ pockets. Moreso the urge to run grew when in reply to his application supported by ^{top} ~~in~~ grade testimonials ~~of the~~ he was offered a post in ^a ~~the~~ white-mulatto staffed ~~bank~~ King Street bank --- Was a janitor. In 1936 he went to Manley. ~~and expressed that he had the socialist party~~

"Manley was, in my judgment, the man whom all Jamaica would accept, black and white Jamaicans. He had a reputation, or rather an acceptance, which I think was universal. The reputation was that he was the ~~xi~~ wisest Jamaican. A reputation for being the person you would put your hand into his hand and go into the dark with. It was ^{only} not a middleclass intellectual feeling but a popular feeling ~~XX~~ among the peasantry ~~XXXXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX~~ in whom I am rooted. ~~X~~ He was accepted not as the smartedst or the slickest, but as the wisest and with the most integrity."

Fairclough, who went on to form his newspaper Public Opinion the next year, said that at the time, Manley~~x~~ was convinced that Jamaica's problems were social and economical rather than political. "He was not very moved by my observance that social and economical problems come from politics~~xx~~ but he offered to take a subscription in Public Opinion which was then being contemplated along with the polical party," declares Fairclough.

~~Determinedxxxxxxxx~~ A determined, energetic man of
walked up Duke Street to see
immovable will, Fairclough/~~was~~ his second choice, J.A.G.Smith, but
the touchy little lawyer/legislator ~~was~~ had his own ideas. A formidable
Anglophile, the ill, to him, lay not in Britain (and colonialism) but
in the quality of her proconsuls. "I have no quarrel with the Colonial
society. My quarrel is with Britain for insisting on sending fifth-
rate ~~administrators~~ officials to their colonies. If they would send
firstclass people, the kind of people who go into the Home service
, I would have no quarrel."

Fairclough pays tribute to Manley's consistence by pointing out

that ~~then~~ in the following year, Jamaica Welfare was founded, ~~as~~
~~socialist organization which is a movement~~ movement harnessed to the job
 of raising the social and economic levels of rural folk. ~~There~~ No
 further meeting ~~took place~~ occurred until ~~the~~ ^{between the} May ~~when~~
 the day of Bustamante's release from Rae Town prison when ~~they~~ ^{he} ~~he~~
~~stood together on the truck~~ ^{was} at No 1 Pier
 from which Manley sent out his
 call inviting "all people of goodwill to enrol at his office for
 service."

It is interesting to note that Fairclough, who is credited
 with founding the Peoples National Party, has always denied that he
 was a Socialist, and certainly ^{was} not a Communist, although as a
 young man he had been "attracted" to both ideologies. "If I should
 describe my ideology, I would say I am a humanitarian," he once said.

The second meeting ~~at~~ ^{at the pier} was at the instance of Edna Manley to
 whom he had been introduced ~~on the truck~~ ^{steady}. Both Manleys were by then
 readers of Public Opinion and with her ^{active} ~~enthusiasm~~ ^{enthusiasm} for fresh ideas and ~~interesting~~ ^{active} people, ~~Fairclough~~
 was invited to Drumblair ^{next day.} ~~for talks and drinks next day.~~ So was
 Bustamante. For both, it was a first. ~~A few days later,~~
~~Manley began his series of speeches through the countryside~~ ^{calling for}
~~the formation of a political party~~ ^{XX}, Fairclough wrote his
 first signed newspaper article "intended to hold him to this decla-
 ration." Soon after he was invited to visit the Manleys at Arthur's
 Seat in Clarendon where they had their holiday home, to discuss the

* Fairclough regards that visit, "purely through Edna Manley,"
 as his first real political contact with Manley (although
 he was absent ^{in the} from Drumblair at the time, likely at the
 law library/~~the~~ King Street Supreme Court building catching
 up on his case work which had been neglected for several
 days.) ~~Manley~~

formation of a political party. It was over a year since he had ~~first~~
 first spoken to Manley.

Was Mr Manley a Socialist then? Did he plan for the PNP to be
 a Socialist party?

"We never had any large ideological discussions and I do not
 really know to what extent he had been impregnated with Socialist
 ideas. ^{But} I have a strong feeling, since he was a man who took a brief
 very quickly, that he was profoundly influenced by (Sir Stafford)
 Cripps coming here."

The old Ward had not witnessed a larger crowd in living memory.

Manley's opening remarks ~~were~~ commented on that fact. "It was not so very long ago that a very eminent Jamaican, writing in one of our leading newspapers, remarked that no intelligent person in Jamaica today is thinking ~~of~~ about politics. I am afraid if ~~that~~ what he wrote is true, there are at least a thousand fools in this hall and five thousand more outside." (SEE APPENDIX___) He was understating the case. A GLEANER editorial a few months ago had been even more scathing. "From complete self government for Jamaica," the editorial had cried, "good Lord deliver us! Not even full representative government can be considered at a timewhen, to use a colloquialism, the tail is wagging the dog ... we do ~~not~~ think that ~~we~~ even one political step in advance would be justified."

(All the same, in ~~a commendable impartiality~~ ^{the sturdy independent swing with} which the Gleaner's news columns often ~~clobbers~~ ^{beats} its editorial writers, next day it was reporting a speech by ~~Father~~ ^{Monsignor} Gladstone Wilson, ~~a~~ ^{then a young} Roman Catholic priest with the reputation of being the ~~best~~ ^{most} educated Jamaican ~~in which he thought~~ ^{and of immense intel-} lectual influence, in which he stated ~~that~~ ^{that} "the masses of the population have never had a real opportunity

Former Rhodes Scholar(??)

The Ward Theatre meeting had Noel Nethersole as Chairman. ~~X~~/N.N.

"Crab" Nethersole, ~~a~~ ^{a lawyer, a Rhodes Scholar} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{lawyer}, bon vivant and excellent cricketer, was a close friend of Manley ~~X~~ and more than a fair ~~example of~~ ^{in ~~XX~~ which} the "hopeful signs"/Gladstone Wilson had seen promise.* Bustamante and House member C.A. Little, ~~Fairclough~~,

*Father (now Monsignor) Gladstone Wilson, then a young Roman Catholic priest, reputedly the most educated Jamaican and of immense intellectual influence at the time, had, ~~severely taken to task~~ ^{severely} in a much talked about speech three months before, ~~severely~~ lashed out at the indifference and "typical snobbishness" of the middleclass who, "unless an adjustment takes place within their ranks (of which however there are some hopeful signs) may shortly find themselves bound hand and foot."

Ken Robinson, O.G. Penso, Anglin Jones, C.G. Walker and C.A. Isaac Henry have been named as those on the ~~XXXXXX~~ stage of the Ward. Cripps for his part ^{"the birth of a new political party} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXX} spoke eloquently ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXX} representing all that is best and most progressive in Jamaican life. ~~X~~ The whole administration of a colony as things exist today must always be determined primarily by the Imperial needs of the Empire. That is why self-government is withheld in so many cases, especially where the numerical majority of the people are not white in colour."

"Many," sniffed the ~~Gleaner~~ ^{can turn but} ~~unrepentantly~~, " marvelled at his candour."

Rastas brought a black redlyn
fine people price
in the house

in the countryX/ XXXXX~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~XXXXXXX~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
quoted

While he acknowledged the serious economic problems facing
--- "Indeed, *heretofore*

He said, "No amount of ~~reflex~~ benevolent administration, no

His strategy was to face his detractors ~~attackers~~ (they were already in position) ^{and early} early and squarely in his speech, dealing first with the

Press which had "accused me of being ~~XXXXXX~~ a communist or an
and of "trying to overthrow the leaders of labour
associate of communistsX" He=asserted=that=he=know=X=of=no=member=of=my
in the trade union movement in Jamaica." Declaring the idea to ~~be~~ be "ridi-
organisation=who=is=a=communist=-Indeed,=-he=said,=-very=few=people=in
culous and absurd," he asserted that he had "never pretended to be a labour
Jamaica=know=what=a=communist=is=or=what=communism
leader " and had X no ~~XXXXXX~~ wish to head a union. ~~THE~~ "The (Peoples

leader " and had X no ~~XXXXXX~~ wish to head a union. ~~THE~~ "The (Peoples National) Party is pledged to raising the standard of life of the common people of this country. The Labour Movement is essentially involved in that programme." As for the communism tag, he denied/ ~~XXXXXX~~ knowledge of any Reds among ~~XXXXXX~~

As-for-the-birth-of-the-Party

Over and again he was to stress in his speech the need for more than an economic identity with the country if they were to "make a real unity in our people. All efforts will be wasted," he said, "unless the masses of the people are steadily taken along a path in which they will feel more and more that this is their home and their country, and that it is their responsibility to work for its future." He charged that "the sense

of independence and the sense of responsibility (had given way) to ~~in~~ desires ~~of~~ for help and assistance and to infantile habits of thought." We had become "a shepherded people, benevolently and kindly led by still waters, with no higher ideal than contentment and ease." We needed to "claim a voice in our own affairs and to face the hard road of political organisation and the difficult tasks of discipline; to develop our own capacities, our own powers and our own gifts for leadership until out of our own people we can assume responsibility for administering our own affairs."

EXACTLY A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES, THEIR DESCENDANTS BEGAN A REVOLT WHICH WAS TO BRING AT LAST THE FULL FREEDOM.

While he was calling for a politics of participation, "anley was mindful of the formidable enemies which the new order would throw up against him. Among them, he observed would be "those who are today interested in, or members of organisations and groups who have hitherto had too large an access to the confidence and control and direction of our elected representatives. The masters ~~of~~ of the lobby and the backstair influence," he warned, "will not face a decline in their power without a murmur and a fight."

He was also expecting opposition to his Party's progressive stance from those ~~Next to the old time~~ "who look back upon what they they regard as the beautiful past --- the past of peace and contentment, and freedom from agitation." These were ~~the verandah romantics~~ "who loved ~~our~~ our thatched huts and the picturesqueness of Back o' Wall*." With a ~~frankness~~ candour that must have fretted ~~in~~ some of his friends, he confessed that he too had "felt those sentiments." He was after all one of the privileged with a holiday

*Back o' Wall was a very depressed area off the Spanish Town Road, in Kingston's west end.

cottage

~~house~~ and racing at Knutsford who had lived with the barefoots about him long enough to "become complacent," ~~what~~ because, as he said, "What you see evryday you regard after a time as belonging to the order and nature of things." But the thought was not lost upon his ~~of-him-that-~~ hearers that it spoke immeasurably of the man who ~~was~~ with all his immunity from need, was placing himself among the conscripts. ~~uplifting himself from the~~

"We are not going to allow the old spirit of complacency to return," he cried. "Others must live, and whether we like it or not, the old spirit which glossed over ~~inequality~~ inequality with sentimental kindness is gone forever. The new spirit must live and struggle. Difficulties and dangers are its hazards; more life, its aims. And every man who calls himself a true Jamaican must work to keep it alive and to encourage the masses of this country to reach up for better things and to work to achieve them."

To accomplish this, to put more citizens at work building the new spirit, the Party would operate on "the old and well tried principle

of beginning with small groups that form theXcellsX out of which the body of the organisation is built," he said; opening a word association syndrome that was to haunt the Party's future. ^{cripps} ^{his hearers} all-its-life. (When Cripps later in the evening addressed/ them as ^{Bolshie} Comrades, ~~the old Bolshie bogey~~ that, and "cells" made the old Bolshie ^{organising} bogey take on ^{even} more hair.) The Party would in later years, faced with ~~organisational~~ difficulties, and cut its ~~programme~~ coat take the pragmatic turn ~~to programming its~~ policy/ ~~cloth~~ to suit the electoral cloth. But at ~~its-inauguration,~~ ^{the structure stated by Mr Manley} at the Ward Theatre inaugural meeting indicated what he meant by a "Party" modelled on strictly democratic lines."

"At the bottom of the structure," he said, "comes first the ^{or} Party Group/~~the~~ affiliated Associations. Any six persons can join together, form a party group for the area in which they live and adopt the Group Constitution (which we will publish at an early date) and the Central Party Constitution. In addition, any society or organisation may be affiliated to the Party if it is willing to adopt the Party's aims and programme. The ~~work~~ work of such organisations will not be interfered with by the Party. Only in the political sphere will ~~an~~ affiliation impose duties of mutual aid and loyalty. The Party will affiliate with any genuine democratic organisation working for the people's good.

"There are many such. I need only refer to the Citizens Associations now in existence, already willing to identify themselves with the Party. There will, I hope, be many more. There are other groups such as the Progressive League, the National Reform Association and Societies of Teachers whose interest and cooperation we seek and invite."

Members of the Party would be required "to sign a pledge of loyalty to the aims and objects and declared policies of the Party and to support Party candidates in all elections." In the ~~rather~~ stringent economic circumstances of the time, membership fees were fixed at ~~a~~ one shilling (10 cents) a year but ^{beyond the official fees, the} ~~since the Party would need all the money~~ ~~we can get~~ anticipated proletarian salaried class members ~~they~~ would be asked to "pay to the limit of his capacity."

A Party Ward Committee would be located in each ~~each~~ electoral division of the colony to which each party group would be entitled to send a delegate for every 50 members. The Committee was to be the "centre of political life for the electoral division." The Committee would elect delegates to the parish conferences ~~from~~ where ~~which~~ candidates for central government and local elections would be selected. The Ward Committees would also send delegates to the General Party Conference for, among other purposes, electing ~~the~~ annually the

Party Council. The Council and its ~~Executive~~ elected Executive Committee would be "the heart and brain" of the ~~Party, where the "plans and~~ ~~organisation, and where the~~ programmes and organisation of the Party will be studied and worked out."

Mr Manley, in his speech, ~~had~~ declined to discuss the Party's detailed programme as this was "neither the time or place" ~~because~~ since ~~he~~ that would be to "betray at the ~~very~~ outset the very principle of democracy that lies at the basis of the Party itself" but he would speak of its aims.

"It is of the reasons for its existence and broad ideal that I can speak tonight," he said. "One of the first aims of the Party in Jamaica today is to educate the people of this country to the true position they should occupy and to what they should expect of their democratic institutions." He placed great emphasis on the need for ~~political~~ political education of the ~~electorate~~ electorate.

"I may be talking as a visionary or as a foolish idealist, but if this Party is to succeed, it will only succeed if it is based on foundations of a thoroughly planned and widespread educational campaign among the people of the country. They want to be ~~taught~~ taught what the Constitution of this country ~~is~~ is. They want to be taught what sort of Jamaica they should aim at for their children and their children's children. We don't want a ~~foolish~~ foolish electorate ~~at~~ ^{the} ~~at~~ ~~the~~ mercy of every demagogue and unable to unravel the tricks of undisciplined politicians who regard politics as a means of self-aggrandisement. Nor can we expect great things of these people until we have raised their sense of values to give them something to work for. Only education can bring our people to realise that this is their country and that they can and must work for its betterment and for their own."

TAKE PAR 10
8.65
"It has always been the ~~unconscious~~ unconscious wish of the privileged to prevent the common people of the world from becoming aware of the power of disciplined organised political life as the chief instrument of their own progress and uplift. Education in political appreciation coupled with education in the practical needs of everyday life and how they touch on political affairs is a first essential if an efficient and disciplined Party, strong to accomplish its aims, can ever come to life at all."

It was an extraordinary night in the old Ward with the tiers of faces from ~~the floor to the~~ floor to ornate ceiling, solidly packed and silent to a ~~pin-drop~~ pin-drop until the sudden roars from the hundreds of throats which frequently punctuated his speech. Relayed to the thousands in the adjoining Victoria Gardens by a public address system,

* St William Grant, pigged at being denied a seat on the platform, had moved into the Victoria Gardens where he held his own meeting

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"Then it is called Natioanl (because) if this little island of ours is to be consolidated together and bettered it must be by developing the idea of Jamaica as a national whole."

If there was polarization in incomes, the government's revenue earning tax structure was stunning. Nethersole's description of the wealth-spread around

The Nethersole's description of the wealth spread around 1939 is revealing. "We find a most remarkable discrepancy," he said. ~~XX~~ "The wealth indexes show that perhaps 10,000 ^{people} of them have one-third of the wealth ~~of~~ of the country. One-third of the annual income earned in this country is earned by about 10,000 people; the whole of the rest ^{the} earns the other two-thirds, a wide disparity. And (or as he had)

~~"And now we come down to the wealth that is taken away for the purpose of the state through taxation. We find that the million persons who earn that two-thirds pay vastly more in proportion than those who earn the one-third pay. The 10,000 persons who own the one-third of the wealth pay one-tenth of the taxation."~~

Nethersole, advocating at the time for the vote to all, ~~observed~~ observed that "you will never have that unfair incidence altered until the people of the country have the vote and are entitled to ^(choose) ~~send~~ their representatives."

"This country collected £2,400,000 (\$4,800,000) in taxes in 1938. Of that, the poor people of the country paid over ~~£1,500,000 (\$3,000,000)~~ £1,500,000 (\$3,000,000). Of that, the wealthy class of the country paid not more than £250,000 (\$500,000). The reason is that the privileged ^{classes} ~~class~~ have representation (in the legislature) and the poorer classes have not." ***

Nethersole's analysis brought out that less than 5,000 persons were paying income tax --- and only paid £101,000 (\$202,000) on £5-m (\$10-m). Indirect taxation made up the rest of government revenue, ~~e.g., 80cents on~~ ^{each} bag of flour, \$3,200,000 excise duties on rum, ~~for-the-year~~ "the poor man's drink", for the year. ~~1939~~

GLEANEY
18K
July
39

* He was to become the first minister of Finance in the first PPO government 15 years later in 1954 and in 1959 stamp his last indelible in the country and last had. His analysis was very clear and etc

* He, the Party leader, Borden and many of his followers will be in that

One day in 1939 he took the financial fabric apart in 1939 to show the rotter

and looking like a millionaire professor
The rumpled robe
26-27. Nethersole was to become the first Minister of Finance in a PPO government. His description of the wealth-spread of the country is vivid.

CHAPTER

Mr Manley ~~ended his~~ ^{had continued} launching speech ~~that night~~ with a warning and a hope. He warned that "so soon as ever a leader attempts achievement in this country, others press and surge to tear him down." His hope was ^{Jamaica} ~~that the Party would make~~ "a real place and a real country." The first would be swift; the latter not late, but lagging. By October ~~he was having to contemplate suing one news-~~ ^{a "peculiarly vile" libel.} paper (The Jamaica Standard) for ~~libel - He-Some-of-its-attacks,-he-then~~ ^{Causing} ~~causing~~ (IN DIARY) ~~Giving-him~~ even more concern was the apostasy of early colleagues who had turned gloomy of their chances. "Evidently the middle class ^{was} ~~is~~ scared,"

he has said, "and others apathetic." ~~But personally he was going strong,~~ ^{taking his dream} ~~into the realities of the~~ ^{and fiercely} ~~among quashies~~ ^{among} ~~the army of barefeet~~ whose trust he had had to gain while ~~not~~ ^{dinner} ~~the occasional King's House~~ ^{invitation, a feat of} ~~balance somewhat overlooked in these days of~~ ^{trade union cocktail cir-} ~~parties on the Prime Minister's residence~~ ^{at} ~~cuit with delegates equally at home in the Sheraton~~ ^{or Jamaica House.} ~~or Jamaica House.~~ ^{TAKE IN 67 Supplement}

Yet, if a few early supporters were weakening at the political joints, some better timber was at hand; the National Reform Association (NRA) had dissolved itself into the PNP, bringing led in by its founder, the youthful leftist Ken's brother Frank, the young intense Ken Hill; and its president Noel Nethersole, Frank, Hill younger, of harder angles and equal eloquence and only little less an efficient organiser; lawyer Richard Hart, ^{an} ~~an early self-announced~~ ^{also proved} ~~The several citizens associations~~ ^{familiar with} ~~had been~~ ^{broken to} ~~also a source of combat~~ ^{to organisation discipline; These and others}

Yet, if a few early supporters were weakening at the political joints, some better timber, young but already seasoned in the field, were at hand; the National Reform Association (NRA) had dissolved itself into the PNP, led in by its founder, youthful intense leftist Ken Hill; Ken's brother Frank, younger, of harder angles and equal eloquence and only little less ^{an} ~~efficient~~ ^{organiser; lean, boyish lawyer} Richard Hart, a fiery intellectual; ; ARTHUR HENRY? GLASSPOLE? WHO WHO! people whom Manley once described as "a united collective team of vigorous and able men." and declared that the "National Reform Association of which N N Nethersole was chairman (was) one of my most

most valuable supporters in 1938." THESE QUOTES FROM HIS MOMOIRS
~~By now, he had already settled into the three streams-~~

But the work load was ~~amazingly~~ appalling whatever the aid he got. He was fully in the courts ~~and being~~ relentlessly being engulfed in politics. ~~AmnomanonmDannblairm~~ There was increasingly less time to sit under the old yoke tree ~~in the Drumblair yard with Edna~~ ^{with Edna} talking of talking about the future. His sister Muriel (Dr Manley) had recently returned ^{from England} ~~She could~~ where she had been in medical practice for many years. ^A ~~have been his favourite although he never said~~ Small, neat, ~~wizz~~ whose genteel good looks and beautifully modulated voice ~~exuded a quiet charm, nohmanm~~ disavowed her quiet strength, ~~and nnnkknng mischievous~~ ^{and nnnkknng} humour, they were close in a unaffected way. He ~~wasn't~~ ^{commented} with pride and gladness that the English years had not dislodged her essential Jamaican. "I am so glad she ^{has} ~~had~~ settled in excellently," he said.

NOT YET USED

supplement to P 68

"A"

A House select committee headed by J.A.G. Smith had been appointed to draft and submit constitutional proposals to the ^{British} ~~secretary~~ ^{of state} of state for the colonies which were to be, in essence, ~~no~~ different from the ^{Pre-1865} ~~old~~ constitution before ~~1865~~ which guaranteed Representative Government. The Smith proposals included provision for a two-chamber legislature, ~~instead of~~ ^{in place of} a ~~no~~ governor-nominated Legislative Council and an elected House of Assembly --- elected by the same limited electorate ~~as~~ until the question of franchise was settled in England. Power would still remain with the Governor who would rule through an Executive Committee of ten, half of them ~~appointed by his~~ civil servants or his appointees.

Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation



~~XXXXXXXX~~ rebuked

directed at

The proposals brought a severe/~~XXXXXXXX~~ from the party leader~~XXXXXXXX~~

~~XX~~ what he called the "chastened Council" sitting under the "Presidential imitation of Homer," referring to the frequently ~~XXXXXXXX~~ whip-cracking of Governor Richards in the Legislature. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ as Premier ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Mr Manley who was in later years/ to be by members of his own Party ~~XXXX~~ criticised/for his dependence on "experts" (SEE ARNETT'S TAPE) was unpromising in laying down his dictum that "the precise form ~~XX~~ a Constitution is to take is a matter for experts ." He was ~~XXXXXXXX~~ especially ~~XXXXXXXX~~ acid on his fellow lawyer J.A.G.Smith who he inferred should clear ~~XX~~ his mind ~~X~~ "of cant and of scraps of half forgotten Constitutional Law

NOTES

AN-

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9

"The truth is," he declared, "no one who spoke had taken the trouble even to run through ~~XXX~~ an Encyclopoedia for the purpose of random study of Constitutions ... And what is worse is the total failure to grasp the functions of Government, the relationship between the Executive and the State on the one hand, and the Executive and the Legislature on the other. Really, no one understood the difference between Responsible and Representative Government and no one saw the point that the key matter is the control of the Administration."

He dismissed any suggestion of a diarchy, pointing out that the Ceylon constitution had failed to work. ~~XX~~ "There are limits to diarchy and no one (in the ^{Legislative} Council) saw that no sane Government would try to govern if it was wholly excluded from a Legislature in whom was vested the power of giving sanction to government's proposals."

He ~~if~~ was again to leave no doubt of the Peoples National Party's stand on self government ⁱⁿ ~~XX~~ that statement: ~~X~~ "Do we want self government ~~XX~~ ever at all? Then ask for it now. To ask for less is political childishness. Do we offer any compromises? No. Let the Colonial Office say what less they ~~X~~ propose today. Time then to consider how we will react to the proposal."

1939 declaration

The ~~war~~ mid-June/~~XXXXXXXX~~ was made before the fighting in Europe had begun, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ a happening which would see ^{an easing in the hard} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ adamant in his demand ~~XX~~, not ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{that involves} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ then for absolute self determination but "at ~~XX~~ that involves ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ at for "responsibility for internal affairs, and full and absolute control of the Administration, limited only by the Constitutional safeguard of veto power." ⁿ Treachantly he chided his critics ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{who broke with him} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXX~~ on the ~~XX~~ fact of the island's size, that ~~XX~~ Newfoundland was self governing "with a population half as large and twice as poor as Jamaica."

TAKE IN

BUT NOT THE 1939

Σ_0 Bustis 1939 female o-type.

That he had the ~~red~~ ~~red~~ guide and was ~~that~~ ~~that~~ to lead

~~in land around him was~~
was to be established early because of a ~~British~~ Rustamite blockade,
~~Taken by~~ who ~~suffered~~ from Monty Bay called a general strike
in a bid to ~~stop~~ ^{from} ~~vast~~ ⁱⁿ ~~unionist~~ AQS "Father" bombs
who then controlled The north side port. The shipper mainly the
United Fruit Company, immediately decided behind Combs who was not
only capable of shutting down ~~the~~ Monty Bay but whom they ~~would~~ ^{were} ~~wildly~~
saw as a threat to split the rising Rustamite wave. It almost
~~worked~~. Richards in Kipton slammed ~~the~~ down in State of
Emergency, shut off ~~all~~ wire service communication between Rustamites
and his union affiliates in ~~the~~ the city and elsewhere, ~~and~~ the
shippers were ~~glued~~ ^{fleeing}. The trade union movement seemed ready to founder.
~~Busta who had peaked danger~~
~~but by Rustamite~~ ^{case} Busta who all his life sensed danger with an acute
all during his career sensed danger with ~~the~~ ^{uncanny} acuity, felt the
~~was known to~~

wriggle along his antennae and rest for Cousin Norman Rowley.

It would be that Manley's knowledge of Richards made him resist
Binta's ~~intention~~ ^{PRODDING - COAXING} to ~~make a~~ ^{make a} ~~sum~~ ^{sum} ~~go to London~~ ^{go to London} for London
and report the plight of the ~~black~~ ^{JAMAICANS} trade union CASE. ~~in Jamaica~~ At any rate Manley
has been ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~King's~~ ^{King's} ~~House~~ ^{House}.



Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation.

Mayor's Parlour,
24, Church Street,
Kingston, Jamaica.

In case of reply please quote the
date of this letter and the following
Nos.....

Page 73 and its supplements
have been re-located to their
on HERE.

11. Case of opportunity vide: SET ABOVE

Yellow murex

They suckled but did not necessarily drink milk other than their own.

THAT MEMBERS ON WHICH I HAVE
YELLOW MARKERS - P. 47

Does he know what "Mark" or "Ju" means?

Though I deeply admired all men of broad spirit
and value - (in fact "THE MILES SHORT" P. 10)
nearly

Had a great sense of responsibility to meet... ~~that~~

Soviet government
the supplier by agreeing that the carrying off
would be ordered not to victimize the workers. So the movement
was not only would but tacitly ordered by the General A.T. (Chairman)
Council was placed under at his orders for all the

The man ~~repeatedly~~ ^{repeatedly} offered his ~~body~~ ^{services} in regard ~~to~~ ^{to} accept a

698

~~69 B~~

CHAPTER

Yet Richards' work and value were not essentially from his to rapid growth of nationalism.

"Britain would never have won the last war if the press had refused to criticise the government of Mr Asquith," cried the Jamaica Standard plaintively in the summer of 1939 (JUNE 22). The newspaper was talking about the ~~strictures of that~~ ~~last of the Colonial despots, who was~~ ~~Governor Sir Arthur Richards who was then beginning to show the~~ ~~intransigence with which his regime would be marked.~~ ~~He was muzzling~~ ~~public meetings~~ ~~by citizens and legislators~~ ~~alike by preventing public meetings and choking off/debate~~ ~~on any matter he considered controversial.~~ ~~Underneath~~ ~~known.~~ ~~Beneath~~ the facade of ~~aimless~~ ~~Chinese~~ Oriental imperturbability had been exposed/ ~~layers~~ ~~of~~ ~~imperialist~~ ~~reactions~~ to opposition which ~~had~~ shocked his subjects. His bitter rebuke of the critics of ~~his~~ the relief works (fifteen cents a day/for a swamp clearance to relieve unemployment) ~~rankled~~ rattled the few friends he might have made./ ~~His~~ later legal kidnapping of such widely ~~disparate~~ ~~separated~~ critics as activists Bustamante, ~~and~~ ~~Ken & Frank Hill~~ and the ~~comparative~~ ~~harmless~~ sports columnist G. St C Scotter, ~~He would unite, as never~~ ~~before nor since, the~~ ~~various~~ ~~disparate~~ ~~in~~ island society./ ~~Blacks and browns, Jews, Chinese, and Arabs~~ ~~and~~ ~~Indians,~~ ~~the~~ ~~cautious and the bellicose~~ ~~would patch their differences~~ ~~one of the most unusual~~ ~~appear jointly in public for~~ ~~and certainly peculiarly~~ ~~civil rights~~ ~~protest~~ ever seen anywhere.

But it was wartime. ~~Richards~~ Richards could invoke his wartime powers and rule virtually by edict. Manley, ~~himself a veteran~~ ~~authentic hero of the previous war and also aware of the broad streak of sentimental Empire loyalty which ran through his future political constituents, had issued a statement declaring/~~ ~~that the Party~~ ~~was~~ ~~opposed to any act detrimental to the~~ ~~Britain's war effort.~~ ~~With no~~ ~~less~~ ~~speed and enthusiasm, Bustamante was fulfilling a~~ ~~back slapping~~ ~~he would be "actively recruiting~~ ~~on behalf~~ ~~of His Majesty's forces at no distant date."~~

He was no doubt also aware that, as he put it, the "active and intelligent propaganda of the Peoples National Party has irritated."

But it has done good, he declared. "There is a new receptivity. I will not say that the walls of Jericho were down" but at least the men on the ramparts are listening to the noise."



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Mohandas K. GANDHI had no such qualms. His
* ~~The Indians~~ ~~under~~ led by him
All-India National Congress executive at the ALLAHABAD
declaration promised ~~that~~ not to support the British
war effort "unless Great Britain ~~revises~~ revises
her policy and accepts the Congress' demand for
democratic independence for India."

What ^{Manley} he would not ^{allow}, however, was ~~the~~ the death of the/revolutionX, or a "relapse" into the old complacency." He saw that this would be the case "unless a vigorous political life develops and can ally itself to a strong labour organisation." (GLEANER AUG 15 '39). *A quiet*

A quiet remark which makes it clear that Mr. Manley had from ~~that~~ then seen ~~that~~ the growth and strength of popular urban and ~~the growth and strength of popular~~ politics in Jamaica/~~was~~ rural, would depend upon ~~the growth and strength of popular~~ alliance of union and partyX in areas of mass employment, i.e., in citiesX and large plantations, and ~~the growth and strength of popular~~ secondly, the small cultivator. The first he was working at/~~the growth and strength of popular~~ in a kind of Christian diplomacy, being "wise as a serpent and harmless as a labour leading Cousin Alex was showing a strong inclination to find his a dove" since already ~~the growth and strength of popular~~ the promised land. in own way trail to/~~the growth and strength of popular~~ There was no doubt at that=~~the growth and strength of popular~~ moment/~~the growth and strength of popular~~ time whom the/~~the growth and strength of popular~~ majority of the working class would ^{have} elect to be their ~~messiah~~ messiah.

ManleyX As for the hill people, Manley's interest was unquestion- while he was still being able. Well before the 1938 upheavals, ~~Manley's~~ shy of poli- tics and/~~Manley's~~ had in effect ~~Manley's~~ rejected the calls from Fair- clough and others on the ground that politics/~~Manley's~~ would be of no assistance in solving Jamaica's problems, he had/~~Manley's~~ by his own creativeness founded the unique ~~Manley's~~ the Jamaica Welfare Limited for/~~Manley's~~ the social and economic enrichment of rural life. In this/~~Manley's~~ subsequent the was ~~Manley's~~ period of a fresh look and new thinking, he/~~Manley's~~ ~~Manley's~~ that the politics of the present ~~Manley's~~ gave to the small farmers, a "the small one-quarter to two acre" cultivators, as he called ~~Manley's~~ them, a ~~Manley's~~ fair shake at being a landowner. ~~Manley's~~ The loyalty ~~Manley's~~ would not be ~~Manley's~~ speaking to the famous Report ~~Manley's~~ by Major G. St J. Orde- ~~Manley's~~ Brown, Labour Adviser to the Colonial Office, a document he regarded as one that came "closer to the views of the People's National Party than anythingX~~Manley's~~ I have yet seen," he stressed that Land Settlement should be regarded as a piece of social reconstruction rather than an exercise to ease unemployment. (GLEANER Aug 15, 39) He ~~Manley's~~ accused that the best land was being soldX to speculators and the next best to farmers of medium prosper- ity. "The men who really want help, the small cultivator, the cultivator-tenants and the decent labourers are clean out of the picture," he said.

~~Manley's~~ The memorandum which he and "Crab" Nethersole had sent to the Conciliation Board a year before during the troubles concerning the need for a labour adviser in government ~~Manley's~~ was bearing fruit. Governor Richards had pressed for a first class man in the post, a necessary insistence with which Manley ~~Manley's~~ agreed, especially after a letter from Lord Olivier in which the friendly ex-Governor let drop to his friend that most of the labour advisers sent out to the colonies were "ignorant and helpless in regard to industrial problems." ~~Manley's~~

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I And not having an advisory council where skill and enthusiasm was to be established

What was increasingly clear in all these years ~~it~~ was that a new type of politician had come with the party politics. The ~~lonely~~ old thunderers with their fully reported vituperatives and the chaps who in return for a good record of Ayes could afterwards with some ~~success~~ ^{scouting} the corridors to buttonhole the ~~expa-~~ ^{constituency} triate senior civil servants for ~~favours~~ ^{favours}, were still in the legislature but ~~few~~ ^{few} doubted that the era was over. A cadre of youthful, intelligent, vigorous men --- and, a ~~phenomenon~~ ^{phenomenon} in politics then, women --- were ~~reacting to a new kind of public rhetoric~~ ^{reacting to a new kind of public rhetoric} which spoke not only with brutal frankness of "governments so obviously out to keep in the good graces of the upper classes as to be afraid to put a special tax on unused agricultural land," ^{as Mr Manley declared, but also} ~~the deliberate~~ ^{programme of non-progress encouraged by a} the deliberate ~~Colonial Office~~ ^{Colonial Office} still open to the voice and pliant to the wishes of the vested interests in Britain; wishes which in short order killed ~~the hopes of at least~~ ^{the hopes of at least} four Jamaican enterprises: ~~and a public transport service.~~ ^{and a public transport service.} The ~~discouragement of~~ ^{discouragement of} local entrepreneurs from areas of services and manufacture or even from shopping for merchandise in cheaper, competitive markets outside Empire tariff walls may have been a cause why, right from those early days, the PNP was attracting spirits ~~that~~ ^{that} by tradition ought to have favoured the conservative right than ~~the left leaners.~~ ^{the left leaners.} Some, of course, saw in the Manley, ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~style-leader~~ ^{style-leader} now in identity with a movement that ~~like solving~~ ^{like solving} their difficulty of achieving recognition from the supercilious English settlers ~~without~~ ^{without} no loss of respectability. (Bustamante with devastating consequences to the PNP labelled ~~the~~ ^{the} it a "brown man party" in the 1944 elections and took away ~~mass~~ ^{mass} support) then being assiduously sought with a degree of success by the young hard working Marxists in the Party. But before this came the ~~September~~ ^{September} (MONTH) day in 1940 ~~and the internment of Bustamante.~~ ^{and the internment of Bustamante.} Manley ~~was~~ ^{was} the only leader of stature left ~~freex~~ ^{freex} ~~two years~~ ^{two years} ~~of~~ ^{of} to ~~when~~ ^{when} weld his Party into a ~~politically~~ ^{politically} /educated, strongly disciplined organisation and to keep the Union strong and loyal to the political party. The hope had not yet been lost that the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union ~~would~~ ^{would} be the mass arm, the voting machine, of the PNP at the next elections ~~(there had been hope of one in 1940 but the war put an end to that).~~ ^{(there had been hope of one in 1940 but the war put an end to that).} But ~~the~~ ^{the} The Party.

* And W.F. Williams the man who had stood back Manley on the ground but in rest

He was joined in the sun bleached internment barracks by the Hill brothers Ken and Frank,

"A" infant
"A" infant labrum revelation was to go
the knee movement without (b2)

SUPPLEMENT TO
~~go there to disate, because of~~

services
the empl
summary

So organized labor was not only saved, but ^{by the so-called unorganized speaker} **B** totally endorsed by the ~~speaker~~

The forming of the Council also brought into the active participation several of the younger men who had for years been studying trade union principles and were eager to try their mettle; among them, the two Hills, Ken Sterling, a (who was to turn out to be a superb organiser and an important figure in international trade union), Frank Spaulding and others.

Colonial vice-regent who years later was to accept a Sovietised regime.

each day ~~with~~ D.L.

A few months earlier, Manley had wondered of Richards: "Does he know what I really think, or I he?" They respected, but did not necessarily like each other. Manley has owned to "a great sense of superiority to most ... though I deeply admired all men of proved worth and value."

Chapter

in the of one way ~~fell~~ planning, Booth ^{left Rat} ~~that~~ ^{his}
~~was~~ ^{advisory group.} Council and formed his ~~own~~ ^{advisory group.}

* * of ~~the~~ ^{breaches}

Re recruited ~~workmen~~ ^{workmen} practice ~~not~~ ^{inside}
that go with ~~the~~ ^{the} surgical skill).

* * * unemployed willing to ~~let~~ ^{let} rise ~~leavings~~ ^{leavings}
So the families could eat, the employer put
the bid in the ~~man~~ ^{man} and ~~let~~ ^{let} ~~the~~ ^{the}
then moved ~~seriously~~ ^{seriously} on the organization,
ending etc

THE TRADES UNION COUNCIL WAS LED BY NETHERSOLE AND HAD F.A.

Glasspole as secretary. ~~It was the council had~~ ^{It was to be a} ~~the council had~~ ^{to the unions, a clearing} ~~been created to be~~ ^{the various labour unions} ~~the senate of the various labour unions~~ ^{house for ideas and, hopefully, before they began, actions. Presided} ~~over by the trusted Nethersole, it~~ ^{would} ~~also~~ ^{already} ~~gave~~ ^{give} the PNP a high-visibility window over the affairs of the ~~unions~~ ^{unions} sprawling and growing BITU ~~and its~~ ^{and its} ~~Bustamante a formidable maverick, unpredictable leader who ran it~~ ^{like a "Joe Reid Court" and was} ~~as his private~~ ^{was} gaining a reputation for black comedy. **

* A legendary court set up for migrant West Indians in Panama during canal building days ~~and presided over~~ with a Jamaican, Joe Reid for judge who imposed his own fines and/or unique sentences.

** Busta once fired his assistant St William Grant and himself ~~from the union, then instantly~~ ^{reinstated himself as leader.}

Nethersole, an intellectual wit with ~~a~~ ^{an} ~~unusual~~ ^{unusual} capacity for strong friendships in every level of society, was, ~~and~~ ^{and} through his tragically short ^{political} life noted for his frank ^{unafraid} appraisals of men and matters. He once in Morant Bay on a public platform with ~~the PNP leader, Manley~~ ^{Manley} ~~at his elbow,~~ ^{at his elbow,} ~~declared that while "the Party came into existence from the individual effort and dominance of Mr Manley, it was not solely on account~~ ^{of N.W.} ~~that account.~~ ^{and existed} ~~It came into existence because at the time and for some time~~ ^{before,} ~~there had been a pressing need for some form of expression of political opinion ... a circumstance above all that made the organization and the foundation of the Party so opportune and well timed."~~ ^{And when the condition of affairs in one particular area} ~~And when the condition of affairs in one particular area~~ ^{became so intolerable that there was an outburst of feeling,} ~~the outburst spread universally. And it was that circumstance,~~ ^{perhaps above all,}

Only Mr Manley applauded. (G.L.E.A.N.E.R. Tues. Jul 18 '39)

~~Nethersole would later be the first PNP minister of Finance in the first PNP government.~~

Nethersole was the PNP's first choice ~~for~~ ^{as} PNP candidate to face the ~~general~~ ^{electorate}. George Seymour-Seymour, a ~~former~~ ^{former} ~~Tes~~ ^{Tes} who represented St Andrew in the legislature, had resigned and sent to take over the lucrative and influential post of chairman of the new Water Commission. The Mayor of Kingston, ~~Dr~~ ^{Dr} ~~one of the leading lights in the Federation of Citizens Association,~~ ^{was put up for the seat.} A bustling, tireless man ^{with an old established political reputation,} he waged a campaign ^{PTO}



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That quite ^{outmanoeuvred} ~~outmanoeuvred~~ the fledgling party canvassers. ~~Heard Parker, the~~ ^{In spite of being}
~~GND could be satisfied~~ ^{Leonard} proposed election ~~tout~~ ^{was} P. Watson on his
~~platform~~ ^{and the appearance for the} ~~of the long standing election material~~
~~platform~~ ^{to} ~~as a result of~~ identify with the ^{con shilling} ~~upper class~~ ^{votes} ~~which~~ ^{it would not}
~~annointed~~ ^{untainted} Netlesole. One newspaper editorial gave as his qualifications
for representing the people, his "high social standing" and his being an
Oxonian and play the game of cricket." One paper also went on to obliquely
call out the troops by reminding them that the St Andrew socialite
had turned out in numbers ~~ten~~ years ago to elect Mr Joyce Legum
Seigneur, the wealthy land owner. The Cross Roads media romped home
by a comfortable margin, 1559 to 974.

The Federation did not
oppose when the PNP later ~~sent~~
picked "Crab" for the ~~vacant~~
KSAC seat left vacant by
Anderson's elevation to the House
and ~~the~~ ^{with only 200 votes in the field} ~~reported~~ ^{and the whitey hell with} ~~at~~
first win. Now they had a voice, however small, in elected
office.

"I am glad

~~Wally~~ The climb would not be orderly as ^{hoped but} ~~that, although,~~ as an instrument for good, ^{the Party was closer} ~~the Party was closer~~ getting closer. It was

~~remorse~~ certainly on hand to save the labour movement ~~within~~ at
 the internment of Bustamante. ~~These~~ ~~genius~~ ~~for~~ ~~a~~ ~~leadings~~
~~the~~ ~~wide~~ ~~as~~ ~~speaks~~ ~~arguments~~ ~~as~~ ~~ex~~ ~~as~~ ~~among~~ ~~his~~
~~friends~~ ~~that~~ ~~a~~ ~~Manley~~

CHAPTER

Some two years after the party was formed.

On August ~~1940~~, in 1940, Mr Manley stated in clear terms ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ that the PNP was a Socialist Party ~~to~~ to those who had "not regarded the Party hitherto as a Socialist organisation." The open declaration ~~was~~ was made at the Conference ~~in~~ in the Coke Hall in Kingston.

"Now when this Party was formed," he said, "and it is necessary to be perfectly frank in stating this, its original programme was not a Socialist programme. It contained elements which are common to liberal and socialist thought, such as the public ownership of utilities, proposals for the public ownership of monopolies, industrial monopolies which is in itself, socialist but might equally be accepted by a purely reform movement

"Socialism is more than the mere reform of the existing system. Socialists and Liberals alike may agree on thinking that social services must expand as rapidly ~~as possible~~ as can be so that better education and free and more easily available medical services, better provision for ^{old} age and ~~heightened~~ heightened standards of living may obtain for all. But all these things are perfectly consistent with a Conservative policy!"

"For that matter, they are not necessarily inconsistent with a Fascist policy. Some countries which stand high today in the range of improvements in the standards of living of the common people and in the evolution of social services are quite frankly dictatorships in principle and practice. X

~~His thin highboned face in a~~ His thin highboned face in a light sweat from the ^{hot} crowded hall, he was especially emphatic ~~in~~ of the ~~seriousness~~ consequences which could follow the adoption of a socialist policy.

"What I wish to stress," he said, "and I do not wish these proposals to be adopted in a light-hearted ~~fashion~~ spirit but adopted with full recognition of all they embody, is that they should be adopted with a full recognition of ~~and~~ the fact that by accepting a Socialist policy, one accepts or should accept the obligation to learn what Socialism is, and learn how its principles can be applied ~~in~~ in this country and how they may be explained to the people."

For ~~Manley~~ ^{now} his innocence behind him ~~by now~~ and already battle-scarred from encounters with a hostile press, ~~Manley~~ knew that in the long years ahead he would be faced by a free enterprise establishment of

force considerable/^{power} and implacability. He foresaw that he would need ~~the understanding of the~~ ^{the support of an} enfranchised mass ~~as the only "emotion"~~ ^{who understood the issues and would} upon which he could depend, barring/^{the} a racial approach route, a way not without its ~~hundreds of~~ ^{advocates}. He warned that:
 ■ ^{But above all: They} "One must be prepared to meet the bitterest opposition ^{FOR} and the bitterest disapproval from those to whom Socialism ^{was} still ^{a more} ^{real} ^{than any other name because} ~~remains the main enemy~~ ^(because) it involves a demand for ^{the} ~~complete~~ ^{alter} change of the basic organisation of the social and economic conditions ^{of the land} under which we live.

"If it involves anything less," he stated flatly, "then it is something less than Socialism."

He ~~now~~ ^{from the back of the house} ~~gained~~ ^{remedial} intense applause when he hinted at/^{as the main plank in the Party platform. For to him} nationalisation ~~as a prerequisite for the attainment of the~~ ^{"Socialism was} is not a matter of higher wages or better living conditions for workers, ^{concessionally} though these things are incidental; but it involves ^{comprehension of} the concept that ^(Lam 9) "all the means of production ~~should in one form or the other~~ ^{come to be} publicly owned and publicly controlled. You and I, all of us have been bred in a system in which ^{the ones above the others, the business} all the means of production are privately owned. ^{the ones above the others, the business} All the sources of wealth in our country and in the British Empire are privately owned; and it is not only a matter of saying you will distribute more of the profits of the business to those who work for the business; it is a question of saying that the business shall belong to the workers." ^{then he turned to the one way he saw to inject mobility into a society} ~~Manley also saw Socialism as the instrument which would change the bad old social immobility of the day.~~ ^{notions for its} "Socialism equally involves a vital transformation of the accepted actual existing organisation of society. We ~~are born into a society which is ordered in classes that more or less preserve their relative positions one to the other and in which certain classes unquestionably enjoy enormous privileges which under this system cannot be open to everybody and will not be open to everybody.~~ ^{* PTO} ~~...It is only "Socialism, which~~ ^{he said,} "is founded on a belief that it is possible to organise a genuinely ^{of} ~~egalitarian society, a society in which all opportunities will so far~~ ^(Lam 9) ~~as possible be equal and open to all persons, subject to the basic necessities of preserving society." Such a state of affairs cannot exist~~ ^{under a society organised on capitalist lines and can} (but) only in a Socialist society."

So the stage was set for the ___ year/~~on again on again~~ hot and cool relationship with the ideology. Such was the temper of the times, with a world war escalating in Europe and ~~then came the~~ ^{visions of the} ~~visions of the~~ ^{visions of the} apocalypse strong in men's mind, that it was easy to see the

But this ^{Latin}~~product~~ of landed gentry, ~~for~~ gently pure as it was Latin
yet, a man with his time
~~was not~~ ^{from} a plane of Panamerican education out of reach to the vastest conceivable majority,
~~was not~~ ^{and now due to the war years}

was not advocate of the ~~abolition~~ society and was ~~not~~ the wrong person
The Oxonian and sought after colon of his society was not advocate
of the ~~abolition~~ CASTLETON

~~an entirely closed society~~

defector from his class, was not ~~advancing~~ ^{dictated} ~~in advance~~ ^{figure of} ponderance.
HERE TAKE IN HIS QUOTE OVERLEAF.
~~He had been told~~ The heat of his day entered the heart of ponderance,
and it was ~~a~~ ^{quit of a backward off,} natural, with no sense of hopping out but he
rather judged than a boldness, and applauded.

Defector
coste
spium
estate

bolitru
guarda
caseful
circumspet

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old world in ruins. Indeed, Manley saw the postwar/^{governments}~~chance~~ as between ~~only~~ two choices: socialism or dictatorship, with the only exception being perhaps the United States ^(and only) "for a generation" because of its power to expand its economy and because that country regarded Socialism "with far greater aversion than Nazism." *

^{*He was particularly severe on the U.S. at this period.}
 "The system that they (the U.S.) aim to preserve," he once said, "is one in which the thing they are supposed to call freedom is said to exist at its highest possible value." ^{But he} ~~was~~ was not being unreasonably harsh since at that time, the record of lynchings and ^{assorted} ~~various~~ bestialities by ~~the~~ whites upon black Americans was phenomenal. *It did not anger him to them. Yes, later they wrecked a small village by alligators, in Ellis Island while passing through that tiny*

ALL THIS CHAPTER'S QUOTES INGLENER AUG 29, 1940

With the goal thus set, he was constantly urging the Party members to study all facets of Socialism themselves ~~and~~ so as to teach the constituents what ~~themselves~~ they would be voting for. "It is idle talking about Socialism ~~wh~~ to people who have not the faintest idea what (it) means and who will perhaps tell you: 'I won't even own my own wife let alone the suit I have on my back.' It is the business of those of us who essay to lead, and propose to work, to undergo all the discipline possible to master our own methods, and our own minds, and our own ideals, so we may at once inspire our friends and confound our foes."

Manley has been accused of being a doctrinaire politician, at least in the beginnings of the Party. But this was not true. He saw Socialism as an ideal that was very subject to the circumstances of its application.

"Socialism is not a rigid dogma," he said, ^{then} "It is not embodied in any finally revealed text. It is essentially a principle of social organisation which has to be applied to the particular place. It must depend on the particular conditions which obtain from time to time in that place... ~~We~~ are embarking upon a policy which will involve the most intense study of our own affairs, our potentialities and the opportunities that open ~~up~~ before us for a realisation of our own programme."

^{It is} ~~is~~ a matter of fact, ^{that} he warned eloquently against ^{it} ~~dogma~~: "When people accept a view that has the conviction of religion, you face the immediate danger of dogma, of allowing your thoughts to be tied into neat little packets, carefully labelled by other people and pulled out of the right pigeon hole at the right moment, irrespective of time, place or circumstance."

^{charge of bloody-mindedness and}
 The ~~charge of bloody-mindedness and~~ anti-Christ which was to be the cross of the Jamaican Socialists was already being drawn up in those early years of the Party. So at that definitive conference, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ N.W.

sought to allay his foes and protect himself from his friends by ~~unwittingly~~ denying any bias for violence or irreligion while frankly acknowledging the presence of some "intellectual communists" in their midst.

"It may be that there ~~are~~ ^{are} in the Party people who are what I call intellectual Communists ~~X~~; ~~BECAUSE~~ ^{because} there is no Communist organisation in Jamaica, their Communism has to be a matter of the mind, not organisation. Such people indeed are now in the Party on the understanding that they work with and for the Party and not for secret aims of their own, be they Socialist or otherwise."

Well, they worked with and for the Party, giving a strong ~~if not~~ ^{assistance} ~~major assist~~ ^{break popularity following} through the years of the break with Bustamante; building ^{up} ~~the popular following~~ ^{credibility among the mass voters} which the ~~annanansannanans~~ ^{to which} the rightwing arm of the Party ~~would have generally found it difficult to attract.~~ ^{HAD BECOME WITH POTILITY.} ~~The time~~

CHAPTER

would come when
they shifted
~~suspicion~~ ^{suspicion} of their
motives became
imperfect and he
would ~~fit~~ ^{watch} ~~the Party~~
~~watch the Party~~
~~best time to~~
~~fit~~ ^{watch} ~~the Party~~
handle them into
the wilderness.

A brave little meeting of the BITU executive a few days after Bustamante's internment pledged to carry on the union's work but there was heart to it, the muscle was weak. Their Those earlier defeats had not' - WHICH CARRIED ON THE STRIKES BY HIS NIGHT-TIME TRAVELS AND BIBLE-SWEARING have created confidence in their ability - SWEARING.

to battle the employers. Unable to make headway score gains in the island's largest source of employment, the sugar industry, been, as described by Manley, "dragged from which had been dragged into the waterfront strike" against them they been the Union was as short of funds as barely extricated, the PNP leadership. The PNP's significant split with the PNP/soon after the Council was formed may also have damaged the image of the Union because of the strengthening among the workers for order and pattern in their affairs. old warrior tactics, superbly suited Days of May The were not filling the pay as they had been for the were not paying membership dwindled, as their interest in politics increased; friend W.A.Domingo in New York: "I feel sure that the workers are now beginning to have real confidence in the Party." Elsewhere he said simply: "We took charge of the BITU and told Brotha so." and sparks flew

The Union came under PNP leadership/youthful, intelligent and as the/well organized Party elements put into practice the theories they had so enthusiastically studied in recent years. The Party strategists saw that sugar, the island's broadest and most intrinsic industry, as the heaviest employer of labor, and power/by the industry's presence in every parish save Manchester (?), the most effective medium for spreading the political gospel in the country. As in several wars, sugar had taken on its wartime importance both as a food staple and an ingredient for explosives, plastics etc. The steeply climbing cost of living, and a real hardship among the workers offered a clear inducement for organising. But lying hard against usual readiness of employers to

these positives were three centuries of isolation lacking any national cohesion. It had been hardly a sweat for communities/Harold Allan to convince the Port Antonio stevedores that to work the ships which the Kingston dockers had struck./Another Organisation major obstacle violent opposition of employers to unions, still active and virulent after two years. Tight organising and total loyalty was the twin factor for any hope of success. But there was an even more formidable discomfiting opponent to contemplate. Manley's preliminary noises about the state of sugarworkers

brought quick reaction from Governor Richards. Surprising liberal in social thinking as Manley had found him, he was nevertheless the King's man in Jamaica, in the middle of a world war; and his job was to deliver sugar to Britain and other Empire ports concerned with the war effort. He ^{WOULD} not ~~about to~~ have ~~any of~~ his subjects play ^{ing about} ~~around~~ with that lot. And he so, in unmistakeable terms, warned the PNP-BITU leadership with particular reference to Manley. "It ^{had the earmarks of a} ~~promised to be~~ desperate adventure," said Manley once reminisced, "but a necessary one if unionism was to survive in Jamaica."

It was a cliff hanging scenario all the way while the country waited for Manley to join his cousin Bustamante in the army lockup. It ^{was} ~~in~~ a tribute to Manley's grasp of ~~XX~~ practical consequences/spoke and acted his role as leader in yet ~~had to be~~ with no apparent loss of thrust and ~~stayed loose~~. It ~~was~~ ^{when} ~~was~~ cloak and dagger stuff, ~~was~~ ^{very} real and he struck the sugar industry

Manley had seen how ~~the BITU~~ the BITU, through lack of organisation had been clobbered in the waterfront strike. ~~The union~~ ^{He found that the union he found} ~~had lasted~~ up to ~~the time~~ the time he took over leadership, it possessed no funds, little membership and was absolute in its ~~disorder and confusion~~. So he took as ~~his~~ ^{priority} a ~~new~~ ^{new} ~~beginning~~ ^{beginning} ~~for the PNP~~ ^{for the PNP} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~reorganise~~ ^{reorganise} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~preaching~~ ^{preaching} a return to union loyalty; and a study of ~~the~~ strategic locations for the attack on the sugar manufacturers.

The PNP's long and close work in the rurals now stood them in good stead. The decision was made to strike first in St Thomas, ^{the} ~~a~~ parish in which the Party had built its first constituent structure and had named its first candidate, Rudolph Burke, for ~~a~~ legislative office.

The PNP/BITU ^{combat team of} ~~fanatically~~ ^{dedicated young militants} ~~turned their obdurate~~ ^{young} ~~faces into the eastern parish and commenced a~~ back window dialogue that hardly ^{rose} ~~was~~ ^{scarcely} ever waged in ~~the~~ daylight. Secrecy was its strength. The threat of Governor Richards' powers and the ~~malignance of employers~~ ^{fear of old-fashioned emotional excitement} ~~among the~~ ^{among the} workers which could, as it had ~~done often~~ ^{done often}, in a hundred years of industrial ~~dispute~~ ^{dispute} place them in the path of police ~~Mark VII~~ ^{Mark VII} rifles, gave the strike drill ~~importance~~ ^{tactical importance to} ~~importance~~. ~~Manley~~ ^{Manley} ~~searched for~~ ^{found} careful men in every little district and appointed them delegates. ^{He slipped into the villages at night} ~~written details of the time and conduct of the strike~~ ^{swore them} ~~in~~ ^{or} ~~at night~~ ^{on bible, by lamp} ~~by candlelight~~. On the eve of the strike

nub of the ~~XXXXXX~~ political training continuously advocated by Manley in those early ~~days of~~ political years. The ~~SEPHORAS~~ ^{St. Mary} men of the eastern parish were urged ~~from~~ not

night before ~~a~~^{men} had been hanged in the same parish for considerably less activity, the exercise was not without some personal peril. *

of it, Frome was not re-visited; Nobody was shot down nor canefields

who went from house to house ~~xxx~~ the night before, slipping written notices under the doors of the estate workers. It ~~went off~~ ^{was a clockwork act} ~~secretly~~.

The strike was successfully^{launched} and the agenda immediately lengthened: Next

notably Monymusk which, like Frome, was owned by the West Indies

Sugar Company (Tate & Lyle) - but the cold efficiency of the "new" trade unions had

BZZKZIZMZMSMEMPMZSMZMNAZIMISINPMZMZMZMMNIMZMRIZMINNN

The political minuet which Governor Richards and Manley were to be contracted for then and in their future ^{took} ~~engaged~~ another turn

around the ~~hall~~ room that autumn ^{** should not be} ~~** Richards~~ who had been in Britain

returned at the crucial moment of Manley's decision to close the

Clarendon ~~XXXXXX~~ estates. In fact, Mr Manley was down in ~~XXX~~ Vere

with his now familiar bible, ~~zzzzzz~~ swearing the strike delegates to

secrecy, when he was summoned by Riahcards to King's House. The

~~peremptory~~ summons conveyed by motor cycle courier was peremptory and so,
~~peremptory~~ ~~penchant~~ to play the King Arthur, ~~he broke off and drove hard~~

for King's House arriving around midnight.

~~XXX~~ The Governor proved to be the/~~just but~~~~XXX~~~~XXX~~ ~~devious~~~~XXX~~ ~~manu-~~
 pilator whom, if Manley never ~~liked~~ grew to like, he could admire

ad as a formidable intellectual opponent, gifted to work ~~the~~ with the
ing instincts, come ~~ask~~ ^{ask} about it ~~was~~ ^{was} believed of ~~some~~ several, by the

...which injected his egotism English egotism *Eastern*
...blood had *with guile.*

...with galle. ...
...had a man in but it ^{was} admitted the goals of socialism in the language of
a ~~philosopher~~ and a thinker

* ~~for him from~~ at the Roast Bay "shelling" in which ~~produced this of our Native~~ ^{nearly 600 blacks were massacred by}
Hervé, Port Bogle a few Wm Foster the ~~best~~ authorities.

* It was during Richards' regime that Dr Bramley was invited to become a strong general to be followed by a more radical leader that would lead to the end of PTO

risk of letting in anarchy and the consequences of
authoritative ^{local} retaliation which could embarrass the ^{British war} image of
~~the British image of Christian soldiers fight~~
~~crusaders~~ ~~British~~ crusaders against the Nazi ^{RACISTS} ~~suppressors~~ of freedom

*** great personality or influence
in the political life of the country."
(Reuters News 24/6/49)

It was a great triumph ~~for the~~ ^{which} ~~of leadership~~ for the Peoples National Party ~~which~~ ^{but a success} had provided the leadership so sorely needed by the BITU; ~~a triumph~~ ^{but a success} which was unexploited by the Party ~~for~~ ^{since} nobody foresaw the approach of the time when the ~~BITU and the PNP~~ ^{BITU and the PNP} would be irrevocably split. Manley in later years often ~~referred~~ ^{referred} spoke with a quiet ~~confidence~~ ^{confidence} ~~that their loyalty was to the BITU.~~ ^{that their loyalty was to the BITU.} ~~He~~ ^{He} ~~pride of~~ ^{pride of} ~~the~~ ^{those days} ~~the~~ ^{the union, during} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~17 months of Busta's incarceration,~~ ^{the 17 months of Busta's incarceration,} ~~never lost a~~ ^{never lost a} ~~dispute,~~ ^{dispute,} ~~was his~~ ^{was his} ~~for the taking,~~ ^{for the taking,} ~~but~~ ^{but} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~firmly told~~ ^{firmly told} ~~that their loyalty was to the BITU.~~ ^{that their loyalty was to the BITU.} ~~He~~ ^{He} ~~however~~ ^{however} ~~constantly~~ ^{constantly} ~~exhorted~~ ^{exhorted} ~~the Party~~ ^{the Party} ~~never to forget that~~ ^{never to forget that} ~~"the Party would~~ ^{"the Party would} ~~lose its function if it ceased to represent the cause of labour in all~~ ^{lose its function if it ceased to represent the cause of labour in all} ~~issues."~~ ^{issues."}

But it was ~~tough~~ ^{kind of representing} ~~to represent~~ ^{to represent} when some of your best representatives were being rattled ~~in a gourd~~ ^{as a public} ~~at you~~ ^{at you} ~~exorcise~~ ^{exorcise} of your motives. ~~Richard's~~ ^{Richard's} ~~detention of Bustamante and W.A. Williams of~~ ^{detention of Bustamante and W.A. Williams of} the BITU, S.C. Marquis, the Hall brothers, Richard Hart and W.A. Domingo causing the Party to spend its energies in working for their release and denying they had tampered with the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxxx} lock. ~~The strategy of keeping the cases~~ ^{The strategy of keeping the cases} ~~was to~~ ^{was to} ~~continuously in the public~~ ^{continuously in the public} ~~notice by~~ ^{notice by} ~~the news media, from street platforms and~~ ^{the news media, from street platforms and} ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxxx} by ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxxx} friends of the Party abroad. All these demanded continuous care, ~~more so~~ ^{more so} because of ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxxx} from suspicious compatriots who could see in Bustamante's detention, a fine chance for ~~Manley~~ ^{Manley} to seize ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~personal and~~ ^{personal and} ~~political~~ ^{political} loyalty of the trade unionists. The ~~insidious~~ ^{insidious} propaganda gained such ground that ~~Manley~~ ^{Manley} had to ~~say~~ ^{say} about, in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~his 1941~~ ^{his 1941} ~~presidential address,~~ ^{presidential address,} ~~laying~~ ^{laying} ~~the ghost.~~ ^{the ghost.} ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxxx}

"Now I feel that I owe it to delegates present as well as to myself to deal with the question of Mr Bustamante's detention (and to clear up) a lie that had affected ~~ax~~ ^{the} party in its relation to the trade union movement and was designed to have that effect --- that I was personally responsible ~~for~~ ^{for} Mr Bustamante not having been able to appeal from his detention order. I say flatly that that is a lie, a deliberate lie. More than that, I should like you to know that so far as the leaders of the Party are concerned, no stone has been left unturned by us to secure (his) release. *The Party leaders have supported every effort that has been made both publicly and privately to secure Mr Bustamante's release, and the efforts have ~~been many and continuous.~~ ^{been many and continuous.}"

*Manley cited among his helpers, the National Council for Civil Liberties of Great Britain and the parliamentary committee for West Indian Affairs in the U.K.

P.T.O.

sugar strikes, was not one to lose his ^{nose} ~~mind~~ on the ^{trail} ~~company~~ ~~adjoining~~ over the other bucks.* ^{IN} the PNP ~~with the activities~~ ^{TAKE} With ~~Manley~~ ^{could} so high in ascendance, he ^{could} for one of the ~~xxx~~ times in his career, ~~xxxxxx~~ agree WITH THE Duke Streeters that the balance needed redressing. He let loose Busta-
Of his release, mante. / Busta tells an engaging story of being taken ~~for xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~Busta tells an engaging story of how he was taken~~
~~chose. Speaking to a newspaper reporter the day after, he said: "I~~
~~XX~~

from his cell for a recreational motor ride through the city ~~by~~ by an army officer and being turned loose on a side street. He stoutly denied ~~xxxxxx~~ that he was to be freed. any ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ prior knowledge ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

However that was, at his release, he set aboutX the PNP,

* As early as September 1940, Manley was able to say that Richards had "adopted the goals of socialism in the language of a statesman and a thinker." (SPEECHES, PAGE 65)

depicting Manley as an arch plotter whose scheme to take over his ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ union had barely been nipped by his ~~xxxxxx~~ return. Since Manley had the year before been constrained to complain about "old-style scandal-mongering politicians" spreading rumours that he was ^{The one} ~~personally~~ responsible for ~~Mr Bustamante not having been able to appeal from his de-~~ ^{denunciation} ~~testion order.~~ Busta's ~~xxxxxx~~ was not unacceptable to a ~~xxxxxx~~ devoted-fanatically ^{lie} dedicated cadre. "The ~~xxx~~ ^{has} affected the party in its relation to the trade union movement and was designed to have that effect," Manley ~~has~~ flatly stated.

~~XX~~

He was, in part, understating for ~~there is little doubt that~~ the PNP's ^{political} ~~future~~ was ^{profoundly} ~~considerably~~ ^{damaged} ~~diminished~~ ^{affected} by the charge. ~~its~~ ^{The} role as a popular mass political party ~~was~~ received a setback that ~~mayxxxxxxx~~ lasted a decade --- until 1954 when its own (NWU) union had wrung strength for itself and was able to ~~beat~~ ^{and the beating of} the party into election victory.

1000
4000
5000

300
5000 1000
400
5000

CHAPTER

Norman

~~XXXXXX~~ Manley ~~was 45 in 1938 and~~ entered his first election race at 51 years old. A driving man, whose energy was legendary, the six years between 1938 and 1944 were nevertheless remarkable ~~and~~ even for him. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He was always the most sought after attorney of his time and his ~~present~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ political leadership with the attendant publicity ~~publicized~~ ~~cast~~ him ~~up~~ even more strongly in the litigant/s' eye. He had some of his famous court cases in that period ~~for the time, he had some of his big court cases~~ including such celebrated ones as the

BREAK & CHAPTER

SHORT LIST OF CASES BETWEEN 1938-44

In 1944, his ~~his~~ eldest son, Douglas was at Columbia University in the United States reading for ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ a social science degree; Michael was a pilot officer in the Royal Canadian Airforce. His wife Edna had begun her free famous art classes at the Institute of Jamaica two years before (often used as the reference point of the flowering of Jamaican art) and ~~XX~~ and was editing FOCUS, the literary anthology which ~~only in less degree~~ ~~similarly~~ ~~served~~ the island's young writers. In that good year too, she received the first Gold Musgrave Medal to be awarded. Against that background of wifely success and filial endeavours, the idol of the intellectuals, and a grudgingly accepted flagstaff ~~for~~ ~~the~~ left, the ~~political~~ campaign for the 1944 elections ~~Manley~~ had a hope, ~~and~~ ~~his~~ flair ~~and~~ distinction that Busta's hastily thrown up labour party could not match. Nevertheless, it was plain except to the very fanatical that the labour party with its heavy base structure in the working class vote, would claim a majority of the ~~some~~ 700,000 voters which under adult suffrage ~~had~~ now replaced the less than 20,000 ~~on~~ ~~the~~ earlier privileged rolls.

Manley ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ entered the 1944 campaign with the British government's proclamation of a new constitution containing the ~~enormously successful~~ ~~right~~ ~~for~~ full-adult-suffrage-in-his-credit-providing ~~that~~ ~~provision~~ ~~at~~ the ~~adult-suffrage~~ ~~vote~~ for every Jamaican adult ~~regardless of~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~circumstance~~ ~~had~~ led the fight remorselessly as unchallengeably his personal panache. He ~~had~~ ~~and~~ ~~his~~ ~~party~~ ~~had~~ ~~led~~ the fight ~~ly~~, ~~coupled~~ it ~~in~~ the equally destable self government doctrine to in the anguish of the outraged ~~but~~ ~~political~~ and labour which drew frightened genuine ~~and~~ ~~lesser~~ nobility of ~~the~~ exploiters ~~gave~~ some respectability ~~of~~ ~~November~~ ~~Twentieth~~ (1944) ~~ended~~ ~~outright~~ ~~Crown~~ ~~Colonial~~ status but left him unsatisfied. Power still reposed in the English governor ruling from the Executive Council of five civil servants and King's House appointees, and five elected members.* What

* The old ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~Legislative Council~~ was broadened from 14 to 32 members ~~called~~ and ~~renamed~~ the House of Representatives. A new ~~Legislative Council~~ ~~functioned~~ as a kind of House of Lords with ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~up~~ simple review power. Voting age was 21 ~~upwards~~.

was perhaps even more disturbing, ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~outrage~~ it provided the elected member ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ with an outrage to shirk his duties or be comfortably inept.

First awarded in 1897 and awarded for excellence in the arts (Gold, Silver, Bronze)
Manley the first person who took title of 'The Honourable'
and named for

ALACE-
WARDS

Ever a man of the hustings, ~~MANLEY~~ he campaigned tirelessly. He had
the ~~RARE~~ happy trait of liking his solitudes ~~but~~ yet frequenting the market
with ~~unmistakeable~~ enthusiasm. He soon saw that the bully boy tactics
of the labour party strongarm squads/could not be effectively handled
by his own party supporters, consisting largely of housewives and
~~people,~~ at that time/~~a deadly effective tactic was used against~~
~~notably had thinned their blood~~

SAY NW SAW GROUPS AS THE THING. USE HIS SPEECH ON PAGE 26. Say: "He could have included Glasspole."

~~clerks and~~ more in their struggles upward to escape the
~~effete machine "intellectuals"~~ whose struggle was not of the
~~labouring classes~~ had/thinned their blood. They had learnt to "behave
themselves." And were thus no match for the shirtsleeved hordes who sang As
a statement,
"We will follow Bustamante 'til we die".~~MANLEY~~ Manley
profoundly believed in organisation and plan, in politics,
an obviously reasonable assumption but not one to ~~find~~ find instant favour with the unconstructed
individualism of a people who had never seen any cause to take politics
seriously. ~~It had succeeded with the union (BITU) during Busta's detention~~
but that had been/a positive, quick payoff in higher wages and job
security through strength. It was/an ironic twist of events that the labour
unions their respect for organic politics
~~organized~~ which had received its education through Mr Manley's
commitment to political education/~~was~~ for the people was to provide the fulcrum
catapult
which would/~~ever~~ Bustamante into political leadership. The organised
waterfront and sugar workers/gave a staunch, tight core to ~~Mis~~ Busta's
loosely spread ~~labor~~ Party followers, the former especially/~~sharing~~ sharing
the of jugular labour ferocity/jugular negotiations.
~~as/legendary/as~~ their leader for/~~their-quick-audacious~~ T Manley
saw this as basic training for any troops he could/lead to the polls
and/~~strove to so instruct his party people.~~ And so he could refer to -> a word at

it after the 1944 defeat in his address to the 1945 Party Conference:

"This election proves that the group structure is ~~good, power-~~
ful and (unbeatable) ~~structure~~ for political development. Go through the
nineteen constituencies where we stood and you will find that we were
never defeated in any one where we had a good group structure. And let
Comrade (Dr Ivan) Lloyd be a witness to the value of (this), as he
got the biggest single majority obtained in any constituency in any
~~election.~~ election."

accurately ~~set down~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the Busta-
mante forces. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ The Gro ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
out of ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ a security need against ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ which at
that time controlled the suburb of Jones Town, a teen ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ beehive of
narrow streets and small houses mostly occupied by artisans. ~~THE~~ A kind
of discipline was imposed on the PNP minority ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ as their behaviour pattern
necessarily tightened under the enforced regime of care ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
in moving about the suburb. The ~~beefy~~ waterfront boys were still Bustamante's;
a ready shock troop that seemed to spring out of the ground at ~~any~~ the slightest
indication from ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ "The Chief." / It was such ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ a response that, in February, 1946, ~~he~~
sent ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the ~~mob~~ marching ~~mob~~ behind Bustamante (and his henchman and finance
minister ~~Frank~~ Pixley) to the Mental Hospital / ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ for the purpose of
breaking the PNP-called strike of hospital staff. On the way, they
beat ~~John~~ John Nicholas, a PNP member, ~~whom they caught alone and in the open,~~
~~to death~~. That outrage served to harden the PNP members who, although
they discreetly continued incognito except ~~at~~ in groups meetings and rallies,
were soon, in ~~ironic~~ emulation of the hostile ~~Chief~~ JLP "Chief", packing
hide-out guns at their gatherings. *Bustamante and Pixley were indicted
for manslaughter and a trial ~~was held in~~ ~~stated for~~ Port Maria --- a venue change
that indicated for the first time Bustamante's ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ / ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ that he was
losing the city. X Freed of the charge, they returned ~~in the lead of a~~
madly ~~celebrating crowd which recorded their elation by taking licks at~~
~~XXXXXXXXXX they were freed of the charge~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ every
known PNP head in the way.

It was/^{on}~~against~~ this ~~XXXX~~ground of ~~physical/ximination~~ ^{authentic need for protection that}
the Pioneer Group rose in Jones Town and were ready on that February warm

*The ~~Mustahzamin~~ ^{JLP-}controlled Executive Council promptly banned the carrying of ~~weapons~~ guns, a weapon whose neatness and easy concealment more fitted the ~~white collar~~ ^{jackie wearing} tradition of the PNP ^{white collar}

October 1947
/night in/1944 to challenge the JLP for Kingston.

Manley was talking at a mass meeting on Oxford Street ~~where it~~
intersects North Street ~~in the city's west~~. The campaign for the
municipal elections had swung into high gear. ~~at the time~~ Manley fought
to gain control of the Corporate Area where he had himself in 1944
gone down to ~~an~~ humiliating defeat. Suddenly ~~he~~ ^{his speech} was ^{being} interrupted by a
rising murmur ^{from} in the crowd. The ranks before the portable platform
~~opened~~ ^{parted} to allow ⁱⁿ two blood spattered men, ^{they} to stumble ^{d forward and} in. In the
short hush, the men reported ~~that~~ ^{that} they had been beaten ~~as~~ ^{while passing} as they
~~they~~ passed a JLP meeting in Rose Town, ^{a tough} ~~another~~ seedy district near ~~the~~
Jones Town. That report triggered the ~~long~~ ^{explosive} ~~wait for concerted~~ ^{explosive fury long bottled up by}
~~action.~~ ^{the charged the PNP}

Manley the ex-soldier and lawyer had long known and practised the importance of, and practised, communications in his organizing party and union strategy. Bullied and harried as they were, the

The PNP lost six to the JLP 25 seats with two independents in the 1944 elections. It was a ^{running JLP} landslide victory ^{and if} that ~~really~~ ^{XXXXXX} rocked the Party's confidence, particularly ^{as Mr Manley} ~~when the leader himself~~ had failed to gain a seat, ^{beaten by a city outsider named Fagan.} ~~losing to FIND OUT ABOUT THE ELECTIONS THEN TAKE IN PAGE 26 SPEECH IN BOOK~~

It was not however a landslide victory for the Labour Party as some writers of the time insisted. The Party had only contested 18 of the 32 constituencies ***** PLEASETURN OVER PTO

Manley had organised his constituency well enough, practising what he preached to a fault, but the need for him to personally combat the spread of Bustamante-ism in most of the 32 constituencies had ~~taken~~ ^{That} made him an absentee candidate in his own area and ~~took~~ ^{personal} its toll. While he had failed in his ~~own~~ ^{personal} campaign he was in no doubt that the work he had done in the other constituencies had turned up what he saw as the crux of his party's political future at the ballot. He regarded the cell structure of the party ~~xxxx~~, the setting up of strong PNP groups in all the constituencies as ~~"perhaps"~~ ^{"actor"} ~~the most~~ ^{Prop} ~~significant~~ ^{and} ~~thing for the future of the party~~ ["] ~~the most significant~~ ^{important} lesson ~~that we can learn from the 1944 elections.~~ ^{More than that,} ~~he stated that he learnt that the~~ ^{what was even more,}

~~"Bustamante mass-hysteria can only be met by one answer. The~~ ["] ~~"god-worship" and leadership of one man~~ ^{would} ~~can only be answered by a people~~ ^{Stet} ~~who can find their own leaders and spread them wide and deep throughout the~~ ["] ~~community." There is no alternative. There is no other possible road.~~ ["] ~~Either you believe in that or you are not fit to be a member of the~~ ["] ~~Party."~~

Some of the men closest to Manley think that the early months after the '44 elections found him at his most unsparing, on himself and his comrades, save perhaps ^{in the Fifties} for the aftermath of the ^{Fifties} ~~(the Party had been clobbered nearly insensible but not before~~ ^{they had chosen} ~~had seen his opponents style and the terrain/~~ ^{Manley} ~~He had studied his counters and was about to put them into practice.~~

There ~~was~~ ^{were} no comforting words to give and to talk about when we come to the work of the Party," he said flatly. X Ahead of ~~them~~ ^{tough work} was ~~organising work on the basis of the group structure.~~ ^{cell structures in every constituency.}

It was at that post-election evaluation time ~~that~~ he made the famous "infiltration" declaration which was to give his enemies grist for much grinding ~~of~~ ^{charge that the Party thinking was} the ~~Red-riddled~~ ^{the "infiltration" speech} ~~Red-riddled.~~ The circumstances, it is true, were inculpative, since Manley had himself ~~stated~~ ^{in the "infiltration" speech} ~~remarked~~ ^{was no worse than the best advise at a} on the possible presence of "intellectual" communists" in his ranks, but what he ~~now~~ ^{stated} was no worse than the best advise at a Conservative ~~ri~~ rally.

"You cannot carry self-government in Jamaica, you cannot carry democracy or socialism and no real movement with the people unless you have among the people the local leadership that understands it jobs, is

if by
temperament
is, that
show
after turn

2 angry
terminator
~~account~~ of
~~state~~ for the B
personality
the cult

to the legacy
of the colonial
years which
had destroyed
the will. *[Signature]*

PAGE 26 in NWM BOOK!
CRY at an Outro and
it's Look this
hears.

descent & legacy heritage
the coparcenary of
~~bondage and~~ subjection
vassalage

Calcutta
AUG. 1939

-70-17

PNP's early

A good deal of the ~~criticism~~ critical comment around the first published policy programme of the PNP turned on the Party's ~~frankly~~ ^{a pair of pious} what was claimed to be the Party's land use programme, and the irreverent platform pokes, ~~mainly~~ ^{by} the impatient younger irrepressibles / on the nose of the particular sacred cow of the era, the British Empire. A typical ~~blast at~~ ^{blast at} protest was that of a noted social worker of those years, Miss May Farquharson, who with ^{firm} womanly logic prefaced her objections by dangling a look-what-you-lost taunt at ~~the~~ the funds-conscious Party exchequer. ~~It happens,~~ "It happens," she wrote, "that owing to actual and anticipated expenditure this year, ~~I~~ should not ~~be~~ in any ~~case~~ case be able to give more than a couple of guineas* to the P.N.P.; but in addition to this, I find myself so much in opposition to what I understand to be some of the main tenets of the Party, that it does not seem possible that I could conscientiously subscribe." Daily Gleaner, August 1939

Her ~~accusation~~ charge that the PNP ~~was~~ planned to divide ^{the} ~~that~~ country into lots of ~~five, seven or ten acre plots~~ five, seven or ten acre plots for land settlement schemes was sharply denied by Manley who had by this time "grown ^{advised} ~~advised~~ tired" of ~~denying~~ ^{stating} this was not the case. "In fact," Manley replied, "this is one of the falsehoods that Mrs (Esther) Chapman mothered ^{or} ~~fathered~~." The two were white ~~expatriate~~ ^{both English} ~~journalists~~ ^{English} Makin / ~~journalists~~ ^{journalists} living on the island. ^{first was a English Journalist and the other was a English Journalist}

The Farquharson ~~allegations~~ ^{allegations} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~also~~ ^{also} ~~able~~ ^{able} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~carry~~ ^{carry} ~~little~~ ^{little} ~~subtlety~~ ^{subtlety} (DEADPANNNED GOV HIGH "WHERE ALL WERE FOR THE PARTY") ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~was to become a well used play~~ ^{was to become a well used play} ~~against the Party's campaign to bring~~ ^{against the Party's campaign to bring} ~~rural voters into its ranks~~ ^{rural voters into its ranks} ~~when she~~ ^{when she} ~~asked~~ ^{asked} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~case~~ ^{case} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~"our chauffeur~~ ^{"our chauffeur} ~~(who) has bought about 25 acres~~ ^{(who) has bought about 25 acres} ~~" for~~ ^{" for} ~~development~~ ^{development} ~~"Would worthy~~ ^{"Would worthy} ~~enterprise of this description not be discouraged?"~~ ^{enterprise of this description not be discouraged?"} ~~she~~ ^{she} ~~asked~~ ^{asked} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~upstage~~ ^{upstage} ~~Kings House was also in the act, this time~~ ^{Kings House was also in the act, this time} ~~maxing~~ ^{maxing} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~PNP~~ ^{PNP} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~read~~ ^{read} ~~efforts at attracting school teachers into party politics, i.e., into~~ ^{efforts at attracting school teachers into party politics, i.e., into} ~~the PNP.~~ ^{the PNP.} ~~Handpanned~~ ^{Handpanned} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~before~~ ^{before} ~~a teachers' conference at St Georges~~ ^{a teachers' conference at St Georges} ~~Hall, Governor Richards exhorted them to bear in mind words from Macaulay's~~ ^{Hall, Governor Richards exhorted them to bear in mind words from Macaulay's} ~~Lays:~~ ^{Lays:} ~~"When none were for the party and all were for the State."~~ ^{"When none were for the party and all were for the State."} ~~It did not~~ ^{It did not} ~~escape Mr Manley what the wily~~ ^{escape Mr Manley what the wily} ~~handpicked-trouble-sheeter~~ ^{handpicked-trouble-sheeter} ~~to talk or~~ ^{to talk or} ~~bludgeon the~~ ^{bludgeon the} ~~colonials back into line, was up to.~~ ^{colonials back into line, was up to.}

"The simple fact is that His Excellency deliberately used the opportunity to indicate to the teachers that it was not the wish of government that they should interest themselves in any way in the only political party in Jamaica, the People's National Party. Shrewd observers have not failed to observe that His Excellency never misses an opportunity of denigrating our efforts... Every-

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one in touch with feeling in the country knows that the teachers are very concerned with the question of the attitude of government towards the party.

"Most of them, alive to the ~~known~~ difficulties and troubles of this country, would support the Party for the reason that it offers a means of intelligent political action on a defined policy for the good of the people. I do not think that they share the upper class view, that for some peculiar reason, party politics, though necessary for other countries, is bad for Jamaica.

"But the teachers connectio with government is such that they are afraid lest they hurt their own interests or careers by ~~a~~ espousing a cause with which government is not in sympathy. ^{PTD} ~~(It is well known)~~ ^{STET} that the work the Party aims at doing in regard to political education, and in regard to building up a ~~sense~~ sense of citizenship and responsibility, will be frustrated unless it wins the support of a substantial number of the teachers who, outside of their schools, are the leaders of thought and activity in the rural communities.

"Pronouncements from the Chief Executive in the Colony derive enormous weight. ^(an edited) ~~via~~ hint goes almost as far as a command. So long as ~~the~~ executive government does not exist in this country by reason of the political life of the country, it is wrong for government to appear to take sides in regard to such political life as does exist."

In any case, the ~~fact~~ ~~was~~ wind had turned and ~~what~~ however the imperialists thought, the six years etc.

PLACE TO BE ASSESSED

*(one page end) and an oscillating succession
two sides in a contest of results
during the period of the*

The six years to 1944 were to irrevocably spell out the ground rules by which the Jamaican political game would be played in the future. True, there would be a few attempts at widening the field but there was never any doubt as to the result in the crunch of polling day. The country was to quickly settle down to the fact that party politics ~~was~~ went with every kind of progress. That their political future ^{was} ~~would be~~ shaped by either the PNP or JLP; or, in the ~~political~~ realism of ^{those days,} ~~the day,~~ by either Manley or Bustamante, or both. A ~~very~~ ^{Portland's} few very special independents would make it for awhile yet, such as Harold Allan (but who would vote with the JLP) but their days too would be numbered.

The establishment of the PNP marked the gradual weakening of Bustamante's relationship with Manley.

NETHERSOLE WAS PRESIDENT OF THE TUC IN JUNE 1939

* ~~Don't~~ ^{brought out} ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~teachers~~ ~~are~~ ~~very~~ ~~concerned~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~question~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~attitude~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~government~~ ~~towards~~ ~~the~~ ~~party~~

like ~~Richard~~, ~~Mauley~~, knew the powerful influences exerted in the

The former was the ~~de facto~~ ~~employer~~ of the teachers in those days of the ~~united~~ civil service ~~and~~ director of education

communities by school children. They would supply the cadres of leaders in these first stages of the march up the political road. So he stood back, almost recklessly, at ~~the~~ the all-powerful ~~Richard~~. ~~He~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~a~~ ~~bold~~ ~~bid~~ ~~for~~ ~~CONFIDENCE~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~work~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~provision~~

~~Richard~~

~~Richard~~

Richard was the de facto ruler, the effective government of the colony. He was the ~~teacher~~ ^{professional} employer to the teachers. Their careers, ~~and~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~their~~ ~~existence~~, as ~~well~~ ~~as~~ ~~their~~ ~~dependence~~ on him — as in a sense did the future ~~shape~~ ^{since it implied he had turned} of the country. ~~He~~ ~~had~~ ~~broken~~ ~~the~~ ~~political~~ ~~solid~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Levittist~~ ~~party~~, ~~and~~ ~~he~~ ~~had~~ ~~profoundly~~ ~~ANTIPODALLY~~ ~~changed~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~political~~ ~~destinies~~.

~~and~~ ~~absolutely~~

Kingston, Jamaica.

Wynne's Gardens,
24, Church Street.

Kingston & St. Andrew Corporation



No.
In case of reply please quote the
date of this letter and the following

CHAPTER

[illegible]

*Federation, so long in coming and so quickly going, had been urged since 1920 by several West Indian conservative organisations including the Jamaica Imperial Association, not for the peoples' benefit but ~~xxxxxxx~~ at ~~the~~ a quiet nudge from the Colonial Office which saw in it a saving in the British overseas administrative budget. PNP support for Federation as an impetus to self government in the territories, had been endorsed by the party since 1942. SEE NETTLEFORD lxxvi. MORDECAI P.19

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXforhistoryinthatMannix~~ Although he was not a member of the Jamaican government, Mr ~~for-history,~~ was at the first serious modern and serious effort

at federation when he attended the now famous Managito Bay Conference on Closer Union called by the British government in 1947 in the capacity curious capacity

of a British representative on the ~~international~~ multi-
by the British, American, French and Dutch "landlords" in the Caribbean, Caribbean Commission, set
(whose Director of Research, a young ~~Trinidadian~~ named Eric Williams, would
become Prime Minister of Trinidad, ~~xxxxxxx~~ it was at the CLC meeting in Kingston
~~xxxxxxx~~ Mr. Manley's role

xx immediately preceding the Montego Bay conference that what some view
as the kiss of death was inflicted on the PNP leader ^{by} ~~when~~ the enthusiastic ~~the~~
Eastern Caribbean chairman ^{PTO. K.M. Connery} ~~from a the islands that for generations had~~
~~a federation, speaking in a country traditionally cool to amalgamation~~
~~been continuous advocates of a federated territory~~ hailed Mr Manley.

then out of power, as the "one who is well able to shape the future
that we aspire to." ^{It was} ~~a remark hardly able~~ ^{that would not} to escape the notice of the
Majority leader, nor ^{extract} ~~expect~~ ^{his} ~~zestful support of a proposals~~ ^{for unity}
with fellows who from the public platform repudiated his constituents'
choice ^{of rulers} ~~with the idiotic~~ ^{assembly} ~~remark~~ ^{declaration} that "we who come from the
various islands are not so much interested how you feel about Norman
Washington Manley" since as far as they were concerned, Manley would be
the federal ~~leader~~ ^{head}. Busta. argue some, lost any love that might

* It took the establishment of the VCWI to recruit Jamaicans with fellow West Indians of the Southern & Eastern Caribbees.

have come with time. His slashing attacks on "pauper ~~colonial~~ islands" was not annulled by his subsequent votes in favour of ~~the~~ resolutions aimed at bringing the territories closer.

Mr Manley's contribution to the Montego Bay conference was a ~~series~~ of fineness of debate and reasoning that ~~made clear why such~~ articulate leaders ~~as~~ as Marryshow, Grantley Adams, Albert Gomes of Trinidad, F.L. Walcott of Barbados and the rest saw in him the one who would "shape the future we aspire to."

~~MAKEXAXERRAXXERRIXX~~ In the narrower but more intense field of home politics, he was proving a formidable if unofficial "leader of the Opposition" outside the House. One of the major preoccupations was ~~with~~ ^{England in its postwar economic} with the effect that ~~the~~ ^{England in its} postwar economic crises in England would have on the Jamaican economy. Manley was relentless in pointing out ~~that colonialism~~ ^{ing} the major defects in a colonial system where ~~decisions that were~~ ^{decisions that were} of deep effect upon the very lives of people were made in ~~capitalist~~ capitals halfway around the world. He was in no doubt that whatever moves made by Britain to ease the economic strain would be charted by the consideration of what was best for Britain.

Mr "The West Indian problems are a signal example of neglect and administrative incompetence," he ~~said~~ declared at the time. "Modern proofs of the fact that no people can become a nation save under their own leadership and by the power of their councils and decisions" .

B R E A K

Manley was, as usual, being pre-eminent in the two fields of endeavour which marked his adult career, politics --- and law. His courtroom appearances had not lost frequency in spite of the daily increasing hold of politics on his time. ~~Spectators~~ Spectators packed the gallery in ~~nearly~~ ^{almost} all his cases, from bizarre murder cases to the duller of civil suits. ~~where~~ One suit that stands out particularly in a career of particulars was ~~his~~ the trade mark case concerning the well-known Vicks Chemical Company over its product Vicks Vaporub, sold in Jamaica since 1919. Against him was his fellow West Indian, Sir Lennox O'Reilly of Trinidad appearing for the defendants, Cecil de Cordova & Company Limited. O'Reilly, a tall, ^{Sometimes} truculent white Trinidadian was one of the "outside" barristers* ~~it had~~

*Sir Hugh Wooding, now Chancellor of the University of the West Indies and the younger O'Reilly were others, both of Trinidad.

whom litigants unable to secure Mr Manley's services were being obliged to bring hire so as to offer some meaningful opposition to the brilliant Jamaican. It was a case in which neither lawyers gave quarter, a policy that was displayed in the very first salvos:

Mr Manley (to a witness druggist F.B. Francis of Buff Bay): Have you known Mentholatum?

Witness: No.

Sir Lennox O'Reilly: Please don't lead, Mr Manley.

Mr Manley: It's not leading. I asked him if he ever knew a preparation

Christ in me works miracles

. The answer is either yes or no. He said 'no.' Please

don't interrupt me unnecessarily.

He won the case and the subsequent appeal to the Privy Council in London at which he appeared.

~~TOO~~ Manley in full flight in a courtroom was ~~un~~ unforgettable.

Like all great ^{court} lawyers, his cases were ~~clinical experiences of~~ practice

and experiment. In the law, he was of great strength, an omnivorous

reader and possessing a fantastic memory; but ^{in court}, incisive mind

and quick clear thinking ~~enabled him to seize ideas and work them with a~~ swift

grace and ease ^{for} ~~his~~ his own comfort. ~~felicity~~ Of no dismissable account

also was a gift for histrionics which, combined with native good looks,

^{persuasive eloquence} and the panache of wig and silken gown, ~~was known to disarm and take into his~~

^{camp} the most recalcitrant judge and jury. Sir John Carberry, a former Chief

Justice of Jamaica ~~and~~ has said of him: ~~Manley is a man who is~~

~~to be feared by all who know him and who are in his hands~~

"Perhaps his greatest legal attribute was the ability to ^{discard trivia} ~~quickly~~ and

~~quickly~~ see points which he could develop. He always carried a

lucky charm in his breast pocket in court. The charm worked for him but he worked hard for the charm."

And that he did, through long spells of little sleep and incredible applications ^{of} trial and error ^{exercises} until the course of his case was clear. Later, when the pressures of politics began to interfere with his case preparations and he "made slips in court," as Sir John Carberry puts it, "he could usually spot them himself. For example, there was a case in which he went off on the wrong track completely, caught himself and then said to the court: 'This is what my opponent would have said. Now I will present my own case.'"

One case that brought him welcome political ~~XX~~ felicity was his ^{successful} defense in England of Donald Beard, a Jamaican R.A.F. serviceman on a murder charge. The case, heard in ^{Manchester} ~~England~~ in November, 1946, gained him a tremendous goodwill among the ^{new and} ~~growing~~ Jamaican migrant population in Britain and a consequent feedback to their friends and relatives in Jamaica.

Manley has ^{been often unsparingly critical of} ~~the~~ political

~~scene and with its suspicions,~~

shifts and ^{cynicism} ~~is~~ relieved only by ^{the} absolute cheerfulness ^{with which} ~~at~~ ^{various}

^{some seasons} ~~it~~ tumbles a devotee ~~into~~ oblivion. He

~~was as like~~ severe on judges

and courts, describing them ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ privacy as "a joke." ~~One~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~known~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~

~~highly~~ ~~known~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~highly~~ ~~known~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~

~~highly~~ ~~known~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~highly~~ ~~known~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~

~~received~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~court~~ ~~He~~ said of a court of appeal that it was "a lazy court .. entirely ignorant ... and none of them reading more than a page of textbook. In fact, they are scandalous."

One curious facet of his courtwork was the intense dislike he had for murder & cases; cases in which his capacity for ~~xxxxxx~~ hard determined work guided by his genius often turned from probable losers into fantastic triumphs. He found that they demanded/xx degree and ~~an~~ intensity of concentration and nervous energy except ~~xxxxxx~~ as the result of personal conviction. /As he once rudely wrote: "When one is adversely convinced, it becomes mere prostitution; and the artificial stimuli, mental Spanish Fly," ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ (FROM THE BOUND DIARY PAGE 17). But the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ambivalence of the lawyer to the facts of his trade moved him to exclaim: "Yet, it must be so. You cannot ~~x~~ move, hold, bind, unless your whole self is histrionically engaged, in the real sense. ~~xxxx~~ Mere words are nothing."

NOW
~~xxxx~~ GO INTO CARIB POST FOR SOME '47-48 HAPPENINGS.

MANLEY'S OUTPOLITICS - how he looked to USA

CHAPTER

(THIS CHAPTER ON CARIB POST VIOLENCE STORY WHICH gained for the pnp the city foothold.)

Kingston
The ~~xxx~~ ~~city~~ of the 'Forties was a compact municipality of firm boundaries, familiar faces and easily distinguished political affiliations. Exits to the foothills and higher had not yet been ^{unlocked} opened by the mortgage insurers. Alexander Bustamante's ^{intimacy with the inner} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ city* his strongly stated identity with "the people" outdid Manley all ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

(*He lived in Duke Street, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the old Arlington House, a modest watering place at the corner of ~~xx~~/East Queen Street and Mark Lane. ~~xxxxxxx~~)

~~AKK~~ the intellectual Manley could do. Manley was not a ~~w~~ quickly endearing man. ~~xx~~ It took more experiences and disappointments than he had known up to the 'Forties to make him the mellow, even twinkling politician the nation knew in the after years. A ~~man who~~ loved his family and home with ~~xxxxxxx~~ intensity, he was apt to be irked to a degree of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ irritability at an innocent ~~xx~~ each into his privacy. He was/essentially a family man/~~xx~~ fierce protectiveness stood close ~~xxxx~~ to ~~xxxx~~ obsession. ~~xxxxxxx~~ "It is a strange fact that half of me is glad and half resents anyone here at all," he once ~~xxxxxx~~ commented during the absence of his wife in England. "The house and I and the absent Edna have a private life. People interfere with it." (SEE HARD COVERED DIARY PAGE 28) His political speeches did not ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ send running fee into ~~xxxxxx~~ the streets; ~~xxx~~ not then. ~~xxxx~~ In fact, it was the prodigality of the JLP followers in laying ^{on} ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ punishment in the streets to their ~~xxxx~~ rivals which led the PNP to the final successful challenge for Kingston.

Percy Miller, that ^{excellent} fine reporter and ^{now the Gleaner Farm Editor} erudite journalist, when (with Aimee Webster) he ^{informed} edited the Caribbean Post*, in a 1948 article

* This different

PNP in the city had devised their own ~~swift~~ ^{Swift} ~~method~~ squad of couriers --- the ubiquitous bicycles of those years. Silently, a half a dozen on the edge of the crowd ~~cranked off "to tell Ken's meeting about it;"~~ ^{cranked off "to tell Ken's meeting about it;"} i.e., a nearby meeting in support of Ken Hill's candidature. Behind the cyclists, the Oxford Road meeting turned their ~~faces~~ ^{faces} in one spontaneous descent upon the JLP meeting at Rose Town. Nobody tried to stop them. ~~They~~ ^{Nobody} could not ~~have~~.

The confident, swaggering Rose Town fellows, whose scouts had warned of the approaching PNP marchers, were ~~almost~~ ^{almost} eager for the fray but when they were struck with equal fury from the west as ~~Ken Hill's~~ ^{the} meeting swarmed up, the swagger took flight. ~~That~~ ^{The} encounter left two dead and thirty-seven injured, all JLP members. The PNP casualty was seven.

Some good came out of the tragedy however for at election day, while the parties marched and counter marched, and glared at each other, there were no pitched battles. ~~and~~ There ~~was~~ ^{was} now ~~two~~ ^a strong man in ~~the~~ ^{each} house, and violence, as a policy, was, ~~temporarily~~ ^{temporarily} for the time, in disuse. ~~Manley~~ ^{And Norman} also won his City.

BREAK

The evening of the ~~count~~ ^{count} poll count for the 1944 elections when he tasted ~~after~~ ^{after} his first defeat, Manley, impatient to get on with his work, ~~turned~~ ^{had} to Edna and ~~manly~~ ^{manly} moaned, "My God, another five years to wait." ~~But~~ ^{But} The truth is he was not much of a waiting man. ~~His~~ ^{His} Impatience played a part in his achievements; a ~~tangible~~ ^{tangible} characteristic that ~~increased with his years.~~ ^{increased with his years.} He was a man who drove himself to exhaustion --- ~~although in his case it took longer than~~ ^{although in his case it took longer than} point than most men. ~~But it already was clear that he was firmly intended to~~ ^{But it already was clear that he was firmly intended to} take over political leadership of his country and ~~and was~~ ^{and was} chafed to get on with the job. He conti-

*Somersaulting in his car ~~from~~ ^{from} over a precipice on the Gordon Town road in 1944, / one morning, as he walked away from the wreckage in the Hope River ravine he remarked to his finders ~~that~~ ^{that} in an island proverb, that "Man ~~XX~~ ^{XX} born fe hang ~~down~~ ^{down}."

his engagement in public controversy with his style and content already ~~strongly~~ ^{strongly} established after ~~_____~~ ^{_____} years in the ~~courtroom~~ ^{courtroom} and six years ~~learning~~ ^{learning} his trade in the rough and tumble of the streets. ~~Meanwhile, both parties had gained in the House had gained by~~ ^{Meanwhile, both parties had gained in the House had gained by} The PNP bloc in the House had been increased by the addition of Fred "Slave Boy" Evans, a colourful character who had won as an independent ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ eastern Westmoreland and had ~~promptly~~ ^{promptly} declared his affiliation. Evans, ~~was~~ ^{was} a tall, fine looking ~~man with a the messianic air~~ ^{man with a the messianic air} bent combined with ~~the~~ ^{the} earthy style that was sure fire in the rural belt, proved a vote-getting machine. He ~~would~~ ^{would} considerably strengthen ~~the~~ ^{the} party's approaches in ensuing elections, even leaving his safe seat for another PNP selectee and crossing over to the adjoining constituent ~~to beat the~~ ^{to beat the}

JLP incumbent, X*.

*C.C. Campbell, later, as Sir Clifford Campbell, the island's first native governor-general.

The JLP's choice of spouse was a suave, solid politician from Portland named Harold Allan, also an Independent. What was remarkable is that Allan kept his Independence even while serving as Bustamante's finance minister for both JLP terms until his death in 19___. The JLP, woefully short of ~~parliamentary~~ ^{parliamentary} material ~~in~~ ^{in the train of} trade unionists and a few school teachers Bustamante led into the House, ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{needed him. He later knighted,}

One of the public controversies which engaged Manley's attention at the time was the famous Benham Report, an economic survey ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{undertaken by} a committee of ~~eight~~ ^{eight} Jamaicans appointed by the governor and headed by the inevitable English expert, in this case Dr Frederic Benham. Benham was articulate and liked it, so when his Report came out and was attacked from all sides of the political fence, conservative capitalists and ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{progressive socialists}, he took ~~ON~~ ^{ON} them all ~~up~~ ^{up} with a ~~kind of~~ ^{kind of} ~~glorious~~ ^{glorious} joyless glee since he ~~could have~~ ^{had} no hope of winning ~~against both sides of the argument.~~ ^{against both sides of the argument.} In one symposium, arranged by ~~the XXXXX Jewish~~ ^{the Jewish} Literary Society in the hall of the Christian St George's church, and chaired by Leslie Ashenheim, a leading Jewish lawyer and chairman of the Daily Gleaner, the two other panelists were Mr Manley and Gerald Mair, a member of the short-lived but arch conservative Jamaica Democratic Party. ~~It XXXXX~~ ^{It XXXXX} was difficult even for the voluble Dr Benham to defend his ~~effort after~~ ^{effort after} hearing Manley ~~dissect it and~~ ^{dissect it and} tell an overflow audience that "what is puzzling many of the people who have read the report is not what is wrong with it, but how such a document came into existence at all."

The PNP participation in the formal politics ~~of~~ ^{inside the} House and ~~local~~ ^{in the} ~~parish councils~~ ^{parish councils} government was as vigorous as was Manley's on the outside. Florizel Glasspole, the young (35), alert accountant who had ~~won the~~ ^{won the} east Kingston & Port Royal seat with a phenomenal majority and was ~~just~~ ^{just} starting on his ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{undefeatable} stay in the House, was pursuing his role ~~with~~ ^{with} as leader of the minority with the polished directness that would mark ~~his~~ ^{his} stay in politics. In the city council, the pungent Wills O. Isaacs was lambasting the likes of the Lord Bishop of Jamaica, for "soaking" the council in charging them \$1650 (\$3300) for some lands ~~at~~ ^{at} owned by the Anglican church at Bishop's Lodge. ~~What~~ ^{the imprisonment of the} With party activist poet-writer-painter Roger Mais for his denunciatory article "Now We Know" in Public Opinion and the death ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXX} S.C. ~~XXXXXX~~ ^(Samuel Constantine) Marquis from illness brought on by his two-year ~~interment~~ ^{interment}, the Party had its authentic martyrs

1949

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City Council elected council of the
 The PNP bloc in the KSAC led in the main by Wills Isaacs was winning valued notice for the Party by a ~~few~~ audacious pokes at the establishment at every chance. / ^{Such} Isaacs' heresies as his motion to throw Custodes off the parish boards was hailed as a break from the colonial system which was being rapidly discredited. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and with ~~little~~ the severely limited publicity to be had by the Party's tiny minority in the House, the PNP's verbal ~~dominance~~ of the ~~corporation~~ city council / ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ by Isaacs, Mrs Iris King, Noel Nethersole among them ~~ensured~~ immensely benefitted the Party. Signs of ~~disarray~~ among the TLP faction in the Corporation, ~~brought~~ ~~between~~ ~~Mayor~~ ~~Newland~~ ~~P.T.O.~~ Mr Manley's law practice ~~was~~ ~~also~~ brought mixed blessings in this direction.

His retainers often / ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ put him on the side least likely to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ guarantee ^{his} popularity with the proletariat. His brilliant skills ~~was~~ were not always disposed to the prosecuted. He was sometimes required to join with a Crown attorney / ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~to work for the~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ incarceration of a loser, the sympathy-arousing "little man"; at which time, his most loyal political follower among the poor --- his largest constituents --- suffered bewilderment. Some political observers of the time insist that the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ two term rejection of the PNP was because the masses could not identify with ^{corporate lawyer Manley} ~~him~~. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ His appearance for the Crown in a radio fraud case in early 1949 (the defrauded ~~was~~ company was his client) must have been a reluctant duty. Needless to say, he did it well and won.

Another source of unhappiness was the takeover of his beloved Jamaica Welfare by a Social Welfare Commission, a dozen years after ~~XXXXXXXX~~ his talks with Sam Zemurray had borne fruit in a social organisation unprecedented in the West Indies. ^{Run for nine years as a private} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ project, ~~the State~~ on funds from the banana companies, the State ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ had entered into its management in 1945 ~~when~~ upon

Welfare's acceptance of a proposal from the Committee of Development and Welfare (CD&W) to carry out its programme in Jamaica. ^{Now a new (1949)} ~~The~~ ~~XXXX~~ Commission / ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and put the politicians, i.e., the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Bustamante administration, in the ~~XXXX~~ saddle. [Busta made no bones about his reasons for ^{wanting control of the} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Jamaica Welfare. ~~XXXX~~ He charged in the House that the body was being used ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ as a propaganda arm by the PNP -- although such of his own loyalists / ~~as~~ St Elizabeth's Cleve Lewis denied they / ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ had discovered ^{in the} any ~~justify~~ any laches / ~~of~~ conduct / ~~among~~ the society's officers. Lewis, a ~~was~~ suave / survivalist asked instead that Manley take himself off

Social Services
and Minister Frank Pixley, both of the JLP, gave much comfort
comfort to the ~~anxious~~ PNP.*

* On such ill repute was the KATC, with accusations of
graft flying about, that when the Council sought "a few days
loan" of \$26,000 to pay ^{for a coal shipment} the nervous bank officials
~~first consulted~~ telephoned the Colonial Secretary
for his ~~to see if it was~~ okay. The furious Council voted
to charge bankers.

the Board; a little gambit that would hold the goodwill of the/~~field officers~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and those whom they influenced.

Manley was himself working the ~~outing~~ ^{excursion} circuit with personal appearances in several country parishes on one-day/~~Party outings~~ ^{Party outings} excursions. At the same time, he was ~~lacing together~~ ^{lacing together} with sure political savvy the rural St Andrew constituency he had failed to capture in 1944. A new/~~warmth~~ ^{warmth} in public relations was replacing the old courtroom frigidity as he joined the Party excursionists on their train rides ~~to the~~ country towns. His love of fun and mischief, carefully repressed away from Drumblair and Nomdimi, was breaking out with more frequency. But ^{in spite of all} it was ~~above all~~ ^{above all} a serious year. Already the electoral office/~~was brushing up its final list of~~ ^{was brushing up its final list of} electors and the House was passing new amendments ~~to the election code.~~ ^{Bustamante was} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXXXXXX}

~~for movement~~ ^{was not} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{XXXXXXXXXX} was doing his own fast stepping through the countryside, at the same time bitterly complaining about the expensiveness of politics since he ^{led} to "pay for the travelling out of my own pocket with money I brought from abroad." (GLENER FEB 7 1949). ~~of~~ Odd as it seems, the virtual prime minister was receiving no ~~extra~~ allowances from the government bar his salary.

Acrimony in the House, never a place for kindness, ~~was~~ increased as they entered upon the final year of life. Personal abuse and fantastic charges ~~XXXXXX~~ took over the dialogue to the extent that in desperation, Ulric Simmonds, the Gleaner's political writer strongly advocated ~~the~~ recalling the afternoon teas of the ^{Crown colony} legislature. Himself ^{an anti-colonial and a} ~~short drink man,~~ ^{Simmonds urged the return to crumpets} if it would "help the members to get to know each other better."

The world, ^{also} ~~however~~ was getting to know Jamaica better ~~through~~ its as yet sketchy tourist industry but moreso, through its artists, ~~in~~ its writers, poets, painters. NEW DAY, the ~~first~~ ^{to an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm} novel of the Morant Bay uprising had impacted on the fledgling nation with its story of ~~the~~ ^{who would become the} first National Heroes ~~of the independent Jamaica in 1962~~ ^{Tamara is independent}. Langston Hughes, ~~the~~ ^{the} American ~~black~~ ^{black} poet, had brought out his anthology of ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{Afro-world} poetry with ~~Jamaica's contribution strongest~~ ^{Jamaica's contribution strongest} in room and quality, including works by George Campbell, certainly the ^{Tamara} poet with the greatest influence on Mr Manley. Edna Manley's "school" of young painters whom she had so considerably helped to bring along by encouragement and teaching, ~~was~~ ^{reaching into the people's} consciousness. Original paintings were being bought by wage earners/~~not above~~ ^{little or at} the lower income level. A deep if somewhat private love for every art form made ^{of} the period a rich mine for Manley. ^{when he was} Off the hustings and the house-to-house political stumpings, libraries of music, literature, the paints and sculptures ~~his~~ ^{of Drumblair} were his retreat. He was a highly civilized man who ~~rejoiced~~ ^{rejoiced} over the political caper. At ~~though~~ ^{though} at times

Street - some meetings were ~~heavily~~ ^{heavily} ~~also~~ ^{too}. ~~Very~~ ^{just} ~~long~~ Fine strapping
singing, and some eloquent bits by young ~~speakers~~ ^{speakers} and as a
British ^{INTRANSIT} ~~former~~ ^{lawyer} ~~home~~ ^{home} from the Inn named Linda Forbes
Barham. (Gleaner Feb 10, 1949).

UWI Libraries

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al Tom
A

a distinct handicap as he found out when the ~~highly~~^a controversial Tom Driberg, ~~after~~, after a Jamaican visit, made ~~a highly inflammable~~^{much less moralistic} House of Commons speech ~~concerning the situation in Jamaica~~^{in the political and other aspects of the country}. Indignation ~~in Jamaica~~^{in Jamaica} ran high especially since ~~his feet~~^{the repeal met} was of course, in his mouth ~~because~~^{Sir John}. Only Molly Huggins, extrovert wife of Governor Huggins, and Norman Manley, got the Driberg seat of approval, ~~as~~^H He hoped that "those people will have the sense to elect the kind of government" which ~~could~~^{he implied} be had from "Mr Norman Manley, K.C., a potential leader of the highest intelligence and integrity, the finest and most brilliant man in the whole West Indies." He went on to ~~say that~~^{say} that "if they do elect that kind of government next year (1950)* they will be taking a great step towards making Jamaica a worthy and leading member of the fully self governing Federal Dominion of the West Indies whose birth is not far distant." In view of the unpopularity or AT BEST, INDIFFERENCE OF THE Jamaicans to Federation, the Hon. member for Malden came close to ~~political homicidal mania~~^{Gundard was not this neutral was clear headed self.}.

What must have been gratifying to Mr Manley however was the ^{standing on} growing
increasing interest of the country's farmers to the Party's agricultural
^{stand} policy statements; a programme, which as he said, was X devised by farmers and
accepted by the Party. "My Party has taken great pains to teach itself
the wishes and needs of our farmers." (CLEANER 18.2.49 P.9) He ^{was continuing} ~~has already~~
~~begun to make it clear~~ that the Party did not intend to nationalise lands
"nor disrupt established and productive efforts" (P.1 of 19th greets Joe Louis)
X His ~~very~~ ^{eloquent} powerful defence of a ^{an} ~~late~~ Hanover small farmer accused of
resisting arrest/~~may~~ have done some ~~xx~~ good at the ^{rural} ~~polls~~ too. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ The farmer, tried and convicted for using a stick on an
officious X busybody of a ^{district constable, i.e. an auxiliary} ~~civilian policeman known as a district constable,~~
had been fined \$40. Both ^{well} ~~being~~ Hanover men ^{and} ~~from the same district,~~ they
knew each other. The farmer had been arguing over the sale of a cow, a
"civil matter" as Manley said, when the constable attempted to arrest ^{him.} ~~the~~
farmer. ^{The Hanover man reckoned it} ~~it was the kind of~~ the kind of disgrace ~~xx~~ he could not live
with in his small country district. So he fetched up his coco-maccas and
delivered a blow for respectability and freedom. A small matter, but Mr
Manley argued for two days that "if I believe that a constable is going to
arrest me illegally, I am entitled to resist. Nothin in the law says I am
to wait until the arrest is made." The Court of Appeal (including the
chief justice) agreed and reduced the fine by half --- a necessity no
doubt to secure the constabulary from excessive ~~xxx~~ exposure to coco-maccas.
The landmark decision turned on the court's reflection that the X Farmer
took too quickly to his stick but agreed that it was the court's duty
to protect the citizen's right to defend his good name. It is ^{doubtful} ~~no~~ ^{likely} ~~that~~
that legal fees had importance ^{in the case.} ~~to believe that Mr Manley~~ ^{is} ~~that as a lawyer he would be morally obliged~~ ^{that the law is tough}
~~XXXXXXXXX~~ ^{he was that kind of person.} ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ ^{the law was only}
good as ^{it was} ~~used~~ ^{used} for good.

could not prevent strengthening a bond in a low bond inflected in the interests of the WILDEES.

* The election was later rescheduled for December 1949 (CLEANER 25.2.49) There

The-Manley-resilience

NOTES: Manley in sports. Gleaner 19.2.49 p.10 His cycling cup.

Page 1: Meets Joe Louis ~~as~~
here as head of boxing board.

Joe Louis

CHAPTER

Congresswoman

/ Claire Boothe Luce, wife of Time magazine publisher and herself one of America's most famous women, told the girls of Montego Bay High school in 1949: ~~that~~ "My favourite Saint is Saint Augustine who was a black man from Africa ... one of the ~~giant~~ ^{giant} brains of the world. Until 200 years ago, everybody knew he was a black man. Now they don't because people don't mention it very much. I always remind them of it. ... This is an age in which only the masses can do things and the masses need therefore the best leadership. ~~(The people who are down are coming up and the people who are up are coming down.)~~ It will take great wisdom in order that there might not be too much bloodshed. ~~(GLEANER FEB 21, 1949)~~ ^{W. I. R. on industrial labour & needs} (But) the British are not so bad after one of the great wisdoms all. They have learnt an awful lot." They had learnt enough to ~~commence~~ ^{prepare the ground for} the ~~anti-colonial~~ ^{anti-colonial} ~~especially when the neighbours are listening.~~ ^{ancient lesson that the labourer is worthy of his hire} The shedding of the Empire had begun, in places, reluctantly, in others with ^{quiet} ~~alacrity~~ alacrity. These onetime gems of the ~~Empire~~ ^{Crown}, whose sugar and spices had ~~fed~~ ^{fed} ~~fortunes~~ ^{fortunes} ~~for centuries~~ ^{for centuries} ~~into the British~~ ^{into the British} ~~corner~~ ^{corner}, had lost lustre. ~~The time had come to retire them,~~ ^{and become an embarrassment.} after a decent interlude, murmurs of regret. Hard on the heels of the Montego Bay Conference which had been firmly whipped into session by the United Kingdom on West Indies Federation ^{as a prelude to independence,} came the investment grants from the ~~United Kingdom's~~ ^{United Kingdom's} Colonial and Development Corporation for the funding of revenue-creating industries. Jamaica was down for between two and three million pounds ~~(£4-£6M.)~~ ^(£4-£6M.) to be used on tomato growing and canning, a cold storage plant, irrigation schemes and even one for our own ~~colony~~ ^{colony}; the salt industry in our Dependence, the Turks Islands. The neighbourly ears of the U.S. ~~and~~ ^{and} Canada, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~trading partners in~~ ^{trading partners in} Latin America, and not least, her own ~~curiously~~ ^{curiously} public conscience, would be appeased. Like Mrs Luce's St Augustine, everybody ~~knew~~ ^{knew} that ~~the West Indies were~~ ^{the West Indies were} ~~colonies,~~ ^{colonies,} the odd territory in this hemisphere of freedom*, ~~but it hadn't been mentioned for some time now.~~ ^{but it hadn't been mentioned for some time now.} With the coming up of the people who were down, with the increase in their articulation and the receptiveness ~~in that part of the world which had~~ ^{in that part of the world which had} just fought a war against Nazi imperialism, ^{the idea that these seas should}

*Except for the handful of French and Dutch islands

The general aim was for an independent Caribbean dominion,
 and a separate and equal member of the British Commonwealth, the
 idea having grown repugnant of these seas ^{of Bolivia & Washington} harbours/colonials having
 become ~~ZZZZ~~ repugnant to our neighbours. Forgotten) British/
 But however ~~ZZZZ~~ that may be, nobody ~~ZZZZ~~ foresaw
 the final outcome, ^{the founding of nations} a sea of ~~ZZZZ~~ nations ~~ZZZZ~~ ^{agitating} ~~ZZZZ~~ ^{tumbling about}
 Some people wear reason like a shroud, hampering
 all activity.

On an ~~other~~ jaggedly
 irritably
 easily irritated
 and jealously snarling its own small
 sovereignty - ~~was~~ ^{was} toothed with irritation
 jagged, toothed
 jaggedly impatient

jagged
~~snarling~~ with impatient
 snarling, its own small sovereignty. A furious
~~snarling~~

in the face of
 common
 peril

The threat of the
 might have broken apart
 for the necessity to hang together or
 separately.

It was a situation not
 unlike the other former
 British colony to the north
 where several
 states were hostile to each other
 until the

He was what must be unusual to say the least a sample of the contradictory capacity for enjoying things. He was off a trigger with a ready wit.

Norman Manley was not the man to lose his fun while he waited the outcome of the new elections. His interest in sports ~~was~~ remained unflagging in spite of ^{the} ~~the~~ political strain. He ^{he was a sporting man} ~~sat in at Town Moor~~ ^(for cycling) ~~the bicycle races~~ when the run-off for the Manley Cup was held. As chairman of the Boxing Board of Control, he welcomed world heavyweight boxing champ Joe Louis when he came in (FEB '49) for the exhibition bouts at Sabina Park. He ^{was a dance-floor athlete, his long legs awkwardly flailing} ~~graced with awkward grace at the~~ ^{ble an untidy shot-putter at the} "Manley Honour Party" they held for him one Saturday night at No 5 Upper Musgrave Avenue. ^{at which they drummed up patronage by a blunt slogan: "Are you his friend?"} If so be there to tell him so!!! ~~the slogan for the night the Home of J.M.L. For~~ ~~had a sponsor with Mrs M.N. (Sisley) Netherstone, Winston Necks and M.E.H. Evans.~~

NEW DAY THING ON P. 26.2.49

^{NOTE: UNCTIONARIES} The fact was that the number of his friends was increasing, thanks to some gaffes by the Labour Party ^{whole membership was largely on} ~~INEXHIBITING~~ ^{straight from rural school leavers and minor chiefs-in-canefields} in the sugar ^{UNIONS} endeavours notoriously given to ~~the-peculiar~~ autocracy. ~~which-most-schoolmasters and-small-bosses-held.~~ (I AM WORKING HERE ON SIMMONDS ARTICLE ON PAGE 6 27.2.49) ^{Political Rags} by what Gleaner's/Ulric They had begun alienating the civil service/~~ARTICLE~~

Simmonds called "arrogating to themselves safeguarding and overriding powers" and ~~X~~ exhibiting "a strange complex whenever ~~mentioned.~~" The ~~voted~~ funds for public endeavours ~~with the~~ down-the-nose severity of grand ~~aunties~~ or, to quote Simmonds, ~~X~~ like "bounties handed out to subservient people ~~X~~ by a benevolent Labour Party." ^{agent of their growing rejection by the public was a} ~~only state but~~ ^{paramorphic} objection to any criticism. ^{but he it was the} ~~Speaker~~ ^{for} this that led Speaker Crichton to ^{a violent} outburst of ill temper and SCURRILITY when he attacked Manley for ^{a critical} article in the Jamaica Times (June 11 1949) dealing with House debates.

December 1949
was election day.

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~~THE~~ When Mr Manley chartered a British Caribbean Airways plane to fly ²⁵ ~~the~~ Party members to Montego Bay for a pre-election "invasion", it was the commencement of ^{an imaginative} ~~a~~ campaign which ~~was~~ ~~most-imaginative~~ although it provided the Party with only _____ seats, for the first time roundly defeated the Labour Party in the ~~the~~ ~~total~~ number of votes cast. ^{The number of his friends had increased dramatically} It was ^{the earliest real} ~~an~~ early indication that the JLP ~~era was~~ closing. Accompanied by such party stalwarts as Wills Isaacs, Ken & Frank Hill, Richard Hart, Vernon Arnett and the St James candidate A.G.S. "Father" Coombs, Montego Bay had never seen such crowds. Most ~~went by rail to the northside town where they staged massive all-day rallies from point-to-point, led by horseman Manley, whose riding garb was his usual city suit & waistcoat with necktie. His devotion~~ ~~between terms to his political future was commencing to pay off. Denied the frequency of access to the newspapers~~ ~~xx~~ enjoyed by the Majority Party, he had kept himself and ~~the Party~~ his policies in the public eye by the forums at headquarters in regular meetings at Edelweiss Park and ~~raking~~ in the streets and villages with his message of ~~socialism and independence~~ ~~power to the people~~.

Bustamante was panicking. ~~The~~ ~~residential~~ qualifications for office seekers removed, the JLP leader was ~~swinging~~ ~~about~~ sending jitters through his colleagues as he swung about ~~xxx~~ looking for a safe seat. ~~xx~~ The city, and especially his West Kingston constituency, had become uncomfortable. ~~St Thomas' Jehoida MacPherson, his Minister of Education, saw~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ in the increasing frequency of his ~~Chief's~~ visits to his parish and ~~xxxxxx~~ a the damning with faint praise of his efforts in ~~the~~ education, a clear indication that he was being ~~xxxxxx~~ plumped up for the sacrifice. With his close ~~friend~~ and powerful friend ~~Aggrey~~ Isaac Barrant, they told off the Chief in no uncertain way and killed that little ~~xxxxxx~~ plan. The disarray in Bustamante's party was so ridiculous that ^{at one time} the Agricultural Minister E.R.D. Evans, who had walked out of ~~xxxxxx~~ party but who could not be fired from his ministry since Bustamante had no such "cabinet" power, was being sued for slander by "Prime Minister" Bustamante.

The capable and hard driving ^{PNP's} ^(with whip) Ken Hill, campaigning in West Kingston, was making deep inroads inside his constituency.

Meanwhile, the Manley-led cry of "elections before Christmas" was gathering momentum. Petitions were fired off to the ~~Exe~~ governor in Executive Council in which it was claimed that later elections would not allow the new government time to prepare a proper budget before the ~~start~~ ^{April} start of the fiscal year. This was the above board reason, the parliamentary objection, the front office gambit. What was more to the point, though, was Manley's fears ~~that~~ of an enormous pork-barrelling ^{by the JLP} over the Christmas season. Besides ^{being} the Season of goodwill and all that, a tradition ^{of "Christmas work"} had grown in Jamaica, ~~xxxxxx~~ an arrangement for handing out special work projects to the unemployed ~~xxxxxx~~ so they could earn Christmas money. Manley saw the ~~possibility~~ probability of a

runaway season of ~~primary~~ ^{write-in} vote-catching bribery. The Party also opened a newspaper/advertising campaign ~~with~~ complete with tear coupons.

Pausing to pay a gracious tribute to his arch-rival Sir Lennox O'Reilly the eminent Trinidad barrister who had died in the sister colony, "a man of remarkable advocacy and a profound lawyer," he once again plunged into the campaign to short circuit the ^{Labour Party} ~~PNP~~ plan for a post Christmas election. ~~It was a rough time for the PNP~~ The PNP was playing it rough, hitting ~~campaigning~~ hard at Bustamante from platform and parliament. It may have got to ~~the~~ the Labour Party leader, a man with a ~~rather~~ short fuse, for before long he was to ^{during a debate on a new constitution} ~~and the PNP exploded~~ explode in ~~the~~ the Legislative Council/that he was against self government because "we have not proved we are fit

(GLEANER MARCH 23 '49) Manley's proposals for a constitutional change were that the Legislative Council of nominated members should be abolished an addition of a constituency/^{each} ~~each~~ to St Elizabeth and St Ann, and the addition of/^{another} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ member~~X~~ from each ~~parish~~ of the 14 parishes, elected on a parish-wide poll rather than on the constituencies. He would remove all nominated and official members from the Executive Council, leaving only the Governor and he without ~~X~~ an original or casting vote. Bustamante wanted the ExCo to include the Governor, Colonial Secretary, two nominated and eight elected members. The first five years of ~~XXXXXX~~ elected government under the ~~NEW~~ 1944 constitution had been agreed on as an "experiment" by the British government. Except for ~~X~~ the degree of self determination, both parties were ~~XXXXXXX~~ by the time of the 1949 election squarely against any continuance of power from King's House. IT SHOULD OCCUR TO THE CHIEF THAT

House. IT SHOULD OCCUR TO THE OFFICE THAT [unclear] ^{DIB NO-7}
[unclear] himself severely - the driving-seat as ^{The Dept. Secretary} [unclear]
[unclear] minister, [unclear] The who ^{He will come} [unclear] that drives
the most likely candidate to blame for the dunce cap handing
handicap. ^{for they blame things on our incapacities in}

Pyrausta pyraustae

FOOTNOTE.

SEE OVER.

*Laws that did violence to the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ poor were not profitable to patriotism. A new ordinance declaring it illegal for a canoe to approach within 100 yards of a ~~xxx~~ tourist ^{in the harbour} liner without being invited by the ship's master, lost a Jamaican fisherman his canoe and a narrow escape from imprisonment or fine only because ~~he~~ his was the first case under the new statute. (GLEANER MARCH 24 Page9)

circumspect
circumspect
circumspect
Restaurant's ~~circumspect~~
call for a monitor by his
members of the ~~circumspect~~
power they would hand to him.

FLB EVANS, GLASSPOLE, LINDO, DR LLOYD, SINCLAIR ARE THE 5 PNP MEMBERS
W QIINTEN WILLIAMS INAUGURATE JAM FEDERATION OF INDUSTRIES - GLEANER 24.3.49
MARCH 26 SEVERAL FUNCTIONS FOR "NEW DAY" PAGE 12 GLEANER
MORTGRAGE EXAMINATION 29.3.49 page 4

Judge C94/49

But this may have been the only area of agreement between them as partisan violence/~~was~~^{became} the norm that last Spring of the "experiment." All Fool's Day that year, the fiery Wills O Isaacs/^{a KSAC PNP Councillor} joined the "Jail martyrs" Bustamante and Pixley when he was ~~pulled in~~^{picked up} on charges of incitement to riot and violence against the (then) JLP's Madame Rose Leon. Wills was subsequently ~~later freed~~^{the necessary sentence} of the charges. ~~With Manley defending,~~^{the necessary sentence} ~~thus escaping~~^{the necessary sentence} ~~the preceding judge~~^{the necessary sentence} ~~later confessed to have had in mind~~^{the necessary sentence}

Popular support of ~~Manley's~~^{Manley's} strictures against postponement of the elections was gathering momentum. ~~Tens of thousands~~^{Tens of thousands} of write-ins for the "straw poll" flooded the PNP office, ~~the response was a triumph to Manley's reading insight~~^{the response was a triumph to Manley's reading insight} ~~for the idea was~~^{for the idea was} ~~strikingly new to Jamaica and drew ridicule at its announcement.~~^{strikingly new to Jamaica and drew ridicule at its announcement.} The-party-

In a sombre way, he was tasting another kind of triumph with the final takeover of Jamaica Welfare by the hostile Labour government. ~~His~~^{His} farewell speech to the Welfare staff in the old wooden hut at Mona (wartime barracks for refugees from Gibraltar and which were at the time, ~~the~~^{the} in use as the ~~University College's first buildings~~^{University College's first buildings}) showed a depth of patriotism that dumbfounded friend and foe. He declared himself in support of the change which "in itself is a perfectly sound and good one."

He said: "There may be in the minds of some of you a feeling that the changes have been brought about with some desing of hurting the work" but "I think there is every reason, once Jamaica Welfare's contract had come to an end, to create a ... statutory organisation ... entrusted with funds provided by the government for service to the community."

~~He~~^{He} ~~the~~^{the} ~~hostility of the Establishment to the PNP hardened into tradi-~~^{hostility of the Establishment to the PNP hardened into tradi-} ~~tion, Mr Manley d,~~^{tion, Mr Manley d,} ~~he spoke of the long~~^{he spoke of the long} 11-year old accusations that he played politics with the organisation: "On your behalf and speaking of the change that is about to take place, I wish to say this for all to hear, you have constantly and falsely been accused of using your various offices for subversive political ends. I can assure you it was ~~not~~^{not} your fault. It was mine. It was mine for holdingas I had held for many years the dual position as Chairman of this organisation and leader of a political party in this country; but all Jamaica knows that your work was free from any taint of disloyalty or disservice to the community."

mil
P. 5
449

if Christ thought
preferable
reaction

at had never been done before and
they thought the regime would have
been better.

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~~Assassination~~
~~His-apologies-for~~
~~Smiling~~

The fear of guilt by association had at this time driven many Manley supporters underground. The middleclass civil service, the clerical and supervisory people in the private employ, teachers holders of positions to controls and other/access ~~positions~~ and influences among the mass voters had attached their allegiance to Mr Manley and his Party; or so it was reasoned by "Management" on the premise of their own kind of guilt, the wholesale exploitation of ~~the~~ a bottomless employment pool prior to the rise of the ~~trade~~ unions. While the "pay-bill" hold-ya or dig-ya labourer free-swinging ordinary "pay-table" could play the ~~big-tree~~ man with the power of his union to back him, the neck-tie brigade, trapped in ~~its~~ nervous rush hour for security and respectability, kept ~~its~~ Socialist thoughts carefully screened from everybody. And since silence is not a virtue in political campaigning, they were of little help in ~~getting out the vote~~. But even so, Manley was to be in the predicament of finding ~~himself~~ during the Bustamante decade, while ~~admitting~~ they would be better in better health hold his friends ~~admitting~~ elsewhere. His presence was needed in the House to "take the comrades home."*

*Adina Spence, a news vendor and ~~strong~~ an ardent PNP worker, was shot & killed on July 22, 1946 at the corner of Beeston & King streets one night after a political meeting ~~was~~. Her last words were a call to other PNP adherents to walk ~~some~~ two of their fearful party members home: "Gentlemen, let us take the comrades home."

CHAPTER

The feeling of a PNP victory in the elections was strong in the Party. The straw-vote was ~~his~~ pulling in undreamed of response. As Party Secretary Vernon Arnett ~~said~~ (GLEANER 12.4.49) ~~said~~ "Bustamante's mass following is now smaller than ours." His wife, Edna, ~~was~~ not only carving very well, but ~~woodmaking~~ the public rounds in her own able way, ~~with~~ quietly impressive speeches as she judged or unveiled a Hector Whistler mural ~~at~~ the Palisadows airport. (GLEANER AP 7 P 3)

WORTLEY HOME FAIR & INDIAN CHILDREN

The five years had been exciting, ~~with~~ such diverse entries into the culture as a cement factory and a university. TAKE IN SUPPLEMENT 107

READ APRIL 21 p 7 STORY OF VIV BLAKE'S APPEAL. STRANGE!

HERE I MUST GO BACK TO THE 1949 GLEANERS JUNE - DECEMBER PRE-ELECTION TIME. FOR ...

AT THIS POINT I AM GOING INTO THE HANSARD FOR 1950 JANUARY TO DECEMBER WITH MANLEY & 11 OTHER PNP MEN IN HOUSE. WHAT HAPPENED TO WILMOT? I HAVE NOT SEEN HIS NAME SINCE THE FIRST HANSARD. WAS THERE AN ELECTION PETITION?

Gleaner 8.5.49 P.6

They had also been politically curious with both parties straining for recognition in the one place it ought to be a gift: the House of Representatives. ~~Where There~~ Speaker Aitcheson, that stubborn son of the soil, frequently observed ~~that~~ the Jamaica ~~Constitution's~~ ~~silence~~ on the matter of political parties. But ~~since~~ ~~the British~~ ~~constitution~~ constitutional practises on which Jamaica ~~had anchored its democracy~~ ~~hardly~~ ~~either~~ ~~lacked~~ ~~official~~ ~~of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition~~ ~~although there was~~ ~~nothing written into the constitution~~ (indeed no written constitution). ~~the~~ ~~legislative~~ ~~recognition~~ of the party system in Jamaica was not too far away. Meanwhile the election was being fought.

~~CHAPTER~~

(Make it a short one on the election)

~~The~~ The battle took on the ~~new~~ expected pattern of the PNP fighting on issues wherever they could and the JLP doing its rousing emotional campaign around the fuhrer-image of Bustamante. The JLP Chief had moved from West Kingston where Ken Hill was proving too good an organiser and too equal a rabble rouser. Ruthlessly, Busta had thrown out his old friends from the South Clarendon constituency, the former ~~of his Party, Hugh~~ ~~and other hopefuls including R.O. Terrier, who~~ ~~sitting member~~ ~~Cork, the~~ ~~Manley was opposed by~~ ~~the popular "people's man" Edward "Doc" Fagan.~~ Ken Hill faced ~~Shearer~~ ~~(whom Busta had made his "heir apparent")~~ in West Kingston. Hopes for a peaceful campaign were high by reason of ~~an~~ the extraordinary step taken by the government in presenting the two leaders, ~~extraordinary statement which~~ ~~Manley and Bustamante with peace treaties for~~ ~~the identical statements, published on the front~~ ~~pages of the newspapers, containing~~ ~~promises by the party leaders of res-~~ ~~straints upon their people, were hailed by the country~~ ~~as a turning point~~ ~~in election styles.~~ ~~It may have been, for all of a week. Soon the urban~~ ~~stick-&-brick~~ ~~Boys were back~~ ~~in~~ ~~business and street~~ ~~clashes a nightly risk.~~

CHAPTER BREAK

SOBER

The ~~campaign~~ colour and excitement that accompanies a Jamaican election was staged against one ~~sober~~ ~~migration*~~ background: it was the period that saw the ~~the~~ start of the third great ~~migration~~ of Jamaicans to seek a living in other more economically hospitable countries. The rush to England had ~~begun~~ ~~lightly at first but would increase to several thousands~~ ~~* The first two: the migrations to Panama for the work on the Canal~~ ~~AND THE great movement to~~ ~~the Cuban canefields.~~ ~~Steadier~~ ~~migrations had continued to the U.S.A. until the new immigration~~ ~~laws slowed it to a quota-ed trickle.~~

a year.

The bloody clashes at Gordon Town during the KSAC bye-election ~~before~~ ~~in which a man was mob-killed~~ ~~was an omi-~~ ~~nous prelude --- although the results brought comfort to Manley~~ ~~and the PNP when Allan Isaacs lost by a cliff hanging~~ ~~77 votes to~~ ~~the powerful JLP machine in the East St Andrew hills.~~

* Benjamin Taylor, a JLP worker, died at Maryland CORNER during a ~~and~~ ~~attack~~ ~~by~~

bye-
Election
July 6 '49

Gleaner: JULY 8, 1949 (TAKE IN SUPPLEMENT at 60)

~~July 29, 49~~

✓

of Monkey and Bustamante ~~was~~ almost coming to blows.

Interview
created
of ~~the~~ acquiring
"Belly" by
some
Portuguese
Lad
Inspector.

a bitter day with several ~~of~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{SR} leaders
revolvers and assaults on police ~~on that day too~~
which brought ~~in~~ subsequent probe by a Commission
Lord Will Davies ~~was~~ blurted ~~out~~ the famous
~~said~~ "philosophy" that "a few broken skulls or two
did not matter much in the growth of a nation" — an
utterance that was to haunt him and his party the rest of
his political day. The Gordon Town incident was remarkable also for
bringing Mr Hawley to the witness box
on Thursday July 18⁽¹⁹⁾ where he
gave evidence to the Commission Chief Justice
Sir Hector Hume. (Glean Fri 18th July)

Went to B'dos July 8th, 49. Gleane July 9. P. 5
also story July 8. P. 1

Saturday 23rd 1949 - Big story.

ATTACH TO/ BACK OF SUPPLEMENT 107 A (A)

At the battle of Jordan Town was ~~the~~ ^{same} closest to physical work. The corners actually squared off.

It was a bitter day of Manley and Bustamante almost coming to blows on the steps of the polling station. ~~Before the day was out~~ ^{drawn} drawn revolvers and pitched battles on the beautiful Maryland road between truckloads of partisan "soldiers". ^{It was} a day that led ~~up~~ to the probe by a ^{Germans (Hugans)} Commission appointed by ~~the~~ Governor Huggins in which Wills Isaacs was to state his "philosophy" that "a ~~few~~ broken skulls or two" did "not matter much in the growth of a nation" --- an utterance ^{that} whatever its validity ~~that~~ was to haunt him and his Party for the ~~rest of~~ ^{the rest of} their political life. The ^{one in one} Commission ~~was~~ the island's Chief Justice Sir Hector Hearne, a ~~dyspeptic~~ ^{lean dyspeptic} Englishman ~~with~~ ^{of} the sour ~~visage~~ ^{visage} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{whose} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{findings} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{were} described by Manley ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ a statement as "intemperate and unbalanced." It was an ~~extraordinary~~ ^{extraordinary} remark to be made by ~~the~~ ^{the} island's ~~leading~~ ^{leading} King's Counsel and ~~one only elicited~~ ^{one only elicited} by the ~~simple~~ ^{simple} clear bias in Sir ~~Hearne's~~ ^{Hearne's} otherwise confused Report. ~~Hearne's~~ ^{Hearne's}

The trouble had begun (GLENER AUG 6 P.11 FOR HEARNE'S REPORT) at Dallas where PNP workers had made one of the Sunday "invasions" for a saturation canvassing of the area in aid of Allan Isaacs. At the end of a day of frolic and fun showing the PNP flag, the usual openair meeting was slated for the Dallas Village Square. Dallas was a "Doc" Fagan JLP stronghold, with its own "Brigade", i.e., that bit of hokum which party members encouraged to wear military uniforms and parade behind brass bands. Uniforms, however, were discouraged and just about every office seeker has found can politicians, supporters, lukewarm followers. No sooner had the PNP leaders began working at that other bit of political hokum with which audience committment and loyalty is welded right from the start outset of a meeting, i.e., the religious hymn, than a distraction occurred. Thumping and boom-de-aying down the rocky village street came the Brigade brass band and marching behind it, the uniformed ranks of male and female JLP partisans. The Brigade had been doing their own JLP canvassing in the sister mountain village of Hall's Delight and were going home and were not to be deviated from their straight right-on military course by any invasion of city slickers come to con their votes. So on they came.

(The PNP)

The PNP meeting eased back on "Lead Kindly Light", a favourite ~~wit~~ starter, and opened up to allow the JLP Brigade through. But it appeared that they had given in too easily ~~and~~ or that the ~~Kish~~ Brigades ~~with~~ with pardonable pride had a desire to parade their colourful trappings just once more, or a combination of both. However that was, the marching columns wheeled ~~in~~ about-face and thumped once more through the square. ~~WIKKXKX~~ PNP meeters again parted ranks but with a trifle less alacrity. And since what goes up must come down, another about-face had them passing through again --- with ~~still~~ noticeably more friction. Then the Brigade did the ~~same~~ thing: they wheeled about to pass through again. That tore it. ~~THE XXXXKXKXKXKXKXKXKXKX~~

Dallas, in the rocky limestone hills, is superbly ~~fitted for the~~ outfitted for that ~~oldtime Jamaican wargame~~ oldtime Jamaican wargame, stone-throwing. The rocks flew, and meeting and Brigade broke up. Seven casualties occurred, five for the PNP since the Dallas folk were better in the dark and on their own terrain. The PNP retreated in good order down the hill, carrying their wounded and ^{vowing} ~~numbering~~ revenge. it

XXIX They exacted, it next day at Gordon Town, in the foothills above Papine. A JLP meeting was stoned into disorder. The day after, election-eve, ~~at~~ both parties almost met head-on in Gordon Town and only a police roadblock held them apart. The ~~xx~~ scene was being set for the election day troubles.

at several points of the constituency on election day, July y 6th, including Milling's Spring, Miller's Gap, Tamarind Tree in the hill country XXXXXXXX as the PNP fought desperately ~~to~~ for control of the streets and to crimp the winning style of the JLP. For ~~LONG~~ they had been shoved around by the more ~~uninhibited~~ ~~uninhibited~~ "cloth cap" ~~workingmen~~ ~~workingmen~~ ~~workingmen~~ of the JLP.

TAKE IN OVERLEAF

got at

TAKE

7. 行业



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10

U

Douglas

I was always conscious of that. Sometimes very painfully.

Because you see the first thing I think back on was those days at school. This was very very difficult because they were always comparing you and very much to my disadvantage. Because I wasn't very good when I was at school. I wasn't very bright when I - I wasn't a very good student. Went to deCarteret. They used to give me a rough time on this subject, ^{to be} ~~AND~~ quite honest. ~~This~~

ME: This was ~~an~~ academically?

HIM: Hmm

M: What about athletics? Wasn't there some drive on to emulate the old man?

H: No! never tried to emulate him. Rather the reaction was to do my own thing and be different. This is because I suppose -- You know, you felt you couldn't emulate and people taking the comparison, seem to give you a rough time. The drive is really to do something different.

I went to America. I went to Columbia in New York after Munro. I did my Ph D in England. I'm American educated, I consider myself.

^{do}
What sort of impression ~~did~~ you have of him when you were 18-?

I think I was scared of him.

You ever went to the courts?

Hmm. I

Listened to him?

Hmm. I admired him. Obviously I was very fond of him. I respected him. But I was scared of him too. He could be rather, frosty, you know what I mean?

I grew up at Drumblair. There was a side of him that was very warm. We used to have these sort of jam sessions on the mouth organ (up the hill) We would be clapping or banging on the table or something. But he was the solo performer. It wasn't a band.

I think he was a solo person. I don't think he was ever really a team man. Not really. He was an individualist. A solo performer. NOMDMI. We used to go up often to Nomdmi. That is, we mightn't go up for a month (or months) but sometimes we'd go up every week. What would he do up there? He would potter around the garden. He used to do a lot of

carpentry. Make a lot of the furniture up there himself. And then in addition to that he would read and walk and so on. He did a lot of reading up there. He planted the pine forest up there. About 12 acres I think. He used to walk through it. All the time. He loved ~~to be in~~ the forest. I don't know if it was his favourite spot, but he certainly was very fond of the pines.

He loved music. Had a very deep appreciation for classical music. He also loved folk music. Jamaican folk songs. Rookumbine, Slide mongoose.

Did he ever whip us? No, he wasn't a whipper. He'd talk to you. I don't think he ever beat me. I think my mother did a couple of times.. It wasn't a beating home. Maybe that was unfortunate. Maybe we needed a bit more of that.

But he could be rough verbally.

But he wasn't a harsh man, really. His exterior was frosty, but he was warm inside. He could be very kind.

Religion: He never mentioned any particular denomination he preferred. He hardly ever talked about it. I don't think he was interested in religion. He had a great deal of respect for individual church people.

SPORT. He was there the day I equaled the 100 yards record. He made more fuss over it than anybody else. I had to beat McKinley and Coco Brown. It was expected that Coco would come first, Mac second and me third.

DOUGLAS EMPHASISED THE WAY THE OLD MAN LEFT THEM TO DECISIONS AS TO CAREER, MARRIAGE AND SO ON. AND THIS WOULD APPLY TO EVERY PHASE OF THEIR LIVES DOUGLAS SAYS A LOT OF FUSS WAS MADE BY OTHER PEOPLE ABOUT SHE BEING VERY DARK, BUT NOT HIS PA.

LEGAL

Dickie Ashenkorn re Manley

~~1937~~ 1937 to Sep 9th 1955.

Sir John Cockerly - 16th March 1971

Worked with Manley 1925, 26 & early 27 before joining Govt. service. In early '20's a great shortage of barristers. — Stern, Joseph & Ratcliffe - only ones at time. Chambers at 21, Duke St.

Cases he spoke about - Pepsi-Cola v. I have some details
1940 - June & July.
Coca Cola
Vicks Chemical Co. v. Cecil de Cordova & others. 1948 (5 Ta. Law Reps. Page 106)
N.W. for Vicks.

Trade Mark reg. - Ja. Sir Lennox O'Reilly & Dudley Evelyn appeared to oppose action. 1948 - case was heard.

Application leave to appeal to Privy Council. N.W. went to England & led Q.C. barristers & was successful in appeal.

* Only time N.W. appeared before P. Council.

Mar 11, 12 1948 - Judgment given. April 9th - Application

"O'Reilly was very bitter during case". Savery (?) tried case.

1931 - Sir J. a magistrate - Sp. Town & tried a case -

Goodison v Williams. - Appeal for judgment in favour of defendant (I have a few more details)

Subsequently years later Chisholm v ? case re: King Street property (decision around 1958.) * This case important.

N.W. won case & decision of court altered the decision given many cases over the years regarding property.

Smith v De Cordova - another brilliant case N.W. won.

re: building of a house Del. (contractor) — can get more details.

Criminal - Alexander case - tried in Mandeville before Adrian Clarke who described N.W.'s defence as "genius". — "the infinite capacity for taking pains"

Sir J. - "Manley's mind had the ability to see certain points would develop into big things and he could discard trivia." — his greatest attribute.

In Alexander case N.W. worked exceedingly hard. Defence had a lot to do with ballistics & firearms.

N.W. once told Lady C "I never won a prize at T.C. - how could I? ~~with~~ Escoffrey was there."

Sir J - When Marley came back to Ta. he was already very well known & ready to be accepted as somebody great. "Was almost a Nat. Hero from a boy with his great athletic ability."

"He lived for his people & his country."

"A most modest man. He once told me - "Carbery - I am never certain I am going to win until the very end." He always felt the other man had something up his sleeve.

"Extremely eloquent."

"Could be bitingly sarcastic in court - an acid tongue."

"Generous to a fault with everything & everybody" (Case of the relative on Saturday mornings.)

Sir J. said he trained himself to go with very little sleep. - 2.00 AM - 6.00 AM for about 10 days then knew he had to catch up so one night 12.00 - 6.00 AM then again back to 2.00 AM.

An incredible reader & fantastic memory.

Latently politics affected his legal work - did not have the time to study cases so thoroughly & made slips in court but he could usually spot them himself - e.g. One case went off on wrong track completely & continued so then said "This is what my opponent would have said - now I present my case"

He used to read in Library at Supreme Court but was so harassed by solicitors picking his brain, etc he

started going on Sunday mornings. Solicitors soon caught on to this too. He developed the habit of choosing his books then standing by a window to read - when the solicitors started to crowd him he would walk away to next window.

I asked - any regular opponent in early days?

J.G. Smith - a nagger - kept on & on but N.W. made circles around him. Smith was member of Leg. Council so had to be heard (Opponent - Smith v Delandava case)

Did he look to anybody for advice? - Sir J. "I learned on Manley ^{in these early days} as many others did. He learned on nobody." Modelled himself in cross examination after Sir Patrick Hastings in England. - e.g. used to look away when addressing witnesses.

Did he have any weaknesses in his work? Sir J. -

"He had an inclination to theorise on insufficient data" Told story of lunch - Sp. Town to argument about man's skull. Sir J. brought orange stick & told N.W. the details of case from which this stick came. Agreed with Sir J. but would never admit this type of thing in Court.

^{Can} you think ~~there~~ ^{of} anyone else of his calibre?

Sir J. - 3 names & how they were what they were.

N.W. - Ability & hard work	} difficult to say which was better.
Hugh Wooding - " " "	
Lennox O'Reilly - Hard work & ability.	

Sir J. - "He would have excelled as a Judge because he could see both sides but as an advocate he had to take one side.

Politically he was a wonderful statesman & if he had the chance there is today would have been outstanding & world figure. In these days - little travelling & Executive Council was headed by Governor.

* He carried a lucky charm in his breast pocket
at all times in Court - Sir J. - "The charm worked
for him but he worked hard for the charm."

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PTER

~~XXXXXX~~ A few minutes past
 At noon on Thursday January 12th, 1950, Norman Manley
 was sworn in as a member of the House of Representatives at Head-
 quarters House, Duke Street ~~at~~ and de facto leader of ~~the~~ His Majesty's
 Loyal Opposition. He led a dozen of his ^{PNP} comrades into the mahogany
~~panelled~~ ^{legislative} chamber and picked up a ^{friendly} Independent
 inside Stanley Albert Scott of Eastern St James, ^{Some time} ^{bringing this total to a possible 14.} The JLP had ~~in~~
~~an old parliament~~

In fact, the PNP ~~led on~~ the popular vote
 had ~~completely~~ ^{somewhat} ~~whipped~~ ^{whipped} their opponents,
 having obtained 43.5 % of the votes to the JLP's 42.7.
 They ~~had~~ ^{HAD} ~~swamped~~ the city, taking five of the six seats including Bustamante.
 old Western Kingston ~~and~~ ^{after the} ~~canary~~ ^{abandoned} his once safeief.

was repeated in no other ~~man~~ ^{man} with a unique capacity for hard work. He was
 yet ~~usually~~ ^{usually} unflurried in the House but his opponents had not been Manley,
 Ken Hill, Wills Isaacs and ~~the others~~ ^{that lot.}. He was visibly unstuck that
 Thursday February 16 as he went into his Motions, being corrected on
 procedure once or twice by Dr Lloyd and losing his place in the procedural
 listings. Even the Minister for Communications (Mr Bustamante), anxious
 to ~~make his mark as an old hand~~ ^{display} ^{status} before the new boys, was ~~gently~~
 pulled up by the Speaker, an infrequent ^{indulgence} on the part of Speaker, Malcolm. ^{the} ^{House was all a twitter. All over, it was but} ^{and open} ^{SEE BACK}
 it was left to ~~MANLEY~~ ^{lanky}, inept Lawton Bloomfield to tweak the
 tiger ~~and~~ ^{and} his colleagues to be clawed. * See ^{Supple-} ^{ment}

Manley had sat silent through the preliminaries which included
 the appointment of several House Committees --- all from the JLP member-
 ship. ~~He~~ ^{After his short night's sleep fresh as the vibration rose in his bottom hole} he sat the bench in the familiar courtroom manner, relaxed
 yet alert ~~at~~ ^{right knuckles} at his lower jaw, the fore and middle fingers lined
 along his cheek. ~~Characteristically~~ ^{SEE BACK}, his first words in
 a parliamentary debate was to ~~tidy~~ ^{in a way} legally tidy a piece of rhetoric from
 Hanover's J Z Malcolm ^{Majority} that shook the House with laughter and drew ^{indicative of further misgivings}
 a ~~reply~~ ^{reply} from the ~~Labour~~ ^{Labour} Party spokesman, that his party would not "be
 intimidated by any Minority Party."
 The Bloomfield motion ^{charged} ^{PNP can't} the TUC of inflicting "a reign

A fate Li ~~had~~ seemed

to have never railed at ~~with~~ despite
its blows, past and future
had kept him out of this Chamber *

* The Headquarters Home was the
former ~~home~~ ^{residence} of the Officer Commanding
the 2nd Troops in Jan, purchased
by the Govt for £5000 in the 1870s
to house the legislature in the
new capital of Kingston which took
over from the 350 years old
St Jago de la Vega (Spanish Town).

IN 1944 while his opponents went on
a universal suffrage that was
almost wholly his creation. Ahead of him
were ~~be a~~ other harsh usages. They
would grow out of style that took to Bony
principles ~~impulsively~~ ^{impulsively} often ~~impulsively~~
steadfastly ~~by the way~~ ^{by the way} ~~of another way~~
towards the disaster ~~by~~ ^{by} a man of less spirit, Norman
manley could not help but dare. He used his gifts to the hilt
without a cost count. He loved fast powerful cars, beautifully
tuned, but was known to have been forced to ~~for~~ coast

from Newcastle to Drumblair ~~with~~
because ~~there was not a drop of~~
~~oil in the crankcase contained not~~
~~a drop of oil.~~
he had run out of fuel.

1944
1945

And who kept in Manley's words (Harrison, 1972 Vol. 1) "a sort of affinity between" "between himself and the JLP"

109

They

members who kept a discreet silence, *but these had no muscle as Marley had*
 which were swiftly killed.

observed the evening before he gave them a large "flea on the ear." DATED 11-65
~~He said~~ The debate recorded in Harvard of Feb. 16 is worth the retelling. TAKE IN HARVARD

* * Supplement
Page 109

Manley's presence among themx
~~Manleyxxxxxxxterminable~~
 the "Opposition", they/too ~~maxx~~

CHAPTER

as the first major speech
by ~~Robert~~ Bawley in
Parliament.

It was a good occasion that helped to offset the petty annoyance of ~~an~~ ~~the~~ a ~~govt~~ ~~EMBARGO ON~~ ~~DEMONSTRATION.~~ ~~had~~ ~~thrown~~ ~~xx~~ ~~government~~ ~~ban~~ ~~on~~ ~~meetings~~ ~~which~~ ~~throw~~ ~~out~~ ~~the~~ ~~PNP~~ ~~plan~~ ~~for~~ ~~an~~ ~~excursion~~ ~~to~~ ~~Montego~~ ~~Bay.~~ ~~Stillxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Manley believed that ~~the~~ Bustamante

but.
* As it
was, the
Ryutle
Bank
debate was
not removed
and a ban
on meetings
e marches
was
proclaimed
by the
governor
next
day.

pt late that Saturday morning when an agry Edna
 *** Manley did not think the strike a good idea and advised the Hill brothers
 and Woodham of the TUC to play it with caution. The employers were
 powerful and ~~strong~~ ^{powerful} he was not for putting the young
 union into a ~~position~~ ^{position} to be clawed ~~and~~ ^{to} lose the nice
 plum ~~they had~~ ^{they had} ~~in~~ ^{now} on the Myrtle Bank affair. Never-

PTO

P.T.O.

THE OXFORD GROUP PUBLISHERS

less, he sent down Horzel Jompson, a man of more ~~cautious~~ cautious bent, to assess the situation. ~~ABA~~ ~~ABA~~ ~~ABA~~ and uneasy at the outcome, he ^{later} took off himself for Montego Bay, and his plans were realized when he met Jompson on the road, returning from the Bay. Jompson was "glum."

CHAPTER



2a Norwood Ave (at Oxford Road)

Kingston 5, Jamaica

Phones 64863/66243

burst into the room ~~with~~ waving the morning's copy of the Daily Gleaner.

GO INTO GLEANER FEB 18 1950. TIE IN WITH PAGE 66^{65 67} OF DIARY. & TIE

IN THIS WITH COMMENTS ON PAGE 65 DIARY "WE FACE A
DIFFICULT FUTURE ETC ETC."

*He took his
understanding of his duties
into the House and could
single the dramatic out and hold it
with a tenacity until the point was in.*

Manley, in a way, took over the mantle of his fellow barrister, J

~~Much-of-the-legislative-years~~

A.G. Smith in putting a ~~legally~~ ^{legal} mind, honed in the precise
definitions of the law, ^{of the} courts, to work on the ~~often~~ ^{that increase} ~~these~~ (PAGE 25
HANSARD 1950 VOL. 1) gathering assemblage of "facts" ~~and~~ & figures
slipped into debates by politicians expert in the laws of expediency.

He was very ~~raustic~~ ^{caustic} unsparing of ministerial motions "conceived
in haste and written in confusion". (PAGE 25 HANSARD 1950 VOL. 1). ^{He was though,} ~~Wittier,~~

^{a wittier man,} ~~where he~~ ^{AND} possessed of an easier personality, than the great Clarendon legislator,
~~where he~~ ^{able,} hard driving comrades disciplined in Party loyalties,
and backed by ~~a~~ ^{loyal,} ~~driving~~ ^{loyal,} ~~loyal~~ ^{loyalties,}

Manley and without the constitutionally imposed powers of a governor
sitting in the legislature, ~~Manley was per se~~ effective in the way

Smith could never be. If "Jags" was a rapier in his time, Manley, the
old artilleryman was ^{of} ~~gunlayer~~ ^{He was too healthily arrogant to be} and blade. ~~He could was never~~ pugnacious

but he could destroy with grace and ~~e~~ ^{clat}. A couple of High Court
judges of his time, despite the panoply of almost absolute power that

surrounded them on the Bench, were known to ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{give the} ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{call of}

~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{say the} ~~xxxxxxx~~ Yes, Mr "anley, (the traditional invitation
for the defender to ^{rise and open} ~~commence~~ his case) with a trepidation difficult to dis-
guise. ^{tenacity} The ~~quality~~ ^{tenacity} that went with intellect, ^{in such as him} ~~xxxxxxx~~
~~with him~~ informed his ~~xxxxxxx~~ activities in the House. *

* "Gully government," one of the slogans that ~~was~~ ^{are} credited in
helping to bring down the Bustamante administration in the
1955 elections, ~~was~~ ^{xxxxxxx} received its first creative
touch in the early days of the 1950 House when Manley spoke
about "the legacy of unfinished gully works." ~~It stuck.~~ Repeated
over and (HANSARD 1950 VOL. Page 26) over, it stuck.

One of his early legislative ^{was} ~~successes~~ was the Unemployment Committee
bill that ~~asked for~~ ^{asked} island-wide schemes of productive works be institu-
ted and ~~for some~~ ^{along with} special relief through provision of food, shelter and
cash benefits. It ^{was an emotion of} ~~xxxxxxx~~ a horrendous proportions to be put
by a Socialist minority to a legislature which ~~took~~ ^{took} pride in its

Conservative price tag even if the tag ~~was fortuitous~~ had been contrived through a desire to ^{appeal capable of promoting another idea} ~~occupy the other culvert~~. Especially after Manley had opened ^{his argument} ~~the case~~ with a ~~strong~~ strong ~~(if not)~~ denunciation of capitalism. "Nowhere in the world can free enterprise and the unrestricted operation of ordinary economic development deal with ... the problem of unemployment," he said. But he knew that the pragmatic fellows ~~in the room~~ on the other side of the Chamber ^{forget, or are} would never grow unaware of the ^{BLOWS} ~~near~~ ^{recent} ~~clattering~~ they had taken in the ~~last~~ elections. None, he was convinced, would dare to oppose a motion, however couched, that promised ~~to~~ to take ~~the~~ idled workers off the ~~country~~ ^{country} shop piazzas. ~~But~~

^{* He once described that bastion of the system, the United States, as}
 MANLEY CALLED USA "THAT BLESSED LAND OF PREJUDICE AND FREE ENTERPRISE." (HANSARD 1950 VOL 1 PAGE 45)

^{Lower,}
 On other matters, the PNP minority received short shrift.

One of these ~~were~~ was the important House committees. The PNP was denied the ~~right~~ right of choosing ^{on} which committees ~~minor~~ a minority member would serve. The result was that ^{little was} ~~for the legislative~~ ^{was} done by the PNP in the House infra structure, on what Manley ^{was to call} ~~called~~ the "functionless, barren and useless Committees."

When Manley wanted to go to the Agricultural committee with Broderick as the two PNP members, he was barred by X Bustamante. ~~and~~

CHAPTER ⁴² (See if Gas Works on Page 59 can make a good opening)

An-ugly-landmark

An ugly old red brick building belching flame and smoke, night and day, across the railway tracks at the end of Barry Street ~~was~~ housed the city's gasworks. Like the railroad, it was ~~costing~~ costly to the government, burning out its subsidies ~~at some of~~ at some \$40,000 a year to service about 1500 customers and a ^{hundred} ~~few~~ street lamps. ~~It~~ The works were run by the city corporation, a body in no good graces with ~~the~~ Bustamante, dominated as it was by the PNP. ~~Somewhere~~ The government was for scrapping the whole outfit. ~~Manley, the ex-woodcutter~~ ~~the annual talk about supplying its deficit reached the House~~

*Blacksmiths, ^{dentists} and all sorts of minor industries depended on ^{the coal} ~~the~~ coke-fueled works ~~in~~ for industrial ^{coke and} gas. It creaked along on its 70-year old machinery, with gaping holes in its ancient walls, and was itself a minor miracle in that it did not blow up the ~~nearby~~ railroad yard and adjuncts. ~~sky high~~

from Guanaboa Vale argued eloquently to keep it as he pointed out that cordwood was getting scarcer all over the island. Fuel, he said, would soon become a real problem to the Kingston housewife. He got wide support even among his opponents when he observed (in the 'Fifties) that electrical stoves would never become popular among the "ordinary people of Kingston and St Andrew." His advocacy saved the ancient works for

Agriculture was his great concern and he could argue far and scheme the night through with ~~people~~ Arthur Thelwell, Harry Dayes (who had a pineapple project for the east St Andrew hills) and ~~others~~ ^{--- although due to the pressure of politics, he was thinking of selling the} ~~herd of cattle he had kept at Drumblair for 12 years. It was a fine, carefully bred herd and it took a long time and talks with his friend Richard Williams/before the decision was made. The herd was taking much of Edna's time, and, as ever, her work and future was first in his mind. What with her drawing, painting, carving, editing the literary magazine FOCUS which she had founded, preparing~~ ^{establishing and working with youth clubs, ~~that~~ ^{he decided he would block off those} ~~more outlets~~ ^{for her energy are inadvisable.}} (DIARY P74)

Manley took to the House a new ^{high} standard of debate. ~~Manley was less than often~~ drawn into a shouting match with his arch-foe Bustamante, ~~and that~~ took great restraint, for Busta was a provocative man, a relentless teaser who tried to scuttle some of Manley's best efforts by charging him with "lecturing the House." The truth was, however, that Manley's sheer brilliance in contribution often had both sides of the chamber hanging on to his words --- a condition Busta regarded as precarious to his own leadership of his colleagues. The Constitution was ^{splendid for} ~~neither fish nor fowl~~ ^{on the surface of a fine disclaimer of responsibility. So} as long as the ^{swing vote} ~~word~~ in the Executive Council, Manley's old "chief instrument of policy" ^{xxx} lay with the English governor, ^{and the Majority Party} ~~use it~~ ^{as good red herring to draw} across the trail ~~the PNP Minority~~ ^{the PNP Minority} ~~lay a~~ ^{was hot on} parliamentary attack. And attack they did: from A.G.S. "Father" Coombs' stricture on the facility with which the ~~Executive Council~~ government "gave away taxpayers' money" by appointing ^{importees} ~~persons~~ to high office because of the "natural passport of whiteness over their face," ~~in~~ (MINUTES P. 89 VOL 1 1950) to N.N. Nethersole's ^{biting} appreciation of "the Minister of Communications (Bustamane) welcome policy of silent reservation in this House" (MINS. P. 13 VOL. 1 1950) (as the) unfortunate and unwilling agent of the Executive Council" (MINS R131, Vol 1 1950) ^{Manley} ~~The PNP~~ was in good fettle, for the ^{voters had distinctly} ~~direction of the country~~ ^{Already Manley's shown their preference for the PNP. The trend} ~~had been proven.~~ The Party was on the verge of getting in and he was not about to brook any obstacles. He was ~~very early~~ ^{especially} ~~House member~~ ^{particular} ~~in~~ ^{severe in} protecting

You just come here and bleat about embryos. (~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (A reference to Bustamante's habit of ^{ruefully} referring to himself as an embryo minister.) I am not interested in embryos. They should not be visible."

USE THE GREAT MANLEY SPEECH IN HOUSE HANSARD VOL 1 1950, PAGE 201

He was gaining some satisfaction at seeing ^{the} a number of his proposals at last ~~being~~ enacted by the Labour government and he was not ~~tactful~~ enough to turn ^{away} ~~himself~~ as they were ^{led off by their} ~~shepherded~~ foster parents. The Land Valuation bill was one of these ~~X~~, a financial legislation with an inbuilt social consequence which had been steadily opposed ~~by~~ the land ^{owning} gentry. In effect, the bill ~~would~~ sought to discourage the "hoarding" of ^{idle} ~~land~~ acreages, an exercise much indulged in by the spiritual descendants of the post emancipation planters who ^{had} ~~had~~ bought and ^{followed} ~~inherited~~ lands ~~xxxxxxx~~ and ~~xxxxx~~ force ~~the~~ the luckless freedmen into ~~seeking~~ accepting illpaid employment ~~xxxxxxx~~ on the same plantations from which they had so eagerly ~~fixed~~ ~~departed~~ upon freedom. Since Jamaica Welfare and before, Manley had seized upon this as one of the ~~obvious~~ reasons for ~~dissension~~ the age of discontent which had led to 1938.

But it was ^{to} ~~in~~ the fight for a broadened Constitution that much of his fire was drawn. The Majority Party had again declared its opposition to self-rule; (~~XXXXXX~~ a stand readily understood since/ the likelihood of a political defeat was strong. For the PNP, the vote had been 203,048 or 43.8% as against the JLP's 199,538 or 42.3 %. (HANSARD VOL 2 P. 258) in the 1950 elections. ^{It was a} A situation ~~in~~ close enough ^{but better than} to ~~the~~ ^{Socialist} (Labour) Party in England, although ~~that was a Socialist Party and a cause for some sadness to him.~~

He had himself predicted that ^{the} ~~(NAME OF BRITISH LABOUR PARTY LEADER)~~ would just about "squeeze home". His forecast ^{proved} ~~was~~ correct. It was obvious that ~~xxxxxxx~~ a win for the Socialists in England would give him new heart and a continuity of friends but he was not losing sleep over it ~~that~~ ^{of his comrades} as were some Party people who saw a Socialist defeat as a blunting of their own point in Jamaica. Manley knew that adult suffrage had taken care of that. The election-winning "little people" were superbly unconcerned about world trends ^{which he at the time described as} ~~--- XXXXXX~~ that ^{grew more} ~~was~~ ^{greater} everyday ~~as he put it.~~ (DIARY P.69) To this end, he was redoubling his energies in his constituency work. ^{The welfare of his constituents at} ~~Papine Market, the Tavern Level~~ residents and the dwellers in his beloved hills engaged his personal attention around the clock. Although ~~much~~ ^{powerful energy} of his daytime focus was necessarily on the House and his court work ~~xxxxxxx~~, his ^{unbounded} ~~energies~~ sustained ^{a virtual} ~~xxxxxxx~~ nightly/political meetings and group discussions in the centres and crannies of his electoral district, a terrain of unspeakable difficulty to negotiate even by muleback. The range of his activities was formidable. He could sit on the verandah of the old Manor House hotel patiently explaining to an impatient but well-meaning

COPY A-2^{ON} Supplement at
page 108

(A)

Next

~~On the morning of February 13,~~ Manley

a few hours with Arthur Thelwell, *

Secretary of the Jamaica Agricultural Society

*Thelwell, a world war 1 contingent captain
thickset and pleasantly pompous was later

knighted.

whom he found "clearheaded as usual" and with
interesting long term prospects" for agriculture.
Edna joined him after lunch and they went down
to the Myrtle Bank for the landing. Huggins had
not taken his advice after all to shift the
Royal Progression but luckily, in Manley's words,
'everything went smoothly.' After the landing
he went to a Clerks' Union meeting and then on
to A TUC headquarters ~~in~~ where he learnt the
strike had been called for that evening. Indeed,
it had already started so he ~~went~~ proceeded to the
Labour Street ^{Hotel} to urge the crowd to remain
calm. Again he drove the five miles up Hope
Road to King's House where the governor gave him
dinner and ~~heped~~ expressed his hope for a quick
settlement but condemned any trespass on the
hotel premises.

This seemed to have been news to
Manley for ~~after~~ his long day continued into the
early morning when he ~~exited~~ arrived at the
PNP headquarters to enquire about the trespass. I
He was assured by Roy Woodham that the TUC
pickets had only entered to eject BITU strike-
breakers from the hotel but that all was now quiet

When Manley was warned that Wills I
 press (Gleaner)
~~XXXXXX~~ issue of his charges of communism i
 into the wings their in
 until the Gleaner writers had made ~~XXXXXX~~
 he did and then they filed in, The Editor, The S
 which clearly indicated they had been brie
 he has, said in a wry ~~XXXXXX~~ later review o
 up at the meeting of the Party Executive t

(DIARY PAGE 79) He proposed a mild warning
 that he would attack on the streets, ^{the intention} (Hill
 munist and charged that Isaacs was in coll
 a swipe at ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Wills Isaacs, ^{private life a} who was
 Hill flatly stated that the heat was on hi
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to the mercantile interests.
~~XXXXXX~~ to his political beliefs, ^{could lea} ~~XXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{who} ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXX~~ of resentment against Wills I
 Executive who saw the Red ~~XXXXXX~~ publici
 / Some prescribed a tough disciplining but
 Manley argued for a warning. He pointed ou
 on attacking the Party notwithstanding the
 non ~~XX~~ truck with Russia, he would do so and
 "pushing him onto course." The Executive
 Ken Hill agreed to button up.

But the restless, volatile Wills Isaacs
 feeling his oats and kicking his legs. With
 by a lawyer friend, ^{of} ~~that~~ Wills ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in
 and other Executive members, ^{be sued for a slander} ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~
 itself out
~~XXXX~~ after a talk at Drumblair that weekend
 placated by a hugely successful meeting on
 spoke.

A few smaller ^{family} / crises ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~
 tails ~~XXXXXX~~ made up a knobbly calendar. Ne
 especially happy in England ~~with the XXXXXXXX~~
 racism was coming out of the closet as the ~~XXXX~~
 their faces "here to England" ~~XXXX~~

The Split

As disclosed by the 1950 diary, friction had started between the left and right wings of the Party. The main personalities involved were the Hills and Hart on one side and Wills Isaacs, Lloyd, Glasspole and Allan Isaacs on the other. Wills Isaacs accused the left of being communist. The left accused the right wing of opportunism and power-seeking and, in respect of Isaacs, of being a merchant's man and of taking graft.

Manley worked very hard to preserve unity. He maintained close touch with both sides and was fair in reprimanding one side or the other for excesses as these occurred. Wills Isaacs was the most difficult to control. He felt that Manley favoured the left. He made many accusations of "Communists in the Party" which though not made publicly became a matter of public knowledge.

"Matters were made worse by ^{the} Gleaner publication of a memorandum by Richard Hart (originally cyclostyled for group circulation) in which he outlined the role of the middle-class in a nationalist movement and their replacement after independence had been gained. The right wing ^{Chapell Ret as members of the middle class for and a takeover by} ~~said~~ they were to be used and discarded in practical terms that the Hills and Hart would take over from the middle-class leadership. This might be comparatively long-term, but Wills Isaacs saw this as an immediate threat to himself. He had already conceived the idea of supplanting Nethersole as deputy to Manley and ~~x~~ of finally taking over from Manley himself. Wills saw himself as fighting for survival as the No. 1 enemy of the left (with whom he had had occasional flirtations in the past). He decided that the best way to save himself was to raise the communist alarm.

"It is true that the left wing's aim was to dispose of Wills as rapidly as they could. He was seen as the most dangerous member of the right wing and they had a healthy respect for his lack of scruple. He was seen as a real threat to Nethersole who seemed to lack the drive to rally party support to hold his position as next man to Manley. At all costs, Nethersole was to be preserved until Ken Hill could take over. ^{declines to do it}

CHRISTIANITY: a richly imaginative religion that can see a heaven beyond. Sull people can't be

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Arnett reflects on the irony of (2)

It is ironic to reflect that the great split in the Party was caused by a total misreading of the temper of the general party membership. The mass of the party membership were wholly committed to the concept of a nationalist movement of a reformist character. The Manley-Nethersole combination ~~xxx~~ was the accepted leadership. They were aware of conflicts within the Party and they took sides but were fearful of either right wing or left wing taking charge.

Both right wing and left wing leaders would find their support melting away were either to attempt to pose any real threat to the accepted leadership. It is significant that in the seven years (1952 to 1959) Wills Isaacs, though known to be working for support prior to each Party Conference, for a challenge to Nethersole, never once faced the starting gate. It is also the fact that when the split came the Hills and Hart took with them only a small fraction of their supposed following."

Arnett continues in a recount of the events leading up to the schism.
~~The events leading up to the split can be briefly recounted.~~

The tension of 1950 was not converted into open warfare until Thossy Kelly and Walter McPherson broke with the TUC and tried to enrol the bauxite workers at Shooters Hill into a new union. This was undoubtedly a right wing manoeuvre. The TUC had been divided from the start between "Glasspole" Unions and "Ken Hill Unions" and this appeared to be the start of the breakaway. Naturally, the TUC demanded that the PNP take disciplinary action against Kelly and McPherson.

The PNP Executive set up a Disciplinary Committee to try them, but this Committee was immediately faced with counter-charges from the right wing who briefed ^(barrister) Vivian Blake. These counter-charges claimed that members of the left were teaching and disseminating communist philosophies contrary to the policy of the PNP: the constitutional infringement being that these members were accepting the discipline of another Party and were not able, therefore, to abide by the policy and rules of the PNP as all members were required to do.

The Committee found itself deluged with evidence concerning character assassination. There was also evidence of study groups forming a caucus within the Party. The result is known. Kelly and McPherson, the Hills, Hart, Henry, Woodham, Dyce and Grubb were given the choice of resignation or ~~xxx~~ expulsion.

66 ~~He~~ ^{worked} Manley had ~~done everything~~ he could to avert the split. Up to

Two days before the General Council meeting which had been called to consider the Committee's Report he ^{had Arnett} asked me whether I ~~thought~~ a solution could be found. "I told him that the thing had gone too far, ^{"Arnett has said."} I did not see how it was possible for real unity to be achieved again. ^{"Even to the end"} There was ^{Manley had hoped to retain Ken Hill,} the possibility right to the last moment of Ken Hill being ^{for whose work he held a particular esteem,} "saved" but his speech at the decisive special Conference was so abusive of members of the right wing that this chance vanished, ^{"Arnett says."}

^{are met with a bomb and indefatigability.} ~~Manley~~ ^{especially} had always admired the capacity for work of the left-wing leaders, ^{were the puller and gallies of the Party Ken himself} particularly Ken Hill. ^{They worked very hard at considerable long hours, strong wages, discomforts, brought out the extraordinary fortitude} They had considerable influence on the Party Executive and had come to hold the main organising posts, ^{They held} Ken Hill in the TUC as well as representing West Kingston in the House, Dyce, Woodham and Grubb as paid party organisers. Frank Hill and Richard were valuable members of the Executive in policy discussions. ^{They had all shown a practical} They had all shown a practical approach to policy and organising problems. ^{Manley had been able to} Manley had been able to preserve a balance and to lead a united party to a dominant position in 1949 when the PNP captured a greater share of the popular vote, though losing in constituencies. But the increased strength of the Party and what appeared to be certain election victory in 1955 brought about a position in which in 1950 and 1951 both right wing and left wing leaders felt that they could now do without each other. ^{In the result, the PNP} In the result, the PNP went through a stormy period but recovered sufficiently to win the 1955 elections.

It is an interesting question as to what extent the Party suffered from the loss of the left wing leaders during its period of Government from 1955 to 1962. Comparison of the 1949 policy (on which the PNP won the popular vote) with the 1955 policy on which the elections were won show a lessening of emphasis, for example, on the dangers of uncontrolled entry of/foreign capital. ^{private} In my view, the PNP lost in 1962 mainly because not enough had been done for those at the bottom of the scale who are not helped by technology but can only be helped by intensive labour projects which have to be organised by Government and financed by Government.

My assessment of the split was that it was contrary to the wishes

man but they had miscalculated their HEFT. The euphoria of the popular win in 1949 - where the PNP ignored the vote although less of the seats is may have made a difference. Both sides ~~had the belief~~ end would now dump the other. Manley said much of the same etc.

CHAPTER

The agonising break had come but it had brought also a resurgence which the internal quarrels had threatened; a resurgence that, with in the absence of the messianic young elements, rang the change from an avowedly doctrinaire Socialist party to a pragmatic political compromise in which ideologies were rubbed of their edges and accommodation of a kind ensured. The orthodox emphases that would weight out of the system the private ownership of/natural resources, or the uncontrolled input of foreign capital, to name a few, were eased. Yet, it is questionable whether the Party would not have won the 1955 elections without the wrenching experience which many PNP believe took root of the international spirit of revolution, Slogans Sentiments that had held hope for the social dreaming of India suddenly ripened into marching song of Jamaica Welfare "We're out to build a new Jamaica" has recently ceased.

The odds had indicated that even as constituted, the PNP was more than likely to win the next elections. The split had not been necessary. Manley, as Arnett pointed out, was the ^{party} people's choice of leader. ~~He was also the national majority leader.~~ Nobody could have ousted him constitutionally. He could have contained the young leftists and retained their ~~firexann~~ belly-fires for the Party.

Manley once said. "The attack of (these) forces comes in various ways (being) the combined forces of the Press and of all the monied interests of this country," Manley once said. "It is the most ruthless, unscrupulous and most determined. It is the combination of those who think they have something to lose and will fight to the death for (it)." GLEANER 22/8/49. "But we will never cease to preach the need for unity and brotherhood and fellowship among the people. What else before God can we preach? We with a Socialist cause that believes in the brotherhood of men? We with a nationalist cause that still dreams a dream of a united people, mixed in blood, teaching the world that man is man?" (Same gleaner as above. P.13)

* In a short, poignant letter ^{to the press during the election campaign} Edna Manley had been forced to combat the racist rumours by writing:

"Sis, since the subject of my parentage has come up on so many political platforms, would you permit me to state once again that my mother was a coloured woman from Hanover and my father was an Englishman from Yorkshire."

Gleaner Dec 2, 1954

UWI Libraries

The investigations ended ⁱⁿ ~~with~~ the expulsion of the Hills, Hart and other prominent leftists and signalled the stepback, many think, from ~~the~~ mother lode socialism. Such as allowing the ~~unbridled~~ ~~uncontrolled~~ entry of ~~private~~ foreign capital and the growth of the multinational businesses shops for making selling and servicing.

(P.35 in Manley & New Jamaica)

Manley and Bustamante

[illegible]

*A fact frequently referred to by Bustamante but ~~studiously~~
studiedly played down by Manley. In a House debate, Manley ~~the~~
~~indicated his posture,~~
~~summed up his position clearly.~~ He was knocking an obscurely
written bill brought by Bustamante;

Manley: I ~~mean~~ spent a whole night trying to understand what some of the clauses meant.

Mr Busta: And you dont know?

Mr Manley: And you dont know either (laughter)

Mr Speaker: Yet you are both from the same stock (laughter)

Mr Manley: But not by the same axe (renewed laughter) HANSARD 29.6.50

of the two ~~very~~ ^{very} exceptional~~ly~~ able men kept the issues alive. It was arguable that the country ~~needed~~ would have been better off ~~for~~ had the two ~~exceptional~~ ^{able} abilities been fused into a single powerful, indeed irresistible force. ~~For example in spite of them,~~ ^{socially} ~~socially,~~ the country was as sick as it had ever been. A Majority Party member (Mrs Rose Leon) ^{once} ~~had~~ found it necessary to ask the House for a debate on ~~the fact of~~ "respectable and capable coloured persons" being refused employment and barred from hotels and night clubs. (HANS 28.3.50) But ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~fact is that there were~~ ^{socially} ~~in our midst~~

these two men
it was a fact that ~~they~~ straddled our politics. A quality in our ruins
had bred them. (NOW TYPE OFF THE NW WORDS CASTIGATING SIMMONS FOR TRYING
TO DO WITHOUT DEBATE. IN HANSARD. X 1950 P.254)

Mr Manley by the nature of his ^{Socialist} politics saw ~~that~~ ^{the} ~~main~~ ^{found only through} that the
solutions in the final analysis could be ~~bankrolled~~ ^{rapid} ~~only~~ ^{From} rapid and
significant and urgent constitutional changes. ~~At~~ the very outset, at the
launching of the Party in 1938 ~~had~~ under the "remarkably rotten constitu-
tion (that was) an almost perfect instrument for degradation of our poli-
tical life," he had ~~made~~ ^{set} his sights on self rule. ~~His~~ (and
the Party) had nailed the earlier Moyne* ~~into the House was at last~~ Constitution and the (J.A.G.) Smith

*Lord Moyne headed the Royal Commission which was sent from England to
investigate and make recommendations for bettering conditions in
the West Indies, British Honduras and British Guiana (Guyana) after
the 1938 upheavals in the territories.

Constitution ~~of~~ 1939 and 1941, neither of which had advocated
beyond representative government. The 1944 creation again by Lord Moyne
made more promising signals but still had the English governor's hand
on the helm with its ~~XX~~ "five-by-five" monstrosity; i.e., five elected
and five nominated members ~~sitting~~ under the leadership of the governor
in the Executive Council. Manley's entry into the House at last ~~gave~~ ^{gave}
him a stance from which he could knuckle ~~some~~ heads. He proceeded ~~to~~
~~enthusiastically~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ with enthusiasm. He ~~took~~ ~~it~~ ~~with~~ ~~alacrity~~.

He was not, as sometimes thought, wholly satisfied with the way his
great crusade for full ~~suffrage~~ ^{suffrage} had worked out. How could he? He, once,
and his Party, twice, had been ~~soundly~~ ^{soundly} thrashed by the JLP in two general
elections.

"In spite of ~~what~~ all that may have happened in the last five years, ^{the vigorous acceptance of the vote}
which some people do not like, a good deal of which I do not like, the fact
is we have come out at the end of it with the greater part of opinion in
favour of self government," he once stated. (Hansard 1950 P.255.) "In
matters of this sort, it is no use being cautious. No country developing
into nationhood can avoid taking risks."

It could be that the ~~the~~ risks as he saw them then was to plug for full ministerial responsi-
bility --- despite his serious reservations as to the ~~ability~~ ^{soundness} of the ~~timber~~ ^{political}
across the floor ~~from~~ him; ^{frankly,} "a very inept lot." (DIARY P83)
through an afternoon session waking apparently only during a speech by
(a then opponent) Mrs Rose Leon whom he thought would make "a good, caustic
debater for them." (DIARY 74). ~~xxxxxxx~~

His relentless pursuit of the ~~idea~~ self governing idea ~~however~~ kept
it alive and activated in the House debates and in 1953, an "advanced
constitution" reposing responsibility ~~i~~ for decisions upon the elected
ministers was ~~xxxxxxx~~ granted. ^{He was nearly sixty years old at this} ~~It was one of the watersheds in the life~~
that had never ceased ~~xxxxxxx~~ its daily ^{political} ~~xxxxxxx~~ dedication to his country since
the day ~~in~~ 1938 when he ~~had~~ strode into the Supreme Courtroom to effect the
release of Bustamante. He had ^{placed} ~~xxxxxxx~~ his private life and means at
the service of his party and people.

to sit in the House ~~x~~ while speakers, led by the House Majority Leader, Sir Harold Allan, ~~zitty~~ cite the Great Dissenter, ~~Bustamante~~ ^{Bustamante}, as the author of self-rule. ~~Manley-reacted-accordingly~~ Manley was furious.

"The ~~Leader~~ Honourable Leader of the House (Sir Harold Allan) (has) made ~~embraced~~ such a distortion of the ~~facts~~ historic facts that I for one found it difficult to remain silent, though by good self restraint, I did. For (he) claimed that ~~that~~ the constitutional changes which this country had won both in 1944 and ^{again} in 1953 were largely the results of the efforts of one person, and that person the Chief Minister (Bustamante). / ^{Now, sir,} important aspect of this distortion of history is that the ignorant accept the distortion, as is audibly evident at this moment in the House. (Government members were tittering.) But I think that the record should be kept clear in this House.

"There is only one group of persons who pioneered the agitation for the 1944 constitution. That is the historic fact and no statements on whatever occasion will alter the simple truth.

"There is no single member here present in the Majority Party who lifted a little finger to win the new constitution of 1944.

"There is not one that ever spoke one single word in favour of self government --- not one.

"Not one that ever stood on a platform and advocated a ministerial system.

"There is not one that advocated universal adult suffrage.

"There is not one that advocated an all-elected (Executive Council) --- not one single one.

"This record is the fact. I do not choose by preference to say these ~~things~~ ~~things~~ things. But I have been wondering how historians studying the materials of these times will discover what the truth was."

He deplored that "men ~~when~~ are so driven by the will to do adoration, or by fear of the circumstances, to make false statements."

By the time he was midway, the titters had ceased.

C H A P T E R

early 1955 ~~the~~ by an 18-14 majority over the JLP

HE
ROOM

The PNP won the election in ~~1954~~ ^{early 1955} after a campaign fought ~~with~~ ^{on} two fronts: opposing the powerful JLP machine with its ~~sweeping~~ ^{sweeping} arm of patronage sweeping through every constituency, and the ~~breakaway~~ ^{broken off} former ~~strongly structured patronage~~ ^{pickings} PNP members who started ~~as~~ as strong challengers in the city. It fought on a theme of self government now, ripping away at ~~a~~ ^{fragments of} the laissez faire still clinging to high places --- such as the ~~attitude~~ ^{attitude} by the Governor "who," declared Manley, "assured this House with an epigram more attractive than intelligent that self government was not a state, but a process, not a destination but a road."

Resolutely, Manley declared ^{that was} it is not a process, ^{re. the} and it is not a road, but ^{they were determined to} it is a way of life ~~and we have not achieved that way of life yet.~~

He ~~had~~ always absolutely disavowed that there was ~~any~~ section of government which Jamaicans were ⁱⁿ capable of ^{Landling.} taking over. He regarded any reserve power held by the English governor as an affront to ^{people and} the Constitution and vigorously ^{he} argued that all residual authority should ^{Day with} be removed to the ^{electd} island's parliament. That was one side of the campaign coin. On the ~~other~~ turnover was the ^{scandal-ridden Labour} Party's term in which two of its prominent members had been jailed for dishonesty in ~~their~~ ^{we're} offices and several under suspicion. The slogan ^{had} "Sweep Them Out" which the PNP adopted, ^{INSPIRED} ~~the~~ the Party workers and a ^{to be undisciplined} ~~growing~~ credibility for those voters waiting ^{for their} minds to be made up, ^{that} ~~that~~ vital ^{extra} in the voting ^{balance of} ~~was~~ of in democratic elections.

Not ~~many~~ ^{Red} ~~members~~ ^{who proved} ~~unexpectedly~~, it was the ~~ousted~~ ^{and least effective} Red-charged members ^{that} the bitterest ^{two} ~~foes~~ ^{of the} ~~lacking~~ the following of the powerful rivals, and unable to afford physical clashes, they mounted ~~an~~ attacks on the personalities of their ^{an ill judged} ~~former comrades~~; ~~their~~ ^{and} ~~slipped into~~ ^{then} ~~oblivion~~. They were never again to be politically important.*

the ring of truth into allegator.
rationale.

that vital ally in 1

in the methodic
of the lively Manley
Lovers
at
dramatic

*Ken Hill rejoined the PNP in 1963/ ~~and~~ ^{SERVED IN THE Senate} ~~won~~ ^{won} KSAC local election and served a term as Deputy Mayor of Kingston.

~~With~~ ^{conductual} ~~Manley~~ ^{communicate} ~~sat out~~ ^{had} the election night in the PNP headquarters upstairs

the Magnol House ^{in A} Slipe Road. ~~XXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXX~~ He and Edna were surrounded by the usual ^{comprised} of poets and Manley-motley, ~~XXXXXX~~ because of their several interests, ~~XXXXXX~~ politicians ^{and nonhanging nicho median} ~~XXXXXX~~ and the very ^{all lively} ~~XXXXXX~~ and dirt poor. It had been a crowded, noisy session. As the certainty of victory grew, ^{and lawyers and journalists and} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{or bore down} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{good for marching.}

began. It was a good night for an election, ^{January-cool} ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{the feeling of} ~~XXXXXX~~ (VICTORY SPEECH P.193 NETTLEFORD'S BOOK) a work accomplished against the odds of a Party in ^{office able to name} ~~XXXXXX~~ the game rules. ~~XXXXXX~~ ^{He seemed curiously fit and well rested} ~~XXXXXX~~ He was calm that night in the midst of his elated supporters. ~~XXXXXX~~ He

had ~~XXXXXX~~ founded a Party, ~~XXXXXX~~ nurtured it and shaped it and protected it in growth from some of the savagest foes ever motivated by financial greed and social power. He had seen it almost torn apart by inner strife and had held it together by ~~sheer~~ ^{self-government} force of will and intelligence. He

had come out for ^{so ancient to be sacred in the} ~~XXXXXX~~ and given not an inch to the pressures of a Colonial ^{eyes of its apologists.} ~~XXXXXX~~ (It was ^{the} ~~XXXXXX~~ 300th year ~~XXXXXX~~ since the establishment of English rule.)

at the end of the most smelling campaign he had ever fought. Learn and hear this, the last time he was ill with malaria.

March 30, 1954

(-1)

What had happened was that the Labour Party was seething over a ^{neat bit} ~~of~~ of upstaging masterminded by Manley, Ken Hill and this TUC colleaguesX during the successful Myrtle Bank Hotel strike earlier that week. The ^{exclusive} ~~old~~ hostel, sprawled for two blocks between Maiden Lane and Rum Lane on the harbour front, had never known such days. Both unions, the TUC and BITU had been locked in a struggle for representational rights. Although the indications ~~was~~ were that the TUC ^{held the loyalties of} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ most of the ~~Myr~~ hotel staff, the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ management** in a

** Myrtle Bank was owned by the Issa interests. Abe Issa, ^{was} then a political foe of the PNP in particular being a leader of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Jamaica Democratic Party badly battered at the polls and soon to be permanently abandoned.

prise move unilaterally settled with the BITU. Mr Manley was in a meeting of the ~~KSAC~~ city council's Roads & Works Special Committee when news of the settlement reached him through a copy of the ^{afternoon} ~~Express~~ Express. He reached across and tapped Ken Hill, also ^{present at} ~~present at~~ of the Committee. Hill could not believe his eyes when he saw the paper. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Hill sent out word for a workers' meeting at ten o'clock that night. ~~XXXXXX~~

News of the impending strike leaked to King's House and Governor Huggins/^{sent} ~~sent~~ for Manley. King's House was naturally perturbed for Royalty was coming to stay: Princess Alice, Chancellor of the new University College of the West Indies would be landing by naval barge at the Myrtle Bank pier. The

~~XXXXXX~~ Governor indicated that he knew ~~that~~ ^{later in the evening.} a decision whether to strike would be taken ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He was evidently very well informed from the inside of the Union plan. He asked

*The colonial army with ~~its~~ and completely moved ~~the~~ straight into it, banding a extreme union E *over three canisters*
from the Port Royal base to*

If it was, it did not remain so for long. Later that day as he conferred with Glasspole, Ken Hill and Vernon Arnett, violence erupted in downtown Kingston. The police reacted with tear gas attacks --- a few canisters landed just outside Manley's Duke Street office and he duly became a union casualty.* But * all this was doing nothing for the hotel business --- although, as Manley was to observe in the House, the Americans "with a very robust democratic tradition and very familiar with strikes" ~~took to it as part of their~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ holiday "amusement." ~~Saxthe~~

The ~~management~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ forces called for a truce and a conciliatory meeting began/~~at four in~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the afternoon, with Manley, Ken Hill and Fairclough arguing for the TUC. At 8 o'clock they were still hammering away at a formula and Manley was near to collapse from the effects of the tear gas.

A stupidity of the military command resulted in a waterbourne "invasion" from Port Royal which landed at the hotel pier. In the ensuing fracas with the pickets at the pier, A TUC man was drowned and several injured.

Negotiations continued through the night in mounting tension ~~xxxx~~ with King's House at the axis.~~and~~ At one time in the night, Governor Huggins was for calling out the military to disperse the crowd. "anleydid not argue the position except to point out that in the heightening tension the situation could get completely out of hand.~~andxxxx~~ Neither the

a development unexpected of Manley but which the old soldier solved by leading the way with his loping stride along Harbour Street. Nearing King Street, he was suddenly wondering where to go next. "It was an amusing situation," he said afterwards. "Then I had a brainwave and turned up King Street to the TUC office where a photographer jumped a camera on me and the crowd grew very excited."

He was still having the teargas headaches so after he had dismissed the crowd he walked back to the hotel ~~xx~~ and that did his head good. All was settled at the hotel and he went home gently in the early morning thinking of the lessons he had learnt. It had been 12 years since he had played the role of mediator between Busta and employers, Busta and the judiciary, Busta and the government. Since then, his Party had lost two elections and he had only just got into the House. He had been driven to gather his ~~xx~~ own worker-support to match the Party-support of Bustamante's union. Yet, in the Mytle Bank issue he had managed ~~xx~~ the role of mediator to his --- always exacting --- satisfaction. "People get deadlocked," he thought, "and do not see how small the differences are that often prevent possible settlements." But he also knew that the future of the PNF -TUC would ~~continue~~ ~~continue~~ lay along a road of tough obstacles; ~~since~~ ^{if} employees ~~would prefer~~ ^{continued preferring} to deal with the BITU, the growing strength and anger of the TUC would create explosive confrontations. The government Labour Office seemed to be labouring in futility. The Governor, he had found in the last few nights' dealings, was not clued in to workingman's issues and feelings. The unfair pressures brought on the workers would "breed mischief and the people would be blamed instead of the causes." And so to bed for a ~~x~~ short sleep before his first full day in the House. He was planning to give the Labour Party "a flea in the ear."

THE
PAGE
FROM

DIA-
RY
P.66

Mr Manley 's help in postponing the TUC strike but Manley pointed out that he had no power over the Union. The PNP leader however promised to talk it over with the Union people and advise the Governor by the Sunday morning whether a safe landing could be made at the hotel pier. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Duly on the Sunday morning at eight o'clock, Manley was at King's House advising ~~XXX~~ a Victoria Pier landing since the hotel had become "a centre of excit~~ed~~ attention." At the General Council meeting of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Party later in the day, at which ~~M~~ Dick Hart and Frank Hill were elected to the Executive, a ~~h~~ happening that was to have ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ very important consequences) the Party backed the strike but sought to have the Royal landing unaffected. * Take in "Copy A-2 Supplement" by King's House [CHAPTER] It was this recognition of the PNP power in

labour affairs and the subsequent hard, ~~and~~ successful bargaining by Manley for the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ winning TUC that laid back the ears of ~~the~~ Majority Party that day in the House. An invitation to dinner from King's House ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to Manley ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the same evening he ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~told a mass meeting outside the hotel of the PNP support,~~ was hardly likely to quicken ~~the~~ ^{the purest} feelings in the breasts of the Majority Party. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ So, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ no sooner than ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Notices of Motions were ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ reached at the first business session of the House, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Bloomfield was on his feet with his ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ own notice of censure. A few minutes later ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in an eagerness to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ quickly ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ new influence that the Party may have gained from the four or five days of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ prestigious negotiations, Bloomfield ~~was~~ ^{seconded by Bustamante,} bouncing up once again demanding a suspension of the House business to instantly activate his motion.

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He could be neglectful of his possessions. Although he liked fast cars, he was known to have been forced to wait for Newcastle to join him. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ not a drop of oil in the tank case.

CHAPTER ONE

~~My~~ grand-daughter Rachel met ~~him~~ ^{was at the door when as} he walked ~~through~~ ^{into} ~~the door~~ Drumblair in the early hours of ^{Victory Day} Wednesday morning January 13th 1955. Her eyes blurred ^{from} sleep, she had been cat napping for the return of her beloved ~~Pardee~~ "Pardee", i.e., ~~partner~~.

"Pardee," Rachel said, taking his hand, "its all over now." ^{"Pardee" was Rachel's for "pardon."}
He smiled and touched her head.

"No, ~~Rachael~~ ^{had} it ^{has} just begun," he said gently.

He ~~had~~ ^{had} begun it ~~with~~ ^{the} hour before with a statement ~~issued~~ ^{to} the ~~Daily~~ Gleaner, ^{The island's sole daily,} ~~it was~~ a declaration ~~of~~ that ~~instantly~~ ^{he was not to be} ~~immediately~~ ^{a leader of the PNP} opened his options, ~~with the bitterest~~ political campaign of his career just ended, but a leader to all the people, ~~country of his country.~~

"I stand ~~now~~ ^{now}, ~~stripped~~ ^{had} of ~~rancour~~ ^{the hour before,} or remembrance of hurt in the past and offer to one and all to go forward from here for a better Jamaica. I promise honest government and fair play for all. I approach the task (of government) with a call for unity and a prayer to God to bless our people, our country and our cause."

At that very outset also, he announced categorically that the PNP was "a moderate socialist party not committed to any rigid set of dogmas but free to explore ~~new~~ new solutions and to accept normal methods where these are best and promise most for us." ^{It was a position he had taken much earlier, back in 1940, when he had observed in almost the same words} ~~that socialism was not a rigid dogma~~ (NETTLEFORD P.62) "embodied in any finally revealed biblical text" but a principle of social organisation shaped in the end to suit the ~~ambience~~ ^{circumstance}.

He was at the peak of his ^{mental} powers ^{at} 59 years old, and ⁱⁿ ~~political~~ ^{political} ~~set~~ from 16 years in the ~~political~~ arena. Years that had pitted him against Colonial dissemblers, partisan fray and intra-party foes. All his life, he had been a winner. ^{As athlete, scholar and lawyer.} ~~By his political defeat in 1944, he had for the first time joined the ranks of the losers. It was an initial occurrence that must have irked him. "He was taken aback," O.T. Fairclough once commented wryly. With the rebuff of his Party in 1949, he had seemed in danger of slipping from legendary to legend. It had not appeared to be fair or graceful. He had supplied the intellect, vitality and faith which had propelled his people up the road to self government by way of the full vote. His proud Peoples National Party, hailed ~~as~~ ^{the} as the hope-bringer by middlebrow intellectuals and middleclasses, had been apostles of planning in government and consequently identified among the Reds by a reflexive society. Not only that. It had edged close to crumbling in the party~~

* Founder of the PNP and "Public Opinion" muck.

"The Split"

--- a purge which had left wounds that would be unhealed for years. But none of this was evident on the morning of January 13, the only occasion ~~in~~ since 1938 ~~when~~ ^{that} the power of his cousin Bustamante ~~was~~ could be said to be truly broken. ~~His majority in the House was only four.~~ Nevertheless, he entered parliament ~~with~~ ^{on} a stream of great expectations ~~from the people~~ in his wake.

The Party had, to the secret chagrin of its ~~more~~ pragmatic adherents, acquired a reputation as a home for intellectuals, projecting a relevance to youth ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ ~~half-clean shirts~~ ^{and a glint of Lenin in the eye.} ~~The thinking of~~ the day made ~~mainly~~ ^{only} ~~the slightest reference to~~ ^{race relations.} Not much in politics did. A few notables in the local chapter of ~~the~~ ^{the} Marcus Garvey's UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association), such as St William Grant, ~~and~~

~~_____~~ had thrown in with the political talk around but found little in the game to warrant a real stake. It was the period of the black civil servant going on "home leave" to England. Clerks and clerics, artists and artisans, this was the stuff of the PNP. But going to the polls for the JLP was the army of urban labourers, longshoremen, sugar estate workers whose enfranchisement had been won ironically enough by Manley. It had taken ten years for them to turn ^{their heads} to the left and see him ~~and the Socialist PNP.~~

The turn of the mass vote had come about of several causes, least of which was not the sobering intransigence of the Jamaican "small man" who enjoys ~~enjoyed~~ ~~swinging a swift~~ ~~chopper~~ ^{his} at the heels of high stepping neighbour. Issues, while not unknown in Jamaican elections, have a rarity. ~~Political~~ ^{Democratic} elections in the Americas, north south ~~and~~ ^{or} middle, ~~has~~ ^{has} an emotional enthusiasm of powerful proportions. Our tribal rituals ~~can~~ ^{may} include ~~the~~ ^{the} North America, the revolutions of the Latin assassinations of ~~American~~ ^{the} United States campaigns South, and the ~~stark~~ ^{stark} hymn-singing/conclaves of the ~~West~~ ^{West} Indian Caribbean.

But the single, universal issue that has never ~~failed~~ ^{failed} to influence ~~wherever~~ ^{wherever} the freedom of ~~political choice holds~~ ^{political choice holds}; is the ~~wallet-economy~~ ^{wallet-economy} the-- fireside-economy, or ~~the~~ ^{the} cooking-pot politics, call it what you will. ~~On polling~~ ^{On polling} the level of concern is called into account. ~~_____~~ ^{_____} If the public works have been candidly in the interests of the voting mass, the chances of being elected ~~rise~~ ^{rise}. ~~A politician's public works is what politics is about.~~ ^{A politician's public works is what politics is about.} Ulric Simmons, the ~~Gleaner's~~ ^{Gleaner's} Political Reporter, commenting on why the JLP lost the 1955 elections, said (Gleaner 13.1.55): "Too few members of the JLP paid any attention to their constituency while they were in office." He points out too that ~~"the PNP had to wait until the events of 1938~~ ^{"the PNP had to wait until the events of 1938} had been dimmed in the minds of the electorate before they could get their programme to penetrate the almost hypnotic spell which Mr Bustamante's exploits had woven into the minds of the people." ~~Mr Manley's~~ ^{Mr Manley's} combined ~~happily~~ ^{happily} with his own honest instincts and preference for agriculture, the livelihood of the mass of voters.

"Land is the only ~~source~~ ^{source} of the material life of a people," he had said a dozen years before. (Nettleford P73) ¹⁷⁴³ "It provides food and shelter.

It furnishes work and wealth. Town should support country, and country, town. But poverty in town supports nothing. It bleeds to death." So, within the week after the elections, he was announcing that, "We start with agriculture."

The island's hard times were perennial. Thousands of women domestics still slaved for five shillings (~~£50¢~~) a week in the city, less in the country. *(she would have to work for 9 days to earn enough to buy a pound of ham for her Christmas dinner.)* A labourer's day on the farm from first light to dusk brought him 40 cents. These were the fortunate ones. Figures, such as they were in the creaking British outposts where the keeping of economic statistics were discouraged, indicated that ~~one in five were workless~~ ^{one in five were workless}. The solution, Manley thought, was to multiply and increase ~~work opportunities~~ ^{work opportunities} at a fast rate. He would start with agriculture but there would be hard economic planning as they went along. He needed people. People with the knowledge of planning and ~~some kind of socialist~~ ^{some kind of socialist} dedication. He knew just the man.

He was not worried about ~~this~~ ^{thin majority (of four)} ~~four-man edge~~ in the House. "A majority of four is a working majority," he said after the election. His Party had its doubts, true, for there were ~~nervous~~ suggestions to offer the Speaker's chair to quiet, respected country lawyer Douglas, a Trelawny JLP man. ~~In the rough realities of partisan politics, the thought~~ ^{Calming their fears, he set about with speed} was footling. ~~in the rough realities of partisan politics, the thought~~ ^{and} audacity to put his team together. ~~First of all, he wanted a man with a very unusual combination of qualities and experience. He knew such a man.~~

In February 1950 ~~he had met fleetingly with~~ ^{he had met fleetingly with} Cadbury, the economic adviser and planner to the Saskatchewan (Canada) government. ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~comment on Cadbury's~~ ^{comment on Cadbury's} ~~observed his~~ ^{observed his} "fine clear mind" and that he was "a good Socialist" ~~and had~~ ^{and had} wished "we ~~had~~ ^{had} a couple of that calibre here." (DIARY P66.) ~~Cadbury was~~ ^{Cadbury was} worked out of the United Nations. Manley had kept in touch and now decided to talk with him about coming to Jamaica. * Within the week he had

*Manley ~~had~~ ^{had} always a special affinity for America --- not for its glitter but for its knack of hustle. He held a great admiration for the American blacks, the skill and determination with which even then they had begun the ~~brutally punishing~~ ^{brutally punishing} task of teaching their white countrymen the meaning of the Republic. He, in a time when the American black ~~held small~~ ^{held small} credibility among ~~the~~ ^{the} "English blacks" of the West Indies spoke often for the enlistment of the "considerable wealth, experience and ability" of black Americans, ~~to the aid of Jamaica,~~ ^{to the aid of Jamaica,} especially in the areas of tourism and industrial development. He thought that the island's tourist interests (and its state-funded Tourist Board) was neglecting this end of the market. (GLENER MARCH 30 1954)

Preoccupied ~~as~~ ^{as} though he was with the strike at Sunset Lodge hotel, Montego Bay, in which things were going badly for the Union and angered at the Bustamante government's and the Governor's banning of a railway excursion to that town (which cost the hard pressed PNP £300) he could

Within the week he had flown to the U.S.A. and secured his services. *

It was in his character that the first department of his new government to engage his whole attention was the setting up of a Central Planning Unit --- to be headed by ~~the~~ Planner Cadbury. The Unit was to be the brain of his government. ~~Nothing would enter the pipelines of his ministries without examination or more often being created by the Unit. Mr Manley had set his eye on the magic number of 150,000~~

new jobs in five years and ~~waxxx~~ intended to feed in \$55-million (\$110-m.)
to generate the jobs. ~~TAXXX** PUT IN AN APPENDIX GLEANER 19.1.55 ITS~~
~~XX~~

STAPLED IN ONE OF THE RED FOOLSCAP BOOKS.)
He had a hunger for statistics, the number of unemployed, the job-increase rate he would have to aim at, the international money market where he expected slippery footing in view of the Red-smear which had been made by Bustamante against the PNP in earlier visits

At the same time, he was reiterating his guarantees that new capital would be absolutely protected in his State. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XX~~ The input of money
 would flow from three sources, government, private capital and a combination of both. Government money would ~~ofxxxx~~ come from local and overseas loans and, of course, taxes, but not at rates that would ~~tax~~ any class out of existence. He would ~~take tax~~ ~~accept~~ policies which would stimulate development. ~~His Planning Unit was not to be established until~~
~~midyear of his first term but he in six whirlwind hours in New York, X M~~
~~he had found his man and~~

C H A P T E R

In six whirlwind hours in New York, ~~Manley had found his man.~~ ^{his slave was here -} Registering at the ^{famous old} ~~old~~ "black" Hotel Theresa in Harlem rather than in ~~expensive~~ the elaborately expensive downtown watering places that his predecessors (and successors) usually chose, he ~~maxed~~ hustled ahead of his own

He ~~beat~~* and kept Fiddi Croton by a decade when the Cuban leader ^{also} desired the to do form

Mr. Stanley ~~rose~~ rose at the majority end of the horseshoe chamber to make his acceptance speech~~x~~ and Speaker B B Coke/~~shook~~ shook his bewigged head at the gallery as a few tentative cheers were given. (Any sign of life from ^{in Parliament,} the ~~at~~ gallery ~~in parliament~~ is thoroughly frowned upon.)

It was in this first session that Mr Manley made his unforgettable
and much quoted remark, ~~the place and time which~~ the place and time which
curiously seems not
widely known.

~~responsibility that can rest on any body of men~~
~~in Jamaica~~ "At this moment, we face a period of immense opportunity. The next five years we are to achieve full self governmentX for ~~xx~~ this country (~~applause by PNP members~~). In the next five years we are to achieve a Federation of the West Indies. In the next f ve years, we are to strive with all that we have, to maintain and advance the social and economic life of the country... All my life I have carried responsibilitiesX on my shoulders, I have spent my life on many cases and now I turn my back for good and all on that life and take into my hands the case of the people of Jamaica before the bar of history, against poverty and needx/ the case of my country for a better life and freedom in our land."

The gallery stormed alive. Speaker Coke, a majestic figure & on his feet in robes and full bottomed wig, tried to still the gallery. ~~But~~ He remained just that, a figure *standing*.

c h a p t e r

Manley named seven members to his ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Executive Council (or cabinet): NNNethersole/^{(Central St Andrew,} finance), Dr Ivan Lloyd/^{(Eastern St Ann} education and social wel- fare), Florizel Glasspole/^{(Eastern Kingston,} Labour and House Leader), Wills Isaacs/^{(Central Kingston} and industry), Dr Glendon Logan/^{(Northern Manchester,} local government and housing), C.L.A. Stuart/^{(Western St Mary,} health) and A.G.S. Coombs/^{(Northwestern St James,} communications & works.)* *He [unclear] self.*

*Other PNP members in the House were:FLB Evans(Westmoreland),EVV Allen (Northern St Elizabeth), Dr Eric Campbell (Eastern ,anover), Max Carey (Eastern Westmoreland), Ken Clarke (Western St Thomas), BBCoke (Speaker, Southern St Elizabeth), Melbourne/Cox,(Northeastern St Catherine, Jonathan Grant (Southeastern St Catherine), Winston Jones (Southern Manchester), Revd Cyril Morgan (Southeastern St James).

besides being chief minister, took on the Agriculture 
portfolio.

to Colonial status." (HAN VOL 1 1955, P.122)X

we had
~~The~~ *The Self Government movement* ~~his own~~ pursuit of self rule for Jamaica had ~~been~~ stalled by the colonial ~~authorities~~, awaiting the outcome of the general election. The earlier agreements which had transcended ~~the~~ *the* ~~the~~ *the* "bounds of party politics" had not quite made it ~~impossible~~ *over* the constituency boundaries. Local constitutional advance had been linked with an increase in the number of legislative seats ~~at~~ *and* the nervous JLP ~~incumbents~~ observing the erosion ~~which~~ which had taken place ~~at~~ *at* the time of the second general elections, ~~had~~ *stubbornly* shied away from ~~creating more~~ problems for ~~itself~~ themselves. (HAN VOL 1 1955 p.122 122). The PNP-won election was a mandate to ~~Manley~~ *Manley* to go for a new constitution.

One source of intense gratification to Manley, *second* during his ~~first~~ year as Chief Minister was ~~in~~ the election of his old colleague and friend William Seivright, to the House. Comrades since the knobbly days of 1938, Seivright's previous bid for the House failed. He won the bye election caused by the ~~_____~~ and took his seat on March 6, 1956. The tall, severely elegant ~~woman~~ *baker*, of impressive dignity and unquestioned integrity, ~~whose dignity was as impressive as his integrity, was~~ a former Mayor of Kingston, ~~was handed~~ *was handed* the agricultural portfolio by Manley who could now devote himself to the politics of taking the country into self rule. (The JLP too had made a formidable ~~gain~~ *gain* with the election of Donald Sangster, later a Prime Minister of Jamaica, to its ranks on a bye election in ~~January~~ *January* 1956.)

he was finishing a delicate situation.
(A wild drunken debate by busta -- Nov 24 1955 JLP walk-out --)
Manley
The early ~~days~~ *days* entry as elected leader upon the political scene and the consequent responsibilities led ~~Manley~~ *Manley* around this time into a ~~re~~ public redefining of his politics. *Socialist* His reputation, in the rest of the Caribbean, ~~even in the years when~~ *even in the years when* he occupied the legislative wilds, had invited such public accolades as T.A. Marryshow's ~~almost~~ *almost* extravagant statement to a Jamaican audience that "we who come from the various islands are not so much interested in ~~how~~ knowing how you feel about ~~Nazran~~ Manley, for by the overwhelming suffrage of the people of the West Indies, we look to him as one who is well able to shape the future that we aspire to." (CARIB LABOUR CONGRESS inauguration Kingston Tuesday Sept 2 1947) *But* ~~But in his own land~~

1952 Edition
ing of
role of
the
A Grenadian political leader often called the "Father of W.I. Federation." stirring alleluias from his fellow ~~socialists~~ *socialists* of the West Indies had come before the ~~1952 ideological sundering of~~ *1952 ideological sundering of* in his own party. ~~XXX~~ *the* ~~the~~ *the* job is as nakedly up for grabs as ~~that of~~ *that of* the politician's and like some crazy actor on stage he must continuously explain his ~~the competition-performance must~~ *the competition-performance must* ~~role of~~ *role of* ~~the~~ *the* So borrowing a line from (former) U.W.I. Vice Chancellor Sir Arthur ~~XXX~~ *XXX* Lewis that "Socialism is about equality," (NETTLEFORM'S BOOK P.88)

he claimed that "Capital resources and capital investment (is) the only means of income tools capable of ~~improving the~~ The fact and the act. ^{new} would generate the new revenue the tackling the great problem of increasing "production and thus enlarging the State sought to heighten the quality of life in the ~~market at~~ Nkrumah guaranteed the ~~and~~ the national income and the opportunities for work and the standard of ~~whether the~~ lifestyle needed heightening. It was true that income was ~~not~~ only 30 cents a pound or contradictory" to invite capitalists investments into Jamaica, just as he would not find it "difficult ^{for government} to ~~establish~~ develop any public enterprises or establish any form of public control." He slammed into his critics, both the "muddle-headed" and the "biased" and declared:

"I am content to remain where I am, [✓]Where these seeming conflicts are resolved by accepted principle and where practical reason may safely influence methods. I remain a socialist because I have a conviction that the society the socialists believe in is just, acceptable and historically inevitable. It ^{" would} ~~will~~ come, ^{he predicted soberly; then with an impish grin: "But} but by then we may be calling it by some other name." (NETTLEFORD 88-91)

* And even at \$1314 for a sporty B.C. midget, it would require break neck financing for ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~glad~~ young man to get himself new wheels.

CHAPTER

Mr Manley did a little minor repair work to history by being the first minister to locate a ministry (~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~) outside of Kingston. He ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ moved his Ministry (of agriculture) up to Hope Gardens in St Andrew ~~and~~ (HAN 1956 Vol 1 P 27) and earmarked a bulky £4m. (~~XXXX~~ \$8m.) budget ~~but m. La. threat~~

for it. ~~But~~ ^{But} ~~it~~ ^{has} turned ~~to~~ bauxite ~~the~~
 he turned for ~~the~~ ^{his} most dramatic modifying. ^{ican-} These richest of the world's
 ore deposits had been for years reaping turning into/ ^{the} ~~the~~ North American
 owners pockets, ^{gains} ~~profits~~ more fabulous than ~~since~~ ^{those} ~~by the big entrepreneurs~~
 of ^{old} ~~Arabia~~. And an inept agreement signed by the previous government had

virtually guaranteed that they keep those ^{gross} profits. Manley found that in one company alone, Kaiser, ~~xxxxxx~~ had increased its ^{gross} ~~profits~~ in the one year 1953/54 from \$14m. to \$28m. And from these ^{net} ~~firm~~ profits, "Jamaica got the magnificent sum of £128,000." He ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{opening} ~~proposing~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ instant negotiations ~~xxxxxx~~ with the companies. ~~xxxxxx~~

But the husband's oilpipe dream failed to ~~achieve reality~~ earn ~~anything~~ reality. It was extraordinary how in those years and some to come, rumour of oilstrikes ran wild. Maybe the agreement Manley gained out of the ^{oil} exploring companies was too good: ^{to come true} a 12½% royalty, plus 40% income tax, plus 4/9ths. At any rate, The explorations turned up hope

but no economical strikes. Still, they gave hope, an ingredient that
An oil expert from Canada, James T. Canley, the ~~tanker~~^{was even brought down} ~~jailed~~ ^{another Saskatchewan man,} bountied
respected director of the in the Department of Mineral Resources to advise
on royalty assessments. One of the diggers, Base Metal Corporation, had by
June 1955 spent half a million dollars, were down 6,000 feet and had
begun another hole because they were convinced ~~a~~^{no} gusher was in
their future. (PUBLIC OPINION, June 14, 55)

head
by F.
Rivers
JR.

which because of its colonial exploited past was in a country prone to feel sorry for itself, could lay in a lot of.

It was in
had been known
that defeat of
p. must flow
out

*One Jamaican who has never felt sorry for himself was is Bustamante. Once in a debate, a cousinly dialogue emerged between the two grandsons of Alexander Shearer: Bustamante: I am from the gutter, from poverty. Manley: Dont insult your parents. Bustamante: Is it an insult to come from the gutter? Manley: They were not in the gutter. Bustamante: They were. I came from nothing. I am not like you. Your people had money and property. (HAN 56-57 Vol 1 Page 153).

It was of some moment to the establishment of new directions in the state-identity was the-kinship run-up to independence/ that two visits from heads of states to the island immediately preceded the official visit by Princess Margaret of Great Britain in February 1955. Royal Tours were not infrequent experiences to Jamaica, notwithstanding that some were minor indeed. What was unprecedented was a visit from the executives of two and countries within six months: President Tubman of Liberia and President Magloire of Haiti, at the celebrations of "Jamaica 300", marking what was allusively called Jamaica's "association" with Great Britain, the tri-centenary of British i.e.; the 300th anniversary as a colony. If the centenary could really not be allowed to go by without some reference, then a small euphenism and the visits of a couple of the Brothers, of status equal with royalty, did for it neatly. (The Ethiopian reference of the Ras Tafarians had not yet gained strength.)

But social significances aside, Manley was facing formidable obstacles in placing a chicken in every pot. He had quite quickly after his ascendance to office made clear that from his end, there would be no deterrents to migration. Although he would snap down on the loan sharks who were charging exorbitant interest on moneys advanced for travel tickets, he saw that "restriction of immigration is Britain's decision, not ours." It was his way of gaining breathing time while he tackled the problems with planning.* He was struggling with the peculiar myopia of some churchmen the high estate had/English bishop of Jamaica (Anglican) Montagu Dale saying in the press that he knew of no reason for migration since there was no poverty on the island.

the understanding of the real

sugar, teaming up with Trinidad's rotund Bertie Gomes for citrus talks in the U.K., arguing the cases for bananas in London --- and investigating the power canoes by which the lagging fishing industry would be taken further than it had ever been since the Arawak Indians. He was also living up to his earlier decision that Jamaica's socialism would be tailored to its requirements: he had sent off finance minister Nethersole to the capitalist capitals of the world, London talking up loans for a whole range of projects waiting to be done for further talks because

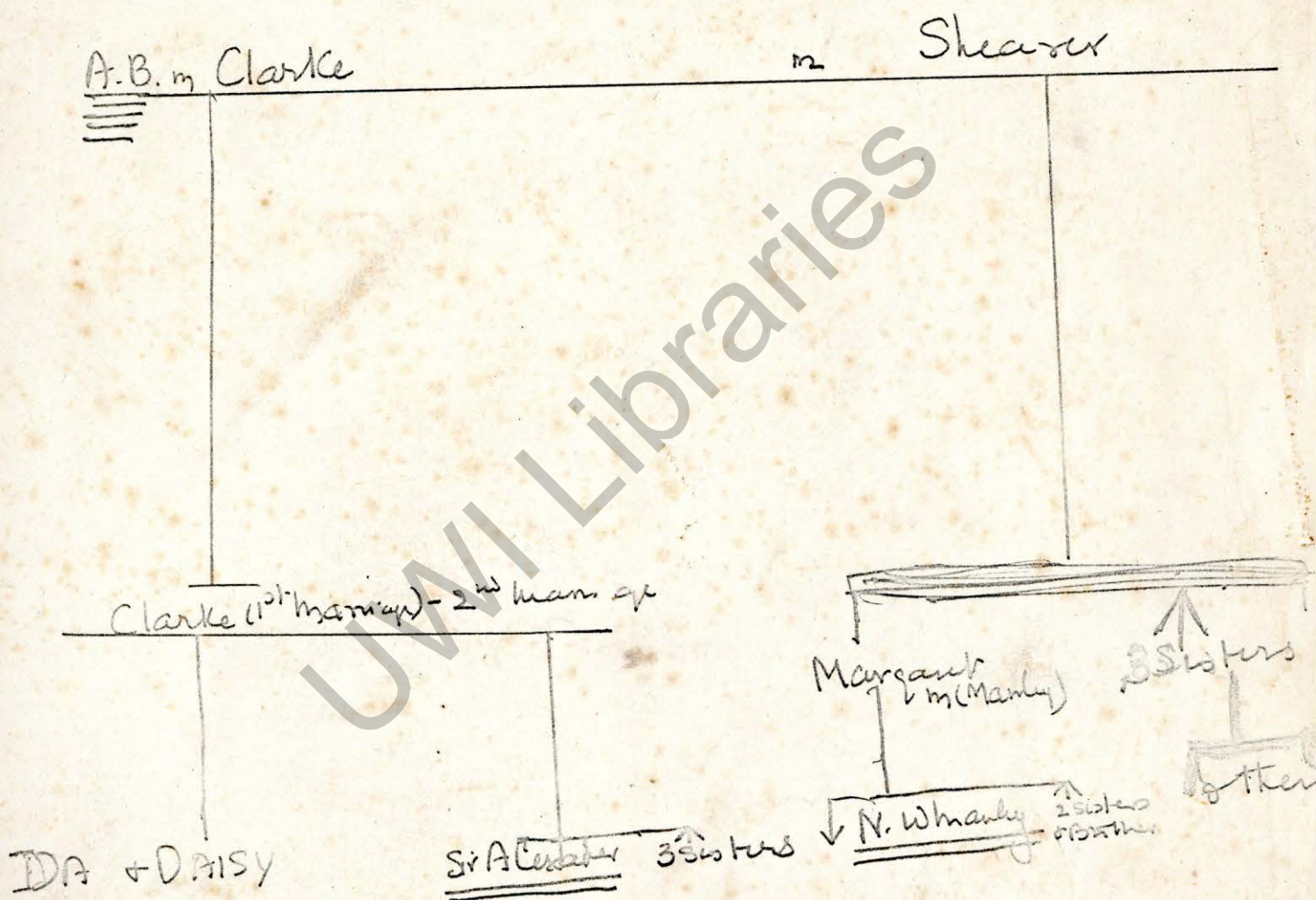
little
but you

FAMILY TREE

Sir Alexander Bustamante
and
N. W. Manley



NW A. B. is the common Ancestor, Grandmother
of Sir Alexander and N. W. Manley



Original in W. L. R. L.
Deposited 24/9/69

The Government Public Relations Office
published an official brochure in Japanese
in English and Chinese with - It is a recent
in brief of the new nation
contains a ^{short} ~~brief~~ account of the
the six decades when it would be
natural to think of its connection with
our Independence.

The Prime Minister, Sir Alexander
Pratt is given a piece of the
Six and this piece on his life begins
with the following passage
"

Taken from his
memoirs.

182 -

h 49

This is coming a little too far &
 (Anthe Mini) has thought it a
 better way to set the record
 straight of a short factual account
 of the ^{early} life of Sir Alexander. This
 is probably a case where truth
 is stronger than fiction and the
 facts better than any version of which that
 Prime Minister has said
 carefully that he built up.

At the end of this article we
 append a family tree diagram which
 shows Sir Alexander's position as
 indicates that she comes
 half-cousin to another person who also
 numbered among the six, the
 widow of the. Phoebe = Michael

In case anyone should ask where
 we got the facts ~~the answer~~
~~the facts are simple~~ ~~that this~~
 is much simpler. The Prime Minister
 had a sister Mrs. Ida Clark
 who was ^{Madam} of the Verley House,
 in the age of ^{gentlewoman} ~~four~~ ^{until} she retired
~~in 1862~~ ^{she retired} ~~this year~~ ^{80 years of}
^{she was a few months} ~~ago~~ ^{there is Mrs. Vera}
^{affiliated with} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~sister of the~~ ^{heaven of}
~~broody~~ ^{the} ~~sister of the~~ ^{heaven of}
 the ~~phone~~ ^{who can speak with}
 anything of the period ^{immediately}
 before Alexander Clark as the
 then was left ^{Jamaica} ¹⁸⁶⁰
 Of course there is the ~~heaven of the~~
~~Opponent~~ ^{himself} ~~who knows all~~
 the principal events in the ~~Prime~~
 Minister's life ~~from the first~~

4
Left Jamaica ^{or about 1905} ~~in~~ ^{at 1905} ~~in~~ ^{until} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ 1935.
his ~~not~~ final return
Here are the facts in bare outline -

Jim Alexander was born at Blenheim in 1884
(at any rate that is the date he gives,
we have not checked it). His father's
~~name~~ ~~was~~ ~~Clark~~ ~~to~~

His grandfather ~~me~~ Mr Clark
told me ~~in~~ my ~~and~~ when the
grandfather sent his grand mother
Mammy a second time to me in Shearer
who was an Irishman & became owner
of Blenheim was father of several daughters
including Margaret Ann Shearer who
became a partner at Paris where
she married a man a produce dealer of
that town.

Mr Clark son of the lady who on
~~Marion Shear~~ or
 her second marriage became a Shear,
 was himself to many worse.

He & By his first wife he
 had two children, Ida & Daisy
 & of his second wife he had 4 children
 who lived to become adults. ~~Marion~~ the girls
 Louna, Iris and Maude were
 Alexander, & the youngest, was
 the boy.

Alexander grew up in
 at an early age and as time went on
 his other Maude was adopted into
 the Shear family that had
 Belmont in St Catherine
 time Mr Margaret Maude took over
 daughter of Mr Shear and half sister
 of Mr Alexander's father

the manager of Belmont property
 in St Catharine when Mr
 Evans became blind & from
 about 1903 until her death
 in 19¹¹ she was in charge
 at Belmont which he came a
 sort of second home for the
 Clark family. In addition
 to
 many who were adopted into the household
 Iris lived at Belmont for many
 years & Lorna was herself
 a constant visitor & resident.

It was to Belmont that
 B. B. Alexander, 'Alloch' as
 he was then called, came as

9.

Between 1912 and 1922 the history
runs to South. There is no one except
himself who can say just where he
was or what he did in these years between
the ages of 28 and 38. He probably
had gone to America where he
became a magnificent engineer &
the first plumber of Jamaica that
of Sir Alexander after 1912 was
in 1922 when he had a flog
visit to the Island remaining
here for just a few weeks. It is
the fact that he arrived here from
Cuba & returned to Cuba but that is
about all that resources of an informal
can tell about him at that time.

They do speak however of his air
 of propriety in 1929, of his meticulous
 care with his dress & of his general
 slyness which showed how well
 he had absorbed the attitudes of
 a Cuban man of affairs.

Then he disappointed for
 the Jamaican then till
 1928/1929 when he was back
 again this time
 a & C term effort
 establish a life for himself
 on this one.

There were the days when
 he went into the Day business
 & made a hell of a lot of money
 effort to make a lot of that effort.

But not for long - soon he
 was off again to Cuba & somewhere
 in the early 1930's he returned

this time with the idea of
 long in for beekeeping. May
 people recall that visit & how long
 it was & how much he left.

It was after that brief episode
 that he put himself in America,
 probably in Cuba & it was in America
 in the early 1930's that

he changed his name to
Bustamanti. In the

State he was known not
as Bustamanti - but
as Alejandro Bustamanti &
there it was that he lived as
a gentleman of Spanish origin
& birth:

He there is observed also as
bearing the name Bustamanti
serves & we would suggest that
at the least he must have known
some ship captain who helped
him & whose name he chose.
We do not know, what we do know

That the name Bustamante
 is well known in Latin America
 mostly as one of the major
 leaders in the struggle for independence
 of the Spanish colonies.
 In America Sr. Alexander
 had a varied career. At one
 time he was in Boston and
 there he gave shelter to young
 Donald Pincall son of his sister
 Louis who lived with the family.
 When he was a boy a school
 went to the famous ^{Institute of Technology}
 M.I.T. at Boston
 where he graduated to become a
 highly placed ^{engineer} in the
 research field.

It was in New York that his second
 man and in about 1933 occurred.
 She was a Canadian nurse &
 the report of the marriage is in the
 Bureau of Health under the
 name Alejandro Bustamante who is described as
 Spanish origin -
 NY by after he came back to
 America to set up business
 as a money lender under the
 name Bustamante. Then
~~with a sex~~ began a series of
 letters to the press which attracted
 much attention & which
 he recalled how for long everyone
 assumed that this was a foreigner come
 to live among us.

Then ~~came~~ the tensions of
 1937 & Bustamante just
 appeared at Victoria Park under
 the auspices of the Troop
 Union that Coombs was then
 in charge of. Indeed he was Treasurer
 of the Union.
 Soon he was to stake out
 in his own ^{in 1937 and 1938.} At the age of
 54 & after a life that had
 not in it any interference
 in public affairs or in
 organizations of any sort
 he discovered a new range of powers
 & aptitudes & skills & the

16
It is part of the modern history
of fiction.

Surely this truth is far from
unacceptable than the romantic
fiction which obscures a true
story of how a man takes
life & with no hopes at a time
in all his career ^{seems} to ^{become} a
leader in his own land & here
to reach the highest that any
leader could attain.