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EDUCATION ECONOMY AND CLASS IN COLONIAL JAMAICA 1700-1944

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By

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ABSTRACT

This discussion of colonial education in Jamaica proceeds by means of the dialectical method to answer several questions. Why did schooling emerge in Jamaica? Why did it assume its characteristic forms? What social forces acted upon the educational system either as dynamic or conservative influences? The dialectical method, outlined in Chapter One, consists of a sociological account of reality on two levels; conceptually separate yet linked inextricably on the causal plane. Society, as a particular socio-historical conjuncture, has a distinct and palpable existence. Social institutions, such as education, may perform important functions in its maintenance. However, the appearance of social stasis is illusory. Dynamic processes within the social relations of production undermine existing social reality while laying the foundations of future social reality. Education, therefore, is not only static and conservative but also simultaneously dynamic and progressive. Chapter Two surveys literature on education which has been influential in forming the perspective of this work. Chapter Three examines the English educational experience from 1700-1920 whose influence on Jamaican schooling was determined by the relation of dominance and subordination between metropole and satellite. Chapter Four provides a political-economic account of the colonial Jamaican social

formation and articulates the dynamics, for example class conflict, propelling social change and hence educational change, in the colonial era. In Chapters Five and Six substantive data concerning the development of schooling in Jamaica is drawn upon to substantiate the various hypotheses entertained in this work.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This investigation of the provision made for the education of the people of Jamaica in the colonial era from 1700 - 1944 was undertaken because of the writer's interest in and concern for the contemporary state of education in that country. (which were aroused during four years spent teaching there). Taking seriously the maxim that those who do not know their history are condemned to repeat it lends purpose to a historico - sociological enterprise of this nature. The greatest vindication for the labour which has been spent in researching this thesis would be that it advances, if even by an imperceptible degree, the understanding of those who are concerned with the future of education in Jamaica and in similar peripheral formations.

The indications at the present in Jamaica of bloody civil strife (250 citizens have been killed in political - gang warfare in the first six months of 1980)¹ suggest a society which is deeply divided. Education has been and continues to be a major source of division. In 1967 only 55 out of every 1000 young people of school - age had access to secondary education.² These figures bear ominous witness to the role of education in perpetuating social division in

Jamaica. A recent analysis (1977) of the composition of the Jamaican economic elite reveals that of the 37 men with the greatest number of inter - locking directorships of companies quoted on the Jamaican Stock Exchange 29 attended a nucleus of five, old - established island High Schools.³ This pattern of mass exclusion and ruling class privilege has characterized Jamaican education throughout its history;

There was ... the special character of West-Indian education in its social aspects. The exclusion of the masses from anything save a rudimentary primary schooling, following the class bias of the British metropolitan model has already been noted; suffice it to add that contemporary West Indian educational enterprise still inherits the legacy. ... But even more dangerous was the fact that, being based on the prevalent snobberies of class and race, the West Indian school conspired to perpetuate the distrust and jealousy of the colonial social climate.⁴

This thesis seeks to articulate the disparate nature of the provision made, on the one hand for the education of the black masses of Jamaica, and on the other hand for the colony's brown and white ruling classes. Presented with the conjunction of a dichotomous educational apparatus and a clearly stratified society within the context of imperialist relations of production, the sociologist must attempt to explain the striking contradictions within education and the colonial society in general, and the power relation between the satellite - colony and the metropole - 'mother-country' which significantly conditioned these contradictions.

"In Jamaica today the prevailing conception of education ... in the social conglomerate ... (is of) ... schooling as a means of achieving status and privilege and not as a process which leads to the creation of society and history."⁵ It may nevertheless be appropriate to indulge momentarily in speculation on alternative scenarios in a thesis which consists almost totally of an indictment of particular educational system as socially divisive and based on class domination and subordination. The historical legacy of Jamaican education has been one of class privilege on the one hand and mass exclusion on the other. This dichotomous nature of Jamaican education was derived from its antecedents - the slave - plantation system which was of course also characterized by total power and privilege on the side of the masters and almost total deprivation of the slaves;- and its metropolitan parent in which educational provision for the working class was severely circumscribed. In both Jamaica and England, it will be argued, the goal of education for the ruling class was class reproduction and legitimation; for the masses mobility and personal liberation. These differing goals were never reconciled, but as one commentator wistfully remarks,

... a unique opportunity was missed in not using education to bridge the gap between the official Anglo - Jamaican society of the whites on the one hand and the Afro - Jamaican culture with its strong African survivals subscribed to by the majority of the blacks on the other.⁶

To somewhat extend this 'what might have been' scenario - had Jamaica miraculously burst the chains of imperialism which bound it to the mother country, had the bitter legacy of slavery been expunged from the social structure, had the plantation mode of production vanished without trace one night, and had white planters and black workers suddenly embraced each other in a spirit of egalitarian brotherhood; - then Jamaican education might have developed differently.

African technologies, of house - building, husbandry, agriculture and fishery, allied to European crafts such as carpentry and blacksmithing, might have formed the core curriculum of a self - help education. Literacy and science might have been legitimate foundations on which to build an indigenous technology, protective of the environment and minimally dependent on imported capital goods. Rather than stressing competition with its corollaries privilege and exclusion, such an education might have stressed the pre-capitalist social - relations which still form a vital, if weakening strand in Jamaican society - reciprocal labour expressed in planting and harvesting parties or house - construction in exchange for field labour - cooperation rather than competition.

The scenario is clearly Utopian. However, the value of conceptualizing it at all lies not so much in its probability as in its possibility. The point is that other out-

comes for Jamaican education than that which is recorded by history were logically possible. Some might have utilized the strengths of the society somewhat better. Indeed, perhaps it is not too late to learn the lesson of history and escape from its consequences. The writer's perspective on contemporary education would be that rather than pursuing the mirage of 'equality of opportunity' in education by an ever - increasing expansion of the state - system (not economically feasible for countries like Jamaica in any case) that radical alternatives to schooling (for example along the lines of the scenario above) be examined seriously.

The reason for choosing the dates 1700 - 1944 as characterizing the colonial period in Jamaican education is that prior to 1700 there is no record of any type of schooling taking place in Jamaica, either for the masters or the slaves. 1944 was chosen as the other cut-off date for this study as a new constitution which provided for universal suffrage and representative government was granted to Jamaica in that year.⁷ Thus although Jamaica technically remained a colony until its independence in 1962, educational policy in the intervening years was formulated by a national government rather than a colonial administration. Although the provision of education continued to be dichotomous efforts were made during the 1950's and 60's to increase the numbers of free secondary places. In 1972 all fees for secondary education were abolished when 'free education for all' was the proud

boast of the educational 'Thrust of the Seventies' announced when Michael Manley's People's National Party came into power.⁸ Despite this measure there has been more continuity than change in those who benefit from secondary education. The high cost of uniform, books and transportation acts as a deterrent to the low income student. The number of places remains limited and these are fiercely contested in the Common Entrance Examination held in Grade Six of elementary school. This examination tends to favour those children from the better elementary schools in urban and affluent areas, and those who are comfortable with standard English and the conventions of middle class 'westernized' culture. The social class composition of the secondary school population has probably altered little since 1944 despite nominal 'equality of opportunity'. Attendance at High School still remains a 'potent indicator of ... status'.⁹ Although continuity rather than change has marked the Jamaican educational system since 1944, nonetheless legislation and reports on education have been the work of national governments and thus properly form the subject matter of another study. This thesis will be concerned exclusively with the colonial period in Jamaican education from 1700 to 1944.

1.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

To look at education in any socio-historic conjuncture, be it colonial Jamaica, 19th Century England, or post-conquest Africa, means looking at two separate yet intertwined problems. These problems are the function of education in the social structure and the process of educational change. The two are neither mutually exclusive nor identical. Functional analysis tends to be static, whereas analysis of change, perforce is dynamic. This is just as it should be and reflects a fundamental truth about society. Society never stands still although the ruling class in a particular conjuncture may attempt to treat it as if it does. That is it attempts to preserve the existing social order which it perceives as a stasis. This is a futile endeavour. Economic development, the constant revolutionization of technology, and the struggle of classes over ownership of the means of production, all ensure that society does not stand still for long. However, the process of social change cannot be imagined as a smooth and uninterrupted flow. Quite the reverse: it is jerky and erratic, it stops (but never for long) and starts again. The same peculiar dynamic characterizes the educational system which is merely one of the super-structural out growths of the economic base and thus reflects movements there. Educational change, like social change at the most general level, stops and starts. This erratic process

demands of the sociologist a particularly complex method which we will refer to here (after Marx) as a dialectical method. At once the sociologist must focus on the functions which education is intended to serve by a particular class in a particular conjuncture, and at the same time he must chart the dynamic processes of class conflict and economic change which undermine that educational stasis and lay the foundation for its successor. Thus the sociology of education must embrace both functionalist and conflict theories and synthesize them to provide an analytic tool of sufficient power - that is, the dialectical method - in order to comprehend the elusive process of education.

To state that education functions to maintain social order is inadequate. Rather, education may function to maintain class society. Once the dimension of class is added the apparent contradiction between the static (functionalist) and dynamic (conflict) modes of sociological analysis is resolved. To state that education may function to maintain the social order of class society, then, is merely to assert that education may function in the interests of the ruling class in a particular historical conjuncture. Such a function is achieved through the monopoly of state power of the ruling class to reproduce and legitimate the existing relations of production, to maintain the ruling class qua ruling class, and thus to perpetuate its ownership and control of the means of production. However, the appearance

of this hegemonic function of education as a stasis is illusory. In reality the alignment of ruling class, educational apparatus, and social control/reproduction of social relations, is a fragile one. Inevitably the antagonistic social relations of class society throw up a challenge to the ruling class in the form of ideologies which are antagonistic to the ruling ideology. An antagonistic ideology may espouse a contradictory interpretation of the function of education and can take different concrete forms. For example the ruling class may propose reform which the working class rejects, or the working class may put forward demands for reform which the ruling class rejects. However, the ruling class rejects working class demands (or over-rules working class objections) only at the risk of intensifying class conflict. More characteristically the ruling class tactic is to grant reforms, or the appearance of reform, in order to placate the working class and thus return once again to an uneasy stasis. However, it is unwise to forget that class conflict is not a battle between equals. The ruling class monopolizes both the repressive apparatus (law, police, militia) and the ideological apparatus (media, education) of the state. The working class equivalents to the state apparatus, for example strikes, riots etc. on the one hand and working class controlled media (newspapers, flyers and pamphlets) on the other, are seldom as powerful under non-revolutionary conditions. Thus the ruling class clearly has

the power to influence the structure of education in its own interest within limits. (Those limits being imposed by class conflict). Under a revolutionary intensification of class conflict it may be hypothesized that the dismantling of the state by the proletariat would dissolve the power-differential and allow the working class to take over the educational apparatus.

At this point we can summarize what can be called the static or functionalist theory of education. Education in a particular social conjuncture may function as a tool of the ruling class, designed by the ruling class in its own interests, to maintain social order, that is to legitimate and reproduce existing relations of production. To arrest the analysis of education at this point is inadequate and accepts ruling class ideology 'education functions to maintain social order' as a social fact. Such a static analysis is incomplete without its essential dynamic corollary - the analysis of educational change.

At the most general socio-historical level structural change in education result from changes in the economic base, that is, from modifications in the mode of production and hence transformed social relations of production. This overall structural analysis is inadequate if it is emphasized to the exclusion of other factors. It is not only economically determinist but also reverts to functionalism in its implication that once new relations of production obtain then education merely functions to legitimate and reproduce those

relations. To take this view is to ignore the dimension of class struggle which is a prerequisite element in the very transformation of the relations of production. The existence of class struggle necessarily indicates the presence of antagonistic ideologies. Superstructural changes, for example in education, do not proceed simply on a correspondence principle from changes in the substructure. Rather there intervene in this process the factors of class conflict and ideological mediation. To summarize our theory of educational change it can be stated in brief that educational change may be understood as a process of political conflict among definite social classes. This conflict is structured, in the first instance, by social relations of production, but in addition it takes place in and through ideological forms which are not independent of, but also not reducible to, social relations of production. In an attempt to ground the preceding theoretical discussion in social reality brief consideration will now be given to the educational developments in England and Jamaica which are discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

English bourgeois theorists from Adam Smith in the late 18th Century to Jeremy Bentham and James Mill in the first decades of the 19th Century had advocated the extension of education to the working class. They believed this was necessary for the expansion and preservation of the capitalist order. Workers they argued, had to be sufficiently enlightened intellectually to recognize that their own best interests

would be served by submission to factory discipline and the wage form. However, the bourgeois advocacy of education conflicted with the ideology of the Tory, High Church, land-owning ruling class. The ruling class controlled such education as there was (which wasn't much), and believed that the extension of education to the masses was potentially detrimental to social order.¹⁰ The function of education (or of restrictions upon it) in the social conjuncture was the legitimation and reproduction of existing social relations. Both the underlying social relations and the educational apparatus were under attack by the ascendant bourgeoisie. Although the over-determining dynamic was a revolution in the relations of production caused by the decay of an agricultural, rent-based mode of production and the emergence of an industrial, wage-based, mode of production the ideological conflict over education is not reducible to this substructural transformation. Rather, class struggle, expressed in ideological forms, continued for the first three-quarters of the 19th Century; on the one hand between the land-owning ruling class and the industrial bourgeoisie and on the other hand between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Education remained in contention throughout the period. It was not until the Education Act of 1870 that the bourgeoisie even approximated to educational hegemony by obtaining a substantial measure of state control.¹¹ By this time the capitalist mode of production had been dominant in England for several decades.

This lag illustrates the importance in documenting class conflict over education and not assuming a simple structural correspondence between relations of production and education.

The case of colonial Jamaica provides an equally apt illustration of the insights and limitations of both structural and class conflict analyses of education. In Chapter Two can be found a detailed discussion of the political economy and class structure of colonial Jamaica. Its conclusion is that the plantation mode of production and its social relations of production were dominant throughout the period 1700-1944. The labour requirements of the sugar-plantation demanded only minimal skills from the majority of its labour force, approximately 70%. Apart from the owners and managers who represented less than 5% of the total, the remaining 25% represented various levels of supervisory, domestic and craft-skills.¹² The reproduction of plantation labour power, at least during slavery and throughout most of the 19th Century, was adequately carried on by forms of 'education' other than formal schooling. Socialization through childhood labour ensured the reproduction of the unskilled plantation labour force. Apprenticeship systems and father-son, mother-daughter, skill transmission reproduced the more skilled positions.¹³ In the initial absence and later only partial provision of formal schooling it was evident that it was other social control mechanisms which were responsible for maintaining an uneasy social order.

The naked repression of slavery with its whips, torture and death was supplanted after Emancipation by merely veiled repression. The ruling-class planters near monopoly of the means of production was maintained by restrictive legislation on land tenure, and by the more blatant tactics of evictions, house-burnings and crop-destruction.¹⁴ This forced the greater part of the newly freed slaves into seasonal wage-labour at starvation wages. The low-level of wages compelled this new working class to occupy a marginal economic location: partially dependent on wage-labour and during out of crop season subsisting on wretched tracts of land. The necessary exploitation of children's labour served the function of socializing and reproducing the next generation of labour power. The desperate conditions endured by Jamaica's peasant-proletariat provoked sporadic class conflict during the 19th and 20th Centuries and in the search for betterment (at least for their children) the Freedmen increasingly turned to the missionary schools. However, the very existence of these schools is a problem for structural analysis. Why was there any provision of elementary education at all 19th Jamaica? Relations of production alone did not seem to require it as their reproduction could be carried on quite securely without resort to formal schooling. Yet between the late 18th Century and the beginning of this century a well developed elementary school system appeared. Why?

Within the confines of Jamaican society, dissenting missionaries represented an ideological position and material practice which was in conflict with the planter ruling class. They provided a rudimentary service of elementary education in spite of the minimal nature of skill requirements in the labour force, the apparent redundancy of schooling as a form of social control in a repressive society, and the active opposition of the planter ruling class which favoured strategies of repression in its dealings with the masses rather than strategies of reform and enlightenment. Apparently, then, the emergence of missionary education illustrates an instance of the primacy of ideological forms over relations of production. However, the ideological position of the missionaries requires more than casual scrutiny. While ostensibly their vocation was to spread the gospel by promoting sufficient literacy to read the Bible. They were in fact emissaries of English bourgeois ideology. This can be gathered from statements they made. "It is found that education is as necessary for the negro, for the master and for the country, as ignorance and the whip were before..."¹⁵ Another missionary educator wished to "point out the importance of immediate and vigorous efforts to enable them (children of freed slaves) to read for themselves the Holy Scriptures the best and only sure foundation of social order, industry and happiness."¹⁶ The missionaries own ideology was just as much structurally constrained as that of the planters.

The ultimate structural determinants of both ideologies were the relations of production which were dominant in their respective societies. Thus although the apparent contradiction between Jamaican plantation relations of production and the emergence of education suggests the causal primacy of ideological forms in fact The social origin of missionary ideology demonstrates the ultimate over-determination of ideological form by relations of production. Jamaica's colonial status and subordinate position within imperialist relations of production permitted extraneous ideological forms to exercise disproportionately greater influence than would have been the case in a metropolitan country.

Missionary initiatives created a system of elementary education in defiance of the social relations of the dominant plantation mode of production. The planter ruling class ideology was antagonistic to this missionary educational provision. This opposition was initially expressed crudely through intimidations and obstructionism.¹⁷ After the demise of the Negro Education Grant which was paid until 1845 by the Metropolitan government, the planters used their domination of the Jamaican Legislative Assembly to restrict the expansion of elementary education through budgetary constraints.¹⁸ Simultaneously expenditure on secondary education which was of sole benefit to the ruling class was increased. After 1865 when the Legislative Assembly was dissolved and more direct Crown-Colony government by governor and advisory body

was introduced the ruling class attempted to modify elementary education. This was done primarily by proposals to 'vocalize' the elementary schools by introducing low-level agricultural training. The intention was clearly to remove the perceived contradiction between the existing form of elementary education which was seen as "bookish" and the labour-needs of the plantations. Successive attempts to reform elementary education in this direction were made between 1865 and 1920.¹⁹ All were met with stout resistance by the Jamaican working class which sought to keep elementary education as an open-route of social mobility even to low-level white collar work such as elementary school teaching. This "consumer resistance" embodied in a united front of parent, teacher and student frustrated all attempts that were made to turn the elementary school into a blatant factory for the reproduction of plantation labour power.

As the mode of production in Jamaica remained static although to some extent decaying (particularly with the triumph of laissez-faire capitalism in England after 1846) during the 19th the search for a dynamic behind educational change must go elsewhere. Principally, as the agents responsible for introducing elementary education, the missionaries must be regarded as the vanguard for an ideological penetration of the periphery. Educational forms developed in the imperial state were implemented in a colony where conditions of production were quite different. Consequently the satellite

ruling class came into conflict with the agents of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. The planters were understandably anxious about the potential dysfunctions which a system of elementary education might introduce into the production of labour power. With the eclipse of planter political power and the extension of metropolitan bourgeois hegemony, manifest in the form of Crown Colony government in 1865, the Jamaican ruling class had lost the first round in the struggle over education. Elementary education was in Jamaica to stay and planter efforts were now restricted to attempts to modify the system to better suit the conditions of production and ruling class interests. These efforts resulted in conflict with the working class over agricultural education. The focus of class conflict over education had moved from that between missionaries and planters over the provision of elementary education to that between planters and workers over the nature of elementary education. However, the extent, the structure and the content of the educational system as a whole were not called into question during the 19th Century, In these dimensions of Jamaican education the importance of a functionalist analysis becomes clear as the limits to class conflict over education are delineated.

The extent of elementary education while no doubt enlarged by the 'multiplier' effect of working class demand was nevertheless simultaneously restricted by plantation relations of production. Those of the Jamaican population who were

most dependent on the plantation for their livelihood in the 19th Century (as today) were also the poorest. They were least likely to have access to even elementary education as parents were dependent on child-labour and lacked even the limited (though significant in the context of absolute poverty) resources necessary to pay the few pence school fees and to buy clothing and shoes.²⁰ Thus even colonial relations of production played a determining role in restricting the extent of elementary education although of course this determination was weakened by the extraneous ideology of the missionaries which provided schools and in turn by working class demand. Behind the missionary educators was the ultimate over-determination of metropolitan relation of production. As the Jamaican plantation-proletariat only partially had access to elementary education with the poorest stratum being largely excluded, elementary education functioned (by exclusion) to reproduce unskilled labour power, and to legitimate such reproduction. Furthermore the invidious distinction between barely educated and uneducated strata played the role of "divide and rule" among the working class. This further functioned to reproduce existing social relations of production.

The basic structure of the educational system in colonial Jamaica was dichotomous: secondary and elementary. (although taking into consideration the poorest stratum which was excluded altogether there is some warrant for considering the structure as trichotomous). The dichotomy between

elementary and secondary sectors, by replicating the social relations of production, functioned to legitimate and reproduce those relations. The extent and structure of the educational system in the 19th Century were not issues of contention between the social classes in Jamaica once the provision of elementary education was a fait accompli. Thus there is scope in their analysis for a functional perspective although a functionalism rooted firmly in the recognition of class-society, the differential interests of social classes, and the power differential between the ruling class and the subordinate social classes. Stasis or equilibrium is, however, short-lived and the institutional forms which serve the functions of reproducing class society became potentially dysfunctional in this respect when class conflict over the institutional forms re-emerges and intensifies to the point of social disorder. This is exactly what happened in Jamaica in the two decades leading up to the island-wide unrest of 1938. Political, economic, and educational forms came under attack by an increasingly militant working class and a bourgeois nationalist middle class. The recommendations of the Moyne Commission in 1938 represented concessions wrung from the metropolitan ruling class in this fledgling struggle for national liberation from British rule. However the reforms which were granted; among them universal suffrage, a nationally elected legislature, guaranteed trade-union rights; functioned more to consolidate middle class rule and to coopt

the ruling class into bourgeois-nationalism than to address the wrongs suffered by the Jamaican working class which had provoked the unrest in the first place.²¹

This was perhaps particularly true of the educational reforms suggested by Moyne. The overall expansion and improvement of both elementary and secondary sectors created an illusion of working class progress. In reality due to educational inflation, or credentialism, educational qualifications at every level have lost their value relative to social mobility and the occupational hierarchy. A clerical position which would have been filled by a bright elementary-school graduate in 1911 demanded a high school graduate in the 1960's and today requires a B.A. The mass of working class children who would have been unschooled in the 19th Century, gained access to the elementary schools in the 1960's and 50's. Simultaneously, the legitimating institution for the ruling class became the university (preferably a foreign one for la creme de la creme) rather than the High School. Thus the extent and structure of Jamaican education have tended to guarantee a continuity in legitimating and reproducing the social relations of production over the years. Educational reform-expansion granted as a concession by the ruling class in the face of class struggle has to be seen as merely ameliorative and not (as has often been proclaimed by Jamaican politicians) egalitarian.

This analysis of the extent and structure of Jamaican

education in the 20th Century has tended to emphasize the over-arching functional importance of the school in maintaining social order and to point out the limited repercussion of class conflict on these dimensions. To redress this balance somewhat it is instructive to step beyond the historical parameters of this work and to examine briefly more recent development. Over the last 20 years there has been increasing lawlessness truancy and drug-taking in Jamaican schools. This is particularly true of the secondary sector and has reached epic proportions, particularly in large urban centres. Political movements such as Black Power and the anti-authoritarian messianic Rastafarian cult have taken firm roots in youth both in and out of school. Political gangs draw their numbers from disaffected adolescents who have either dropped out or who lead a double life. It is possible that this contradictory potential could signal the emergence of a new working class struggle out of which education could emerge profoundly transformed. This somewhat speculative discussion is included to underline the point that functional analysis has the inherent weakness of treating an institution at a particular historic conjuncture as a stasis and thus of neglecting the dynamic potential which is present at all times. At all times the opposing but complementary realities of social structure and social change should be taken into account in sociological analysis.

In concluding this theoretical introduction it is

appropriate to state the major hypotheses which this work sets out to demonstrate. First there are various hypotheses which relate to the perception of education as a static phenomenon. Of course nothing social is static: the social process is dynamic. However in any historical conjuncture which can be seen as a class society the ruling class attempts to exercise a conservative influence to preserve itself as ruling class. One of the major agencies for the reproduction and legitimation of social relations of domination-subordination is the educational apparatus. The 'static' hypotheses relate to the functions played by an educational apparatus in the maintenance of existing class order and thus in the service of the ruling class. These hypotheses are made confidently taking into account the power of the ruling class and more specifically its monopoly of the repressive apparatus of the state and the ideological apparatus of the state. Nevertheless the hegemonic function of the ruling class is both historically specific and subject to dialectical constraints. Under revolutionary conditions it would be dismantled and even in a class society it must bend to accomodate the demands of antagonistic classes. This said there is evidence in the two societies, both England and Jamaica, examined in this work which confirm the 'static' or 'functionalist' hypotheses. The core hypothesis is that colonial education in Jamaica functioned to legitimate and reproduce the social relations of production. The peripheral hypotheses relate to

'how' this worked. Firstly, colonial education in its dichotomous structure replicated the social relations of production. Secondly, on a smaller scale the organization of the classroom and the individual school replicated the social relations of the larger society.

The second set of hypotheses which this work sets out to demonstrate assume the dynamic nature of education, that is they attempt to account for educational change. The core hypothesis here is that educational change is over-determined by changes in the relations of production. The secondary hypothesis, which, however, may assume primary importance in accounting for educational change in a colonial formation, is that the primary determination above is modified by class conflict and ideological mediation. Thus there is not a straight correspondence between changes in the mode of production and its social relations and changes in the educational apparatus. Rather there intervene ideological forms which may take the form of debates, philosophical writings, solidary associations, and educational movements etc., which are nothing but the concrete manifestations of class struggle. It is the contention of this work that it is only through an understanding of both 'static' and 'dynamic' aspects of education that we can arrive at a truly dialectical understanding of the problem. However, the hypotheses outlined have not emerged in vacuo. Although the synthetic approach attempted here may have elements of novelty the individual hypotheses

have emerged in sociological writings over many years. The next chapter turns to a consideration of some of the writings which have been influential in formulating the theoretical point of view of this work. These writings are roughly divided into two major sections. Firstly there is a survey of the sociological studies which encourage us to look at education as a stasis and to examine the functions which it performs at a particular historical conjuncture. Secondly there is an examination of some of the works which view education as a dynamic institution constantly responding to changes in social structure.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

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17. Robb, op. cit. p. 96.
18. Gordon, op. cit., p. 38.
19. Trevor Turner, 'Objectives and Provisions for Agricultural Education: The Case of Colonial Jamaica, 1867-1920' in Vincent D. Oyley and Reginald Murray, Development and Disillusion in Third World Education. The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1979, pp. 66 ff.
20. Brown, op. cit., p. 82.
21. Ibid, pp. 93-116.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 THEORIES OF EDUCATION AS STASIS

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM: One of the classical formulations of the structural-functionalist account of education is Talcott Parson's Essay, 'The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society', in which he states that:

(education) ... functions to internalize in its pupils both the commitments and capacities for successful performance of their future adult roles and functions to allocate these human resources within the role structure of adult society.¹

Parsons posits a direct correspondence between the functions of education and the structure of society, theorizing that successful socialization via education will ensure continued value consensus and hence social order. This harmonious equation, however, seems singularly lacking in equipment for dealing with educational conflict.

The structural-functionalist thesis seems especially weak in this area, and particularly so in the context of the substantive concerns here - of the educational institution in 19th Century Jamaica. There, conflict rather than consensus characterized the society. Both in colony and metropole throughout the century there was profound conflict over the provision and nature of schooling.² In England, the Tory,

Anglican, Aristocratic ruling class staunchly opposed provision of elementary education for the working class in opposition to the Dissenting Bourgeoisie who held it indispensable for order in the emergent industrial society.³ Similarly, in Jamaica, the plantation owners opposed education for their slaves while the Dissenting missionaries supplied it defiantly. Debates about the quality, quantity, nature, extent and scope of education were rife in both England and Jamaica throughout the 19th Century and will be examined in later chapters. The Structural-functionalist theory of education has rendered sociology a valuable service in articulating the connections between education and other major social institutions such as the economy and the polity.⁴ However, its failure to account for conflict and change limit its usefulness as a theoretical paradigm for this study.

NEO-MARXIST STRUCTURALISM While functionalism operates on the assumption of societal consensus and thus omits the conflicting interests of various social classes, structuralism recognizes the reality of class society but accords a superordinate role to the ruling class. By their emphasis on the hegemonic function of the ruling class, structuralists tend to become as 'functionalist' as the functionalists. That is, they emphasize the function of education in legitimating and reproducing existing relations of production or in other words its 'social control' function. Joel Spring has said that 'The concept of social control was

one that existed early in American education ... In a sense the American revolution replaced the use of force with education as a means of maintaining social order.⁵ Structuralists tend to stress the functions of education - the ways in which education is used to prevent social change and to prevent political conflict. They tend to neglect the dynamic dimension of class-conflict in the social equation, and to ignore the role played by different class ideologies and institutions in shaping educational provision. For them education is a tool of the ruling class, designed by the ruling class in its own interests, and functioning quite apart from any activity on the part of the proletariat. Thus it is appropriate to categorize the structuralists alongside the functionalists as theoreticians who adopt a 'static' perspective.

The structuralists, however, move beyond the functionalists in recognizing class society. The key insight they present: the legitimated and reproductive functions of education: is a seminal one in the sociology of education. Although they stress the hegemony of the ruling class at the expense of neglecting other classes which are in struggle with the ruling class they are nonetheless correct to point out the power differential which exists between the dominant and subordinate classes. While the ruling class may not exercise absolute hegemony, its possession of a monopoly over the repressive and the ideological apparatus of the state, enables it to act as if it does. It is in this aspect of ruling

class behaviour that structuralist analysis offers the most powerful heuristic devices to the sociologist. In a particular historical conjuncture the sociologist must use the structuralist insights concerning education - that it functions to legitimate and reproduce the social relations of production - in order to understand the educational intentions of the ruling class. That these intentions may be thwarted, subverted or simply ignored are questions that lie beyond the competence of structuralist analysis.

Louis Althusser has probably been the most influential member of the structuralist school. He treats the educational system as a facet of the ideological apparatus of the state. As such it is functional in maintaining the capitalist order. In his essay 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses',⁶ Althusser sees education as facilitating capitalism in two major ways; firstly, by reproducing the social relations of production and secondly, by reproducing labour power.

the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, i.e. a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression. ...it is by an apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped up in the massive inculcation of the ideology of/the ruling class that the relations of production in a capitalist social formation, i.e. the relations of exploited to exploiters and exploiters to exploited are largely reproduced.⁷

Althusser unites and articulates two important strands of theory which illuminate the role of colonial education in Jamaica. The first is the reproduction of skilled labour power, and of more relevance in a context where minimal skills sufficed for production, the reproduction of the submission of labour power. The second is the dichotomous structure which emerges from the need to reproduce two differing orientations to the ruling ideology, on the one hand for the ruling groups that which is necessary to dominate; on the other hand for the colonized masses that which promotes submission. It is necessary to distinguish between education as social control of the masses and education as training to dominate for the ruling groups. Both are necessary to the maintenance of capitalist social order and insofar as both perform this function both can be conceived of as forms of social control. However, they are of qualitatively quite different types, and give rise to two distinctive variants of schooling as the descriptions which follow in the later chapters of this thesis will demonstrate.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in their seminal work Schooling in Capitalist America.⁸ substantially follow a structuralist position. Although they elaborate at some length a theory of educational change in Part III of their book (which will be examined in Section 2.2 below) their basic premises are structuralist and offer the insights while suffering from the same limitations as other structuralist

analyses. Bowles and Gintis argue convincingly for the central role of schooling in the maintenance of the capitalist social order, principally by means of legitimating and reproducing the social relations of production and reproducing labour power. In this they go no further than Althusser and like him they neglect the crucial dimension of class struggle. The proletariat became mere victims, devoid of subjective life and ideological production, passive sacrifices on the altar of capitalism. The ruling class is all powerful, and manipulative, wielding education as a simple weapon of repression:

To reproduce the labour force, the schools are destined to legitimate inequality, limit personal development to forms compatible with arbitrary authority and aid in the process whereby youth are resigned to their fate.⁹

The emphases, which are not in the original, have been added to demonstrate the mute and neutered image of the working class which proceeds from this type of analysis. However, the strengths of Schooling in Capitalist America lie not in the static implications of a simplistic structuralism but rather in the considerable theoretical elaboration of structuralist principles which appears principally in Chapter 5, 'Education and Personal Development: The Long Shadow of Work.'¹⁰ Bowles and Gintis summarize their argument as follows:

.... we must consider schools in the light of the social relationships of economic life. ...we suggest that major aspects of educational organization replicate the relationships of dominance and subordinacy in the economic sphere. The correspondence between the social relation of schooling and work accounts for

the ability of the educational system to produce an amenable and fragmented labour force. The experience of schooling and not merely the content of formal learning, is central to this process.¹¹

Rather than merely asserting the functional role of the school in the reproduction and legitimation of the relations of production Bowles and Gintis attempt to articulate the processes through which reproduction and legitimation take place. The principal process mediating between education and the maintenance of the capitalist social order is the so-called 'Correspondence Principle'.¹² Stated most simply the correspondence principle is that the social relations of school correspond exactly to the social relations of work and society at large or alternatively that the social relations of school replicate the social relations of production in general. Bowles and Gintis use the two terms inter-changeably. The correspondence principle works in this fashion. The hierarchi-
cal relations of the work-place (from company president to shop-floor worker, etc.) are replicated in the school (from administrator to student, etc.) together with their associated vertical lines of authority. The alienated labour of the worker similarly is replicated by that of the student who, like the worker, lacks control over his work, is alienated from its content, and is motivated not through the intrinsic satisfaction of working but through external rewards (grades). The fragmentation of the working class by differential pay rates, promotion, racism and sexism is replicated in the

school through the destructive competition for grades which breeds individualism and a belief in the validity of meritocratic ranking systems. Beyond this order of replication there is a more general way in which the overall educational structure corresponds to the relations of production.

The various different levels of the educational structure 'feed into' different levels of the occupational structure. Corresponding levels stress similar social relations. Thus at the lowest levels of schooling authoritarianism, rule-following, obedience and punctuality are behavioral desiderata. Clearly these correspond to the desired behaviours for shop-floor workers. The intermediate levels of schooling (roughly equivalent to the upper grades of high school) emphasize dependability and the capacity to operate without direct supervision. These qualities correspond to the requirements of supervisory, white-collar and low-level management positions in the work-force. (Given the rate of 'educational inflation' these positions are probably equally well served by university schooling to the B.A. standard in non-elite institutions). Elite schools stress the corporate spirit and the internalization of managerial norms. Their correspondence to the hierarchical division of labour needs no explanation.¹³

It is from Bowles and Gintis' theoretical sophistication of the structuralist paradigm that this work gained analytic tools which provided an understanding of the ways in

which the educational structure served the interests of the ruling class(es) through its reproductive and legitimative functions. The Reverend John Sterling, writing a report on West Indian education in 1835, argued persuasively in classical bourgeois terms for the extension of elementary education as a means of social control malgre the planter opposition:

For although the negroes are now under a system of limited control, which secures to a certain extent their orderly and industrious conduct, in the short space of five years from the first of next August.¹⁴ Their performance of the functions of a labouring class will depend entirely on the power over their minds of the same prudential and moral motives which govern more or less the mass of the people here. If they are not so disposed as to fulfil these functions, property will perish in the colonies for the lack of human impulsion.¹⁵ (emphases added.)

Given that West Indian education was designed by those who provided it as an instrument of social control it should not be surprising to find Bowles and Gintis' 'Correspondence Principle' at work here. Their argument that the experience of schooling, through the internalization of its social relations, is more crucial in the reproduction of relations of production than the content of schooling, is well supported by their historical evidence. The moral (or non-cognitive) objectives of schooling were paramount for the ruling class promoters of mass education in 19th Century America:

The object of education is by no means accomplished by mere intellectual instruction. It has other aims of equal if not higher importance. The character and habits are to be formed for life ... The habit of attention, self-reliance, habits of order and neatness, politeness and courtesy... habits of punctuality.¹⁶

Clearly for the mill-owners of Massachussetts it mattered little what the workers learned in school so long as they emerged with a mind-set which suited them for the factory. Similarly in Jamaica structure was probably of more import than content. Sterling obviously laid stress on the ethical, "prudential and moral motives" and the functional, "fulfill these functions", rather than the cognitive. In this work it will be suggested that the social relations within elementary schools (characterized by an authoritarian relation between a teacher and his huge class) replicated the social relations outside the school walls. The overall structure of education of Jamaica, extremely inegalitarian, maintained a few elitist 'high-schools' for an extremely small percentage of children while catering for the vast majority in ramshackle elementary schools. Many more working class children were excluded altogether by their poverty and their parents' dependence on their labour. Thus the pattern of educational provision replicated the extremely unequal social relations produced by the plantation mode of production.

There is a profound logical problem, however, in equating replication/correspondence with reproduction.

It is valid to state that the social relations of school replicate the relations of production. Most people will grant this after even a cursory glance at any educational system. It is even valid, provided historical documentation is produced in evidence, to assert that such replication was purposely built into the school by ruling class educators who were seeking to safeguard their own class interests in this way. That is, that it was their intent to reproduce the relations of production. However, to go beyond intent to achievement is invalid and accords a deterministic role to schooling which it is impossible to support. It is at this juncture that once more the limitation of structuralism and its insensitivity to class conflict appear. No matter how rigorously the ruling class attempts to control schooling, how absolute is its monopoly over the ideological apparatus, contradictory tendencies will emerge. Dissent in the Soviet Union and the emergence of Solidarity in Poland are cases in point. In societies which are less centralized, less dominated by a state-bureaucratic ruling class, of course, there is much greater opportunity for incongruence to emerge between the replicative and reproductive functions of education. On the other hand the simple presence of class conflict does not rule out the probability that there is a tendency for the replication of social relations in the school system to favour their reproduction. Once again the essentially dialectical nature of the educational system is emphasized.

Thus while recognizing the contribution that Bowles and Gintis 'correspondence principle' has made to this sociological analysis of Jamaican education it is necessary to be aware of the deterministic pitfalls in their theory which await the unwary.

2.2 THEORIES OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

In arriving at the 'dynamic' hypotheses concerning educational change which have been discussed at some length above in the section 'Theoretical Perspectives' this work has been influenced by three major authorities. Max Weber, in his discussion of change in social institutions¹⁷ outlines the processes of domination and assertion through which pluralistic groups in society attempt to obtain or maintain hegemony over particular institutions. Weber's theoretical insight here provides the basis for the theory of ideological mediation between structural change and institutional transformation. Secondly Bowles and Gintis in Schooling in Capitalist America offer in Part III "The Dynamics of Educational Change" a structuralist model of educational change in the U.S.A. between the 18th and late 20th Centuries. Their theory "that changes in the structure of education are associated historically with changes in the social organization of production,"¹⁸ provides the basis for an understanding that the prime mover in the transformation of education has been the underlying mode of

production and its shifts. The third major influence on our theoretical perspective has been the work of the British historian Brian Simon, particularly his Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870.¹⁹ His rigorous (if implicit) application of Marxist principles to the historical study of education has done much to clarify the conception of class struggle in this work.

WEBERIAN CONFLICT THEORY: Originally derived from Max Weber's writings on education in China, the theory has recently been resurrected by Vaughan and Archer²⁰ in England and Randall Collins²¹ in the U.S.A. to account for educational change in their respective societies.

In his discussion of Confucianism Weber suggested that educational systems can be broadly divided into three ideal types classified according to their content and control. The earliest type of education is based on heroic/magical content and on charismatic control, the intervening type on a content of 'cultivation' and traditional control, the most modern type on specialized expert training and rational - bureaucratic control.²² Vaughan and Archer suggest that English education in the first half of the 19th Century resembled the intervening type and sought to produce 'cultivated men'²³ to become conventional members of the ruling stratum.²⁴ In his discussion of the education of the Chinese Literati Weber defined the 'cultivated' man:

The goal of education consists in the quality of a man's bearing in life which was considered 'cultivated' rather than in a specialized training for expertness. The 'cultivated' personality formed the educational ideal, which was stamped by the structure of domination and by the social condition for membership in the ruling stratum. Such education aimed at a chivalrous or an ascetic type; or, at a literary type, as in China; a gymnastic - humanist type, as in Helas; or it aimed at a conventional type as in the case of an Anglo-Saxon gentleman. 25

Thus the Weberian perspective emphasizes the power of dominant groups to shape the schools arbitrarily to their own purposes. The weakness of applying Weberian analysis to, for example, the situation in 19th Century Jamaica or England, is that in the Confucian paradigm Weber pays attention only to the education of the dominant stratum. Now while it may be legitimate to point to the role of education in the self-reproduction of the ruling stratum, this does not address its role in the socialization of the masses. The theories of the neo-Weberian sociologist of education, Randell Collins, also seem limited in the same way in that they are more applicable to an analysis of the benefits derived from education by the ruling stratum than to an account of the role of mass education. 'The main activity of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom',....vocabulary and inflection, styles of dress, aesthetic tastes, values and manners.²⁶ Ignoring for the moment the conceptual vagueness of 'status cultures' (adapted from Weber's classic study,

Class, Status and Party) this interpretation of schooling, in the context of the 19th Century, seems much more applicable to the elite schools, the Etons and Harrows of England, the Wolmers and Monros of Jamaica which self-consciously taught 'manners' to the ruling class,²⁷ than to the haphazard provision of schooling for the working class, which, if it aimed at any more efficacious form of pedagogy than child-minding, attempted to indoctrinate children with a clear and unchangeable idea of their lowly place on the social scale.²⁸ Thus while Weberian analysis offers valuable insight into the role played by education in the reproduction of dominant groups it seems less adequate in analyzing its role in the lives of the great majority of the inhabitants of 19th Century England and Jamaica who formed the subordinate strata.

Weber suggests that the impetus to change from a form of education stressing 'cultivation' to a form which emphasizes 'specialized expert training' comes from 'the irresistibly expanding bureaucratization of all public and private relations of authority.'²⁹ The difficulties in conceptualizing or periodizing such a deus ex machina are profound and indeed Weber himself acknowledges the inadequacy of the simple correlation between specialized education and bureaucratic structure as a theory of educational change. 'Behind all the present discussion of the foundations of the educational system, the struggle of the "specialized type of man" against the older type of "cultivated man" is hidden at some decisive

point.³⁰

Elsewhere, however, in a broader discussion of social institutions, Weber does offer a partial theory of change.³¹ Institutional change, he argues, can be accounted for by the interaction of groups and ideas within society. This process of interaction is intimately related to a struggle for domination. A dominant group and its ideology seek to maintain hegemony by controlling other groups and attempting to replace their ideas with its own. Alternatively, subordinate, competing groups advocating their own ideas seek to challenge the supremacy of a dominant group and its ideology. These two components of the struggle can be termed, respectively, domination and assertion.³²

Weber emphasizes plurality in his conception of dominant groups, i.e. that any of ... Class and status groups, political and organizational groupings, may achieve institutional domination. The decisive factor determining a group's domination of an institution is the possession of monopoly:

It is the most elemental economic fact that the way in which the disposition over material property is distributed among a plurality of people meeting competitively in the market for the purpose of exchange, in itself creates specific life chances. According to the law of marginal utility this mode of distribution excludes the non-owners from competing for highly valued goods; it favours the owners and, in fact, gives them a monopoly to acquire such goods. Other things being equal, this mode of distribution monopolizes the opportunity for profitable deals for all those, who, provided with goods, do not necessarily have to exchange them. ³³

By analogy, Weber continues, 'stratification by status goes hand in hand with monopolization of ideal and material goods, or opportunities, in a manner we have come to know as typical.'³⁴ The implication of the theory seems to be 'them that have shall win' those who already own highly valued goods, both material and ideal (such as education), enjoy high status and the opportunity of continuing in possession of a monopoly. Those who do not have them do not generally have the opportunity of obtaining them and consequently occupy a low status. This suggests a static rather than a dynamic perspective as well as posing the strong possibility of status being ultimately reducible to class.

However, Weber does allow for institutional change in the event of an assertive group effectively challenging the monopoly of a dominant group. For example, in 19th Century England, dissenting groups set up elementary schools in a challenge to the monopoly of the Anglican Church which had rigorously restricted the size and scope of the elementary sector up until that time.³⁵ In Jamaica, as was said already, missionary groups began educating the slaves in defiance of the planters whose monopoly over ideal goods had previously prevented this. (See Chapter 5 below for a full discussion of this). However, the weakness of Weber's theory of institutional change is that it does not specify and quantify the main prerequisites of successful domination and assertion. The questions it leaves unanswered are significant ones. Did

the dissenters gain a foothold in education because of the inherent superiority of their theology? - or was it because the class they represented were in the ascendant in the 19th Century? Did the spread of missionary education in Jamaica attest to the might of the Bible relative to the whip? - or did it have something to do with the decline in power of the planter class both in England and Jamaica? Weber's theory lacks the conceptual equipment for dealing with fundamental questions of causation. This absence is the product of his failure to carry the analysis of status to its logical conclusion and identify it with class. Rather than locating the ultimate causes of educational change Weber's description of the processes of domination and assertion articulates the social factors which mediate between economic change and class conflict on the one hand and educational change on the other. Acknowledgement must be made of the contribution of Weber in identifying the plurality of groups and organizations which may intervene in the process of institutional change. For example in 19th Century England as in Jamaica, the Anglican Church played a central role in maintaining the monopoly of the aristocratic - landowning ruling class, while the Dissenting Churches acted as a form of ideological vanguard for the rising Bourgeois - industrial interest. However, it is necessary to discover a theoretical paradigm which goes beyond these intermediary processes to the direct causes of change located in the economy and the class structure.

BOWLES AND GINTIS' STRUCTURALIST THEORY OF CHANGE:

In four chapters of Schooling in Capitalist America Bowles and Gintis present a convincing if flawed structuralist explanation for the evolution of American education from the 18th Century to the present day.³⁶ They argue that educational change has always occurred at periods of crisis for the capitalist economy caused by particular aggravation of the basic contradiction, "between the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of the capitalist relations of production."³⁷

The ever present contradiction between accumulation and reproduction has been submerged or channeled into demands which could be contained within the outlines of capitalist society. The contradiction has been temporarily resolved or suppressed in a variety of ways: Through ameliorative social reforms; through the coercive force of the state; through racist, sexist, ageist, credentialist, and other strategies used by employers to divide and rule; and through an-ideological perspective which served to hide rather than clarify the sources of exploitation and alienation of the capitalist order. The expansion of mass education, embodying each of the above means, has been a central element in resolving - at least temporarily - the contradiction between accumulation and reproduction. 38

Bowles and Gintis argue that at each of three pivotal periods in American history the expansion of capitalist relations of production created a crisis which in turn threatened the reproduction of these very relations. In response to this threat to social order education was developed and/or reformed in order to do a better job of social control.

By whom was it reformed? - the ruling class. Who benefitted from the reforms? - the ruling class. Bowles and Gintis account of educational change is marred by the structuralist flaw of according the ruling class an over-arching role in society at the expense of neglecting the proletariat. This certainly seems to be the import of their analysis of the "The Orgins of Mass Public Education" (Ch. 6) ³⁹ which traces the development and spread of the elementary school in the decades preceding the Civil War.

In colonial America, they argue, the family was not only the unit of production but also of reproduction. As capitalist productive relations expanded, primarily in the North-East U.S.A., so they undermined the role of the family in production. As ownership of the means of production became concentrated in a few hands, production moved from the home to the factory. Thus there was now a disjuncture between production and the reproduction of social relations which could no longer be effectively carried out in the home. Furthermore urbanization and concentration of workers had destroyed political quietism. A further threat to control came from immigrant labour. Thus educational reformers such as Horace Mann sought to establish 'public-tax-funded, non-sectarian schooling' as a 'balance wheel of social machinery.'⁴⁰ Bowles and Gintis support their contention that mass education originated in problems of social control experienced by early capitalism by pointing to the correlation between the appearance of mass education and the development of capitalism in

geographic locales.

It is in their attempt to answer the question of 'how' the educational system adjusts to economic change that Gintis and Bowles run afoul of the inherent limitations of the structuralist position which they have elaborated. They identify two processes of accommodation.

One operates through the relatively uncoordinated pursuit of interests by millions of individuals and groups as mediated by local school boards. The market for private educational services, and other decentralized decision-making arenas. This process, which we shall call "pluralist accommodation", involves a more or less automatic reorientation of educational perspectives in the face of a changing economic reality.. the accommodation by the educational system to a changing economic reality however pluralistic, is, in essence, a process led by a changing structure of production ... the evolution of the structure of production is governed by the pursuit of profit and class privilege by the small minority of capitalists and managers who dominate the dynamic sectors of the economy. ⁴¹ (emphases added)

Instead of the much vaunted class analysis of education what appears here is the dissolution of social classes, their ideologies, and political struggles into an 'uncoordinated' and 'pluralist' undifferentiated mass of 'millions of individuals'. In fact this blanc mange of humanity is composed of automatons whose educational response is determined absolutely by the 'changing structure of production'. Gintis and Bowles seem to have fallen into the trap of accepting the hegemonic ambitions of the ruling class as achieved actual fact.

By neglecting the dynamic dimension of class struggle in the historic evolution of education they are forced into this kind of simple-minded structuralism. They do attempt to save themselves by developing a convoluted 'light-bulb' theory of class struggle. Sometimes its on. Sometimes its off.

"Particularly in periods of serious disjuncture between the school system and the economy - the 1840's and 1850's the first two decades of the present century, and the 1960's and early 1970's - the school system appears less as a cipher impartially recording and tallying the choices of million of independent actors and more as an arena for struggle among major social groups." 42

The 'light-bulb' theory forms the second of the two processes by which the educational system adjusts to economic change. It lacks credibility as Bowles and Gintis devote very little of their considerable research to the working class and to its organizations and production of ideology. The reader is incredulous when in their conclusion Bowles and Gintis state that, 'the spread of mass education can best be seen as an outcome of class conflict, not class domination'.⁴³ This belated attempt to redress the balance in favour of a conflict as opposed to a functionalist interpretation is redundant when the majority of their analysis is directed to the opposite conclusion. Gintis and Bowle's theory of educational change is perhaps as important for what it leaves out (class conflict) as what it includes (structuralism). They provide an elegant historical treatment of the correlation between the emergence and expansion of the capitalist

mode of production in America on the one hand and the development and growth of the educational system on the other hand. This much alone constitutes a seminal achievement.

The importance of Bowles and Gintis methods in relation to this work is precisely their treatment of the underlying dynamic of substructural change which, we suggest, supplies an explanation in terms of primary causality of educational change which is lacking in the Weberian paradigm. However, this analysis is deficient in the area of ideological mediation between structural and institutional change which is so important, particularly in the context of Colonial Jamaica where the plantation mode of production dominated and the dynamic behind educational change derived largely from ideological forms. (The educational philosophy of the English bourgeoisie transmitted via the Dissenters) It is only in the writings of the last authority to be considered here, Brian Simon, that we have found a comprehensive method of dealing with educational change.

BRIAN SIMON'S HISTORICAL METHOD. In his history of the growth and development of English Education, The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780 - 1870,⁴⁴ Simon extends Marx's method in Capital to the historical analysis of education. While it is impossible to do justice in the scope of such a brief summary, to the wealth of detail and the prodigious research which Simon brings to his examination of education, we shall attempt to draw out his theoretical

model. This task is made more difficult by the fact that Simon is a historian, engaged in the project of historical documentation, and consequently is not concerned with making explicit his sociological and political-economic theory.

Brian Simon sets out with the problematic of the growing importance of education in English society from 1780-1870. At the beginning of his period there is a haphazard and piecemeal provision of elementary education touching the lives of only a small percentage of England's working classes. By 1870, with the passing of the Education Bill, there is a clearly expressed intention to provide a national system of education with provisions for rate-aid, non-sectarian instruction, and compulsion to attend.⁴⁵

Simon locates this educational dynamic within a larger dynamic of political class conflict between the aristocratic landowning ruling class and the ascendant industrial bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie and the working class on the other. (although he makes it clear that the bourgeoisie and working class periodically allied against the ruling class nevertheless antagonism was historically the dominant relation between them). Behind these class conflicts in turn lies the over-arching structural determination of the rise of the capitalist mode of production and the decay of earlier forms. His method is essentially dialectic, however, as he stresses the inter-dependence of these various dynamics. That is, that without the rise of capitalism, there would not have arisen

those historically specific forms of class conflict. However, in turn, the shape and direction of that class conflict, and the political expression and ideological production of its constituent classes, served to consolidate and propel forward the ascendant mode of production, to weaken and atrophy the decaying mode.

Brian Simon's method, in relation to the ideological production of the various social classes (of which educational thought and policy is of course one part), is analagous to Weber's conception of domination and assertion. However, where Weber emphasizes plurality in his treatment of dominant and ascendant groups, Simon makes clear the ultimate class identity of institutional forms such as political parties, religious denominations, and associations in the ultimate struggle for domination. Educational policy, similarly, is seen as an ideological production of a particular social class.

From Simon the educational policy of the established land-owning ruling class in 18th Century England was defined by default. Such education as was provided had historically been supplied by the Church of England⁴⁶ and consisted of little more than religious indoctrination for the lower classes and conspicuous intellectual consumption for the ruling class. The ruling class at the end of the 18th was ideologically bankrupt. Older justifications for the status quo - the divinely ordered hierarchy - had fallen into disrepute with the Puritan revolution and the subsequent constitutional

limitations to the monarch's authority. (and ipso facto to the hereditary legitimacy of the aristocracy to rule). The aristocracy relied on the mechanisms of political repression through the Tory Party and the limited franchise which gave them a monopoly on Parliamentary authority, and on continued ideological justification of the status quo by the established church. The appearance of educational innovation from this quarter was unlikely.

In contrast the ascendant bourgeoisie was profoundly ideologically productive. It espoused a radical theology in Dissent, a radical political economy in the writings of Smith and his followers, and a radical political philosophy in the writings of men like James Mill and Jeremy Bentham.⁴⁷ Predictably, bourgeois social thought included a distinctive educational philosophy.

They maintained that workers, once informed of the realities which underlay temporary dislocation and difficulties, would understand that it was in their best interests to become calm, orderly and acquiescent. Education in their view, was the most powerful instrument for changing men's minds and outlook, it was through education alone that the working class could be brought within the orbit of civilization and led to assist, rather than obstruct, the establishment of a new order. This was the Radical perspective at this stage. It led directly to the promotion of various forms of popular education.⁴⁸

Simon's method, consistently followed in his account of the rise of English education, is to outline the underlying class conflict (here that between aristocracy and

bourgeoisie), to document the political and ideological forms which it assumed, to trace the progress of the conflict in all its forms, economic, political and ideological, to an apparent resolution (a new set of social relations), and then to delineate the inherent contradictions which in turn work to undermine the new status quo. Education, anathema to the aristocracy, was seen as the essential corollary of capitalist expansion by the bourgeoisie. However, the 'social control' function which bourgeois educators wished education to perform was subverted by forms of education controlled by the working class, for example the Mechanics Institutes, in which Socialist and Owenite doctrines were expounded rather than the tenets of bourgeois political economy. Simon documents the considerable struggle over the Mechanics' Institutes as bourgeois interests attempted to 'buy out' control in order to ensure the teaching of acceptable ideas.⁴⁹ The struggle over education continued throughout the 19th Century, with the Education Bill of 1870 representing the culmination of decades of wider political conflict between the bourgeoisie and working class. Although it can be seen ultimately as a concrete move in the direction of control of education by the bourgeois state, Simon's key insight is that simultaneously it must be perceived as a concession wrung from the bourgeoisie by the threat of militant working class organization.

Thus Simon's historical method is fundamentally dialectic. His strategy is to map out class conflict,

ultimately located in the economic substructure, to point out the ideological and political forms which this takes on, and to examine education in the light of this framework. Education thus appears, in Simon's work, not as an empty weapon of repression employed by a hegemonic ruling class, but as a fundamental human right, which no matter how it may be manipulated distorted and denied by the ruling class, will always provide a legitimate aspiration and focus for the struggle of the working class.

In the period 1850-1870 a conscious effort was made to establish a closed system of schools, so to divide and differentiate the education given to different social classes that privilege could for ever withstand the pressure of the working masses. This attempt could only meet with failure, whatever the temporary respite secured and the brakes put on educational advance. From the moment of the repeal of the Corn Laws, the capitalist class could in fact, take no step which was not conditioned by the attitude of the working class. To win the workers' support for their own ends, and curb independent action, they must always make more concessions than they wished, in the educational no less than in the political field. To counter these concessions they might try to neutralize the workers' minds through carefully planned and restricted schooling and other teaching; but this was a frail enough defence. Though some working class leaders might accept Liberal ideas, and seek to climb into the middle class themselves, under the influence of the hard facts of life the working class movement would always rediscover its own needs and interests and take up the struggle for its own aims.⁵⁰

Simon's theoretical perspective has been fundamental in providing an understanding of Jamaican education. By articulating the ideological factors influencing the growth of English education Simon's theory has enabled this work to account for the emergence of missionary education in material terms. Further, in emphasizing the ideological forms which class conflict takes on he has provided an explanation of the real conflicts over education in Jamaica, between the satellite ruling class and the missionaries on one hand, and between the peasant proletariat and the ruling class on the other. Lastly, Simon's emphasis on class conflict has served as countervailing tendency to theories which are 'over-functionalist' in their exclusive emphasis on schooling as a form of social control and those theories which place an overly determinist interpretation on educational change as directly dependent on changes in the relations of production. The next chapter, which owes much to Simon's framework and research, deals with English education in the period of 1700-1944, and is essential background to a consideration of Jamaican education which was structurally constrained by colonial relations of production, and consequently extremely derivative.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Talcott Parsons, 'The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society,' in A. H. Halsey, J. Floud and C.A. Anderson (eds.) Education, Economy and Society, London, 1967, p. 434.
2. cf. Michelina Vaughan and Margaret Scotford Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 33-65, and also Simon, op. cit. pp. 127-136.
3. Idem.
4. Jerome Karabel and A.H. Halsey, Power and Ideology in Education, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1977, p. 11.
5. Joel Spring, The Rise of American Education, N.Y., 1972, p. 75.
6. Louis Althusser, Essays on Lenin and Philosophy, Paris, 1971.
7. Ibid, p. 156.
8. Samuels Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, Basic Books, N.Y., 1976.
9. Ibid, p. 266.
10. Ibid, pp. 125-148.
11. Ibid, p. 125.
12. Ibid, pp. 131-133
13. Idem.
14. This refers to the so-called 'Apprenticeship' from 1833-1838 during which former slaves were bound to their masters as paid, indentured labourers.
15. 'The Rev. John Sterling's Report on Education in the W.I. 1832' cited in Gordon, op. cit. p. 20.
16. Bowles and Gintis, op. cit. p. 224.

17. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber, London, 1967, pp. 180-192.
18. Bowles and Gintis, op. cit. p. 224.
19. Former title of The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870, op. cit.
20. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit., pp. 16-29.
21. Randall Collins, 'Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification, American Sociological Review, Dec. 1971, pp. 1002-1019, cited in Karabel and Halsey, op. cit., p. 31.
22. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit., p. 17.
23. Idem.
24. Idem.
25. Gerth and Mills, op. cit. p. 243.
26. Collins, op. cit., p. 1010.
27. Nicholas Hans, Comparative Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967, pp. 130-132.
28. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England 1800-1914, Gilland McMillan, Dublin, 1978, pp. 8-11.
29. Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 243.
30. Idem, emphasis added.
31. Ibid, pp. 180-192.
32. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit., p. 17.
33. Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 243.
34. Ibid, p. 191.
35. Hans, op. cit., p. 134.
36. Bowles and Gintis, op. cit. pp. 151-241.
37. Ibid, p. 232.
38. Idem.
39. Ibid, p. 151.

40. Ibid, p. 166.
41. Ibid, pp. 236-37.
42. Ibid, p. 238.
43. Ibid, p. 239.
44. Simon, op. cit.,
45. Ibid, pp. 364-365.
46. Ibid, p. 46.
47. Ibid, p. 79
48. Ibid, p. 136.
49. Ibid, pp. 152-157.
50. Ibid, pp. 366-367.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION IN THE 'MOTHER' COUNTRY 1750-1900

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There are a number of rationales for devoting detailed attention to the development of education in England in the context of this examination of colonial education in Jamaica. Firstly, the relationship of domination-subordination which characterized mother-country and colony produced the phenomenon of colonial imitation of metropolitan models. This can be seen clearly, for example, in the classical curriculum which Jamaican Secondary Schools offered in the late 18th and 19th Centuries and which was consciously modelled on the curricula of the great English public schools.¹ The initial mechanism for this imitation was simply a desire on the part of those members of the satellite-bourgeoisie (resident planters, professionals and merchants) who were unwilling or unable to send their children to England for schooling to ensure that the local provision of education approximated to metropolitan standards. Later, the need to obtain good marks on external examinations which were set in England forced Jamaican High Schools to tailor their curriculums to these examinations.

The development of elementary education in Jamaica also displays significant parallels to the English experience. A progression from the voluntary provision of education by

religious bodies, to state subsidization of Church schools, and eventually to full state control of elementary education characterized both societies. Furthermore several features of English elementary education in the 19th were directly transplanted to the Jamaican context. Among the most notable was the pupil-teacher system whereby senior elementary school pupils acted as teachers while (in theory) receiving more advanced training at the same time: The system of 'payment by results' also emerged in Jamaica shortly after its implementation in England. It involved calculating the government grant to a school (and thus indirectly the size of teachers' salaries) according to the pupils' proficiency in certain compulsory subjects which was ascertained in an annual examination by a government inspector.

Secondly, the relationship between education, economy and class struggle in 19th England substantially confirms one of the major hypotheses of this analysis which is that the basic structure of the educational system is determined by the relations of production but that class struggle and ideology mediate this determination of the educational structure by the relations of production. The historically advanced state of capitalism in England and its retarded form, mercantile-plantation capitalism, in Jamaica created a disjuncture in the evolution of class society between metropole and colony. Thus while in England the industrial bourgeoisie obtained ascendancy over landed aristocracy in Jamaica the landed

elements or 'plantocracy' remained pre-eminent for much longer. Class conflict between the metropolitan bourgeoisie and the satellite plantocracy became inevitable. Educational controversy was just one aspect of this conflict and it emerged as dissenting missionaries armed with the classical bourgeois philosophy which asserted the necessity of an educated labour-force clashed with the Jamaican planters who were deeply distrustful of education as potentially subversive of the social order of plantation society. In the following sections an attempt is made to articulate the complex inter relationships between education, economy and class struggle in England as a prerequisite to an understanding of these processes in colonial Jamaica.

3.2 BEFORE 1800

In England prior to 1800 it is somewhat redundant to speak of a 'dichotomous provision' of education. Rather what there was for the ruling classes seems to have been distinctive, that for the working classes piecemeal² and haphazard. The wealthier sections of the ruling class commonly employed tutors and domestic chaplains, the less wealthy being served by endowed schools such as Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Tonbridge and Shrewsbury.³ The curriculum of these schools was designed to train leaders 'in a society where leadership was awarded by birth rather than won in open competition.'⁴ Such an education sought to reproduce

the social relations of the society by reproducing the ideological domination of the ruling class.

Provision of education for the poor was haphazard, scanty and confined to a scattering of Anglican Church schools in each diocese run by Parish clergy or their clerks, and to a motley assortment of private elementary schools which were often little better than child - minding services which probably arose in response to the social dislocation which often forced women into the labour-force at this time. Their calibre is perhaps best attested to by one of the 'dames' who frequently set up such schools. 'It is but little they pay me, and it is but little I teach them.'⁵ The masters of such schools have been described as 'the refuse of other callings-discarded servants, or ruined tradesmen.'⁶ While not casting any doubts on these assessments of the quality of these very basic schools there is some reason to suppose that they were favoured by the working class consumer (whose preferences are hardly ever taken into account in academic studies). Thomas Laqueur, in his article, 'Working Class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education', suggests⁷ that in fact these schools were popular, filled a need, were of a higher standard than was asserted by later Victorian legislators and reformers. Laqueur argues that the workers preferred them with all their squalor, disorder and brutality to schools set up by 'do-gooders' of either the dissenting or of the established churches. The latter were

regarded with some suspicion as outsiders who had ulterior motives of religious indoctrination or social control whereas the 'dames' and 'masters' were often neighbours who, through infirmity, injury, or some other misfortune, had no other means of support than teaching which provided them with a small income from families in their immediate community. Thus the working classes continued to pay the higher fees charged by these stores - front or parlour schools rather than patronizing those established by charitable agencies.⁸ The virtue of the education the dames gave was that it often imparted basic literacy without ideological cant. As late as 1851, a third of all children attending schools were defined as private day - scholars, probably for the most part enrolled in such schools.⁹

Laqueur argues that the spread of institutionalized schooling in the 19th Century and its eventual universalization in the 20th probably owed a great deal to this working class demand for private education. The ascendant bourgeoisie was anxious to secure ideological domination over the masses and it could only do this by expanding the school sector which it controlled, and which could reproduce capitalist ideology and relations of production, by eliminating this private competition in working class hands. A further impetus must have been derived by the fact that many of these private school teachers were unemployed trade unionists and political activists - a dire threat to ideological hegemony.

Working class support of the 'dame' schools demonstrates the role of class conflict in the development of education in England. The working class clearly resisted the imposition from above of a form of education which was perceived as alien to working class culture and designed to impart bourgeois ideology. This resistance was expressed in continued support for dame schools, even when this involved greater financial outlay than attendance at one of the charity schools. The dame schools persisted in the face of rapid expansion of church-run elementary schooling until the mid 19th Century. Some attempt was made to systematize the provision of parish schools by the Church of England by setting up the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1698.¹⁰ These 'Charity Schools' aimed to encourage religious feelings by instruction in the Bible and Catechism in order, according to Dr. Thomas Bray a founder of the Society, to stem the rising tide of 'Vice and Debauchery' among young people, especially in London. The early 18th Century was a time of breakdown of traditional mores and the urbanization and proletarianization of considerable numbers of the populace called for new measures of social control - a function for which the Charity School was admirably fitted. 'In the hymns they sang, the prayers they recited and the sermons they had to listen to, the charity children were constantly reminded of their low estate and the duty and respect they owed their betters.'¹¹ The Charity Schools were hampered by a lack of funds and a shortage of teachers. These

factors, in conjunction with the short expected school life of the students - two years - and chronically poor attendance, restricted the effectiveness of the programme.¹²

Insofar as they constituted a provision of elementary education for the poor the charity schools represented an attempt by the ruling class through the agency of the Church of England to retain ideological hegemony in the face of social transformations which threatened the status quo. In their effort to shore up traditional authority patterns the charity schools utilized a curriculum which legitimated existing social relations and attempted to reproduce the submission of subordinate groups.

The Anglicans no longer had the field of elementary education to themselves. By the Acts of Toleration of 1689 and 1711 Dissenters were free to establish elementary education.¹³ Following the Wesleyan religious revival in the 18th Century Sunday Schools were started in 1770. These were designed to supply minimal levels of education to children and adults who had no other access to schools. The conception of the degree of education which was fitting for the poor and their children was as limited as that of the Anglican Church and its Charity Schools. A prominent dissenting educationalist, Hannah More, proposed a curriculum which was limited to the Bible and Catechism and 'such coarse work as may fit children for servants. I allow no writing for the poor.'¹⁴ Once again the curriculum was designed to

promote obedience and humility in members of the lower orders and a recognition on their part of their fixed place in the social hierarchy. Thus, although the dissenting tradition in education emanated from the rising bourgeoisie their image of society did not include mobility for the poor. Only for their own class did they envisage a superior destiny in society and thus Sunday School education played a role vis a vis the poor which was identical to the Charity Schools - of ideological domination and reproduction of their submission to the existing relations in society.

The role of the Dissenters in education expanded in 1796 with the formation of the Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor. This development provides a historical link with the considerably expanded educational activity in the early 19th Century of both the Dissenters and the Established Church. The Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor became the Royal Lancastrian Society (later the British and Foreign School Society) in 1810. This was co-founded by a Quaker, Lancaster, who introduced the monitorial (also known as Lancastrian) system to British elementary education.¹⁵ The Anglican Church responded with the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in 1811.¹⁶ The provision of elementary education in the first half of the 19th Century was largely through the agency of these two societies which were commonly abbreviated to the British Society (dissenting)

and National Society (Church of England).

3.3 EDUCATION IN ENGLAND FROM 1800-1833:

National Society and British Society alike sought to develop a cheap method of elementary education which would 'prepare the labouring classes for a life of honesty, self-dependent toil and an acceptance of the social order as it then existed.'¹⁷ The education provided was intentionally cheap to minimize its cost both to the fee - paying poor and to the churches which had to invest in schools. For economic reasons, then, both the new school societies adopted the monitorial system. (Although this is often called the Lancastrian system, it was in fact developed initially by an Anglican priest, Dr. Andrew Bell, serving with the East India company, and hence is also called the 'Bell' or 'Madras' system.¹⁸)

The system was simple: older pupils passed information on to younger children in a pyramid like arrangement with the master at the apex giving overall guidance and providing discipline. The monitorial system was regarded by its supporters as the ultimate in school efficiency and quite in keeping with the spirit of the industrial revolution. Its inventor, Dr. Andrew Bell's comments on the system may be pardoned for an excess of optimism, but are an illuminating insight to the spirit of the age.

In a word, the advantages of this system, in its political, moral, and religious tendency; in its economy of labour, time, expense and punishment; in the facilities and satisfaction which it affords to the master and the scholar; can only be ascertained by trial and experience ... Like the steam engine, or spinning machinery it diminishes labour and multiplies work, but in a degree which does not admit of the same limits ... For unlike the mechanical powers, this intellectual and moral engine, the more work it has to perform, the greater is the facility and expedition with which it is performed, and the greater is the degree of perfection to which it is carried. ¹⁹

Whatever the virtues of the system in its inventors eyes, in real life it was considerably less impressive. One of Her Majesty's Inspectors reporting on an area where the monitorial system was in operation in the mid- 19th Century commented adversely on the youth of the monitors, their lack of enthusiasm, and their ignorance which merely compounded the blunders of their charges. Boys as young as 9 years old taught children of their own age.²⁰ In addition the worth of the teacher was debased under such a system which,

required little else of him than an aptitude for enforcing discipline, an acquaintance with mechanical details for the preservation of order, and that sort of ascendancy in his school which a sergeant major is required to exercise over a batch of raw recruits before they can pass muster on parade. ²¹

Those commentators who compared the Lancastrian system to the processes of manufacture were close to the mark. These schools were little other than obedience factories, imparting little knowledge, but in an environment of rigid discipline,

authoritarian role relations, and intensive repetition. They served to replicate the relations of production. In their own relations they were like mass production forcing grounds producing fodder for the 'dark Satanic mills' of early 19th Century industry. They served to reproduce the role of the poor as the subordinate stratum in the social order. Although continued working class preference for alternatives to the church schools (the 'dame'schools for example) suggests that their effectiveness fell short of their founders' intentions. In structure and organization there was little to choose between the British and the National Societies, but in the extent of the education which they aspired to offer there was a significant difference. (whether there was much difference between them in terms of the actual knowledge which was imparted by the hapless monitors is a moot point).

The British Society reflected the bourgeois philosophy of its dissenting founders that social unrest proceeded from the unenlightened condition of the working-class and that industry demanded an increasingly literate labour force.²² For these reasons the education they advocated was relatively broad. In contrast the founders of the National Society devised a curriculum which 'emphasized neither knowledge nor utility.'²³ Dr. Andrew Bell, one of the co-founders of the National Society admitted that,

it is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner or even taught to write and cipher ... There is a risk of elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their conditions. ²⁴

The source of the curricular differences between the two societies lies in the distinctive ideologies which the Tory, High Church, landed ruling class, and the dissenting, bourgeois class adhered to. The 'competition' between the two societies to educate the poor, mirrors to a large extent the class conflict between the landed aristocracy and the new industrial bourgeoisie. Thus the schools became an ideological arena in which opposed interpretations of social order competed for hegemony. It is instructive to give some attention to early 19th Century ideological conflict as its outcome influenced the provision of education well into the present century in Britain and also influenced colonial education policies.

The rising bourgeoisie had a distinctive ideology which embraced an economic philosophy in classical economic theory, a social philosophy in utilitarianism, and a religious philosophy in dissent.²⁵ The landowning aristocracy had only the magnificent conviction of the essential rightness of the status quo and of the fittingness of the Church of England in maintaining it. Bourgeois educational thought can be traced back to the writings of Adam Smith in the late 18th Century. In the *Wealth of Nations*²⁶ he describes the benefits

deriving to the community at large of the division of labour. By maximizing these benefits for the general good, the division of labour ensures the most desirable outcome for the individual, irrespective of its inequality which may place the individual in an inferior position. One major flaw in this utilitarian vision is that the division of labour creates strata involved in repetitive and monotonous wage-labour. From these strata alone does Smith foresee social unrest coming which might upset the overall harmony of society - not because their position is unjust or their labour alienating, but because the lack of exercise of their mental faculties in such simple operations, causes them to lose that intellectual capacity which otherwise would lead them to recognize that their best interests are being served by their present location in the social structure.²⁷

The man whose life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects are, perhaps, always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become.²⁸

The social danger inherent in this stultification of the industrial worker's senses is that he will no longer retain that mental enlightenment which enables him to perceive that his true interests are being fulfilled by the existing distribution of property and position. Consequently he might

become political prey to, 'the interested complaints of faction and sedition',²⁹ To counteract this danger, Smith proposes the limited provision of education by the state to the working class. Such education was to be confined to reading, writing and arithmetic, such a curriculum being considered sufficient to secure the working class mind against political subversion. In the context of this thesis the significance of Adam Smith's contribution to bourgeois thought is that it establishes a firm connection between the need to advance the interests of industrial capital and the need to control the education of the English working class. Thus the type of education Smith proposed and the functions which he conceived that education would fulfill confirm the hypotheses that education was designed to legitimate and reproduce existing social relations.

In 1816-17, the publication of Jeremy Bentham's Chrestomathia (meaning: conducive to useful knowledge) signalled the emergence of another significant bourgeois educational thinker. Bentham belonged to an influential group known as the 'radical philosophers' who collectively gave a coherent shape to bourgeois ideology over the next decades. The group was eclectic and numbered among its members David Ricardo, Joseph Hume, Arthur Roebuck, James Mill as well as Jeremy Bentham.³⁰

Chrestomathia was to have a seminal influence on the thinking and practice of bourgeois educationalists throughout

the century. It was the essence of utilitarianism, as in Bentham's view subjects could only be justified by reference to their utility in normal life. In addition to the utility of knowledge, Bentham laid heavy stress on the efficiency with which it should be imparted and defined 43 principles to this end. Prominent among them was the emphasis on competition between individuals as the main incentive to work, expressed in the 'comparative efficiency principle' and the 'place capturing principle'. Efficiency was to be further maximized by the 'distraction prevention principle' which set down the minimum height for windows to prevent students from looking out and the 'tabula exhibition principle' which insisted that every vacant inch of wall space in a classroom be covered by useful and improving information in order that the roving eyes of the idle student might constantly be confronted by additional knowledge.³¹ Many of these theories were well before their time and did not appear in middle class, let alone working class schools for many years. However, one school which early on was run on utilitarian lines was Hazelwood School at Hill Top Birmingham. There, bells rang 250 times each week signalling on each occasion a discrete action. So regimented was the time table that Brian Simon compares it appropriately to 'the scientific routing of materials in Boulton and Watt's factory at Soho!'.³²

Utilitarian education on Bentham's pattern, if realized, would have replicated the relations of production in the organization and administration of schools, and would have

reproduced skilled labour power. To a considerable extent the type of education he envisaged was designed to reproduce and expand Bentham's own class. The achievements of bourgeois administrators subsequent to 1832 and the First Reform Act in relation to working class education were considerably less lofty than their theories.

Social unrest in the 1810's and 20's was met unflinchingly with repression by the ruling class. These were years which saw the suspension of Habeas Corpus, permitting imprisonment without trial. the Gagging Act (1819) which limited free speech and publication, and the use of military terror against civilian demonstrators. 'Peterloo' in 1820 resulted in the deaths of scores of civilians when soldiers opened fire on a political meeting. The failure of these policies brought no enlightenment to the government. The ruling class, in contrast to the bourgeois reformers, staunchly opposed any kind of government intervention in education. They feared working class enlightenment would further undermine their weakening ideological hegemony.

However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would, in effect, be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness, it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employment to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would

enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity: it would render them insolent to the superiors; and in a few years, the result would be, that the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power against them. ³³

This speech was made by a Tory M.P. opposing a Bill for the establishment of parish schools in 1807. Although significantly earlier it typifies the marked distrust of education and the prominence given to repression by the class he represented. The intransigence of the Tory administration led to their defeat and the success of a Whig - bourgeois - working class coalition in bringing in and passing the First Reform Act of 1832 which gave the town bourgeoisie the franchise.

The bourgeoisie feared radical working class agitation and unrest in the first decades of the century as much as did the ruling class. However where the ruling class attempted to repress it and failed, the bourgeoisie, by enlightening it attempted to coopt it. The bourgeoisie was able to secure the support of the working class against the ruling class by sophisticated ideological manoeuvring. It was a classic utilitarian policy that workers 'once informed of the realities which underlay temporary dislocation and difficulties, would understand that it was in their best interests to become calm, orderly and acquiescent.'³⁴ Given the success of the ideological sleight of hand which the bourgeoisie practised before the reform bill in securing the support of the workers, it

was hardly surprising that such a class tactic would become institutionalized in their educational policy.

It was in this context that the utilitarians sought universal education. Their policy, then, had a double aspect. On the one hand they sought the transformation of the state's institutions to allow for the political and economic expression of capitalist interests. On the other hand they attempted to free the people from ignorance and dependence upon the aristocracy and the Church; to mould the outlook of the property less masses to willing cooperation within the new forms of social relations, then so rapidly developing. Though this policy had its positive aspects, fundamentally the utilitarians saw the education of the working class, as a necessary means to the emancipation of capital - of the middle class, not of labour, of the working class itself. 35

The aims of a utilitarian educational programme would be to teach bourgeois ideology to the working class directly through the curriculum, to legitimate the dominant position of the bourgeoisie and the subordinate position of the working class, to replicate in schools as far as possible the actual relations of production of industry in the classroom and to reproduce the labour power of the working class. Bourgeois educational theory confirms the key hypotheses of this thesis.

However, the educational achievements of the bourgeoisie in the decades immediately after the Reform Act was limited. There still existed a strong residue of Tory, ruling class power in Parliament which inhibited bourgeois reformism. It was this, and the fact that only partial suffrage was granted by the Reform Act, with only the bourgeoisie being

enfranchised, which led the working class in the next thirty years towards Chartism and Socialism. The class unity of bourgeoisie and working class was now sundered with the working class moving more and more towards the left politically. It was only the spectre of these militant working class movements which eventually disturbed the complacency of the bourgeoisie sufficiently to bring the subject of educational reform once more to the forefront. However, this was not to happen until 1870. What characterized the provision of education in England in the intervening years?

3.4 EDUCATION IN ENGLAND 1833-1900:

A surprising degree of continuity characterized the provision of education in the years between 1833 and 1870. Although a considerable number of the bourgeoisie were now enfranchised and represented at Westminster, there seemed little point in agitating for educational reform. This may have been a useful plank in a political platform to coopt working class militancy but had little relevance now that the bourgeoisie had access to the reins of power themselves. The years 1832-1846 were an unparalleled period of bourgeois consolidation. They opened with the triumph of 1832 and closed with the repeal of the Corn Laws which symbolized the rise to economic power of the bourgeoisie as the Reform Bill had symbolized its political power. The Repeal was a significant victory for free trade which allowed

the importation of cheap foreign grain to bake the bread for the masses. The dismantling of protectionist tariffs demonstrated the fall from power of the landowning interests which they had protected and the ascension of the bourgeoisie to the position of a ruling class in England. These were years in which the first bourgeois parliament pursued matters dear to its own heart, - free - trade, anti-monopoly legislation which ensured the triumph of *laissez - faire* and classical economical principles which had been articulated by Adam Smith almost half a century earlier. Education was not a priority. In any case bourgeois theorists had not proposed extensive education for the working-class, merely sufficient to enable the workers to recognize that their own best interests lay with the untrammelled expansion of capitalist interests. In the years 1830-1870 the provision of education by the two great societies seems to have been judged adequate to maintain the social order.

The only concession made to educational reform by the new bourgeois parliament in 1833 was to institute grants - in - aid to be divided proportionately between the two societies. Government, however, sought no role in the administration of the schools which were left solely in the hands of the Churches.³⁶ The monitorial system was left untouched until 1846 when the Pupil - Teacher system was instituted.³⁷ This system replaced the untrained and unpaid monitors as teacher's assistants with students who had reached the age of

thirteen and who wished to become teachers. They were paid as apprentices for five years at which time the pupil teacher could sit an examination to become certificated. The role of the pupil - teacher, like that of the monitor, combined instruction with teaching and amounted to a rigorous regime of 9½ hours daily, 5 days per week.³⁸ Like the monitorial system, the pupil teacher system stressed quantity over quality, the institutionalization of working class children being regarded as being of paramount importance with quality of education coming a poor second. The 'closed' nature of the elementary educational system - most students who arose beyond it remained to teach in it - is a potent indicator of the degree to which elementary education served to reproduce the subordinate position of the working class. It was inconceivable that an elementary school student should rise to become a public or a grammar school student, but quite fitting that he become an elementary school teacher. This paralleled exactly the role of the pupil - teacher system in Jamaica in providing an illusory route to social mobility for the ambitious working-class student.

In response to the concern that was often voiced during the 1840's and 50's that the existence of Chartist and Socialist movements made it evident that schools were not adequately enlightening the working class as to the wisdom of an acquiescent attitude to the social order, the Newcastle Commission was appointed by Parliament in 1858.³⁹

Astonishingly they found no cause for concern about the state of English education relative to other European countries. Rather they criticized the brevity of school life, and the fact that teachers concentrated on the 20% of students who remained after the age of 11. (Without drawing the obvious conclusion that it was only with the small numbers of these children that anything worthy of the name of education could be carried on by teachers). The findings of the Newcastle Commission resulted in the Revised Code of 1862. In its drive for economy and efficiency it typified the bourgeois ideological commitment to industrial models in every social institution. This piece of legislation cut salaries for pupil teachers leaving them to establish their own rates with local school boards. (A move that quickly resulted in lowest common denominator recruitment, falling wages, and the increasing feminization of the labour force for the remainder of the century). The Revised Code of 1862 was also significant for introducing the infamous system of 'payment by results'⁴⁰ another example of the over - enthusiastic application of market principles into a non-market social institution.

'Payment by results' based the grant - in - aid received by a school on the attendance of pupils at the school and on those pupils' performance in an annual examination conducted by an HMI and based on the 3R's. This system formed the basis for government funding of elementary education until 1890 and its last elements did not disappear until 1900. Significantly the

system of 'payment by results' appeared in Jamaican education during the 1860's illustrating the short time-lag between metropolitan innovation and colonial imitation. Its effects on the provision of working class education in England were major. The 3R's as the grant earning subjects were concentrated upon to the exclusion of all else and the authoritarian indoctrination of the elements necessary to secure the grant was carried out by heads, teachers, and pupil teachers alike, each knowing that their salary would depend on the results of the next 'visitation' by an Inspector. Payment by results, perhaps more than any other educational regime revealed the connection between economy and education. The curriculum consisted of the bare minimum necessary to create a literate labour force; in classroom organization and motivation it resembled nothing so much as industrial mass production, thus directly replicating the relations of production through classroom organization; in the ideological content of the curriculum elementary education sought to reproduce the domination of the bourgeoisie, the subordination of the working class. Exemplifying this, a reader for 9 year olds used by the British Society in 1864 informed its readers that 'Capital is the result of labour and savings. Nothing is more certain that that, taking the working classes in the entire mass, they get a fair share of the proceeds of the national industry.'⁴¹

More than a generation of teachers and scholars suffered the unremitting grind which was schooling under

payment by results. It did achieve the goal of economy, cutting back the education grant from £800,000 in 1861 to £600,000 in 1865. This retrenchment occurred at a time when bourgeois administrators were taking steps to transform and expand the whole system of secondary schools and universities for their own benefit. It was hardly surprising that renewed working class agitation for educational reform would be heard again throughout the 1860's.

Major forces were at work throughout this decade which brought about a complete about - face in educational policy from the savage retrenchment of the 1862 Revised Code to the significant reforms of the Education Bill of 1870 which brought universal elementary education appreciably nearer. The bourgeoisie was not satisfied with the reform bill of 1832 which gave too much electoral weight to the country vote and insufficient representation to the new industrial towns. It sought a new coalition with the working class to campaign for reforms. The conjunction of militant working class action and bourgeois lobbying brought a successful conclusion to the campaign with the Second Reform Bill of 1867. This gave the franchise to a significant proportion of the male working class and ensured that the industrial cities had now political clout to equal their economic might. Realization of the newly found power of the enfranchised working classes forced the bourgeoisie to rethink its educational policy.⁴² The very Trade -Unions which had usefully been coopted in the fight

for the Second Reform Bill were now dangerous threats to a solidly bourgeois parliament. The self-education efforts of the working class flourished in the decades before the Second Reform Bill Mechanics' Institutes provided adult education of a high standard. Lectures in radical political economy and socialism clearly posed a threat to bourgeois ambitions to achieve ideological hegemony. The need for an educational system which was more efficacious in promoting social order and disseminating bourgeois ideology had become a chronic one. The Secretary for Education, Kay-Shuttleworth, argued persuasively for reform against the background of the obvious inadequacy of the Revised Code.

... the anti-social doctrines held by the leaders of trade - unions as to the relations of capital and labour. ... Parliament is again warned how much the law needs the support of sound economic opinions and higher moral principles among certain classes of workmen, and how influential a general system of public education might be in rearing a loyal, intelligent, and Christian population. 43

It had become clear that the existing provision of elementary education was not adequate to the task of enlightening the masses as to the inherent superiority of the capitalist system. The presence of militant Trade Unions and the socialist International Working Men's Association (the 'First International') demonstrated the clear failure of the bourgeoisie to obtain ideological hegemony, to legitimate the existing relations of production or to secure the continued reproduction of the subordinate role of the working class.

The clear threat from an organized working class provided the greatest impetus to educational reform.

The National Education League was formed in 1869 by prominent bourgeois radicals and dissenters. Trade - unionists were elected to the executive - cooptation being easier than confrontation - and this united front was successful in forcing the government to pass the Education Bill of 1870. It was a classic piece of compromise legislation. Church schools were left in being to conciliate both the powerful factions of Dissent and the Church of England. The Education Bill of 1870 was the most significant step towards universal education and total control by the bourgeois state taken in the 19th Century.

An unprecedented provision was made for locally elected school boards to levy a rate for education and to build schools where these were lacking. (thus conciliating secularist tendencies among trade - unionists). Furthermore, these boards had the power to enforce the attendance of children under thirteen. ⁴⁴

It was as has been suggested earlier, the response of a bourgeoisie which had at last gained virtual control of the state only to perceive, virtually simultaneously, the threat which organized, politicized labour posed to their hegemony. The response was classic: first coopt, then control. The universalization of elementary education was only a measure of the bourgeois estimation of its value to itself. The

reforms brought about little change in the nature of working class education. The pupil - teacher and payment by results systems persisted. The bourgeoisie was reluctant to pay a high price for the social control it derived from education: it remained schooling on the cheap.

Into the 20th Century education remained rigidly stratified by class. Elementary education, compulsory between the ages of five and fourteen, ended in a blind alley. 93% of the school age population attended elementary school. Only 12% attended secondary school (and of that 12%, 7% came from private preparatory schools, not from the mass elementary sector). The degree of mobility from one system to another was insignificant.⁴⁵ English education was a class system. It was to legitimate the status quo by ideological domination in its curriculum, legitimate social relations in its structure (only 'bright' children went to secondary schools), and replicate the relations of production in its organization. Thus the structure of English education confirms the major theoretical hypotheses discussed in the introduction. Class conflict shaped the diverse outcomes which each social class sought from education. The working class initially resisted the efforts of the ruling class to colonize it ideologically. This resistance can be measured by continued working class support for dame schools and later by self-help education in Mechanic's Institutes. Bourgeois philosophers advocated working class education as a means of

socializing labour into an acquiescence in the advancement of industrial capitalism and an acceptance through 'enlightened self-interest' of its position in the division of labour. Working class self-education programmes threatened this ideological hegemony. The bourgeoisie reacted by moving in the 1870 Education Bill towards complete state control of elementary education through subsidization by taxation and the provision to compel attendance. This legislation in one sense can be seen as paving the way for increased bourgeois hegemony in intensifying the role of education in the maintenance of the capitalist social order. In another sense, however, it represented a triumph of working class politics in gaining for the working class what was perceived as a desirable outcome: The improved provision of elementary education. The fact that this would be controlled by the bourgeois state rather than the working class itself should not be allowed to obscure the role of class conflict in educational reform nor should it be seen as signalling the end of working class agitation for educational change in England. In the 20th Century the working class continued to put forth new demands on the educational system, for more and better quality schooling. Reforms such as the creation of free places in secondary schools, the development of secondary moderns, and more recently comprehensivization can be seen partially as the products of working class demands and class conflict. These concessions, of course, equally demonstrate

the flexibility of the bourgeoisie in maintaining education as an important agent for the institutional reproduction of capitalist society.

The analysis of the English educational experience not only substantiates the major hypotheses which will be tested by referring to Jamaican data in Chapter 5 and 6, it also provides concrete evidence of educational practices which would be drawn on by Jamaican educators in the colonial era. In addition the role of class conflict in the development of English education alerts the sociologist to the need for recognition of social classes as actors in the evolution of social structure. Rather than viewing Jamaican social classes as passive and inert, acted upon willy nilly by the productive relations of their society this analysis will attempt to portray the role of class conflict and class ideologies as mediating the influence of the relations of production upon the institutional superstructure of colonial Jamaica. To this end Chapter 4 is devoted to a detailed analysis of the nature of social class in colonial Jamaica.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Gordon op. cit. p. 60.
2. Sherry Keith, 'Education and Dependent Capitalist Development - The Jamaican Case', Latin American Perspectives, Spring 1978.
3. Horn, op. cit. p. 2.
4. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit. p. 50.
5. Horn, op. cit. p. 16.
6. Ibid, p. 18.
7. Thomas W. Laquer, 'Working Class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education', in Lawrence Stone (ed.) Schooling and Society, John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1976, p. 192.
8. Ibid, pp. 199-202.
9. Horn, op. cit. p. 15.
10. Ibid, p. 11.
11. John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education, London, 1974, p. 184.
12. Horn, op. cit. p. 12.
13. Hans, op. cit. p. 135.
14. Ibid, p. 133.
15. Idem.
16. Horn, op. cit. p. 34.
17. Ibid, p. 33.
18. Ibid, p. 34.
19. cited in Horn, op. cit. p. 41.

20. Ibid, p. 46.
21. Ibid, p. 44.
22. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit. p. 38.
23. Idem.
24. Hans, op. cit. p. 134.
25. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit. p. 36.
26. Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Vol. 12, Bk. 5, Ch. 1, p. 267.
27. Vaughan and Archer, op. cit. p. 64.
28. Adam Smith, op. cit. p. 268.
29. Ibid, p. 273.
30. Simon, op. cit. p. 78.
31. Ibid, pp. 80-81.
32. Ibid, p. 82.
33. Ibid, p. 131.
34. Ibid, p. 136,
35. Ibid, p. 127.
36. Hans, op. cit. p. 135.
37. Horn, op. cit. p. 52.
38. Ibid; pp. 72-73.
39. Simon, op. cit., p. 347.
40. Horn, op. cit. p. 125.
41. Ibid, p. 118.
42. Simon, op. cit. pp. 350-356.
43. Ibid, p. 357.
44. Ibid, p. 358.
45. Hans, op. cit. p. 256.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GENESIS OF SOCIAL CLASS IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PLANTATION SOCIETY

4.1 INTRODUCTION: CLASS STRUCTURE IN JAMAICA

Class society in Jamaica during the colonial period evolved from one in which the distinction between classes was simple and brutal - that between owner and chattel - to one in which, although the basic relationship of domination - subordination remained constant, there existed a relatively complex hierarchy of classes and sub-strata. In the earliest stages of Jamaican class-society the fact of slavery and the simple productive relations of the plantation demanded only the most rudimentary 'education' for the slave-worker. The whip and the threat of a violent death took care of the socialization needs of the society. By the end of the colonial period a complex arrangement of both elementary and secondary schooling was in place. As the evolution of class society and of education in Jamaica seem to go hand in hand it is worth while considering the former in some detail before proceeding to the analysis of the latter which forms the subject-matter of the substantive chapters.

Social class, as it exists today in Jamaica, is an

artifact of a peculiar social system which has functioned for over 400 years: the plantation. The plantation and the political economy pertaining to it have structured all social relations in the island's history, and in modified form continue to do so to this day. It will be argued that the plantation was, and is to this day, a quasi - industrial formation, and that those who labour upon it therefore assume many of the characteristics of an industrial proletariat. Furthermore, it will be shown that the plantation's requirement for labour determined the social relations of a society in which it was the dominant mode of production. These social relations were the product of the voracious demand for labour of a vigorous, if early, manifestation of capitalist productive relations. The plantation in turn exhausted the possibilities of white indentured labour, of African slave labour, and of Asiatic indentured labour. Whether free, or bonded, these successive occupants of the role of plantation labour force occupied the same position vis a vis capitalist relations of production. Race was coincidental, although as an eminently visible 'class' marker proved to be fruitful in the generation of racist ideologies of inferiority which greatly assisted the control of labour. As the plantation system developed and diversified so the class system became elaborated and there evolved between the proletariat of field labour and the ruling class owning the means of production in plantation form, various ambiguous strata which will be

styled 'petty - bourgeois'. This stratum was involved in petty commodity production, skilled trades, retail trades and the lesser professions. A further distinction grew up within the ruling class itself as a result of the inexorable logic of an exploitative relation between metropole and colony: the distinction between resident and absentee elements which formed respectively, a 'satellite' and 'metropolitan' ruling class.

Following these introductory remarks, this chapter will be divided into three sections. Firstly, a brief historical survey of Jamaica will be undertaken to provide a framework for subsequent argument. Secondly, there will be an examination of the proletariat and its relation to the plantation mode of production. Also in this section some consideration will be given to differentiation within the proletariat leading to the emergence of various ambiguous strata. Thirdly, this chapter will deal with the ruling class and its peculiarly deformed character in the conjuncture of an exploitative colony. Lastly, a brief summary of class conflict will be given to provide a background knowledge of the conflicting interests and ideologies which often shaped educational developments during the colonial period.

4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

The first phase of English settlement from 1655-1700 was characterized by two main features. The first was the

largely ineffectual effort to people the island with white settlers to engage in small - scale, mixed - crop, agriculture. The second was the hugely successful activities of the Buccaneers who were little more than pirates, licensed by the government to undertake the maritime defence of the island. Their plunder of Spanish treasure ships brought vast quantities of wealth into Jamaica and engendered a commercial boom, which was comparatively short - lived and in all probability added little to the long term development of the island.¹

Attempts to establish a white settler class engaging in mixed agriculture on a commercial basis were, however, conspicuously unsuccessful. Partly this was a corollary of the prominence of piracy with its lure of instant wealth. In addition there was little profit, to be had from the mix of sugar, cocoa, cotton, dyewood, salt, pepper, pimento, drugs, and cochineal which were the major commodity crops being grown at that time.² The most profitable crop, cocoa, was wiped out by disease towards the end of the 17th Century. In addition a catastrophic succession of disasters overtook Jamaica between 1689 and 1710. Hurricane, earthquake and invasion destroyed the embryonic infrastructure for settler agriculture and the population plummeted.³ Patterson⁴ gives estimates for the white population of 2442 in 1695 and 1390 in 1696. It was in this context of shrinking population and undeveloped agriculture that the sugar plantation gained its stranglehold on Jamaica. By the beginning of the 18th Century

many small - holdings had been destroyed by being forced to sell out because of disasters and losses. This resulted in the consolidation of large land -holdings. In the years from 1673 to 1739, the population of slaves increased from 9500 to 99000.⁵

This profound change, from simple and diversified small scale settler agriculture to large - scale industrial mono - crop production of sugar signals the transition into the second stage of the British colonization of Jamaica from 1700 - 1774, 'the golden period of prosperity'.⁶ This expansion was made possible by the expansion of the holdings of old settlers who had elected to stay through the disastrous years of the late 17th Century and consequently secured their neighbours' small - holdings for little or nothing. At the same time sugar was transformed in the markets of Europe from a 'rare and expensive delicacy' into a 'household item'.⁷ The consolidation of large - scale holdings and the elimination of small settlements wrought havoc with the ethnic balance of Jamaica. The needs of the burgeoning sugar plantations for ever greater quantities of labour were voracious and quickly resulted in the relatively small and static white population being swamped by the thousands of African slaves they imported. The island legislature recognized the risk in such an imbalance and passed the so- called 'Deficiency Acts' in 1702 and 1720 to attempt to remedy the situation to some extent. These required planters to keep a certain

number of white servants: one to every twenty or thirty blacks. In the event of a slave insurrection these whites could readily be enlisted in the island militia. However, these laws were ineffectual either as a means of promoting white settlement or of achieving any semblance of a racial balance.⁸

Thus during the 18th Century, Jamaica's character as an island sugar factory became firmly established and finally dispelled any prospect of the island becoming a settler colony in the sense of supporting a British emigrant population as the colonies of North America did. The figures for the production of sugar and its by-products, rum and molasses attest to the phenomenal growth that took place in these years. Sugar production more than doubled between 1739 and 1774 rising from just over 30,000 16cwt, hogsheads in 1739 to nearly 80,000 hogsheads in 1774. Rum production doubled over a shorter time-span from 10,000 púncheons in 1766 to over 26,000 in 1774.⁹

By 1774, then, 'the Island's conversion into a sphere of British capitalist exploitation'¹⁰ was complete and the contribution which the island made to the 'triangular trade' was vast. Historians, notably Eric Williams, have shown how the wealth generated by this trade gave an effectual impetus to the blossoming of mercantile, and later, industrial capitalism in Britain.¹¹ The effects upon Jamaica were considerably less salutary. The plantation was firmly ensconced as the

dominant mode of production and absenteeism established as the characteristic form of property ownership. The plantation's complex hierarchy of social relations came to be those of the island as a whole and remained unchanged for the remainder of the period of slavery. They cast their stamp ineluctably on the society which emerged after Emancipation. The slave masses toiled under rigorous supervision at the foot of the hierarchy, a fortunate few achieving a limited mobility either through the acquisition of skill or through miscegenation (although the two were commonly linked). At the top were the whites, aptly characterized by Paterson as a 'dual elite'. This consisted of a satellite ruling class which was dominated by the descendants of Scottish and Irish indentured servants who owned minor plantations and farms and managed the major plantations for the metropolitan ruling class which lived in splendour in London forming a dominant financial interest there.¹²

The final period of slave - society in Jamaica from 1774 to 1838 was marked by decline and indeed never again was the island to enjoy its former reputation as the 'jewel' in Britain's Imperial crown. This decline was precipitated by a complex of factors. It saw the effective demise of the absentee - planter class, the eventual collapse of many sugar plantations and the consolidation of those that remained under the aegis of corporate capitalism - possibly one of the earliest variants of this as new finance capitals in the

metropole sought colonial investments.

The 19th Century West Indian historian, Edwards, identified 1774 as the 'meridian' of Jamaica's prosperity. Immediately following this boom year came the American Revolution. This prevented the importation of necessary capital goods for the plantations and in addition deprived Jamaica of a vital market. A calamitous sequence of five hurricanes between 1780 and 1786 resulted in a famine in which between 15,000 and 16,000 slaves died. The legacy of inefficiency and isolation bred by the tradition of absentee landlordism meant the absence of management which was sufficiently adaptable or responsive to deal with these crises. The European Wars which were to last for the next twenty years caused widespread disruption in the Caribbean as the European powers vied for territory. In addition, Britain sharply increased sugar duties to meet her war expenses.¹⁴ The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 had drastic consequences on the demographic composition of the slave population. The African born slaves aged and became less productive and the Jamaican - born 'Creole' population did not reproduce itself sufficiently quickly to replace them. The slave system stood exposed in all its wastefulness and inefficiency. This must have contributed significantly to the pressure which came from the abolitionists and which eventually resulted in Emancipation in 1838.

The labour supply problems which had followed

abolition were greatly intensified by Emancipation and many plantations were declared bankrupt or simply abandoned. The financial woes of the planters were deepened at this time by the need to find liquid capital for a number of reasons. Firstly, slave labour was now wage-labour and wages had to be found. Secondly, increased competition from new areas exporting sugar, and still utilizing slave labour, such as Brazil and Cuba, necessitated technological innovation. Spin-off applications of the new industrial technology in the metropolis: narrow gauge railways for cane - transport, and steam power for the grinding mills could increase productivity but these developments were costly and capital intensive. There was no capital in many cases to meet these needs but often, rather, there were heavy debts to metropolitan finance houses. In an era when the efficacy of joint - stock companies for raising capital was being fully realized in the metropolis, applicability of this technique to the bankrupt sugar plantations became obvious. Many of the individual planters were already resident in the metropolis and had diversified interests in finance and industrial capital. Therefore there was little personal incentive to salvage the family plantation and every opportunity to incorporate West Indian assets into limited liability companies. The cumulative effect of these crises in the first decades of the 19th Century was the, 'general demise of the individual proprietary planter and ... the growth and concentration of corporate capital over the last

hundred years or so of the history of the plantation'.¹⁵

Financial manoeuvrings in London had little significance for the social structure in Jamaica. A substantial number of slave left the plantation environment altogether to become the nucleus of Jamaica's free peasantry carrying on subsistence and market agriculture on the unoccupied hill - lands and on abandoned plantations. It will be argued that many of these were already upwardly mobile in the context of plantation slavery. It was this class that arose in the so - called Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 in protest against the unfair taxation policies and land distribution which discriminated against them.¹⁶

However, other, less fortunate members of the ex - slave population were forced to combine subsistence agriculture on the margins of the plantations for part of the year with wage labour for the remainder of the year. Many others simply exchanged slave - labour for wage - labour and remained on the plantations under conditions which were not significantly removed from those they had endured during slavery. It was this class of peasant proletarians who took part in the Frome Riots of 1938 at the biggest Tate and Lyle refinery and plantation complex on the island. Labour unrest spread throughout the island for two months. Aggrey Brown notes that 'it is no more coincidence that the locus vivendi of the riots were the sugar and banana plantations'.¹⁷

These manifestations of social unrest in Jamaica evoked concern in England, especially from members of the Labour

Party, and resulted in the visit to the island of the Moyne Commission which investigated conditions of labour on the island. Among other things they recommended social welfare measures, a minimum wage, trade - unionism, universal suffrage and self - government. The last two measures were implemented in the Constitution of 1944. The new constitution notwithstanding it is clear that the position of the plantation worker over the century from 1838 when he was emancipated to 1938 when he finally rebelled (even if not very bloodily or conclusively) was characterized by stagnation. It was a period of advancement for the brown middle - class and the black free - peasantry, but for the agricultural proletariat of Jamaica - the great numerical majority it was a case of 'plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose', a motto often repeated in connection with Jamaica's social structure over its four hundred year history. It is to that social structure that this chapter returns in the next sections.

4.3 PROLETARIAT:

Some initial consideration must be given to the question of whether the various groups which composed the plantation labour force at different historical moments can be considered a proletariat. This question in turn hinges on the nature of the plantation system. Was it capitalist agro-industry (the position this chapter takes) or something else; quasi - feudal or slave society? The International

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences is illuminating on the unique characteristics of the plantation.

A plantation is an economic unit producing agricultural commodities ... for sale and employing a relatively large number of unskilled labourers whose activities are closely supervised. Plantations usually employ a year - round labour - crew of some size, and they usually specialize in the production of only one or two marketable products. They differ from other kinds of farms in the way in which the factors of production, primarily management and labour are combined ... the plantation substitutes supervision - supervisory and administrative skills - for skilled, adaptive, labour, combining the supervision with labour whose principal skill is to follow orders. ¹⁸

Two significant facts emerge from this definition of a plantation. The first is the concentration on one or two crops for sale; i.e. the specialized production of a commodity for an external market. This alone effectively differentiates the plantation from the feudal manor. The manor was characterized by diversification and self - sufficiency whereas the plantation specialized to the point where it was even dependent on the importation of food requirements.¹⁹ The second important fact is that plantation labour is unskilled and closely supervised. Clearly educational requirements for plantation labour were very limited. This is much more characteristic of the modern, industrial wage - worker than it is of the feudal serf or peasant. Furthermore, as Eric Williams has documented, huge profits were produced in the Jamaican plantation in its heyday.²⁰ It is inescapable that

plantation workers in Jamaica produced profit far in excess of the wages they were paid in the case of indentured or free labour or the value slaves received in the forms of food, clothing and shelter. Sidney Mintz in Caribbean Transformation emphasizes the similarities between slaves and workers in capitalist society. Slaves'

primary function was to serve as manual labourers engaged in production, in production in excess of consumption, that is, in the production of market commodities, in production for the gain of the master and the metropolis. These were no serfs toiling on isolated manors, no captives of war endowing their masters with prestige, but industrial workers whose work was principally agricultural. 21

The evidence above is persuasive in arguing for the industrial nature of the plantation and the proletarian nature of the labour which it required. Because the plantation workers produced a commodity for sale, were unskilled but closely supervised, and produced value in excess of that which they received, therefore they constituted a proletariat albeit a distinctive and early variant.

The fundamental problem for the entrepreneur engaging in plantation production was the supply of labour. As Eric Williams²² has pointed out, without labour the Caribbean Island would have been deserts in spite of European arms, European capital and technical knowledge, and European ambition. Slavery was not the first solution that was attempted to the labour problem in Jamaica.

As has been suggested in the historical preamble to this chapter there was a preliminary, if short-lived, attempt to settle the colony with Englishmen utilizing free white labour, although sometimes the means used to secure this labour supply verged on coercion.²³ However, the supply of white labour, even when bonded, indentured, lured or press-ganged into the service of Jamaican planters was erratic and unreliable. An explanation for this can be given utilizing the concepts of 'closed' and 'open' resource patterns first expounded by the anthropologist H.J. Nieboer in 1900 in his classic study Slavery as an Industrial System.²⁴ The situation on the initial settlement of Jamaica by the English approximated to the 'open - resource' model where there is ample free land and scarce labour. Under these circumstances the entrepreneur cannot derive profit from the employment of needy labourers nor extract rent from scarce resources. Once the white indentured servant's period of labour which he had contracted for was over, there was little incentive to remain in the employment of the planter when the possibilities for independent cultivation were almost limitless. Free labour can only provide profit to the entrepreneur in a 'closed resource' situation when supply of labour exceeds demand and where the labourer has no direct access to the means of production, particularly land, and must therefore sell his labour at the going market price.²⁵ Even had the planters engrossed all available land resources (problematic in a mountainous land of 4,400 square

miles) the scarcity of white labour would have ensured that its price remained too high for the planters' operations to have been profitable. Thus the necessary adjunct of 'closed resources', hunger, which drove the English peasantry into the role of an industrial working class, was conspicuously absent in the early days of English settlement in Jamaica, and if a labour - force would not materialize 'freely' (compelled by the necessity to live) then it would have to be dragooned. Thus the decision to turn to the African slave trade for labour was not a consequence of race, but rather of the need to acquire a labouring class by force to carry on the work of the plantations. The confinement of slavery prevented the Africans from taking the course of free white labourers and cultivating the free land. Furthermore, the very success of the slave - plantation system resulted in the thorough exploitation of land resources, thus there was less free land available a very few years after the inception of slavery.

Although the 'open resource' situation in the 17th Century militated against the formation of a 'free' proletariat, the situation had altered significantly when the slaves were free, almost two hundred years later in 1838. By that time the consolidation of the large sugar - plantations had proceeded apace. Although significant tracts of land existed on the margins of the sugar plantations, in the hills, and on abandoned plantations, nonetheless the resource situation

approximated to the 'closed' end of the model. Thus there was available the nucleus of a free proletariat who were forced to labour for subsistence wages in crop - time. A significant free peasant class existed and thrived but many more were marginal and forced to seek wage labour during peak demand seasons. Even today the land - distribution in Jamaica is grossly unequal: the peasant is still forced onto marginal land while the large plantation or farm engrosses the greater part of the fertile plains.

distribution of land in farms in Jamaica shows a very unequal pattern - farms under five acres in size, constituting the land of the bulk of the peasantry, represent 71% of all farms in the country but together they occupy only 12% of total farm acreage. On the other hand plantations are less than 1% of all farms yet these occupy 56% of total farm acreage. 26

This resource situation ensures a willing supply of labour in 'crop - time', which subsists, barely, on pathetically small acreages during the out - of - crop season. This can be conceived of as a situation of labour reserves, a reserve army of labour kept on call through subsistence, and entering wage relations during demand periods.

Thus since the 18th Century there has been a continuity of proletarian labour and although historically this took various forms, it has been an inseparable component of the productive relations of the plantation. The remainder of this discussion on the Jamaican proletariat will centre on its various historical manifestations and the class fractions

which have evolved out of it. The discussion will be divided into three sections, subtitled 'Yeomen', 'Bondsmen', and 'Freedmen'. The first will deal briefly with the proto-proletariat of white indentured servants. The second will be concerned with the slave - proletariat which has been most significant in terms of historical duration and of impact on the social structure of Jamaica. The third section will investigate the nature of the peasant proletariat which emerged after Emancipation.

4.31 YEOMEN:

The first white settlers depended for labour on a supply of indentured servants from the British Isles. Evidence suggests that these were marginal elements displaced from the countryside by the upheavals inherent in the twin processes of feudal decay and capitalist growth.

Peter Simmons account of the origins of the 'Red - legs' of ²⁷ Barbados, anachronistic survival of such early white servants, is valuable in understanding the origins of this first West Indian proletariat.

...The transformation of the feudal economy following the introduction of the enclosure system left in its wake a large, hungry reserve on the labour market as masses of peasants were squeezed off the land and into pauperism. The ruling elite, concerned about a burgeoning population, chronic unemployment, escalating crime, and the prospect of mass starvation.. welcomed emigration to the New World as a conduit to channel off the potential for an explosion which threatened mass destruction.²⁸

A contemporary commentator dismissed Barbados as 'the dunghill whereon England cast forth its rubbish, its rogues and prostitutes'.²⁹ It is doubtful that he would have found any more savoury the character of the indentured servants who were brought to Jamaica. These included petty thieves, debt prisoners, gypsies and labour organizers. Cromwell also used the Antilles as a conveniently remote location for hundreds of Irish revolutionaries.³⁰

These elements were inherently transient and proceeded over time to radically diverse social and geographical locations. Once their period of indenture was over they either settled in Jamaica as small-scale agriculturalists or moved elsewhere in the New World in search of greater opportunities. As white labour proved uneconomical for the planters their place was gradually taken over by African slaves. With the transition to sugar mono - culture and slave labour there was a significant shift in the social status of the white proletarian. Gradually he moved into the supervisory - managerial hierarchy of the plantation.³¹ The records of Worthy Park Estate, St. John's Parish, Jamaica which have been painstakingly investigated and analyzed by Michael Craton and his associates,³² show that for 1680, besides the owning family there were 58 slaves and 7 servants, (white, indentured). By 1750 there were over 200 slaves and although the number of whites had remained constant these were now recorded as supervisory or skilled staff.³³ It

would be fine from this upwardly mobile supervisory-managerial stratum of the white population that the demand would come for local secondary schooling. Too poor to emulate the richest planters who hired tutors or sent their sons to prestigious English schools and yet too proud to deny their offspring the status derived from such education, the white 'secondary elite' would turn to local alternatives.

For those whites who did not manage to move into the hierarchy of plantation management, the options were limited. Either they drifted on to another island, or to one of the North American colonies, or they remained like the Red - legs of Barbados as a marginal group facing eventual extinction. The upward mobility of this group with the importation of a new proletarian stratum should not be allowed to conceal the fact that at the outset they composed the first plantation proletariat with little, except skin colour, to distinguish them from their successors.³⁴

4.32 BONDSMEN:

This chapter has already argued at some length for the identification of the slaves who laboured on Jamaica's sugar plantations as a proletariat in an agro - industrial capitalist enterprise. Little has been said, however, concerning the slaves themselves and the actual labour processes involved in the plantation production of sugar. It is

to this aspect of the topic that the paper now turns. C.L.R. James' classic description of slaves at work in the fields evokes vividly what must have been the reality of labour on a plantation.

They were about a hundred men and women of different ages, all occupied in digging ditches in a cane - field, the majority of them naked or covered with rags. The sun shone down with full force on their heads. Sweat rolled from all parts of their bodies. Their limbs, weighed down by the heat, fatigued with the weight of their picks and by the resistance of the clayey soil baked hard enough to break their implements, strained themselves to overcome every obstacle. A mournful silence reigned. Exhaustion was stamped on every face, but the hour of rest had not come. The pitiless eye of the Manager patrolled the gang and several foremen armed with long whips moved periodically among them, giving stinging blows to all who, worn out by fatigue, were compelled to take a rest - men or women, young or old. 35

This type of labour, or work comparable in terms of effort, boredom, and degree of supervision, was the lot of the vast majority of plantation slaves. Michael Craton's figures for Worthy Park Estates, 1787-1838, show that 63% of the total slave population was directly engaged in labour geared to sugar production (as opposed to domestic, crafts, watchmen, etc.).³⁶ There is no reason to suppose that this figure is unrepresentative of other estates in Jamaica although Worthy Park was more successful than most, managing to survive as a profitable operation to the present day.

Field - labour as described above was by no means

the most exhausting or unpleasant of the sorry complement of tasks involved in the production of sugar. Work in the savage heat of the boiling house, constantly skimming the dross off the bubbling vats of molten sugar must have been literally hellish. Slaves were employed to constantly feed the insatiable appetities of the furnaces with a diet of cane - trash, discarded when the cane was chopped. Others were forced to 'dance' on the treadmill to provide power to the cane--grinding plant when wind or water power failed. The infrastructure of roads and factory and other buildings demanded further supplies of unskilled labour for its upkeep. All this labour partook of almost every characteristic of modern industrial labour, except of course for wages. The slave - labourers, unsurprisingly, were as alienated as their industrial counterparts. Escape (often resulting in death), self - mutilation, suicide, malingering and self-concealment were common symptoms of that alienation. Symptomatic too was the 'Quashie' or 'Sambo' mentality, a unique blend of assumed chronic stupidity, guile, evasiveness and mendacity which was seen as characteristic of slaves by their masters but which served the slaves well both as a mask for their real feelings and as a counter - productive weapon in their war against the labour process which enslaved them.³⁷

It may be hypothesized that in the early years of slavery in Jamaica the slaves formed a relatively unstratified mass of labourers, of both sexes, young and old, engaged in

tasks such as those described above together with those women and children necessary to the reproduction of labour power. (although there is some evidence that African authority figures such as elders were valued as drivers of their fellow slaves thus suggesting that stratification already existed to a limited extent).³⁸

The "seasoning" of newly arrived slaves by well assimilated elders and creole (Jamaican born) slaves was a rudimentary training process consisting of labour on the senior slaves' vegetable plots. This no doubt included much informal advice concerning plantation life and labour. This socialization represented the only 'educational' experience available to the African-born slave.³⁹ 'Education' for the creole slave consisted of 'on the job' training commencing around the age of four in the pickney (children) gang which generally carried out light work such as weeding or gathering fodder. The slave child would graduate to even more demanding tasks as soon as its physical development permitted it. Increasingly the more assimilated Creole slaves were favoured for jobs which required additional responsibility and skills, for example trades.⁴⁰ From the evidence that exists on slavery in Jamaica it is clear that a hierarchy appeared in the slave population based to differing degrees on skill, responsibility and colour.⁴¹

Craton⁴² has suggested that the position of slaves in the plantation hierarchy depended largely on their functional

value and the degree of scarcity of their skills. Once again, his findings are derived from an examination of the records of Worthy Park estates although he also draws on comparative material abstracted from the records of other Jamaican plantations. Higman⁴³ has also made extensive cliometric analysis of other Jamaican plantations with substantially similar results. Thus it seems fairly safe to generalize from these sources to the overall social structure of slave society in Jamaica.

The slave hierarchy ran all the way from drivers and driveresses, headmen and headwomen who formed an elite with clear supervisory powers over their fellow slaves and who enjoyed many privileges in consequence of their position to the pathetic discards who had been physically ruined by labour and who were estimated at derisory values.⁴⁴ An examination of the labour processes of 'head' craftsmen indicates the width of the gulf which separated them from the unskilled field labourers who made up the bulk of the population. These men had supervisory positions over other craftsmen and were highly skilled - the success of a plantation in any one crop year frequently depending on their judgement. Mistakes by drivers, who supervised all field labour, head - boilermen, head - distillers or head - coopers were potentially incredibly costly.

The discussion of the slave craftsmen is not intended to glorify the institution of slavery or to gloss over the

hardship and brutal supervision which characterized the lot of the great mass of slave labour. It has been made clear that the great majority of slaves were always simple field labourers engaging in unskilled, burdensome and repetitive tasks. For one 'head' craftsman there were three hundred slaves classified as labourers.⁴⁵ The purpose rather is to indicate the diversity of slave labour and the widely divergent values placed upon it according to skill and scarcity. These values were expressed not only in the absolute market value of a slave but also in the quantities of cloth and other provisions which were provided for slaves in each category.⁴⁶

There was a significant correlation between membership in one of these elite positions and skin - colour. Miscegenation had been a significant factor from the outset promoted by the shortage of white women and the power relation between master and slave which promoted the sexual exploitation of slave women by white men. Children of mixed parentage who were fortunate enough to have fathers of means or influence were frequently manumitted and persons in this category 'free persons of colour' grew to occupy an ambiguous social position between the ruling class and the proletariat as minor administrators and tradesmen although some rose to be proprietors in their own right. However, those who were less fortunate and who sprang from the loins of minor book - keepers and white craftsmen, remained in the slave labour

force, albeit disproportionately represented in the skilled and specialist strata. For example, in Worthy Park, in 1796 coloureds made up 60% of domestics and 25% of craftsmen, when they comprised only 6.6% of the population overall. Over the whole period, 50% of domestics were coloured, and 15% of craftsmen, though the coloureds made up 8% of the population.⁴⁷ For slave craftsmen who were the off spring of white-craftsman fathers, education consisted of the traditional pattern of passing on a trade-skill from father to son. In the absence of a kinship-tie, the socialization of slave-craftsmen followed the familiar apprenticeship model. They were thus often triply privileged: educationally (through apprenticeship), economically (they received superior rations and were often permitted to keep a part of the hire their masters charged), and racially (a higher than expected incidence of mulattoes occupied craft-positions).⁴⁸

Thus mobility in the slave hierarchy could be achieved either through the acquisition of skill and responsibility or through adulteration with white blood. Whatever their origin, members of the slave elite were uniquely well placed to move into superior positions as independent peasants and tradesmen following Emancipation. The prerogatives of elite slaves, superior rations of clothing, food and rum were a tacit admission that they maintained a household. Furthermore they tended to possess a garden plot of greater than the average size. (all slaves were expected to grow their own ground

provisions). This gave them the opportunity to produce in excess of their own requirements and to produce food for sale thus accumulating capital. Furthermore by nature of their supervisory role, elite slaves could often enlist the help of inferior slaves in the guise of 'training' or 'seasoning' them. This practice was never officially sanctioned but the scarcity value of the skills which the elite slaves possessed allowed them considerable leeway in their dealings with the white master - class.⁴⁹ Skilled slaves were often 'jobbed out' by their owners and allowed to keep a percentage of the fee charged for their services. This too added to the elite slaves' stock of capital. The internal provision market of the island was solely in the hands of the slaves by the middle of the 18th Century. The historian, Long, writing in 1774, calculated that of the £50,000 in currency circulating in the island £10,000 was in the possession of the slaves.⁵⁰

All this was of vital importance for social class formation in Jamaica for it strongly suggests that there were ambiguous strata at the top of the slave - proletariat and that these strata were poised to emerge as a distinctive, prosperous, peasant class on the Emancipation of the slaves. 'Certain elite slaves could quite easily in 1838 move into a minor landowning, employers' role that was simply an extension of practices already initiated informally!'.⁵¹ This stratum was also best placed to 'benefit from the educational provisions of the dissenting churches which, due to planter - opposition,

were often forced to locate out with the plantations. After Emancipation these churches played a major role in the re-settlement of slaves in free villages. This strengthened the tendency for the new free peasant stratum to become the major beneficiary of education provided by the dissenting missionaries.

However, the majority of slaves were not so well prepared. For them the dawn of the era of Emancipation must have been bleak indeed, promising as it did the exchange of the whip for the cash nexus.

4.33 FREEDMEN:

From regarding slaves as chattels to whom one had certain minimal obligations of preservation and care, after Emancipation the ex-slaves were regarded simply as a competitive labour pool, living outside the estate's boundaries, employed only when strictly required at rates that were second only to starving, and forced to fend entirely for themselves when not employed. This remained the standard policy until the day before yesterday, if not to the very present. 52

Although the psychological and moral benefits of Emancipation may have been immense, for the great bulk of the slaves, the 60 - 70% who composed the field labour proletariat, the material and economic benefits may have seemed less tangible as the disinterested cash nexus of the free labour market replaced the brutal but interested regime of the slave owner. In some ways their situation may have been worse. A

look at the economic motivation behind Emancipation sheds light on the new conditions which the employers expected to create for their slaves by the measure which freed them.

Some attention was given in the earlier historical review to the crisis in the West Indian sugar industry between 1774 and 1838. This can simply be summarized as a crisis of profitability - of rapidly rising costs and falling prices. Faced with this crisis, plantation owners looked for ways in which to produce the same amount with fewer workers. The slaves could be seen as a fixed, capital cost, and moreover one whose productivity was falling. This was a consequence of a demographic imbalance in the slave population. As the African born slaves aged and became non-productive, their places were not filled with a sufficient number of Creole slaves.⁵³ The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 by England (as distinct from slavery itself which was not abolished until 1832) had cut off the source of new African slaves although some smuggling continued. The burden of maintaining the non-productive now outweighed the advantages inherent in having a coerced labour force. Moreover, as has already been indicated, the land resources of the island were now much closer to the 'closed' pattern which would compel a significant proportion of the slave-population to seek work whenever it was offered. Furthermore, there was the moral - ideological pressure of those who opposed slavery on humanitarian grounds, and of the

rising bourgeoisie whose laissez faire economic philosophy abhorred the whole sugar industry with its protectionist tariffs and slave - labour as a monstrous perversion of the free-market system.⁵⁴ It also meant that sugar was more expensive for the proletariat in England. A few enlightened planters among satellite ruling class recognized an identity of interest with the metropolitan bourgeoisie realizing the advantages of a free wage labour force. Most, however, opposed it. The apathy and conflicting interests of the absentee owners in conjunction with the determination and ideological unity of the English bourgeoisie overwhelmed the largely impotent protests of the resident - planters class and Emancipation became a fact in 1838.⁵⁵ There are reasonable grounds, some of which have been explained above, for regarding it as a piece of legislation which was rather less than completely altruistic in intent, or effect. The conflict of interests over the issue of Emancipation demonstrates clearly the existence of class struggle between the metropolitan bourgeoisie and absentee owners on the one hand and the satellite, planter-ruling class on the other. This struggle will be analyzed below in the course of discussion concerning the various strata of the Jamaican ruling class.

The most dynamic social consequence to emerge from Emancipation was the creation of a free peasant stratum. In part this was a product of forces which had already existed within the plantation: the ambiguous slave strata with their

ambitious market orientation. To this extent it was simply a solidification of an embryonic class tendency which was already present in slave society. However, various non-conformist church groups, notably the Baptists, acquired land on a huge scale and settled it with ex-slaves, thus consciously recruiting members to the peasant class, over and above those who made the transition independently.⁵⁶ There is reason to doubt that this 'Free Village System' embraced the majority of the slave proletariat. Evidence suggests that those slaves most likely to be within the ambit of the church, baptized with 'Christian' names, etc., were already in a favoured position within the plantation hierarchy and it stands to reason that these were the slaves who were best placed to benefit from the favours of the Church when it came to the distribution of plots in the Free Villages. Naturally the children of this stratum would be disproportionately represented in the Church schools. This exaggerated further the privileged position of the free peasant stratum vis a vis the majority of the peasant-proletariat. Thus the intervention of the Church in the composition of the free peasant class, rather than countervailing existing stratification, probably augmented the class formation tendency of the better - off slaves becoming the better - off freedman.

It seems probable that there was more continuity than change in the Jamaican social structure following the Emancipation of the slaves, the hierarchy of wage - workers paralleling the hierarchy of valuations placed on the slaves. Once

again, those who possessed skills which were scarce and in demand, could command higher wages and aspire to a life-style which was out of reach of the majority of plantation wage-labourers.⁵⁷ The post - Emancipation, ex-slave hierarchy, had its own upper stratum parallel to that of drivers and head craftsmen during slavery, and consisting of prosperous free peasants and prosperous free craftsmen. This stratum may have been less exclusive than its predecessor, but only slightly so. It can be termed an ambiguous stratum and was distinguished by its relative freedom from dependency on the plantations, and its 'respectability' expressed through close links with the dissenting churches and superior access to church provision of elementary education. The economic determination of the ambiguous free-peasant stratum did not, however, prevent it from acting in solidarity with the remainder of the black, ex-slave, working class in ideological and political struggle.

However, there was a large grey area of the peasantry who were not and never could be free from the influence of the plantation. That is the section that was caught in the bind of a pattern of 'closing' if not yet 'closed' resources. The white master-class effectively monopolized the means of production on the land. Only a limited acreage was capable of supporting truly independent peasant activity. The remainder of the land was on the margin of the plantation and insufficient in terms of either quantity or quality to

support independent peasants. The masses, therefore, were still dependent on the plantation for wage-labour to supplement their subsistence agriculture with cash for needful non-agricultural commodities. Thus there arose a peasant proletariat whose marginal, hand to mouth existence is aptly described in the quotation with which this section opened. In addition substantial numbers remained totally dependent on the plantation and lived there as a resident labour force. In terms of material conditions there was probably little to distinguish these two strata although the latter, totally lacking in control over their means of production, were in a technical sense a more purely proletarian stratum.

The continued dependence of these strata on the plantation for wage-labour and on subsistence agriculture for food made the question of their participation in schooling an academic one. The dissenting missionaries who urged the importance of an educated wage-labour force as a prerequisite for social order ignored the social control aspects of the peasant-proletariats relation to the means of production. Hunger and virtual starvation wages forced participation in the wage-labour force and simultaneously ensured class reproduction through subsistence agriculture. Child-labour was a necessity and children's experience of the labour process constituted virtually the only form of socialization necessary to ensure their reproduction as labour power. The marginal relationship of these strata to the means of production

contributed to their acquiescence in the continuation of the social order until the riots of 1938 disturbed the status quo. Other factors, undoubtedly, were also important. It is not within the scope of this analysis to examine the role of the repressive state apparatus in maintaining social order during the century of freedom 1838-1938. Nor has it proved possible to examine symptoms of working class resistance such as pradiial larceny, participation in Africanized millennial cults, or rural exodus which give the tie to the idea of a century of social order. Nevertheless these factors must be considered in any detailed analysis of class conflict (or its absence) in the century between Emancipation and the Frome Riots of 1838.

The impact of the plantation on the social structure of Jamaica and the lives of its inhabitants was not, then, effectually diminished by the abolition of slavery. In 1960, 300 estates of over 500 acres occupied 40% of the agricultural land. From 1964-66, sugar accounted for 23% of total exports. The value of sugar production and its by-products was 42% of the G.D.P. of the agricultural sector. Plantations occupied most of the best arable land and were the largest single employer of labour on the island.⁵⁸ As a mode of production, the plantation is still efficacious in keeping thousands of Jamaicans in such a marginal situation that they are forced to do labour which is profoundly distateful to them.⁵⁹ Even a brief tour in Jamaica today reveals a startling contrast

between the reasonable prosperity of the hill communities which freed themselves from the plantations' influence, and the abject poverty of the settlements which cluster in the plains of sugar cane. To conclude this section on the proletariat of Jamaica it is fitting to listen for the echo of an earlier refrain 'plus ca change ...

4.4 RULING CLASS:

In some respects the Jamaican ruling class presents a similar pattern of change in continuity as did the proletariat. A succession of ethnic and cultural groups moved through the island, each maintaining a similar position in the social structure. The first ruling class consisted of elements of the first settlers who persevered in the face of adversity at the close of the 17th Century, engrossed large areas of land and initiated the monoculture of sugar. Although a few amongst them, notably Lord Modyford, an early governor of the island who introduced the plantation system from Barbados, were nobly born, most were commoners. The original Price, the founder of Worthy Park Estates in the 17th Century was a soldier of fortune. Two hundred years later, his descendant, Rose Price, was the heir to a baronetcy, extensive land - holdings in Cornwall, England, and, of course, the sugar fortune derived from Worthy Park. The ancestral Price spent his whole life on the island. Rose Price made a tour of three years (which was considered exceptionally long for

an English gentleman planter) during which he modernized and reorganized production on the Estates. This pattern of early settlement and later absenteeism is representative of the original Jamaican ruling class. The absentee element controlled the great burden of the island's resources during the peak - years of sugar production and became a part of the metropolitan ruling class. It was supplanted as a resident ruling class by the Scots and Irish descendants of white indentured servants. The necessity of educating their children in Jamaica forced this stratum to develop the first secondary schools in the late 18th Century. This element can be known as the satellite ruling class. The distinction between resident management and absentee ownership and control, introduced a dichotomy to the island ruling class which persisted throughout the years prior to Emancipation and survived to 1944 in the variant form of multi-national control. Corporations such as the United Fruit Company of Boston, the first multi-national to exploit Jamaica's bananas, Tate and Lyle involved in sugar, or Barclays or Bank of Nova Scotia in finance were all characterized by management at the satellite level, ownership and control in the metropolises. The dichotomized nature of the Jamaican ruling class provided ample possibility for conflict between the satellite stratum and the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Substantial difference of interest between the two emerged over Emancipation (1836), Crown Colony government (1865), Imperial free-trade policies and over educational

policy.

The Scottish and Irish satellite bourgeoisie eventually gave way to coloured elements. This mulatto or 'brown' class, the descendants of manumitted free persons of colour, survived in substantially the same class location within the political economy of the plantation, and spread horizontally to occupy cognate positions in the other industries of a diversified economy. There was a continuity of metropolitan ownership and overall control from the absentee planters in the 18th Century to the corporate management and shareholders of the Trans National Corporations in the 20th. Thus there was an effectual divorce of conception (in the metropolises) and execution (in Jamaica) marking the satellite ruling class as a deformed class formation, not partaking of all the qualities of a true bourgeoisie.

This divorce of conception and execution originated in the phenomenon of absentee landlordism in the 18th Century. This has been traced to three basic causes. The phenomenal prosperity of the plantations around 1750 which has been discussed above permitted the early retirement of many planters to England. Secondly, the natural demise of the most successful proprietors of the early 18th Century resulted in vast holdings of plantation property passing by inheritance to people in England during the years 1775-1815. Lastly, with the onset of the slump in the sugar industry at the beginning of the 19th Century, much property fell into the hands of creditors in England as the result of the inability of many

planters to meet their debts.⁶¹ By the time of Emancipation, three-quarters of the land and slaves in Jamaica belonged to absentee owners, resident in Britain.⁶²

There is no better illustration that absentee elements possessed effective control of the Jamaican economy and that the satellite ruling class was relatively impotent than the question of Emancipation. The principal slave-holding class of Jamaica was the absentee planter class in England. The development of finance and industrial capitals in England offered many openings for the investment of the huge fortunes which the sugar barons had gained from their Jamaican plantations. The financial interests of the absentee planters became diversified. Barclay's Bank and the technological innovations of Boulton and Watt were financed by sugar money. Records reveal that absentee planters had interests in Britain iron-founding concerns.⁶³ Thus the absentee planters were tied neither by loyalty nor necessity to the Jamaican sugar economy. When profits from the sugar estates declined the absentee planters simply speculated in other areas. The joint-stock company was extensively utilized in order to support under-capitalized plantations. By the time of Emancipation many of the absentee planters had no personal stake in sugar plantations. Many others stood to gain from the handsome compensation which was to be paid to the owners of ex-slaves.

On the other hand the resident planters had the most to lose from Emancipation. Many occupied plantations which

were only marginally viable and on which the loss of slave labour spelled financial ruin. (large and profitable plantations were largely in the hands of the absentees]. This national ruling class, which might under other circumstances have espoused unilateral political action such as secession, was too impotent and insignificant. The army, an essential bulwark of white domination, was under metropolitan control. Without it the possibility of a slave uprising was very real. Furthermore, the free-coloured section of the population which by this time considerably outnumbered the whites, made clear its allegiance to the Crown. The satellite ruling class could do nothing to influence a matter which appeared to be subject purely to the agreement of peers in England.

Although the satellite ruling class was unable to prevent Emancipation, it attempted through its control of the island legislature to repress and control the freedmen as much as possible. The repression of these years can be seen as an expression of the frustration of the satellite-ruling-class at its powerlessness to prevent Emancipation and as an attempt to thwart the intentions of legislation enacted by the British parliament, the political apparatus of the metropolitan ruling class. The satellite ruling-class attempted to re-create the conditions of slavery as closely as possible despite the technical freedom of the slaves. In order to coerce the former slaves into labour for starvation wages their access to the means of production (i.e. land) was severely limited. Repressive legislation included laws against the

sale of land in small plots, against squatting and extensive legal powers for evicting undesired or 'unsubservient' tenants. In terms of social control, the Legislative Assembly made substantial grants to the Established Church (which only had allegiance from 12% of Jamaica's population) and to schools on the estates offering purely industrial type education.

Both were seen by the satellite ruling class as measures which would promote the willing acceptance by the Freedman of his new role as a wage-labourer.⁶⁴ To add insult to injury the Legislature also attempted to shift the burden of taxation from the planters to the new independent peasant cultivators.⁶⁵

The transparent and cynical motivation of this legislation provoked the anger of the freedmen and was instrumental in causing the unrest of 1865. Following this, the Island's Legislature was suspended and government by Crown Colony rules, i.e. by Governor and nominated assembly, took over.

This marked the eclipse of the white planters as a political force. The remainder of the 19th Century and the first decades of the 20th were to be a 'period of middle class cooptation and colonial consolidation'⁶⁶ in Jamaica.

The brown middle class was well placed to take advantage of the change from the status quo, and to take the first steps towards fusion with the ruling class. It was able to do this because it was only tangentially effected by the decline of the sugar industry. Secondly, the growth of peasant communities increased the needs for the kinds of infra-structural

services that the middle class could provide. Thirdly, the removal of the reins of government from the hands of the white planters left an administrative vacuum which was to be filled by members of the middle-class in the capacity of Crown civil servants. Lastly, the members of this class were financially qualified to meet electoral requirements and thus could mount a campaign to threaten the political hegemony of the planter class. (although the Legislative Assembly had no longer the power to rule it still existed as an advisory body to the Governor).⁶⁷ Thus the period from 1865 to 1944 was one of recruitment to the satellite ruling class. No longer the province of white planters it became an alliance of those who profited most from the period of Crown Colony rule. Significant symbols of the new ruling class were the two men who did most to bring self-government and eventually independence to Jamaica; Norman Manley a K.C. and brilliant criminal lawyer, and Alexander Bustamante a usurer. Although these men were exceptional members of the brown middle class they represented an ascendant class tendency in the Jamaica of the 1930's and 40's.

The national ruling class of Jamaica, then, was cast by the mould of an exploitative colonial economy into a deformed shape. Although within the context of island society it was a power-broker and policy maker, in terms of the strategies of international capital it was a mere pawn.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in many

senses, Jamaica lacked a 'real' bourgeoisie. The Jamaican social formation in 1944 proceeded directly from its slave and plantation antecedents. The hierarchy of classes was predicated on the existence of a huge proletariat which was manifest in peasant-proletarian, wage-labour, under-employed, and unemployment forms. There was a profound continuity between this group and its slave forebears. Dispossession, exploitation, abject poverty and hopelessness were common features. Intermediate strata ranged from independent prosperous peasants and craftsmen to minor professionals. They erected cultural and material barriers to differentiate themselves from the masses. Neighborhood, type of housing, years of schooling, mode of transportation (private rather than public), and even language (various approximations to standard English) provided the symbols of their superiority. At the top was the satellite ruling class of capitalists, managers, merchants and politicians: the overseers and planters of a modern era. Continuity rather than change characterized the social formation of Jamaica from its inception in the plantation to the dependent colonial economy of 1944.

4.5 CLASS CONFLICT IN COLONIAL JAMAICA

The persistence of antagonistic class locations throughout Jamaica's colonial history ensured the equal tenacity of class-conflict irrespective of the agents

occupying those locations. The most fundamental struggle throughout Jamaica's colonial history was that between the working class and the satellite ruling class. This was the only struggle which took on violent forms: in the proto-class-conflict of slave rebellions, in the 1865 Morant Bay 'Rebellion', and in the 1938 'Bombing' Riots. Class conflict existed between the resident planters (satellite ruling class) and the metropolitan bourgeoisie over such issues as Emancipation, missionary education (missionaries can be seen as part of the ideological apparatus of the metropolitan bourgeoisie), and imperial trade policy. The existence of an intermediate stratum of prosperous peasants and craftsmen, petty-commodity traders, teachers and minor civil servants introduces the appearance or complication in the polarization of ruling class and proletariat. However, the various fractions of this stratum undoubtedly switched allegiance between the two dominant classes according to partisan interest. The intermediate stratum should not be viewed as playing a decisive role in the fundamental class conflict as its fractions were found on both ruling class and proletarian sides.

Orlando Patterson in discussing conflict during the era of slavery suggests that "Rebellion, or the threat of it, was an almost permanent feature of Jamaican slave society."⁶⁸ Slave rebellion can be divided roughly into three chronological phases. The first was the 'Maroon Phase' which extended from 1673 to 1740. (the word Maroon is derived from the Spanish

cimarrones which referred to the herds of wild horses and pigs descended from original domestic stock which had escaped to the island's inaccessible interior: hence by analogy to the runaway slaves who sought refuge in the same locale).⁶⁹

During this phase runaway and rebellious African slaves joined the Maroons who had been left behind by the Spanish. Together they waged guerrilla warfare against the white settlers.

Between 1733 and 1734 despite the involvement of two British regiments and the expenditure of £100,000 the plight of the white planters became desperate. The legislature negotiated a treaty with Cudjoe, the leader of one of the two major Maroon factions. Under the terms of the treaty the Maroons were granted self-government and possession of 15,000 acres of land in a remote area of the interior. In exchange the Maroons agreed to return all runaway slaves who fled to the interior in the future. So faithfully did the Maroons adhere to their side of the treaty that escapees viewed the prospect of capture by them as more to be feared than the punishment they would receive if returned to their plantations. By dividing the exile Africans in this way the planter ruling class ensured that future rebellions would assume more manageable proportions.

Indeed the slave rebellions of the 'African Phase' which lasted to the end of the 18th Century did not threaten the stability of the plantation system. The principle rebellions of 1760, 1765 and 1784 were characterized by the

island-wide conspiracies of tribal groups to rebel against their masters. They suffered by being poorly armed and poorly organized and generally their rebellions resulted in appalling retributions on the slaves out of all proportion to the damage they inflicted on the lives and property of the plantocracy.

The last or 'Creole' phase lasted from the beginning of the 19th up to Emancipation and is so called in recognition of the changed composition of the slave population from a preponderance of African born to one of Jamaican born slaves. The most significant revolts of this phase came in 1831-32 and were dubbed the 'Baptist Wars' in recognition of the role of a black preacher, Samuel Sharpe, in the St. James uprising. Revolts during this period were directed against the institution of slavery. Revolutionary ideas had been disseminated among the slaves by those who could read the foreign newspapers and recount the events of 1776 in the U.S.A., 1789 in France and the exploits of Toussaint in Haiti. Furthermore, the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 had given many slaves the erroneous impression that slavery had been abolished and that the planters were wilfully keeping them in bondage in defiance of the British government. The customary brutality was employed in suppressing the revolt. Over 200 slaves lost their lives in the fighting and in retaliation for the destruction of a million pounds' worth of planter property some 500 slaves were executed. The sacrifice was not entirely

in vain as it fed fuel to the English abolitionist fire and expedited the introduction of legislation to emancipate the slaves.⁷⁰

Following Emancipation in 1834 (the legislation was passed in that year although the ex-slaves were tied to the plantations under conditions of indentureship in the so-called "Apprenticeship" period until 1838), the satellite ruling class passed repressive legislation designed to enforce participation in the wage-labour force. This was done by restricting the ex-slaves' access to the means of production (land). This action of the satellite ruling class can be seen as the sole extent of their rebellion against the metropolitan bourgeoisie which introduced Emancipation against the wishes of resident planters. That this metropolitan-satellite class conflict was limited to this extent and did not escalate into a full scale secession may be attributed to the alignment of social classes within Jamaica at this conjuncture. Firstly, the history of the past two hundred years had shown the potential of the slaves as a revolutionary class. The planters felt that a continued British military presence was a necessity to guard against further social disorder of the kind which had occurred sporadically throughout the slavery era. Secondly, the 'free-coloured' stratum of society made no secret of its loyalty to the Crown and thus could not be counted on in any secessionist struggle. However, it must be emphasized that free coloured loyalty to the Crown did not spring from class

solidarity with the black working class but rather from class antagonism to the planters. Brown⁷¹ in his discussion of this class points to its self-serving motives. The political and economic disenfranchisement of this class prior to 1832 had prevented it from entering into the sugar economy in any significant way. Thus the decline of the industry was of no concern to the middle class. Indeed this was a period of unparalleled prosperity for the middle class as its members exploited the opportunities offered by the growing peasant communities and by expanding government service. An American commentator estimated (probably somewhat generously) that 'nine-tenths of all offices' were occupied by the brown middle class in 1850.⁷² The stiff electoral property qualifications erected in 1854 to disenfranchise small peasant landowners (merely another aspect to the repressive legislation of the decades after Emancipation) were not set sufficiently high to disqualify the brown middle class. In 1864 there were ten coloured members out of the total assembly of 48. The ten browns represented the 'Town Party' as it was called, the remaining thirty-eight the Country Party or planter ruling class.⁷³ The middle class, then pursued its own social, economic and political mobility from the mid 19th onwards. Solidaristic action with the working class would not emerge until the nationalist struggle of the 1930's and 40's. Through co-optation by the metropolitan ruling class, the brown middle class of Jamaica became a comprador class par excellence. Something

of the ambiguity of this class can be gleaned from its virtual non-involvement in the 'Morant Bay Rebellion' which fundamentally represented a localized outburst of peasant-proletariat frustration at the planter-legislation which had alienated them from the means of production. Paul Bogle a Black Baptist leader, and Edward George Gordon, a brown middle class J.P. and attorney, are the two leaders most closely associated with the historic incident. The Morant Bay Rebellion was itself only the culmination of over two decades of working class resentment of state repression which it was denied the promise inherent in the Emancipation Bill. The rioters combined intense loyalty to 'Missis Queen' whom they believed to have their best interests at heart with a hatred of the planter-dominated legislature which they felt consistently perverted the intentions of the 'real' British government.⁷⁴ Indeed in the months immediately prior to the rebellion the peasant-proletariat had exhausted all legal recourse in attempt to achieve more equitable land distribution. A petition to the Queen from the people of St. Ann had brought a reply, relayed through the hated Governor Eyre, that "was curt and moralistic. It was to their own industry and prudence that the people were to look for an improvement in their conditions." Edward George Gordon represented the poor of St. Thomas (of which the town of Morant Bay's Parish Capital) by delivering a petition on their behalf to Governor Eyre. The Governor's reply was to rescind Gordon's commission as J.P. It was in

desperation then that Paul Bogle and his followers marched from Stony Gut to Morant Bay court-house, where the Parish Vestry was sitting, in an attempt to institute some dialogue on the land question. The clash of implacable white authority and aroused black anger, with the added provocation of a military presence, ensured that the outcome would be bloody.

The first missile was thrown by the crowd; the first blood was shed by the authorities. Then the passion of the mob leapt forth and wrought its will, like the passion of all mobs when provoked beyond endurance... They killed in their rage twenty one of all colours. On the other hand, the ...whites ... killed, first in rage and then in cool deliberation, four hundred and thirty nine negroes, scourged with great barbarity six hundred, including women... and destroyed in wantonness a thousand homes. ⁷⁶

Among those executed were Bogle and Gordon; the latter despite a lack of any evidence linking him to the riots and the fact that he was in Kingston, some thirty miles distant, for the duration. Aggrey Brown points out that brown middle class indifference to the interests of the black peasant proletariat can hardly be demonstrated better than by referring to the fate of Gordon who 'was easily enough dispensed with by the planter class with the passive acquiescence of the middle class.'⁷⁷

Following the Morant Bay Rebellion the meagre measure of self-government which Jamaica had hitherto enjoyed in the guise of the planter dominated legislative assembly was done away with. In its stead was placed a governor who ruled and a

nominated council which advised him. Crown Colony government illustrated the principle of imperial trusteeship, "The direct protection by the Crown of the unrepresented classes which takes the place of representation."⁷⁸ Although the apparent cause of the imposition of Crown Colony on Jamaica was the failure of the planters to maintain order without brutality in reality it represented the extension of bourgeois hegemony over a satellite ruling class which was archaic, both politically and economically. This extension demanded the creation of a comprador class, a satellite bourgeoisie. The role of comprador class was played by Jamaica's coloured middle class which was increasingly coopted after 1865 by the metropolitan ruling class both by nomination to the governor's advisory assembly and by appointment to the colonial civil service. Thus the insurrection at Morant Bay which had represented a class conflict between the peasant-proletariat and the planter-ruling class was turned to the advantage of two classes which played no role in the rebellion: the brown middle class of Jamaica and the bourgeoisie of England. The planter-ruling class was the loser in a contest with the dynamic English bourgeoisie whose laissez-faire ideology would brook no interference with free trade, least of all to shore up the legendary decadence of the West Indian planter. Henceforth the planters would face bankruptcy and decay economically unless they changed with the times and pursued some of the infrastructural openings which the brown middle

class had successfully exploited. Politically, the planters' day was over. Conflict with the colonial government over the national question would become the province of the brown middle class in the 1930's. The other loser in the Morant Bay Rebellion was, of course, the peasant proletariat which continued to occupy a precarious existence on the margins of wage-labour and subsistence agriculture. It is hardly surprising, given its poverty, that this group continued to place its faith in the academic education which had been the key to mobility for the brown middle classes. Indeed a recurring motif in class conflict over education in the years between 1865 and 1938 is the reluctance of the working class to accept vocational forms of schooling which it felt would inhibit social mobility. In spite of the promise (in the vast majority of cases illusory) of social mobility through education the position of the peasant-proletariat showed little improvement over these years.

Class conflict which culminated in the Frome Riots of 1938 appeared in the formation of solidaristic working class organizations during the intervening period. As most elementary school teachers were working class in origin the Jamaican Union of Teachers formed a vanguard of working class politics. The JUT played a major role in working class opposition to low-level agricultural schooling in the first decades of the 20th Century.⁷⁹ (this will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6). The Jamaica Trades and Labour Union was founded

in 1907 and the Jamaica Longshoreman's Union was founded in 1918. The growth of unions enabled the island-wide organization of labour to develop paving the way for the national labour unrest of 1938. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association was founded in Kingston in 1918 waged "massive psychological warfare... to wipe out the inherited inferiority complex and the facelessness of the Negro in a white world...".⁸⁰ In addition many Jamaican workers had by this time experienced the conditions of the English working classes by their participation in W.W. I and seen at first hand the standard of living which American workers enjoyed during the course of migrant labour. Undoubtedly a startling realization of their own comparative deprivation emerged from these experiences and contributed to the escalation of class conflict in the 20's and 30's.

The final aggravant to the labour unrest of 1938 was the appalling drop in an already humble standard of living suffered by the Jamaican working class. Between 1918 and 1920 the cost of living rose 45% in food and 100% in clothing. By 1935, 'an excess supply of labour tended to depress wages in some sectors to very low levels, especially for domestic workers and field labourers. One estimate put the former at 2/6d to 5/- per week for a twelve or thirteen hour day, and the latter at 9d a day for women and 1/6d for men.'⁸¹ This was at a time when the barest minimum diet for an adult cost 8½d per day. Economic hardship was aggravated at this

time by the fact that the Depression had shut off emigration outflows to the U.S.A. Cuba and Panama which had formerly siphoned off the excess of the reserve army of labour. Economic hardship was thus the final impetus to the riots and strikes which inspired the following headline in Jamaica's national paper, the Gleaner, "East and West, North and South, on Properties and Roads labour demands more pay."⁸²

The unrest, which closed down the sugar industry, transport and docks for a period of several months in 1938, prompted the intervention of the inevitable British commission of enquiry. In answering some of the complaints of the strikers and rioters the Moyne Commission proposed greater mass participation in the political process, and the active promotion of Trade-Unionism. From this period there emerged Jamaica's first umbrella trade-union organization - The Bustamante Industrial Trade Union - and her first political party - The People's National Party. The former engendered the Jamaica Labour Party which fought and won the first election held under universal adult suffrage in 1944. Arguably the creation of the political apparatus simply channelled the working class's energies into nationalist politics and the status quo remained increased although with imagined Jamaicanization of ruling class places. Significantly one of the complaints of the rioters which the Moyne Commission addressed was the inadequacy of educational provision for the working class. This emphasises the role of class struggle in precipitating

changes in the educational apparatus. Conversely the response of the Moyne Commission to supplement and extend the provision of education demonstrates the ruling class reaction to working class opposition. The peasant proletariat, which had formerly been controlled largely by the twin disciplines of subsistence agriculture and the necessity of seasonal plantation work, was now deemed to require integration into the national educational system to a certain extent if social order were to be maintained.

The working class struggle in Jamaica became a nationalist struggle. Rather than the social relations of Jamaican society coming under fire, attention was diverted to the imperialist relations tying Jamaica to the mother-country. Both Norman Manley, the PNP leader, and Alexander Bustamante, the J.L.P. leader, whatever their origin, were unambiguously fully-fledged members of the island middle-class in 1938. Although both claimed support by substantial pluralities the nature of their working class-trade-union support was a coopted one. The goals of self government and eventual independence became politically more important than the plight of the Jamaican working class. The comprador bourgeoisie had thus resolved the class conflict of 1938 in a way that served its own interests. The working class had (for the time being) been distracted by the baubles of parliamentary democracy, nationalism, trade-unionism and better education which had been dangled by the Moyne Commission.

if the consolidated gains that the middle class had made in the preceding years were to be preserved, it was mandatory that the labour movement be coopted because the continued and increasing oppression of the labouring class had been the price of middle class cooptation and colonial consolidation, and the labouring class was by far the largest sector of the population.⁸³

The various dramatic crises in Jamaican class-conflict adverted to in previous pages did not spring from matters as trivial as education. The ultimate determinants of slave rebellions. Morant Bay, and the 1938 troubles, were antagonistic relations of production expressed in bondage, unequal land tenure, and subsistence level wages respectively. However, in the context of education, the necessity for documenting in some detail the historic existence of class conflict is borne out by the dynamic of educational change throughout the colonial era. Rather than being simply determined by relations of production educational change was modified by class conflict. Thus, in later chapters, reference will be made to the introduction of missionary education by dissenting churchmen, who, acting as agents of the ideological apparatus of the English bourgeoisie, introduced forms of education which were opposed by the resident planters as dysfunctional to plantation relations of production. Here ideological determination appeared to be in the vanguard of structural determination although the structural constraints of colonial dependency probably played an over-determining role. Later in the 19th and on into the 20th working-class opposition to

low-level agricultural education blatantly designed to replicate unskilled plantation wage-labour succeeded in preserving academic 'book' learning in schools thus keeping open a path, however narrow and steep, to social mobility. When analyzing educational change over the colonial era it is necessary, then, to constantly keep in mind the turbulent undercurrents of class conflict propelling and propelled by the stream of economic change.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 ELITE EDUCATION AND SABBATH SCHOOLING:

The differential provision of education during slavery and apprenticeship, 1700-1838.

The horrors of plantation slavery have been sufficiently well documented in the previous chapter to demand any prolonged consideration here. As an economic system which extracted maximum labour power for minimum subsistence it was, perhaps, without parallel in history. Needless to say, education for the slave-proletariat was hardly a priority of the system. The 'seasoning' of new African slaves, the socialization of creole slaves into a plantation labour force through child labour, and skill-training for slave tradesmen and domestic workers were the major educational emphases of the plantation economy during slavery. Nonetheless there was a certain amount of schooling provided for the slaves by the missionary bodies of the British dissenting Churches, often against the strongly expressed wishes of their masters who feared it would lead to disobedience. This denominational church-schooling was provided for reasons similar to those outlined in Chapter Three for the dissenters' provision of working class education in England. The goal of sufficient literacy to read the Bible was the conscious rationale for an education whose latent

function was the socialization of an orderly working class. The Anglican Church in Jamaica played a role vis a vis the planter ruling class which was analagous to the one that it played in England in relation to the land-owning aristocracy - of supporting the status quo.¹ It was therefore left to the denominations to provide education to the slaves. This provision of sabbath schooling was desultory, and hampered by a lack of time (the slaves worked during the daylight hours), teachers and books. Naturally, the white masters fared better. The educational norm in the planter ruling class was to hire a private governor or governess to tutor children of both sexes up to the age of 7 or 9. Thereafter, boys only departed for the mother country and a boarding school education. However, this was an option which was open to only the most affluent amongst the resident planters, and so, generally, the children of less fortunate farmers and merchants remained at home and ignorant.² By the end of the 18th Century there was a certain degree of provision for these classes too; as several private endowed secondary schools opened their doors at this time.

Between masters and slaves there existed an intermediate stratum: the so-called 'Free Persons of Colour'. This class of manumitted slaves was mainly composed of the mulatto offspring of white male - female slave concubinage and although better off than the mass of slave labourers, they were distinctly disadvantaged in comparison to whites of

any class. Their legal disabilities included a limit to the amount of property they could inherit, exclusion from the franchise, and being barred from the right to give evidence in court. Several exceptionally gifted men of colour were able to attain educational equality with whites through the generosity of fathers who sent them to England for an education. However for the vast majority there was no provision during the years of slavery. Indeed some schools explicitly barred children of mixed parentage. There is some evidence, however, that poor free coloured children were able to benefit more from the education offered by dissenting missionaries than were slave children who were unable to attend during the day because of their labours.³

To describe the provision of education in Jamaica prior to Emancipation as 'dichotomous' is to dignify the elementary sector with an importance which it did not merit. In fact, even the provision of education for the island ruling class, although distinctive, was scanty. Despite the desultory nature of educational provision for the slave-proletariat and the paucity of that for the elite, the role of economic and class interest in shaping such education as there was cannot be ignored, even at this embryonic stage.

Initially the satellite ruling class was unreservedly opposed to any form of education for the slaves; this attitude survived well into the 19th Century. The argument the ruling class made against educating the slaves was simple, and echoes

the arguments made by the ruling class in England against the education of the labouring classes. It was that education would make them aspire to a higher station in life than their present one and unfit them for their labouring duties. In addition, peculiarly in the Jamaican context, it was felt that Christian teaching might conflict with the social order of plantation slavery.

... the preaching and teaching of the religious sects. ... which had the effect of producing in the minds of the slaves a belief that they could not serve both a temporal and a spiritual master, thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual master. 4

The ruling class, then tended to see education as subversive of the existing social order, and during slavery attempted to suppress it, in many cases refusing missionaries access to the sugar plantations. Indeed, planter fears of missionary education were well-founded. Despite missionary efforts to convince slaves to passively accept the status-quo the radical-egalitarian aspects of Christian-teaching did not escape the attention of some slave leaders. For example, Samuel Sharpe, whose role in the 1831 'Baptist War' was described in Chapter Four, was the leader of a Black Baptist congregation. This illustrates the slaves' creative capacity to subvert the ideology of conformity preached by the missionaries and to transform it into an attack on the status quo. It must be remembered in addition that the dissenting

denominations in England drew their allegiance from the rising bourgeoisie, not the traditional ruling class with whom Jamaican planters, whether resident or absentee had more in common. Thus it is probably fair to say that elements of metropolitan class conflict were carried into the colonial context and affected the relationship between the ruling class and the dissenting missionaries. Furthermore, the activities of the dissenters threatened the hegemony of the Anglican Church with which the planters had enjoyed a comfortable relationship up to this time.⁵

Thus the planters' attitude to the provision of elementary education by dissenting missionaries was generally negative. Some merely regarded the activities of the missionaries as futile and permitted their periodic visits with cynical indifference as the comments of 'Monk' Lewis, an English Gothic novelist and West Indian planter, reveal.

For my part ... I have no hope of any material benefit arising from these religious visitations made at quarterly intervals. It seems to me as nugatory as if a man were to sow a field with horse - hair and expect a crop of colts.⁶

As Lewis' comment suggests, there was never anything like a widespread provision of elementary education for the slaves. Such education as was provided was not routinely carried on in day schools. Slave children from the age of six up were generally employed in a 'pickney' gang under a female driver.⁷ They carried out light physical tasks such as weeding and carrying fodder for cattle. For most slave

children this socialization into plantation labour represented the entire extent of their 'education'. Obviously under such a regime, attendance at day school would have been impossible. Statistics supplied to the Reverend John Sterling for his official report on West Indian Education in 1835.⁸ indicated that only half of the 800 children attending Moravian schools were slaves and only 400 of the total attended day-schools, the implication being that the remainder attended night and Sabbath schools.

The quantitative provision of missionary education during these years could not have been very impressive. Figures supplied to the Sterling Report reveal that for the West Indies the total number of pupils, of all ages and all denominations attending day, night, and Sabbath Schools, was 53,000⁹ in 1835. As this was after Emancipation the figure can be taken as a fairly generous estimate of the extent of missionary education during the preceding years of slavery. For Jamaica this figure is put into perspective by the fact that the total slave population there in 1834 was over ¹⁰311,000.

For a qualitative impression of the education which the missionaries provided, the reader can turn to the words of a Scottish Presbyterian missionary, Rev. William Jameson, for an account of both Sabbath and night - school conditions in his Jamaican plantation Parish.

On the Sabbath morning I am engaged with a class from nine till ten, teaching to read, when there are present fifty or sixty, young and old. From ten till eleven, I have another class for reading the Scriptures, when from 200-300 are present. ...In the school you have a sight no less interesting. The grey-headed negro, bending with age, and exhausted with toil coming with his spelling book and testament to beg a lesson. In the same class you have the boy of nine, the youth in the prime of life and the old man with spectacles under his hoary eyebrows, all looking on the sacred page with deepest interest.¹¹

Several features of missionary pedagogy emerge from this description. The dissenting missionaries' foremost objective in educating the slaves was that they attain a sufficient degree of literacy to read the Bible. The biblical emphasis on suffering the travails of the mortal world in order to enjoy the bliss of the world to come was one that attempted to promote acquiescence on the part of the slaves. There were great similarities of course with the Sunday School movement in 18th Century England and its intended function in reproducing the resignation of the poor to their lot. The narrowly religious curriculum of the Sabbath Schools in Jamaica sought to reproduce the subordinate position of the slave - proletariat by promoting an 'other worldly' orientation to its objective position.

To emphasize only the missionary pedagogue is, however, to underestimate the role of the slave-student. The subversive role of certain slave religious-leaders attests to the slaves' creative transformation of missionary teaching into an

antagonistic class - ideology. Furthermore the fact that Jameson's 'grey-headed negro' came to class 'exhausted with toil' suggests that there was among the slaves a voracious appetite for the education which had so long been denied them. This 'consumer demand' was to play a vital role in shaping the development of education in Jamaica during the following century.

The conditions under which missionary education was carried out at this time were significant in terms of the social relations and organization of the classroom. Thus the crowding together of hundreds of pupils from heterogeneous age-groups 'all looking on the sacred page' necessitated the worst possible kind of rote learning, with hundreds chanting the scarcely comprehensible Bible verses in unison. Such conditions demanded authoritarian social relations between teacher and taught and minimized the importance of the individual. They served to replicate the social relations of production of the plantation and made possible the socialization of the slave labour force just as much as the Lancastrian Society in England did that of the new urban masses there. Where the latter had the lawlessness of the new industrial cities to contend with, the missionaries had the brutality and coercion of slavery. In his report, the first official government report on the state of education in the West Indies, the Rev. John Sterling made explicit the similarities in the deficiencies of the metropolitan and

colonial systems of elementary education.

These he acknowledged to be an exaggerated form of the same inadequacies to be found in English schools of the same time: i.e. Poor provision of buildings, large classes, poor and untrained teachers, senseless methods of rote-learning and little in the general attitude to education to increase the self-respect of young slaves.¹²

Despite these short-comings in the education offered by the missionary bodies during slavery Sterling recommended that the British government entrust the administration of elementary education to them after Emancipation. It is hard to find grounds for this decision other than those of fiscal expediency: it was cheaper to support the existing missionary endeavours than to fund an independent state system. This policy was analagous to that of the British government after 1833 when educational funding was dispensed to the two great religious 'Societies' in England, the National and the British.

An additional consideration of considerable sociological interest is the role that the missionary educators played in facilitating the transition from slavery to freedom by replacing the coercive social relations of slavery with the voluntary relations of a 'free' society. The memoirs of Rev. William Jameson once again provide a unique insight into the subjective evaluation of the missionary educator of the functions of the schooling he provided. Jameson arrived in Jamaica the year before Emancipation, and thus the bulk of his career on the island lies between the years 1832

and 1838, the Apprenticeship period.¹³ He clearly saw the importance of a system of elementary education in providing social control over the freed slaves.

Teachers are much needed and desired. Children, freed by the Abolition Act, are running wild, ... Unless they be speedily trained to work, and educated, their manhood bodies ill to the country. ... It is found that education is as necessary for the negro, for the master and for the country, as ignorance and the whip were before, and consequently, the cry from all corners of the land is education, schools, teachers. 14

Jameson's biographer, (his son-in-law, Rev. Alex Robb), notes that he exerted himself in the matter of socializing the freed slaves early on before the government had made any move towards supporting missionary education, and indeed that this was the norm among all 'enlightened' (read dissenting) missionaries. It has been argued above that the dissenting missionaries carried with them the ideology of the bourgeoisie which they represented in England. This laid stress on the value of elementary education in securing the cooperation of the proletariat in the expansion of capitalist social relations. Thus education was seen by them as a means of social control of the labouring classes. Although, as noted above, the slaves' conception of education and the uses they made of it were potentially antithetical to social control. In their progressive conception of the role of education, then, the dissenting missionaries were ideologically distant from members of the island ruling class who feared and mistrusted

any form of enlightenment for the slaves as subversive.

It might be argued that the planters' assessment of slave-schooling as dysfunctional in the context of plantation relations of production was more accurate than the positive assessment of the school-promoting missionaries. The missionaries' role as the vanguard of bourgeois ideology in the colonies created a disjuncture between ideology and mode of production. The ideology emerged from an industrializing nation; the mode of production within the colony was an archaic plantation-capitalism. Thus the initial impetus to provide schooling sprang not from the relations of the colonial formation but from those of the metropolis. The planters' continuing reliance on time-honoured methods of reproducing their labour-force through repression and elementary socialization through child labour may in fact have been quite adequate. However, missionaries like the Reverend William Jameson felt that the dissenting tradition's emphasis on the dignity of labour, and the need to submit to temporal authority in this life, ensured that the education they provided dovetailed neatly with the interests of the ruling class.

Furthermore, according to Jameson, the presence of missionary churches and schools on or adjacent to plantation properties, and the allegiance which the missionaries had built up among the slaves tended to restrict the exodus from the plantations of the freed slaves into their own settler communities in the areas under missionary influence.

Our Church and school have been blessed of God for securing the continuance of the people on their respective properties ... they being the centre of a powerful attraction, settling many in contentment. ... Many say 'We love our church, we wish the education of our children, and we cannot leave you'. 15

The success of the dissenting missionaries in winning the allegiance of the slaves spurred the Anglican Church into belated activity. Before the Emancipation of the slaves was finalized, the Anglicans, together with elements of the planter ruling class who had seen the value of education as a means of social control over free labour, set up schools on the estates, 'where their primary function was to teach the freedmen's children that work was a Christian duty. ... The desired result was, of course, to create a malleable and dependable labour force...' 16 The Anglican Church enjoyed the advantage of being the longest established on the Island although its reputation had never been particularly savoury. The office of the clergy had fallen into disrepute in consequence of the calibre of men who were attracted to the competencies in Jamaica. 'They are the most finished of our Debauchers' 17 complained an 18th Century commentator. Another minister bemoaned the fact that 'the clerical office in Jamaica was a sort of dernier resort to men who had not succeeded in other professions'. 18 This moral decrepitude, in conjunction with the fact that the Anglican Church was seen as the 'masters' church, did little to win it popular support. In 1866 when it was finally disestablished it could only claim 12% of the

island's population as its adherents.¹⁹ It is doubtful, given its record and the proletarian preference for book-learning, whether the Anglican church could have attracted many ex-slave children to the schools that were so blatantly set up with social control and labour socialization as their raison d'etre. The narrowness of the curriculum recalls the Church of England's National Society reflecting also the minimal level of instruction which the ruling class deemed sufficient to secure the socialization of an acquiescent labour force.

In contrast the curriculum offered by Baptist founded schools was much broader and reflected the English bourgeois conviction that only through enlightenment of the intellect would the worker come to realize the advantages for him in the expansion of capitalist relations of production.

Conflicting conceptions of the scope of education which it was safe to provide for the Jamaican proletariat delineate the positions of two distinct classes through their ideological apparatus. The Anglican Church, virtually the planters' church, advocated less 'book' learning and more vocational training for plantation labour. On the other hand the Baptists, ideological emissaries of the English bourgeoisie, advocated a widely based 'literary' education. This class conflict over educational provision mirrors the differential between the two English school societies; the Anglican 'National' Society and the Dissenting 'British' Society.

This differential in education philosophies was itself the ideological expression of the polarization of land-owning ruling class and ascending industrial bourgeoisie. In Jamaica the Baptist schools' adopted a broad curriculum involving book learning that was designed not only to uplift the plantation worker by providing him with new opportunities for advancement, but also to familiarize the small settler with new techniques in agriculture and animal husbandry'.²⁰

In a final assessment of the contribution of missionary and Church education of the slaves and apprentices it is clear that irrespective of denomination the missionaries urged education as a means of preserving social order and of replacing the relations between master and slaves with the relations between an employer and employees. The educational ideology of the missionaries brought them first into conflict with the planters who feared education would lead to a subversion of the plantation economy and latterly with the Anglican Church which had belatedly come to a realization of the value of education in maintaining social order but which advocated a much more circumscribed form of education than the missionaries. The slaves vigorously pursued such education as was offered as a drowning man clutches a straw. There was little hope of altering their condition materially and presumably education or rebellion represented the only faint chances that existed. Among those desperate men who attempted the latter course was at least one religious leader,

Samuel Sharpe, whose missionary schooling had not succeeded in inculcating an attitude of submission to the status quo. To paraphrase an earlier quotation from Jameson: it is clear that neither 'ignorance and the whip' nor the 'education' of the slaves was entirely successful in obtaining their acquiescence in their subordinate position in Jamaican society.

Before leaving the pre-Emancipation era some consideration must be given to the other half of the dichotomy which the title of this section suggests: 'Elite Education'. The tradition of absentee-landlordism in Jamaica meant that many members of the Jamaican ruling class, those who were resident in the metropolis, brought up their children solely in England. The scions of this class were educated in the British public school, Oxbridge tradition. For those who lived on the Island and who were sufficiently wealthy, an English education was still the status quo. However, the expense of this course, and the hazards of a double sea-voyage and five or more years absence from parental influence made it financially impossible for some and unattractive to many others among the resident ruling class. Thus it was that a number of wealthy planters and merchants left bequests to endow private schools in various parts of Jamaica. One of the earliest of such bequests was that of John Wolmer, a Kingston goldsmith, who signed his will in 1729.

Item: I desire that all the rest and residue of all my estate, both real and personal shall be put upon interest at the discretion of my executors, for the foundation of a Free School in the Parish where I shall happen do die. ²¹

Other bequests during the 18th Century in Jamaica were; that of Martin Rusea, a French Huguenot refugee, to found a school in Lucea, Hanover at the Western extremity of the island in 1764; and that of Robert Hugh Monro, of the Parish of St. Elizabeth in 1797, to likewise found a school in that Parish. ²²

The curriculum of these schools classical and Europe oriented, functioned 'less to train than to confer prestige.' ²³ The white creoles in the 18th Century struggled to be recognized as the equals of metropolitan whites and thus the intellectual orientation of their schooling tended to reflect this. The Eurocentric, classicist bias in 18th Century ruling class education was unavoidable given the norm at English schools such as Eton and Harrow at that time. It was not a functional education, rather it represented the conspicuous consumption of cultural capital, designed simply to 'confer prestige,' and to reproduce the ruling class and their position of dominance in the society. However, such education represented the first seeds of a tradition of intellectual and cultural dependency of West Indian elite education which henceforth grew up to reflect the nature of metropolitan models rather than the needs of Jamaican society.

Elite education during the years of slavery was overwhelmingly 'white' education. For example, by 1779, Wolmer's Boys School, Kingston, had 145 students, all white. 60 were Foundationers who attended free of charge, the remaining 85 being private-students who paid the then considerable sum of £60 p.a. not including 'extras' such as Latin, French, Spanish and Maths. Even had the stiff fees not deterred the prosperous few among the Free Persons of Colour from enrolling their children then the rules of Wolmer's Trust most certainly would have done so as the following minutes from 18th Century Trust meetings demonstrate.

No mixture whatsoever were to be received into either of the schools now conjoined and known under the general title of Wolmer's Academy. ...No person or children of colour to be taught by the masters of this school in any of the apartments thereof. ... Children of the Hebrew Nation should not be received upon this foundation. 24

In fact the children of wealthy free coloureds were admitted in the face of stiff opposition in 1815, a few years before Abolition. However, this should not be allowed to disguise the fact that such provision of secondary education as there was in Jamaica before Emancipation was strictly the preserve of the island's ruling class..

5.2 THE DICHOTOMY ENERGIES: The Provision of education 1834-1865

It has been suggested that the British government's choice of the missionary bodies to erect the apparatus of

elementary education was founded on financial expediency and the English precedent. It is equally important to take account of evidence which suggests that the missionaries regarded themselves as the only legitimate recipients of the Negro Education Grant, the rightful guardian of the provision of elementary education in Jamaica. (the Negro Education Grant was paid to missionary bodies in the West Indies from 1835-1841. It was paid at the rate of £30,000 p.a. for five years and thereafter decreased each year until it came to an end in 1845).²⁵

The circumstances of these children, whose character and habits will so greatly depend on their being educated in the principles and duties of Christianity, or left to grow up in ignorance and vice, point out the importance of immediate and vigorous efforts to enable them to read for themselves the Holy Scriptures - the best and only sure foundation of social order, industry and happiness.²⁶

The Reverend John Sterling had indicated in his report the importance he attached to education as a means of preserving social order and had influenced the British Government to subsidize the existing educational efforts of the missionaries.²⁷ It must be remembered that in the late 1830's, elementary education for the British urban masses was quite comparable in its infancy with elementary education in Jamaica. Significantly English elementary education was also provided through the agencies of the Churches - the National and the British Societies. The impetus behind the growth of this

educational provision in England was the desire to socialize an orderly labour force. It seems legitimate to infer that the missionary concern in the West Indies was a consequence of the bourgeois ideology linking education of the masses to social order which had grown up amidst the urban disorder of Britain's new factory cities, not necessarily congruent with the relations of production of the post Emancipation plantation economy of Jamaica. Historically the reproduction of the plantation labour force had been adequately taken care of by means of childhood labour socialization in the 'pickney gang', and the repressive apparatus of slave society. Thus the satellite ruling class of the island did not always concur with the necessity of elementary education for the masses.

These efforts to teach the young were not pleasing to the planters. They made a rule on some of the estates near that all above ten years of age should pay rent, unless they did work, and some were ordered off because they preferred the school to the field. At one place, Mr. Moir, (a teacher for Rev. Jameson), was interrupted by several whites, one of them being the overseer, who complained that the bigger boys and girls did nothing, and said, that unless the missionary got them to labour three days of the week gratuitously, he would shut the school. 28

The planters opposed education on the same grounds that they opposed Emancipation: that it would disrupt the supply of labour. Their policy after Emancipation was to control the ex-slaves by repression. This took the forms of legislation against squatting (designed to prevent slaves from becoming independent peasants on idle land), actions for

trespass brought against ex-slaves attempting to get to their provision grounds, evicting, or charging excessive rents to those who still occupied their houses while refusing to work any longer on the plantation.²⁹ The planters favoured control by repression, the missionaries control by education. There are striking parallels here with the situation in England prior to the First Reform Act of 1832. There the Tories attempted to use repression against working class unrest of the 1820's while the Whig bourgeois coalition favoured education. In both cases the conflict over education merely mirrored a larger class conflict between the bourgeois world view and the existing ruling classes, in England the land-owning aristocracy, in Jamaica, the resident planters. However, where in England, the bourgeois view gained legitimacy with the Reform Act of 1832, in Jamaica there was little the missionaries could do against the entrenched power of the island ruling class which dominated the Legislative Assembly until 1865. The satellite ruling class continued to control the means of production and to utilize repressive legislation against the now free peasant-proletariat whereas the English land-owning ruling class had been challenged by a rising bourgeoisie for control over the means of production and the State. Jamaican relations of production were those of the plantation and had remained virtually static for 200 years. In England the dynamic of an ascendant capitalist class and its concomitant industrial revolution constantly

revolutionized the relations of production. The clash between the progressive metropolitan bourgeoisie and the stagnating and decadent planter-ruling class of Jamaica did not come until after the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 - more than thirty years after the English bourgeoisie won a measure of state power in the Reform Act of 1832. In 1865 it would be imperialist relations rather than class-contradictions within the colony which would smash the hegemony of the plantocracy. The interests of the missionaries as representatives of bourgeois ideology, and of the satellite ruling class of planters did not coincide - at least in the opinions and actions of the planters there was consistent disapproval of any provision of education to the negro proletariat. Following the removal of the Negro Education Grant in 1845 the planters were able to use their influence in the Legislature to effectively stunt the growth of the elementary sector and instead to encourage the growth of the secondary sector which of course served their own class interests much better.

The conflict between the planters and the missionary groups notwithstanding elementary education continued to be supplied by the dissenting denominations throughout the period 1834-1865. It was of a standard barely commensurate with even its limited objective of providing the minimal level of socialization necessary to enable the slaves to make the transition to free wage-labourers. Sterling himself was sceptical of the pedagogical skills of his fellow clerics

and the assistants they employed.

It would be painful to be compelled to examine with how little of any other qualification than readiness to undertake the office - unquestionably a most laudable readiness - many of them go forth to this ungrateful field. ... It may be found that in the West Indies, as is now known from the House of Commons evidence is the case here, those who enter on the Employment of Teaching are commonly persons who have failed in every other pursuit. ... From the greater ignorance and lower state of mental cultivation of all kinds in the West Indies, the case must therefore, doubtless be much worse. ³⁰

Pedagogy and curriculum followed the pattern set during slavery. Huge classes held in churches or halls necessitated rote learning and authoritarian relations between teachers and pupils. Thus the social relations and organization of the classroom continued to replicate the social relations between planters and field-workers. The only texts available for study were the Bible or 'spellers' which were commonly based on the Bible in any case. The Mico Trust one of the foremost philanthropic agencies at work in the Caribbean released the 'First Book for the Use of Schools' in 1839, written on a 'non-denominational basis but using the Bible as their source'. ³¹ Clearly, by theologically justifying a hierarchy in which every social class and race had its rightful place, this curricular bias tended to legitimate the social relations of plantation society and maintain social order in Jamaica. However, the Morant Bay Rebellion

of 1865 illustrated that education was at best only partially successful in preserving the status quo.

There was a persistence of class conflict despite the provision of elementary education by the missionaries. The 'social' gospel was unmistakeable in its egalitarian message. Unintended consequences emerged from the missionaries' dissemination of enlightenment among the ex-slaves. The system of elementary education which emerged during the years 1835-1845 had distinctive traits which stamped themselves on the Jamaican masses' collective consciousness as the definitive 'nature' of education. It was to this model which the Jamaican proletariat looked for enlightenment and social elevation over the next 100 years. Good, or bad, because of the absence of alternatives, missionary education became the hallmark by which all innovations were judged and either accepted or rejected. Hence education was viewed as being of an exclusively bookish and literary character. It was defined by its distance from the fields and the life of manual toil associated with them. If there was any pay-off for the investment which a working class parent made in terms of the sacrifices he made for his child's education (the small monetary charge and possibly more considerable the foregone labour) it would be the child's escape from the grim existence of wage-labour and subsistence agriculture which was the lot of most Jamaicans. Consequently there was stout resistance on the part of the proletariat to any changes in the educational system,

especially those that would have led to more vocational forms of schooling. 'Vocational education is not considered an education in the proper sense. The tendency to associate manual labour with degradation ... is typical ... of Jamaican peasants'.³² All attempts to introduce vocational and agricultural elements to the curriculum were viewed with deep distrust as representing a possible reversion to slavery; a suspicion which was warranted in the light of the alliance of planters and Established Church which had attempted to introduce such schools in the immediate aftermath of Emancipation.³³ Thus the demands of the proletarian consumer of education exerted a profoundly conservative influence on developments during this period.

In terms of metropolis satellite relations it was pre-eminently a system of 'ideological penetration of the periphery',³⁴ in its adherence to the bourgeois philosophy of the dissenters. In terms of the relations between the ruling class and the proletariat within the island it was a system of socialization which sought to protect the interests of the planter ruling class by replicating the existing social relations of production. In Althusser's terms it attempted to achieve a 'reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers'.³⁵ It is perhaps wise here to insert a cautionary note concerning terminology. Although the implication of the structuralist position is that the replication of the social relations of production in schooling leads to

their reproduction this is not necessarily true. The persistence of class conflict in Jamaica suggests that the reproduction of social relations was less than total however closely the educational system may have replicated those relations.

Such elementary education as there was played the role of 'divide and rule' among the proletariat. The fact that fees of 3d to 6d per week were charged by the elementary schools meant that many in the society did not have access to any schooling. The free peasantry, skilled tradesmen, and the more prosperous elements among the peasant proletariat were better placed to take advantage of education as a notional route to social mobility. The poorest elements among the proletariat, those most victimized by their marginal existence between subsistence farming and plantation wage-labour, were probably largely excluded from the elementary school system by their poverty and utter dependence on child-labour. Hunger on the one hand and repression on the other acted as sufficient guarantees for their submission (most of the time) to the existing economic order. Conversely, the necessity to the maintenance of social order of socializing through school those who were no longer subject to the discipline of hunger was increasingly recognized as important. Thus there developed a cleavage between the educated and the uneducated among the labouring class.³⁶ Elementary education became a source of prestige although the real mobility

associated with it was minimal.

Of course, it was from the group of the 'educated' that recruits for the lowest echelons of the expanding civil bureaucracy came. With the establishment of a teacher training college in Kingston in 1834 (Mico College), coupled with the high demand for even minimally qualified teaching personnel, many of the newly 'educated' were attracted to teaching as a profession. It was the lucky few in the black population who were able to make the move from cane-field to classroom. Formal schooling, as mediocre as it was, became identified with upward social mobility and access to positions of privilege and status in the social conglomerate.³⁷

Thus the elementary school must have offered some hope of social betterment to the Jamaican proletariat, and a small percentage must have escaped from a life of agricultural toil, otherwise there would not have existed that fierce determination to become educated which has animated such a large number from that time onwards.

The provision of elementary education in the years immediately after Emancipation was subsidized by the colonial government through the Negro Education Act in much the same way that elementary education in England was subsidized by grants - in - aid to the two religious societies. In Jamaica in the first years of Negro Education Grant the funding was only given to the missionaries to meet two-thirds of the costs of constructing school buildings - no consideration was given to their other overheads. By 1837 the expansion of missionary activities in education had resulted in greatly

increased levels of recurrent expenditure and the colonial office permitted the grant to be applied towards the cost on one third of teachers' salaries instead.³⁸ Notwithstanding this increased latitude in the application of the Grant, the missionary bodies were still unable to meet the mushrooming expenses of their growing involvement in elementary education. In rapid succession, in 1837 and 1838 respectively, the Wesleyans and the Church Missionary Society refused to accept any further payments of the grant at its existing inadequate level. The response of the colonial government was to abolish the grant altogether.

Adverting to the improvement which has taken place in the condition of the Negroes since the date of their Emancipation and to the substantial advantages which they now derive from the social position to which they have now attained, Lord John Russell (Secretary of State for the Colonies) looks forward with confidence to their being able soon to provide for the education of their children without the aid which is now specially voted by Parliament for that purpose.³⁹

Despite the pious air of achievement which permeates this statement, it was rather economic expediency than the conviction of any real social or economic progress which motivated this cut-back.

Economic conditions and ideological climate in England in the late 1830's and 1840's were not conducive to public enthusiasm for expenditures on West Indian education. During these years came the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts. This movement toward a free trade signalled the

eclipse of the power of mercantilism and of the Tory ruling class in England and ushered in the era of the industrial bourgeoisie as the most powerful force in the land. The fatal blow to 'King Sugar' came with the passage of the Sugar Duties Act in 1846 which abolished the preferential treatment which West Indian sugar had hitherto enjoyed in the British market. Thirteen West Indian merchant houses in Britain went bankrupt within a twelve month period. Sugar production in Jamaica alone declined from 71,000 tons in 1832 to 25,000 tons in 1853. This not only marked the end of the West Indian interest as a major political and economic force within the metropolitan ruling class, it also brought ruin and economic disaster to many members of the satellite ruling class.⁴⁰ It was the Jamaican planters rather than the absentee landlords who were the major casualties of the metropolitan class conflict. While the absentee-owners had been engaged in diversifying their interests since the late 18th Century and thus to a large extent were immune from the collapse of sugar, the Jamaican planters were terribly vulnerable to the new chill winds of a free trade economy. The planters, therefore, could hardly have been enamoured of the new bourgeois regime in England and thus class conflict between the satellite and metropolitan ruling classes seemed likely in the years following 1846. The ruling party at Westminster, the reformist Whigs, were committed to the bourgeois classical economic principle of buying in the cheapest market and selling

in the dearest. This effectively doomed the West Indian colonies to a precarious future as the economic backwaters of the Empire. Mercantile interest moved from the Caribbean to new ventures in Africa and Asia. Industry no longer required colonies merely as sources of raw materials but now as markets for the products of Britain's prolific manufacture. Imperialism had moved from the mercantile to the bourgeois phase.

Thus there was no longer even a vestigial impulse to invest in the economic future of the West Indies by supporting a system of popular education. The financial expediency of the Negro Education Grant spawned by the utilitarian theories of the bourgeoisie now gave way to the total abandonment of Jamaican education by a colonial government which was driven by the ruthless pragmatism of laissez faire capitalism. This episode underlines the degree of economic determination of the relations between the metropolis and its island satellites. As soon as the West Indian colonies lost their profitability, the Colonial Office lost interest in them and in the education of their people. The blow of losing the Negro Educational Grant came at a time when Jamaica itself was reeling from the impact of the recent economic reforms in England and consequently was least able to take over the responsibility for subsidizing education from the British Government. The first episode in the drama of the underfunding and neglect of West Indian education had been played out when the British government terminated the N.E.G. in 1845

with 'solemn injunctures to the West Indian legislatures and West Indian workers to support the education of their own children'.⁴¹

Following the cavalier abandonment of West Indian elementary education by the British Government financial support became the responsibility of the Island Legislatures which were dominated by the planters, many of whom were now facing financial ruin. Increasingly the planters grudged making grants for education which they perceived as irrelevant to the training of future labourers for their tasks. They tended to let elementary education fall into neglect. '... in some bad years, particularly in Jamaica, no education grants were made at all'.⁴² Where and when funding was available it continued to be provided in the form of grants to denominational schools. This period of neglect demonstrates that the perceptions of the planters of their own economic interests did not involve the socialization of the masses through elementary education as it had existed under the provisions of the Negro Education Grant. The planters' requirements were simply the production of labour power and a reserve army of labour. These needs were adequately served by the necessity for child-labour and natural population growth.

The satellite ruling class saw elementary education as an alien imposition of the missionaries and the Westminster government. The wounds inflicted on the planters by the Free

Trade legislation in England must still have smarted and their lack of support for education must be seen partly in terms of their antagonism to the metropolitan ruling class. There must have been considerable reluctance to provide support for elementary education, a project introduced by the missionaries and initially funded by a grant of the British parliament. Moreover, it was the traditional response of this class to use repression in its dealings with subordinate groups - the bourgeois idea of control through enlightenment was foreign to its thinking. The planters' common-sense ideology was that the academic - literary flavour of the teaching in the denominational schools was spoiling the negroes for field work. Thus during the twenty year period 1845-1865 (from the ending of the N.E.G. to the imposition of Crown Colony Rule which effectively broke the political power of the planters) there emerged a keen debate about the nature of the education (if any) which was best suited to training future field labourers. Many authorities spoke at this time of the need for an 'increasingly vocational' form of elementary education, and clearly their main priority was a simple reproduction of the plantation labour force. The Island Legislature's interest in the reproduction of the agricultural working class was paramount in their deliberations on the provision of education during this period.

We sincerely trust that the increased attention to general knowledge will not in any way impair, but improve the religious instruction given, and help to fit the rising generation both in mind and character for the satisfactory performance of their unavoidable duties.⁴³

In fact, in Jamaica at this time there was some effort to carry on a system of agricultural education, primarily by the Moravians. The Inspector of Schools, Jasper Cargill, revealed in his report in 1847⁴⁴ that students at the Moravian School at Fairfield in the Parish of Manchester not only worked in the school ground but also kept gardens of their own. Significantly he reported that the crops the students preferred to plant in their own gardens were those which required little care such as corn. Presumably it was only under the authoritarian compulsion of the school-master that crops requiring more intensive cultivation were raised. The exactness with which this educational regimen replicated the social relations of the plantation: teacher - boss, student - worker, should need no amplification here.

However, despite the apparent enthusiasm of the island ruling class for vocational education, and the existence of models such as Fairfield in operation, very little actually came out of the whole vocational schooling debate. As the Jamaican ruling class was in favour of vocational education, the failure of such schools to emerge to any great extent must be due to the resistance of the other classes in the Jamaican social formation; the bourgeois missionaries and the proletariat. The conflict between the dissenters and

the planters was renewed when proposals concerning vocational education became legislation in Jamaica.

The Jamaican Assembly for a time offered special grants to schools attempting agricultural instruction and conducted for five years a Normal School of Industry to train school masters for the purpose. This enterprise was much criticized, particularly by the Baptists on the grounds that it was an attempt to keep the people tied to the sugar estates as hired labourers in conditions little removed from those of slavery. 44

It must also be remembered that the dissenting missionaries had emerged from an educational tradition at home which was solidly based on biblical and other bookish learning. Furthermore the utilitarian theories of the necessity of enlightening the working class through education stressed education of the intellect as a means of counteracting the monotony of repetitive industrial work: not practical, vocational education. Once more, then, the ideological conflict between the satellite ruling class and the missionary representatives of the ascendant English bourgeoisie affected the provision of elementary education for the plantation proletariat and peasantry of Jamaica. However, the proletarian consumer of elementary education must not be imagined as having been passive in the controversy over vocational education. Their ideology and specifically their estimation of possible advantages to be derived from elementary education played a role in the failure of vocational education.

During the apprenticeship and immediately after the establishment of freedom, undefined expectations of the advantages which book learning would confer were excited in the breasts of Parents and Children - it was looked on as a means of obtaining political privileges and advancement in life. ... Education seems at one time to have been prized as the means of enabling the child of the labourer to emancipate himself from the pursuits in which his parents had been engaged. ...⁴⁵

The conflict here between the ruling class desire to impose a form of agricultural education on the working class which would exactly replicate the relations of production of the plantation, and the unwillingness of the proletariat to be so educated demonstrates an ideological conflict between the two classes. The Jamaican proletariat perceived itself in a certain relationship vis a vis the class structure of colonial society. They sought to achieve mobility within that structure and their only recourse was to assert their competence in the areas upon which that class structure placed value; i.e. literacy, reading, the language and pronunciation of the white ruling class. The consequence of that ideology is that they favoured an education which would, relatively speaking place them advantageously in terms of the social relations of plantation society. The fact that only small numbers achieved success in leaving behind the canefield and the hoe does not make that ideology any less potent a force in shaping the working class demand for education. The Jamaican proletarian consumer of elementary education simply took his 3d or 6d to a school which he felt

might advance him. The likelihood that it would not, did not deter him from making this choice. Thus a probable factor in the failure of vocational schooling to emerge in any viable way was the simple operation of market forces. An indication of the power of the working class consumer in shaping educational provision is perhaps given by the following extract from a report on the same Moravian School - Fairfield - which had been praised in 1847 for its agricultural programme. The later report was made in 1852 and shows a marked change in curricular emphasis.

Satisfactory and prompt answers with the children responding and questioning each other in Grammar, Geography, Universal and Ecclesiastical History, Geometry, Arithmetic, Zoology, Natural Philosophy and, above all, Bible Knowledge, historical and doctrinal. 46

The utility or futility of such a course of education is not at issue here. Rather what is important is that experimentation with agricultural education seems to have been replaced by a resurgence of the most academic and literary curriculum. The reason for this, it is suggested, can be found in the ideological orientations of the bourgeois missionaries and the Jamaican proletariat. The former were reluctant to implement vocational education in the schools they controlled and the latter did not patronize schools which offered such a curriculum. Thus elementary education, at the close of the period under consideration, retained the literary and bookish flavour which had characterized it from

its beginnings during the days of slavery.

If the ruling class planters had not been successful in transforming elementary education at least they succeeded in effecting a marked improvement in the provision of secondary education which was mainly of benefit to children of their own class. The island's High Schools and 'Colleges' continued in their principal functions of legitimating and reproducing the ruling class. They continued to be racially and socially exclusive, to follow a classical curriculum modelled on that of the English Public School, and to be oriented towards the social and intellectual graces of Europe rather than the economic and technological needs of Jamaica. (for example the scientific cultivation and management of the decaying sugar plantations.)

The planter ruling class used its influence during these last years of its political hegemony in the Legislative Assembly to improve the provision of education for its own children. Paradoxically, during this period of straitened circumstances for West Indian societies, both the legislature and the missionary groups started new secondary schools

By and large the religious denominations justified secondary schools on the grounds that they required an educated middle class laity and in some cases a 'native ministry'. The legislators also wanted an educated middle class so that West Indians could become professional people and leaders in commerce. Their critics did not fail to point out that this constituted a way of providing at public expense a cheap secondary education for their own sons and those of their own class. 47

Once again the class conflict between bourgeois missionaries and satellite ruling class was expressed in the competition between them in the educational arena. Both wished to reproduce their class via the island High Schools to assure educated support for the future. At this time the Church of Scotland opened a new high school in Montego Bay, Jamaica which was later to become Cornwall College, the most prominent secondary institution in Western Jamaica. A prospectus which was issued to mark the founding of the school reveals the trend at that time towards increased support for middle class education.

The Collegiate School: A large boarding and day school, whose object as designed, and in so many cases, carried out, is to give an education similar to that in Great Britain and to prepare for the Army, the University, and for the merchant's office. 48

What groups in society benefitted from new provisions of secondary education and how did the nature of this education serve class interests?

In practice, secondary education served the most privileged sectors of the island society: the children of the white planter ruling class and the brown skinned middle class. Lip - service was often paid, especially by Churchmen, to the principle of egalitarian admission, but it was transparent in the social context that some children were 'more equal than others'. The Church of Scotland prospectus for the Collegiate school continued,

The Collegiate School will of course be open to all classes, as to all religious denominations. The cost of instruction will be so moderate as to render it accessible to all but the very humblest class. It is of course, not desired, nor intended, that the school should receive boys whose position in after life will be below that standard of the education which is offered. ⁴⁹

Secondary education then was for those who could pay for it and for those who did not belong to the 'humblest class'. This effectively excluded the proletariat and restricted the provision of secondary education to the white planter ruling class and the brown middle class. Furthermore this de facto class segregation by economic status was reinforced by regulations which demanded that secondary school students must be the legitimate offspring of a legitimate wedded union. This acted as an additional discriminant against the black proletariat whose kinship mores differed from the monogamous nuclear family of the white ruling class. It seems clear that boundary maintenance was an important function played by secondary education. There was a clear effort to limit the level of aspirations of working class blacks and informally restrict social mobility by manipulating entrance requirements to secondary schools. Secondary education in this way served to replicate the class structure or social relations of Jamaica.

The conscious effort to preserve the stability of the social class system through education is particularly clear in the report made by an Inspector in Trinidad in which

he attempted to classify a new type of technical school. Although his remarks deal with another island they typify the notions of the time on the contribution of education to maintaining the stability of the social hierarchy. The new school, Woodbrook Model School, was to provide high level, specialized training in all the aspects of sugar production for future sugar estate overseers. With the increased competition which West Indian sugar became subject to after 1846 (The Sugar Duties Equalization Act which had removed tariffs which had protected West Indian sugar until then) the role of overseer became increasingly complex involving ever greater degrees of scientific and technical knowledge. Hence there was a need for a school such as Woodbrook in Trinidad. The import of the inspector's remarks in relation to social class boundaries was that in spite of the level of specialization at Woodbrook, the education it provided was qualitatively inferior to the classical type of education offered at one of the island High Schools. He pre-empted possible objections to the school on the grounds of

what is considered an over-educating of the minds of persons in the humbler walks of life, whose career it is thought had better be confined to mechanical or manual occupations than those requiring an exercise of the more elevated powers of the mind. ... A distinction will always, however, be maintained in the social scale by means of the superior classical education afforded at the Queen's Collegiate School. And had it not been for the establishment of this important institution, there seemed a likelihood of the 'toe of the peasant coming

so near the heel of the courtier as to gall his kibe': for those born in the higher positions of life might have had to give way in point of intellectual culture to the pupils of popular education.⁵⁰

The Inspector's use of this Shakespearian tag in such an apposite fashion demonstrates how deeply entrenched were class assumptions at that time and how important to the preservation of social order was the maintenance of class boundaries. He assured the readers of his report that the elite sector of education would remain both the preserve and fount of the upper classes thus ensuring that the specialized education of members of the 'humbler' classes would not in any way subvert the class system. His report also demonstrates how absolute was the imitation of metropolitan models among the island ruling classes who apparently never conceived that education such as that provided at Woodbrook could be appropriate for themselves or their children. 'Higher' agricultural education in Jamaica did not emerge until 1899 with the introduction of an agricultural course by the elitist Jamaica High School (later called Jamaica College).⁵¹

The type of education deemed fitting for members of the ruling class and aspiring members of the brown middle class was little different from that which had been offered in secondary schools since the middle of the 18th Century. The following synopsis of an island high school curriculum is representative of the type.

... the instruction will be that which is generally known as a classical education, founded on the same principles, proposing to itself the same objects, and attaining those objects, by the same means with the education which is given at Eton, Harrow and Winchester. This education supposes an early and vigorous but not exclusive, training in Latin and Greek. ⁵²

Education of this type tended to reproduce and legitimate the ruling class while simultaneously creating problems of intellectual and cultural dependency on metropolitan models. Both the white ruling class Creole and the brown middle class Jamaican suffered from problems of identity. The ideology of these groups valued not only whiteness but also 'Englishness'. Thus while the white Creole sought a classical education in order to prove his equality with his metropolitan contemporaries, the brown creole sought precisely the same thing to assert his equality with the White. Both classes, the white planters and the emerging brown-middle-class thus sought an education which would serve their class interests. As these both lay with the effective mimicry of metropolitan cultural models there was no conflict between the two groups over education. Such an education was decidedly not necessary for the jobs which were available to most members of these classes. Rather it functioned as an academic 'potlatch' whereby the conspicuous consumption of classical subjects and 'high' culture provided the Jamaican ruling class with a claim to status.

... Literacy and numeracy for members of these strata - as well as the ideological training of a gentlemanly secondary grammar education - were needed to help legitimize their class position and control. 54

The period 1834-1865 saw the emergence of a clearly defined dichotomous structure in Jamaican education. Provision of elementary education by missionary groups continued but was threatened and in places even curtailed by the removal of the Negro Education Grant and the subsequent reluctance of the planter dominated Legislature to maintain existing levels of support. During the same period the secondary sector expanded but continued to be of benefit only to the ruling class and to some extent to the ascendant brown middle class. In terms of Althusser's treatment of education the dichotomous pattern of the institution in Jamaica reflects its dual function as an element of the ideological super-structure in achieving:-

... a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers. ...
a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression. 55

It is clear that the dichotomous nature of educational provision in Jamaica at this period tended to reproduce the social relations of production by replicating them in terms of its dual organization. However, at the level of reproducing labour power and the reserve army of labour, it was less functional. For, in the hostile stance of the planter

ruling class can be seen their conviction that missionary elementary education as constituted was dysfunctional for the production of labour power. This seeming contradiction can be resolved by viewing the nature of missionary education and the missionaries' belief in its necessity as based on their ideology which sprang from the relations of production existing contemporarily in industrial areas of Britain. By the same token, planter opposition to elementary education can be seen as congruent with a repressive ideology proceeding from the relations of production of the plantation.

The bookish character of elementary education during this period held, in the ideology of the proletariat, the promise of social mobility although in reality this was drastically limited. Despite its limitation even this degree of social mobility and level of aspiration among its workers was manifestly unacceptable to the planter ruling class. From this contradiction between ruling class needs and working class ambition there emerged the attempt by the Legislature to vocationalize education in order to render it a more functional tool for the reproduction of labour power. However, ideologically motivated resistance entered into the equation at this point to thwart this reform. Rather than the forces of production directly determining the nature of the educational apparatus, their influence was modified by means of the ideologies of the various social classes in the formation which estimated that likely value to each class of

various types of education. The various groups then acted accordingly in an attempt to influence the provision of education in line with their class interests.

Thus the nature of elementary education during this period must be seen as the result of a complex of factors:- missionary evaluation of both evangelical ends and social ends (modified by bourgeois ideology and the experience of social relations in contemporary Britain); planter ruling class evaluation of the best means of reproducing labour power; and proletarian evaluation of the type of education most likely to provide a favourable outcome for members of that class. However, it must be emphasized that this type of negotiation had a very limited focus restricted itself by the ideologies of both ruling class and bourgeoisie:- the curriculum appropriate to elementary education. Class conflict did not bring into question at that time the dichotomous structure of education or the dominant Christian conservative orthodoxy of missionary schools. Both these dimensions continued to function at the level of legitimating and replicating the social relations of production and socializing those potential members of the labour force who obtained an education.

Secondary schooling functioned on the curricular level to legitimate the position of ruling groups. Their socialization into the manners and mores of upper-class England and acquaintance with classical education represented the

possession of a scarce cultural good which also derived value from its association with and imitation of prestigious metropolitan models. The exclusive nature of such education and the deliberate attempts which were made to maintain this exclusivity point to its complementary role in reproducing the dominant groups in Jamaican society. However, the borrowed and mimic nature of the curriculum points to the notion of 'ideological penetration of the periphery',⁵⁶ and raises the spectre of intellectual dependency and the nurturing of a comprador class; factors which became more significant in the subsequent era of Crown Colony Rule.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. cf. Patterson, op. cit., p. 207 and Knox, op. cit., p. 391.
2. 'Wolmer's 250', The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner, (N.A. Edition 28 May 1979, p. 20.
3. Gordon, op. cit., p. 13.
4. 'Barbados House of Assembly 1831' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 10.
5. Knox, op. cit., p. 391.
6. Lewis, Matthew Gregory, Journal of a West Indian Proprietor, London, 1834, cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 13.
7. Robb, op. cit., p. 71.
8. On the eve of Emancipation the Reverend John Sterling was commissioned by the British Government to a study the provision of education by the missionary bodies throughout the British West Indies and to judge whether they were competent to administer the education grant which the British intended to implement.
9. Gordon, op. cit., p. 9.
10. Foner, Nancy, Status and Power in Rural Jamaica, N.Y., 1973, p. 43.
11. Robb, op. cit., p. 51.
12. Gordon, Shirley, 'Rev. John Sterling's Report May 1935', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. 8, #3, September 1962, p. 146.
13. See footnote #38 to Chapter One.
14. Robb, op. cit., p. 51.
15. Ibid., p. 98.
16. Knox, op. cit., p. 391.
17. Patterson, op. cit., p. 40.
18. Idem.

19. Knox, op. cit., p. 391.
20. Idem.
21. Wolmer's 250, op. cit.
22. Wolmer's which celebrated its 250th anniversary in 1979 and Monro College are among the elite of island high schools today, and in the Jamaican context enjoy similar status to Eton or Winchester in England. Rusea's is less prominent, principally due to its remote location in the capital of Jamaica's poorest Parish, Hanover.
23. Lowenthal, op. cit., p. 118.
24. Wolmer's 250, op. cit.
25. Gordon, op. cit., p. 19.
26. 'Missionary Tract' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 23.
27. Gordon, op. cit., p. 20.
28. Robb, op.ccit., p. 96.
29. Knox, op. cit., pp. 385-390.
30. The Sterling Report 1835, cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 148.
31. Gordon, op. cit., p. 31.
32. Henriques, Fernando, Family and Colour in Jamaica, McGibbon and Kee, Bristol, 1953, cited in Brown, op. cit., p. 83.
33. Knox, op. cit., p. 391.
34. Keith, op. cit., p. 38.
35. Althusser, op. cit., p. 156.
36. Brown, op. cit., p. 82.
37. Idem.
38. Gordon, op. cit., p. 19.
39. 'Circular Dispatch, 18 March 1841' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 38.
40. Sherlock, op. cit., p. 238.

41. Gordon, op. cit., p. 34.
42. Ibid, p. 45.
43. 'Barbados Legislature's Reply to Governor's Opening Address, 27 May 1851'. cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 57.
44. 'Report of Inspector of Schools 1847' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 57.
45. Gordon, op. cit., p. 44.
46. 'Confidential Despatch to Secretary of State, 3 August, 1845' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 59.
47. 'Letter from Pastor Buchner, Fairfield, to the Moravian Missionary Society, 5 August, 1856,' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 60.
48. Gordon, op. cit., p. 60.
49. 'Education Return of the Church of Scotland, 11 February, 1864,' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 72.
50. Idem.
51. Turner, op. cit. p. 71.
52. 'Report of the Inspector of Schools, Trinidad 1861' cited in Gordon, op. cit. p. 66.
53. 'Attorney General's Speech in the Legislative Council, Trinidad, 2 September, 1857' cited in Gordon, op. cit. p. 233.
54. Keith, op. cit., p. 40.
55. Althusser, op. cit., p. 156.
56. Keith, op. cit., p. 38.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 THE GAP WIDENS: Education under Crown Colony Rule, 1865-1900.

During the 19th Century, three fundamental changes in the Jamaican political economy occurred whose reverberations penetrated every level of plantation society. The established order in the plantation economies had been based on a triple foundation of slavery, monopoly of the British sugar market, and planter control over the local island legislatures. The first two were demolished by the Emancipation of the slaves and the Free Trade movement respectively. The last crumbled with the transition to Crown Colony rule of the government of Jamaica. This occurred following the Morant Bay 'Rebellion' during which the planter dominated assembly had authorised the judicial murder of over 400 blacks following riots in which a score of people had died in the Eastern part of the island. (See Chapter Four above) The Imperial government responded to the problem of order in Jamaica in a somewhat more subtle manner than the white ruling class. They replaced the rule by Assembly by direct Crown Colony rule by Governor and nominated assembly. This appeased the coloured middle stratum which was increasingly coopted thereafter by the metropolitan ruling class both by nomination to the governor's advisory assembly and by appointment to the colonial civil

service. Although the apparent cause of the imposition of Crown Colony rule on Jamaica was the inability of the planters to maintain order without brutality fundamentally it represented the extension of bourgeois hegemony over a satellite ruling class which represented in bourgeois opinion, archaic relations of production.¹ This extension demanded the creation of a comprador class, a satellite bourgeoisie acting as the agents of the metropolitan bourgeoisie.²

Substantial changes in the scope and nature of government in Jamaica over the years 1865-1900 reflect similar changes in Britain and both represent the expanding role of the bourgeois state in the lives of its citizens. In Britain the spectres of Chartism and Socialism had clearly shown the dangers of too facile an application of the principles of laissez faire to government. If bourgeois domination were to be secured then a certain degree of government intervention in the lives of its citizens would have to be countenanced. In this realization lie the beginnings of the Welfare State. In Britain the Education Bill of 1870 represented only one measure in a slate of legislation which effectively increased the role of government in the provision of 'welfare'. In Jamaica there was significant move in the complexion of government from the planter dominated assembly to Crown Colony rule. The planters' interest in government had not extended beyond the perpetuation of their own dominant position in the plantation economy. Their obstructive stance on the provision

of mass-education prior to 1865 demonstrates this clearly.

In contrast, the new regime under Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, saw a considerable expansion of government which came to encompass many of the roles which had by now devolved upon it in England.

Public works were undertaken, primary education expanded, the administration of justice improved, medical services introduced and a start made in developing an efficient civil service. 3

Education provides an excellent example of the direct influence of the metropolitan bourgeois state during these years on the social institutions of the satellite colony. During the period 1865-1900 the gap between elementary and secondary education widened as did the gap between the needs of Jamaican technology and the provision of relevantly trained man-power by the schools. A slavish adherence to models of education which were already outmoded in England guaranteed only the continuing efficacy of schooling in reproducing existing social relations. On the one hand bourgeois education created a comprador class par excellence, whose intellectual, cultural and technological orientation was to the mother-country: on the other hand the mass sector continued the shoddy provision of education designed more to control than to enlighten.

Elementary education in Jamaica during the last decades of the 19th Century continued to perform the principle function of social control by legitimating and reproducing the social

relations. Its role in producing labour power, however, was more problematic in that various groups; missionaries, planters, and black proletariat continued to seek differential outcomes from the educational process.

During this period the system of 'payment by results' was introduced in Jamaican schools. This was only one example of the facile extension of policies in a West Indian context which often had only been introduced recently in England. The payment by results system had been introduced in England by the Revised Code of 1862. There it represented the extension of market principles to the provision of elementary education. In Jamaica it demonstrated the phenomenon of intervention by English administrators in education. In both cases the system originated from a government imperative to secure a socialized wage-labour force at a minimum price.

grants were made to the schools on the results of children's performance in the 3R's, and if the schools wanted to do better, also in defined areas of subject information. Attendance, and in some cases the teachers' efficiency in 'management' and 'discipline' also earned grants. This was par excellence the educational method for elementary schooling for the bulk of the Crown Colony period. 4

Both in England and Jamaica the system operated from the early 1860's until the turn of the century. The extension of notions of productivity and reward to education represented the tendency in bourgeois ideology to extend principles enunciated by the classical economists as far as possible in

every social context. It thus pre-dates welfare-state type legislation. The 'payment' part of the equation effectively implied teachers' salaries. If the grant made to a school was either increased or decreased this would be reflected in the salaries paid to teachers. Thus it was clearly in the teachers' interest to achieve the best results possible in the annual inspector's examination. This affected the nature of elementary education in several ways. The attendance component in the formula by which grants were to be allocated encouraged schools to increase enrollments irrespective of facilities. The emphasis on the 3R's strengthened the tendency (already present) to the methodical rote-learning of subjects, and discouraged any deviation from the authorized, examinable curriculum. In addition the emphasis on 'management' and 'discipline' as remunerative desiderata promoted intensely authoritarian role relations in the class room. The system functioned so well in one way that the number of elementary school students swelled immensely during the first decade of Crown Colony government. The unseen educational cost of this expansion was the fact that the increased expenditure involved left little or no money to fund teacher education. Thus the system of 'pupil-teacher certification' which was very similar to that in England was perpetuated. This system in theory took the pupil teacher from being an educational tyro at the age of thirteen via a series of annual examinations to certification at the age of eighteen which would be equivalent to the

qualification obtained by someone attending a normal school. In practice, due to the unqualified nature of supervisory teachers, and the trials and vicissitudes of life as a pupil-teacher, very few indeed made the laborious transition from novice to professional.

The implications of these factors for Jamaican education were major. In the periods prior to 1865 the syllabus-curriculum served to transmit the ideology of the bourgeois missionaries which legitimated the status quo of social relations. Now under the system of 'payment by results' and the aegis of Crown Colony rule the syllabus was officially determined and sanctioned by the differential rates of pay to teachers according to their success in inculcating it. Thus 'payment by results' improved the effectiveness of elementary education in legitimizing the social relations. Secondly, the increased class sizes, increasingly methodical rote learning, and new emphasis on management and discipline demanded more authoritarian and productivity oriented relations within the school which served the function of replicating the relations of production. Lastly, the institutionalized dependence on the pupil-teacher system for a supply of 'trained' teachers had implications which went beyond the school-house walls.

While this system provided a degree of mobility for members of the lower class, usually children of shopkeepers, tradesmen, and more prosperous farmers, it lowered the standards of the primary schools and further reduced the chances

for children who attended them to win scholarships to secondary schools. ⁵

The repercussions of the pupil teacher system were even more far reaching than this commentator suggests. Firstly, the petrifying results on pedagogy and curriculum alike were intense. Each generation of students was metamorphosed by the system into the next generation of teachers. In most cases they had access to no models other than those of their own teachers, and recourse to no other ideas than those which the narrow 3R's curriculum had imparted to them. The static quality of this system is striking and goes a long way towards explaining the legendary conservatism of the Jamaican elementary school teacher and the fact that even on the eve of Independence in 1962 very little had changed in the pedagogy of rural elementary schools in Jamaica.

Furthermore the poor standards inseparable from poorly trained teachers lessened the likelihood of a student ever leaving the elementary schools system and instead limited his aspirations to the level of becoming an elementary school teacher, thus perpetuating the whole cycle of educational poverty. The elementary sector took on the aspect of an educational caste. Movement was possible within it but there was little likelihood of transcending its boundaries. The actual extent of social mobility entailed in becoming an elementary school teacher may be gleaned from a contemporary memorandum on the problems of the profession.

uncertainty and comparative smallness of income, combined with the conditions under which the work had to be done render the profession of teacher increasingly unattractive to capable men. Teachers should be at least equal in mental capacity to the best men of the artisan classes. But a man mentally and physically strong has not the same prospects of independence and success in the profession of primary school teacher as he has in the work of a carpenter.⁶

Although no comparative data on Jamaica is available on the subject; it was the poor conditions of the elementary school teacher which resulted in the feminization of the profession at this time in both England and the U.S.A. The inference that a similar processes took place in Jamaica is supported by the fact that today, primary school teachers are overwhelmingly women, the few men in the profession generally occupying supervisory roles. However, the feminization of the teaching profession in Jamaica may have occurred at a slower pace due to the scarcity of alternative paths for upward mobility for members of the black proletariat. Teaching, as an avenue of mobility into the respectability of a white collar profession was to a great extent, as the memorandum above suggests, a blind alley. Blacks who became elementary school teachers represented a white collar 'under class', members of a semi-profession which was accorded limited status but little or no economic benefit. The pupil teacher system thus offered the chimera of social mobility while actually debasing the elementary school system to the extent that real mobility, through the secondary sector, was

virtually impossible. By maintaining class boundaries the pupil-teacher system was functional at the level of reproducing the social relations of production in Jamaican society.

Ruby King suggests that, "ambitious working class families had apparently become conditioned to seeing the pupil-teacher examination and the training colleges as their means of improving their lot in the world"⁷. However any idea that all black teachers simply acquiesced in the shaded status of their profession must be dispelled. The teachers were not all content to be the agents of social control for the satellite ruling class. Black elementary school teachers would become an important medium for the formation of working class consciousness in later years. Many teachers occupied the role of opinion-maker and disseminator of progressive ideas in rural communities where their literacy and education led them to be regarded as virtual oracles. There was little chance that black elementary school teachers would be accepted as equals by members of the island's upwardly mobile brown middle class. There was no hope that they would even be recognized by members of the white plantocracy. Thus despite the ambiguity of their semi-professional status and unusual learning these men (and women) often acted in a solidaristic fashion with the working class. This was manifest in teachers' general opposition to the various attempts to 'vocalize' elementary education during the last decades of the 19th and in the vocal campaign mounted by the Jamaica Union of Teachers

(JUT) against renewed efforts to turn the elementary schools into training grounds for plantation labour in the first years of this century.⁸

During this period, 1865-1900, as was the case in the preceding period, elementary education came under attack for the bookish nature of its curriculum. Two flavours of arguments were now heard against the literary bias in the curriculum. The first and most familiar was that such education tended to erode class boundaries by arousing unrealistic expectations of social mobility in the educated working class. This was a survival of the 'too much book-learning will spoil a good field hand' chorus of the previous era and originated from the planter fraction of the ruling class. The other argument which was heard during this period was to become more familiar in coming years. The charge of technological irrelevance of the elementary school curriculum came from the comprador class of Jamaican society which desired modernization and a fuller integration of Jamaica with the bourgeois world economy. Both flavours of criticism co-existed with the whole-hearted recognition that now there was a necessity for some form of elementary education simply as a mechanism of social control. This paralleled the belated realization by the English bourgeoisie in 1870 of the need for universal elementary education following the near - success of Chartism and the granting of the franchise to a section of the working class. The English Education Bill of 1870

recognized the principle of government intervention in education to the extent of compelling attendance if a local board saw fit to do this. In Jamaica, the call for compulsory education would not be heard until 1879. Then it would be the urban disorder of Kingston and the anarchic behaviour of homeless and illegitimate youth which would prompt the recommendation rather than the fear of an organized working class.

The 'Report upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population of Jamaica' (1879) strongly emphasized the social control functions of elementary education and indeed actually advocated compulsory education as a means of controlling juvenile delinquency and other forms of social disorder. These were seen as proceeding from the 'naturally idle disposition of the bulk of the population' and as constituting the 'main hindrance to prosperity'.⁹ This reflected one of the main tenets of bourgeois educational thought - that an educated labour force was a prerequisite for capitalist prosperity. The commissioners investigating the 'condition' of Jamaica's youth diagnosed the underlying malaise of the island society as 'idleness'. From this single cause sprang, apparently, unemployment, poverty, overcrowded slums and the hordes of illegitimate children who roamed the streets of Kingston and themselves became involved in the fleeting sexual relationships which precipitated the whole cycle of idleness, vagrancy, poverty and disorder again. By this form of reasoning, in which the poor were held responsible for

their own condition, the role of the state was to minimize the danger to the rest of society from the poor. Thus compulsory education was proposed amidst a spate of social control legislation designed to do just that. Among these new measures were sanitary laws against overcrowding which deprived the poor of their homes, a new poor law which proposed depriving them of their freedom by institutionalizing them, and a bastardy law which sought to stigmatize the kinship norms which were dominant amongst the black proletariat.

We notice lastly the non-existence of any law compelling parents to provide for the education of their children.
 ... But the classes whom we have described as contributing mainly to juvenile vagrancy do not send their children to school, nor is it to be supposed they will, without some compulsion of law. 10

There was no consideration of the type or quality of elementary education which was to be provided, nor of any other possible function than social control. The commissioners of the report simply recommended that elementary education be made more available, and preferably compulsory, as a palliative for widespread juvenile vagrancy. Thus in Jamaica in 1879 much of the emphasis was on the social control functions of elementary education.

Towards the end of the 19th Century, unemployment, a soaring population and economic stagnation demonstrated anew the degree to which Jamaica was dependent on England and subject to all the economic vicissitudes which affected the metropole itself. Education was a victim of the depression.

What can be called the retrenchment - reform paradox developed. Although education was demonstrably inadequate and in need of reform the budgetary allocations for education had to be savagely trimmed. Inevitably the elementary schools which had always operated on a shoe-string in any case were the hardest hit. The system of payment by results aggravated the problem. Teachers had become more proficient over the years at producing the results for which they were paid. A government forced to retrench was unable to maintain earlier rates of payment so these were cut back. In consequence teachers were dissatisfied and sought more secure employment in other fields. Elementary schools ended up in the impossible position of having to do more and more with less and less. The Governor of Trinidad summed up the frustration which must have been shared by the governments of the other islands in their impossible predicament.

I am bound to say that I am not satisfied that the best interests of the Colony will be served by the closing of the Government Schools, but then I am satisfied that the best educational interests of the colony are not compatible with the reduction in expense insisted upon. 11

In these straitened circumstances the recommendations of the Lumb Report (1898) on education in Jamaica had little chance of being implemented.¹² The somewhat radical recommendations of the Lumb Commissions clearly went against the interests of at least two of the major social classes in the colonial conjuncture. The Lumb Report advocated a radical

restructuring of the elementary school curriculum to ensure a better 'fit' with the level of technological development of Jamaica. This was to be done through the introduction of manual and agricultural training. Manual training with an industrial bent would undoubtedly have served the interests of those among the island bourgeoisie who wished to see the development of an indigenous industry. The following complaint (taken from a Guyanese newspaper) illustrates the perceived shortcomings of colonial elementary education from the point of view of industrial development.

Every year the schools turn out numbers of lads and lasses whose memories are well stocked with fundamental knowledge; but the hard battle of life having to be faced immediately, owing to the absence of any liberal and fixed systems of apprenticeship, they drift from one calling to another, often with little guidance and encouragement, until, they in the end settle down to nothing whatever, and sometimes become pests of society. We have no factories, no institutes, no training schools, yet we expect to have great inventors, mechanics, and skillful agriculturalists. 13

The economic naivete of both critique and Lumb's recommendation are striking. Jamaica was maintained by imperialist relations of production as a raw-material dependency and as a market for Britain's industrial products. It was contrary to both interests and policy of the metropolitan bourgeoisie to promote industrial development in the colonies. Thus it was unlikely, even in the absence of budgetary constraints, that Lumb's advocacy of 'manual' training would have been supported to any great extent.

Lumb's recommendation that the elementary school curriculum should be re-oriented to provide an increased amount of vocational agricultural education showed an astonishing ignorance of the fate of previous attempts to introduce reforms of this nature. In 1847 the British government had advised its colonies that agricultural education should be compulsory for the children of small farmers as the their occupational destiny was likely to be the same as their fathers'. The opposition of Jamaica's peasant-proletariat to vocational reforms which were seen as limiting the potential social mobility of their children was discussed in Chapter Five. A further effort to vocationalize elementary education was made in 1867. The impetus again was the anxiety of the planter-ruling class concerning the reproduction of plantation labour power. "Bookish" education it was felt would give the proletariat 'ideas' above their station and render them unfit for plantation labour. The Code of Regulations of 1867 modified the payment by results' system by offering special additional grants to schools-which provided at least three hours of agricultural training daily.¹⁴ The lack of success which the scheme encountered can be judged from the percentage of total grants which was expended on the special additional grants for vocational training. This varied from 1.5% in 1870 to 1.95% in 1877 when the grants were discontinued.¹⁵

The failure of the 1867 incentive scheme can be attributed in the main part to the staunch opposition of parents

and teachers acting in solidarity as members of the black working class. The teachers, although they constituted an upwardly mobile stratum, were nonetheless in terms of absolute social mobility just as confined by the limits of the elementary school system as their charges. The teachers coming from the same scio-economic group as the parents shared many of the same values. The unity of parents and teachers in opposition to agricultural education is not, then, entirely surprising.

There were three main elements to the parental opposition. Firstly, it seemed manifestly absurd to go to the trouble and to make all the sacrifices entailed in sending a child to school only to have him learn there what he could have learned better and at more profit to his parents at home. Secondly, the school was regarded as an avenue of upward mobility. Parents were well aware that the pen and the book were the tools of the white collar worker; not the hoe and the machette. Thirdly, the experience of slavery was sufficiently close, historically, that parents over the age of 33 would have been born as slaves. Consequently those who were able to choose evinced an intense repugnance for the plantation labour which was so reminiscent of slavery days. Naturally they opposed an educational reform designed to socialize their children with skills which would make them employable solely on the sugar estates. Although peasant opposition to agricultural education was interpreted by an

Inspector of Schools in 1870 as a distaste for manual labour,¹⁶ this was contradicted by an increase in peasant free-holding and production at this time.¹⁷ It would rather be true to say that the peasants were loath to educate their children in ways that would only serve to increase their dependence on the plantations. If forms of scientific agricultural training designed to enhance peasant farming had been offered there is little doubt that the peasants would have been avid consumers. However, the limited vocational training which was offered had the transparent intention of reproducing plantation labour power and as such was rejected by the peasantry.

Teacher opposition to low-level agricultural-training became apparent in training college. At least one principal at the time complained that students entered into agricultural training courses only with great reluctance. Most students avoided the work altogether or malingered.¹⁸ Student-teachers, having made laborious progress through years of work as pupil-teachers, and the ordeal of annual exams to reach the eminence of teachers' college, must have been extremely reluctant to get their hands dirty. Agricultural training, even if it only entailed the supervision of pupils in the field, must have seemed to them a denial of the intense efforts they had made to place social distance between themselves and those who worked on the soil. In addition, coming from exactly the same background as working class parents, the teachers would have sympathized with their arguments against the form of

agricultural education which the revised code of 1867 seemed designed to promote.

In spite of the manifest failure of the 1867 Revised Code (the grant for agricultural education were discontinued after ten years). There was a further attempt to bring back agricultural grants in the Revised Code of 1893.¹⁹ Reports suggested that yet again legislation had been ineffective in vocationalizing elementary education. Few schools had introduced agricultural education because of a shortage of teachers qualified in this area. Furthermore the fact that neighbouring peasant cultivations were often better than those in school grounds seemed to support the parents argument that farming should be taught at home.²⁰ In 1898 Lumb called yet again for the vocationalization of the elementary factor despite the failure which had dogged similar policies in the past. Budgetary constraints would no doubt have sealed the fate of the Lumb Report irrespective of class conflict. It is clear, however, that the metropolitan ruling class would not at that time have lent its support to industrial training as it was clearly against its interest to promote any degree of indigenous industrial development in the colonies. Agricultural training was intensively pursued over the years 1865-1900, yet never implemented with any success. Its failure must substantially be attributed to the resistance of the peasant proletariat to submit their children to 'dead-end' vocational schooling. This class conflict over education was

limited to the working class struggle to keep the existing routes of social mobility open in spite of recurrent efforts on the part of the satellite ruling class to 'vocalionalize' elementary education. The working class critique did not go beyond this level to the fundamental structure of education which continued to reproduce the social relations of Jamaican society.

Elementary education produced sufficient skilled labour power for a dependent colonial formation. Moreover education tended to reproduce the social relations of production, not only socializing those students within the system but also socializing by example all those outside. There was the school as the goal for all to aspire to. There were the model students who attained the respected (if ambiguous) status of pupil-teacher. There were even those (precious few) who escaped from the elementary sector altogether and joined the ranks of the bourgeoisie in the secondary sector. These successes were sufficient to validate the authorized routes for upward mobility and legitimate the huge inequalities which remained, School was thus for the ruling class a safety-valve which satisfied the aspirations of the masses. For the masses it represented a dream of good fortune and prosperity. While there was school there was hope, and while there was hope there was order. The deeply divided, class nature of Jamaican society demanded that there be some schooling for the masses as a prerequisite for social

order. However, the quality and nature of that education, and the level of financial commitment of the colonial government were matters for the vagaries of the economic climate.

During this period when elementary education was enduring the travails of savage measures of retrenchment, the secondary sector was blossoming. New schools were opened and scholarships were provided to the most able graduates of the system for study in English Universities. Some indignation was expressed at the fact that one third of the educational budget was expended on the tiny minority of children who attended high schools while the masses in elementary schools continued in straitened circumstances. Righteous indignation, however, had little effect on the educational status quo which survived unchanged well into the 20th Century. Three major features characterized the secondary sector under Crown Colony rule: real elitism, notional openness, and absolute cultural and technological dependency. The first two ensured the reproduction of social relations and the maintenance of social order respectively. The last reproduced relations of dependence and created a comprador class. The Jamaican High School was pre-eminently elitist. Its elitism was based on racial, economic and kinship requirements which ensured that the white and brown monied groups would be virtually the exclusive beneficiaries of the provision of classical education. Most racial discrimination was de facto rather than de jure. From an

Inspector's report on Monro and Dickinson's school in Jamaica in 1869 it appears that in fact there was blatant racial exclusion. 'The children of black people are excluded'. However, most island High Schools ensured the same results by less direct methods.

The school at this time has no pupils other than white, but I received the assurance that this is an accidental circumstance, as in the past, coloured boys have been received, and there exists every disposition to encourage such now to enter the school, provided only their suitability is guaranteed by the payment of the fees. 21

In addition to the economic threshold which functioned to exclude members of the black proletariat from secondary education certain schools excluded children born out of wedlock. Marriage was not common early on in life among working class blacks. The pattern of male-female relationships proceeded from a lengthy 'visiting relationship' during which a male visited a woman at her parents residence and any children of the union were raised as part of the girl's family. The visiting relationship gave way to 'faithful concubinage' perhaps after the age of thirty during which the man and woman lived together as common law spouses and raised their children at their mutual residence. Only comparatively late on in life would actual 'lawful' marriage be contemplated when there were sufficient resources to do this in style.²² Thus most children of the black proletariat would be considered 'illegitimate' by English law and the use of legitimacy as a criterion for admission to secondary school discriminated

only against them.

... illegitimacy should be regarded as disqualifying boys for admission to compete for the Exhibitions if I am right in thinking that these were not only intended as a reward for deserving boys but as an assistance to honest and respectable parents. 23

Three barriers; of colour, poverty, and kinship were thus erected in the way of black participation in secondary education. However, charges of elitism were hotly denied by educational authorities who asserted that secondary education was open to all irrespective of background, the sole criterion for admission to high school being merit. The myth of open and free competitive access was maintained by the device of scholarships.

the reproach made by Mr. Keenan against Trinidad for its neglect of the children of the poor had been removed, and the Inspector of Schools in his last report justly observed that the advantages now offered in Trinidad to industrious lads can hardly be surpassed. Any boy, whatever his origin, may attend gratuitously at a Government primary school, he may become a candidate for and gain free admission to the Queen's Royal College where a liberal endowment of four annual exhibitions a year of £150 is open to enable him to proceed to an English University and once there he will again find scholarships and prizes open to him. 24

The 'liberality' of the scholarship system was urged in Jamaica also in reply to those who protested the disproportionate share of the educational budget which the secondary sector consumed. The inherently inegalitarian and elitist nature of the High Schools was camouflaged by the touching

image of the 'industrious lad' making his way from the Jamaican bush to the cloisters of Oxbridge. Myths, however, die hard, and this particular myth fitted in with the ideology of the Jamaican ruling class as well as providing a justification for the flagrant privilege which their children enjoyed at the expense of all the island's tax-payers. 'Talent will find its appropriate level' so ran the argument with its conception of the upper class recruiting the best brains from the masses.

In fact the scholarship system functioned in a way which ensured that the notion of the working class lad reaching the academic heights through merit and hard-work was essentially mythical. The assumption that the prodigies of the elementary school system could not afford to pay the fees charged by Jamaica's elite secondary schools was correct. The assumption that 'liberal' scholarships were available to poor students who were in the unfortunate position of having excessive talent and insufficient money was incorrect. Many of the scholarships had embedded in them clauses specifying prerequisites for scholars which functioned effectively to exclude working class students. For example the desirable Drax scholarships (named after a prominent sugar-estate in St. Ann) demanded that all scholars have knowledge of Latin. Latin did not form part of the elementary school curriculum. Thus only those who were already in a secondary institution or who could afford the cost of a private tutor would be eligible. The 'Foundation' scholarships provided financial support for

one boy from each Parish. However, to obtain this award a boy had to be nominated by the Custos of his Parish. (the Custos is the representative of the English monarch at the Parish level-analogous to Canada's provincial lieutenant-governors). It is unlikely that sons of the peasant proletariat moved in the same rarefied social circles as the custodes. A further scholarship which provided three places for boys and three places for girls was awarded annually to students under sixteen who had obtained the highest honours in the Cambridge Junior Local Examinations. As elementary schools did not prepare their students for the Cambridge Examinations this award also effectively excluded working class children.²⁵ Thus the meritocratic notion of the scholarship system enabling the talented members of the working class to advance to the secondary sector must be viewed as ideology rather than reality. The reality of the secondary sector was that it continued to fulfil its historic function of legitimating and reproducing the Jamaican ruling classes. A contemporary commentator's perception of the process suggests that the few working class children who made the move from elementary to secondary school were lost to their own class.

... it is not only desirable that the best stratum in each primary school should gravitate upwards i.e. should struggle into a more advantageous position socially speaking; it will also conduce to the interests of the community and the stability of its institutions, if the very best units in that best stratum be placed, through means of access to our highest type of education, within reach of the

best social and professional positions attainable in the colony. The hereditary Aristocracy of England gains strength and influence by being frequently recruited from the middle class. 26

Thus the role of Jamaica's high schools as reproducing ruling groups was complemented by their role as agencies for the cooptation of the most able agents from the black proletariat. They functioned in an analagous way to the elementary sector in that their influence extended far beyond the privileged minority who actually attended to the vast majority of those totally deprived of secondary education who were rendered acquiescent by the mirage of scholarship success. In this way the secondary sector functioned not only to reproduce the social relations of plantation society directly by legitimating and reproducing the ruling class, but also indirectly by acting as a safety valve which helped to maintain social order by permitting a trickle of mobility out of the working class.

Moving from the organization to the curricular content of secondary education brings into focus the almost total duplication by Jamaican High Schools of English models. At one and the same time this perpetuated a comprador class whose orientation was to the mother-country and promoted a continued dependence on imported technology and personnel within the island society. Despite the persistence of criticisms of technological irrelevance, the practice of producing classical scholars rather than technicians or

agronomists continued. There was no Jamaican equivalent to the new Grammar Schools and Technical Institutes set up by the industrial bourgeoisie in England in the last half of the 19th Century. This lack is clearly explained by the relations between the metropolitan ruling class and the colonial formation. Just as there was no encouragement of technical education at the elementary level because this had the potential of eventually eroding the metropolitan monopoly over manufactured goods so by the same token there was no technical education at the secondary level. Imperialist relations maintained Jamaica as an agricultural resource producing dependency of Empire. Thus there was little incentive for the satellite bourgeoisie to demand industrial education. There was, however, around this time increased interest in agricultural education at the secondary level.

Efforts were made around the turn of the century to make the curriculum more relevant by introducing agriculture although there was a tendency for it to become just another academic subject of doubtful relevance to actual practice in Jamaica's plantations and farms. In retrospect it was perhaps ominous that in the early stages of the drive to implement higher agricultural education in the West Indies much jubilation was expressed over the fact that a Cambridge Graduate had been obtained to teach the subject at Harrison College, Barbados. There was other evidence that the teaching of agriculture at the secondary level became just another

'book' subject taught from English texts and quite alien to the actual practice of West Indian agriculture.

The agriculture the boys study is not tropical agriculture. They study Frean's Agriculture and those boys going in for subjects cram the contents of the book. ...The boys tell me they can get on much better without a teacher for this subject, ... It is not tropical agriculture ... 27

Thus agriculture as taught in West Indian High Schools came to represent another academic subject, a means of gaining prestige and a white collar occupation or of bolstering grade-point averages by a few marks in order to gain one of the prestigious scholarships to an English University. A great degree of continuity, then, characterized the provision of secondary education at this time.

From published reports and other sources we learn that the ordinary curriculum consists of Latin, Greek, French, Geography, Roman and Grecian History, English Grammar and Analysis, Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid; in fact the ordinary course pursued at the great English schools such as Eton, Rugby, Harrow and Westminster. 28

The prestige derived from such metropolitan models served as class markers for the privileged West Indians who attended High Schools. Such an education was of dubious use to the scions of merchant, planter, and large farming families, who formed the majority of high school students. No doubt they derived status from the elaborate charade of Eton beneath the coconut trees. There was all the self-doubt and inferiority of the colonial mentality, and, as the newspaper article above demonstrates, there was a good deal of satisfaction at

the idea of emulating the great Public Schools of England - imitation being the sincerest form of flattery. However, for the vast majority of those who attended Jamaica's elite high schools, status was all they derived from their years of exposure to the classical academic curriculum. Increasingly, the relevance of this type of schooling was questioned by an ambitious satellite bourgeoisie and the connection made with the technological backwardness and dependency of the island economics.

What we want in this colony are men who have received a scientific education: engineers, chemists mineralogists, electricians, men who will be able to bring every resource of science to bear in developing the country. At present the majority of these have to be imported at high salaries. ... yet a boy is unable to get even the rudiments of a scientific education. The alumni of Queen's College will make very nice gentlemanly clerks in Government Offices; but they are not turned out to the battle of life equipped with weapons of modern precision. ²⁹

Of course 'nice gentlemanly clerks' were exactly what the colonial civil service and the various branches of metropolitan enterprise required. The secondary education which the upper strata of Jamaican youth received ensured that they would be literate and personable functionaries - and later on - after laboriously progressing their way up the bureaucratic hierarchy - perhaps even valuable political contacts and trading partners. The fact that they looked to England for political directives and commercial decisions made them even more valuable to the metropolitan bourgeoisie.

As long as education remained dependent culturally and technologically the graduates of the system would remain mere compradors, unqualified and impotent to initiate indigenous technologies, politics and commerce. Thus England's hegemony in Jamaica was supported by the education which the comprador class received which turned out 'nice gentlemen' who were lacking in the 'weapons of modern precision' which might have enabled their country to develop.

As long as Jamaica was locked in the dependency of satellite-metropole relations as a producer of raw materials and an importer of finished goods Jamaican secondary education would continue to be a source of status and legitimation for ruling groups rather than becoming a meaningful resource for national development. Its principal roles survived unchanged into the 20th Century. Its place in the overall educational institution served to reproduce social relations by simultaneously legitimating and reproducing ruling groups while ensuring the maintenance of social order by the safety-valve effect of the scholarship system. The content of secondary education continued to promote dependency by socializing a comprador class which was naturally aligned to the dominant groups in the metropolis. The absence of technological and agricultural content in the curriculum minimized the chances of devising indigenous solutions to developmental problems and perpetuated dependence on technology, personnel and goods from Britain.

6.2 'MR. CAMBRIDGE' AND THE 'SCHOLARSHIP BOYS' 1900-1944

The dawn of a new century did not herald any dramatic departures from the status quo. There still remained a chasm of privilege between elementary and secondary sectors across which few could venture. The continuities between this period and those which had gone before are much more apparent than the contrasts.

In elementary education the pupil-teacher system was retained with all its deleterious effects on the standard of education at this level. (Indeed it persists to this day in Jamaica where student teachers are euphemistically referred to as 'pretrained' teachers even though a substantial number remain pretrained throughout their careers). Elementary education remained the poor relation of the educational dichotomy, more an agency of social control than a resource for enlightenment. Mobility from the primary to the secondary sector was possible only for the exceptional student. Even within the elementary school itself it could be problematic for a black, working class child to obtain the same standard of tuition as a class mate from the more prosperous 'brown' class. This and much else about the provision of elementary education at the start of the present century is made clear in the recollections of a student in Jamaica at that time. (The recollections are in the form of a transcript of an interview with the 'student' rendered in his Jamaican patois).

You know in those weary days, in those days in Jamaica anything teach children, because the educational standard in my days was just enough to hinder a man from becoming a criminal because if you see your name you could be able to know it was your name. ... Well according to what I really just learn, they give us arithmetic in school. ... The brown pickney them go in mathematic and right up ... but we down the bottom, we don't use, them doesn't teach us that one. You see sometimes you in school long and if them like you, you get on to it, a little of it but the people that take the lesson, them get higher teaching than we the smaller children. ... I left school in Sixth Book. It was something disgraceful. ... I found out that them only help you to read and write and make you didn't become worthless. 30

These recollections paint a vivid picture of black educational deprivation, brown middle class privilege, the standard of teaching, and the overall social control function which was the raison d'etre of the elementary school sector. Little indeed had changed in elementary education from the last half of the 19th Century. It still sought to reproduce the social relations of production by legitimating them through content and replicating them through structure. Above all the elementary school socialized the individual 'just enough to hinder a man from becoming a criminal'.

However, once again in the first decades of the 20th Century there was a move to reform the elementary school sector. The impetus for reform came from a fundamental realignment of the ruling classes in Jamaica. As a result of changes in imperial economic policy the antagonism between metropolitan and satellite bourgeoisies lessened and there

was a concerted effort on the part of both classes to impose low-level agricultural-training on the elementary schools. Just as in the 19th Century the peasant-proletariat resisted the proposed reforms and as a result of struggle the reforms were ineffective.

Towards the close of the 19th Century British industry was faced with new and intensive competition for foreign markets. Germany and the United States had been slow to industrialize but had reached industrial maturity in the second half of the 19th. Both powers were flooding foreign markets with their manufactures and a grim struggle between all three imperialist powers for access to new, and protection of old, markets was developing. In this historical context the notion of a self-sufficient Empire simultaneously providing Britain with raw materials and food on the one hand and protected markets on the other must have seemed attractive. Thus Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, began a cautious shift in Britain's economic policies a way from unrestricted free-trade, from laissez-faire, one of the central tenets of bourgeois economic thought, to a system of Imperial preference.³¹ Just as in 1846 the Sugar Duties Act had symbolized the triumph of laissez-faire and had alienated Jamaica's satellite bourgeoisie from the metropolitan ruling class by destroying sugar's protected market in Britain; so in 1902 the prohibition of the importation of cheap European beet sugar demonstrated a significant deviation from free-trade and by allowing West

Indian sugar producers to enter the British market permitted a large degree of reconciliation between the metropolitan and satellite bourgeoisies.

The main thrust of Chamberlain's policy as it applied to the West Indian colonies was that they should become the market-garden of the Empire and provide foodstuff for British tables. It was not the peasant sector but rather the plantation sector of Jamaican agriculture which was to be the major beneficiary of the new policy. Budgetary expenditure on infrastructural services designed to support a resurrected plantation economy increased greatly between 1900 and 1910. Among the new services was a railroad, new roads and bridges, a subsidized steamship service to Britain and direct subsidies to the moribund sugar industry. The plantations were geared to produce for export, not only sugar as before, but now also coffee, citrus and bananas. The production of export crops of course merely deepened Jamaica's dependence as an export-import dominated satellite economy. There was no encouragement of the peasant sector in agriculture which alone was potentially capable of achieving internal self-sufficiency in food.³²

During this historical phase it is possible to discern a certain coalescing of the interests of metropolitan and satellite bourgeoisies. Both now had a stake in the export-oriented plantation economy. On the other hand the peasant-proletariat must have resented the new dominance of the historically antagonistic plantation. In addition, the

rehabilitation of the plantation economy was being carried out at the expense of the Jamaican tax-payer at large. British 'aid' was largely confined to making loans at interest to the Jamaican government which became charges on the general revenue of the colony.³³ The Jamaican peasant no doubt resented subsidizing the wealthy planters. As more land was engrossed to large export-oriented plantations so less land was left available for peasants cultivation. More peasant were forced into wage-labour and the consequent surplus of labour drove down wages. Not all could avail themselves of the opportunities of work in Panama and the U.S.A. Contradictions between the peasant-proletariat and the satellite ruling class became even sharper and eventually erupted in the violence and labour strife of 1938. Class conflict made itself felt in education at this time.

The struggle was once more over the vocational reform of the elementary school sector. Chamberlain had directed in 1899 that, "every elementary school maintained or aided by the government should be required to set apart a certain fixed time every day for industrial teaching, such teaching to include boys as well as girls."³⁴ (The contemporary usage 'industrial training' included both agriculture and trades-training). For the first time the weight of metropolitan opinion had been laid behind the perennial efforts of the satellite bourgeoisie to create a system of elementary education which would produce labour power without creating

troublesome and exalted notions among the peasants. After 1902 there was a renewed advocacy from the Jamaican government of a level of agricultural training at the elementary level "designed to produce desired attitudes in the mass of people not only in terms of the development of their own farms but also with respect to the labour that they were expected to provide on the sugar, banana, and citrus plantations".³⁵ The Farmer, the organ of the upper class Jamaican Agricultural Society, naturally applauded the new policy, but just in case anyone had missed the point that such an education was designed to socialize plantation labour rather than provide agricultural skills, it warned "not to make agriculture too theoretical, nor invest it with too much romance, but to link it with the hard manual labour which is necessary to success".³⁶

Parents and teachers, true to precedent, were not swayed by these arguments, and once more united to oppose the proposed reforms. The arguments that parents brought against the reform were similar to those that were heard in the 19th and included the fact that children could learn farming better at home and that they were sent to school to improve themselves not to emerge as unskilled plantation labourers. New arguments reported in 1905 were that parents suspected teachers would keep all the produce of their children's labour and thus recreate slavery in the school-yard and that agricultural toil would spoil the children's clothing (a valid argument since many children only owned one suit of 'decent' clothes in which

to go to school).³⁷ The Jamaica Advocate, a newspaper which championed the rights of the peasant-proletariat, saw a much more conspiratorial side to the proposed reforms.

This trying to fix certain people in certain places is simply foolish. ... Men are not going to be tillers of the soil simply because some other men demand that they shall be. They will turn to it and work it when they perceive that their interests will be advanced by doing so. Most of all they are not going to till other men's lands in order to enrich the latter when they gain nothing but abject poverty and dependence. ... (in a subsequent issue) ... The aim and tendency of these agents are to force agriculture into the common schools, and to force the children of the country into the fields and plantations of a master-class and thus to create serfs of the soil for the benefit of selfish and dominating planters.³⁸

Parents did not maintain a blanket opposition to agricultural education. Rather they rejected 'dead-end' agricultural education which was transparently designed to produce labour power for the revived plantation sector. Instead they seemed to favour higher-level agricultural education, from the age of fourteen and up, which would inculcate the latest developments in agricultural science and thereby enable them to put their own cultivation on a scientific basis. Labourers in the Parish of Portland had petitioned the Commission of Enquiry into the Sugar Industry of 1896 to this effect and the same position was supported in annual resolutions of the J.U.T. (Jamaica Union of Teachers) from 1905-1920.³⁹ Other institutions which generally represented working class-opinion and which also opposed low level vocational training

in the elementary school were the Baptist Church and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. (U.N.I.A. founded by Marcus Mosiah Garvey in Kingston, July 1914).⁴⁰

That the proposed reform of elementary education once more foundered on the rocks of class conflict was evident. While the government was energetically training teachers in the colleges for its programme of agricultural education in the elementary schools, teachers were passing annual resolutions calling for the removal of such training. By 1916 reports indicated an island-wide deterioration in such provision of agricultural education as had been established since 1900. Undoubtedly this process of decline must be seen in the context of popular resistance against the implementation of vocational reforms. In secondary education little had changed. This was above all the era when the results of the Cambridge School Certificate, 'Mr. Cambridge', were eagerly awaited each year in order to find out which extraordinary individual, or maybe two, from each island had won the scholarship which would waft him to the frigid delights of the Mother Country and a precious few years of study at the intellectual meccas of Oxford and Cambridge. The examinations were set and marked in England: the ultimate goal was England. This was the colonial education system par excellence.

The colonial inferiority complex is attested to by the desperate need to prove equality with the English system by pushing one or two unfortunate scholars to the limits of

their endurance to capture the glittering prize of an island scholarship to the ultimate arbiter of academic excellence: England. The remainder of secondary schools students competed hotly for Senior and Junior Cambridge School Certificates as their merit was judged solely on the results of these examinations. This need to obtain the seal of approval from 'Mr. Cambridge' became an engrained feature of Caribbean secondary education. (and one which persists to this day in the shape of a Cambridge external examiner on the board of the Caribbean Examinations Council, the CXC, to 'safeguard standards'). From the very outset of the Cambridge Certificate System in the last years of the 19th Century there was concern about the disproportionate amount of time and effort which was expended on the Cambridge candidates, and serious questioning of the relevance of the Cambridge Certificate programme to the needs of the Caribbean Islands. Such criticism shared a certain naivete with the gentleman who bemoaned the production of 'nice, gentlemanly clerks', a few years before. The satellite bourgeoisie was expected to run Jamaica's plantations effectively and to fulfil the role of a comprador class for the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Education was not designed to produce men who could initiate technological innovations which might challenge the monopoly which manufactures from Britain enjoyed. The modified system of imperial preference which governed economic relations between Britain and Jamaica after 1900 deliberately maintained the colony's status as a staples-

exporting dependency. Any effort of the Jamaican legislature to erect protective barriers to protect any fledgling industry were swiftly vetoed by the metropolitan government. Thus there was little or no industry in Jamaica to provide openings for graduates with technical training had there been any at the secondary sector. It was perfectly rational then for those who benefitted from education at the secondary level to strive after the qualifications, generally classical and literary, demanded by the colonial civil service, and the large metropolitan merchant houses.

It is fruitless to expect technical education to emerge and students to take advantage of it when existing social relations place no premium on technical education or skills. This was exactly the situation in the first half of the 20th Century in Jamaica which explains the undue emphasis placed on success in the Cambridge Examinations or Scholarships tenable at English Universities. Undoubtedly for the fortunate scions of wealthy planters secondary school played little other than a legitimating function, but for those who wished to enter the civil service, mercantile or professional strata of the satellite bourgeoisie, educational qualifications were all important.

It was not uncommon to find students at the top of a school repeating Cambridge Certificate examinations for three or four years in succession in an attempt to secure the minimum number of credits necessary to gain admission to

University. At the bottom of the school were boys and girls 'attending school for a short while simply to collect the insignia of a secondary school education.'⁴¹ The inanity of a school system which existed to fulfil the needs of a tiny percentage of its students, in itself only a small proportion of the age-cohort, was made clear in the Marriott-Mayhew Report of 1933 which examined the status of secondary education in the British West Indies.

For the islands as a whole, the percentage of population taking secondary school courses is only 0.34 and in no island is it more than 1.0. It is the highest in Barbados and Antigua. The proportion of secondary school pupils to primary school pupils is highest in Barbados where it amounts to 4%. ...The number of candidates for the Cambridge Junior Certificat, usually taken after three or four year's work in a secondary school, was 291 boys (out of enrolment of 2180) and 215 girls (out of enrolment of 1519) for all the islands. The number of candidates for the Senior Certificate was only 203 boys and 70 girls, which is less than 8% of the total enrolment of secondary schools. 42

The first figures make it clear in quantitatatives terms just how absolute was the elitism of the secondary sector. No more than 1% of the population in any island attended secondary school. Of that 1% less than 8% even sat the Senior Certificate on the basis of which the ultimate accolade of the Scholarships would be bestowed upon one or two individual students from each island, an inexpressibly small percentage of the total population. This travesty of an education was to continue for almost thirty more years despite

the recommendations of the Marriott-Mayhew Report. One of these was to set up a school system at an intermediate level between the elementary and secondary sectors. These schools which would be analagous to Britain's 'secondary moderns' would be oriented towards a practical education, geared to the colonies' development,

and calculated to create a taste and aptitude for industrial, agricultural or commercial pursuits or for social service in primary schools and elsewhere, rather than for the 'learned' professions and sedentary or clerical posts in Government Service.⁶³

Marriott-Mayhew's recommendations were to be repeated by the Moyne Commissioners in 1938. The Moyne report advocated the establishment of the Colonial Development and Welfare Organization to provide funds for services such as education, public health, housing and social welfare facilities.⁶⁴ Both reports emerged in response to increasing working class agitation throughout the 1920's and 30's. Although the crux of working class discontent was the poverty-level wages paid on export-oriented plantations there was also discontent concerning political representation, and various aspects of social welfare including education.

The leaders of the West Indian labour movement, who met in Georgetown in 1938, were quick to recognize the close link between labour and politics, as their demands show: trade union immunities and also a legislature wholly composed of members elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage: social legislation with old age pensions and national health insurance and also a limitation of plantations to a maximum size of fifty acres and free compulsory elementary education.⁴⁵

The advocacy of intermediate level schooling must be seen as a response to working class discontent with the elitist nature of secondary education. Just as welfare measures when instituted by the state signal not disinterested largesse but rather concessions designed to maintain social order in the face of class conflict so the new proposals for intermediate schools must be regarded in the same light. It is clear that the reforms advocated by Marriott-Mayhew and Moyne were only wrung from them by the spectre of the mass labour unrest which swept through the West Indies in the 1930's. However, as has been suggested in earlier chapters, the working class movement of 1938 was coopted by the Jamaican middle class and its energies directed into the nationalist struggle for self-government and independence. The urgency of educational reform diminished and other more pressing matters took its place. As a result of this, and probably also of the normal degree of colonial parsimony, the implementation of the intermediate school would not take place until the 1960's.

At that time other sources of money became available to the government of Jamaica. Finally in 1969, a programme of school building was undertaken using money from Canada and the World Bank. These 'New Secondaries' put into practice the vocational philosophy of Marriott-Mayhew. However, the elitist mentality persisted, and attendance at a New Secondary was seen as infra dig, a distinct second best to attendance

at the old established academic High Schools and 'Colleges'. Furthermore the High Schools remained middle and upper class in composition so it could be argued that the New Secondaries have merely extended the role of the elementary schools in controlling and reproducing the working class. However, little substantive work has been done in this area, and it remains a promising field for sociological investigation.

Right up until W.W. II, then, the dichotomous nature of West Indian education remained relatively unchanged. The elementary sector remained under funded, over crowded, and under-achieving. The secondary sector remained in all essentials elitist. Its student population was elitist, its examination system ensured that only the elite of that elite would emerge successful. From the elite ranks of those with Cambridge Certificates emerged the immortals who would obtain scholarships. These were the winners, but what of the effects on the mediocre majority who were not so successful in secondary school, and on West Indian society in general?

The scholarship system, in particular, by its competitive character, was profoundly anti-social and the scars left behind by the old Island Scholarship system can still be seen in West Indian life. It was a grinding merciless system that each year, or sometimes biennially let one favoured candidate through the escape hatch from colonial prison; and it would be difficult to estimate who was damaged most, the winners who themselves frequently collapsed from the tension and exhaustion of new studies or the losers who gave up hope as marked 'failures' and settled down desperately into the familiar routine of early marriage, a large family, debt, and heavy drinking on the West Indian cocktail circuit. 46

The obsession with the Cambridge Certificate and the Island Scholarship strengthened the bonds of intellectual dependency which held the Jamaican ruling classes in a relationship of subordination to the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Simultaneously the all - exclusive emphasis on the classical and academic aspects of the curriculum examinable in the Cambridge Certificate meant that little time was left to devote to the technical and scientific education which Jamaica required in order to pursue an independent development path. All prestige accrued to the academic side of the curriculum and the radical proposals of Marriott-Mayhew were rejected as representing a 'lowering of standards'. For the vast majority of students within its ambit, secondary education performed only a status conferring role. Most left without the benefit of a Cambridge Certificate, let alone an Island Scholarship. Perhaps more elitist in its structure than at any time in the past, the secondary system maintained the fiction of being open to the deserving working class boy by offering one or two free places or 'exhibitions' to the true prodigies of the elementary school system. Thus the secondary school system served to reproduce and legitimate ruling groups, but ruling groups who were trained in the shadow of the monolithic academic system of the Mother-Country. Even the most privileged were still dependent.

In this way, the educational system, dichotomous, divided between the privileged and the deprived, contributed

to the maintenance of a class society bifurcated between the fortunate few and the multitudinous poor. In terms of satellite - metropolis relations even the island ruling groups were subordinate and derived their prestige vicariously by identification with the metropolitan ruling class. The colony social relation supported by education was social class domination-subordination of the proletariat by the satellite bourgeoisie.

The Marriott-Mayhew Report for the first time located the origin of the abysmally poor system of elementary education in the woefully inadequate funding it had always received. No longer was the educational performance of the masses attributed to their idleness, irresponsibility or immorality. The blame for educational failures was laid squarely on the shoulders of the colonial administration. The recognition for the first time of the roots of the educational crisis in the economic system of colonialism, and the realization of the general malaise which afflicted education, became one of the grievances behind the increasingly bitter Nationalist struggle of the 1930's. The 'game was up' for Colonialism when it was realized by West Indians that the moral bankruptcy of the Crown Colony system lay in the fallacy of a tutelary government which failed to tutor.

Crown Colony Rule is sufficiently damned by the fact that its few remaining adherents can only urge in its favour the illogical argument that its continuance is necessary on account of the lack of education of the masses, who it promised but failed to educate. ⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

In Chapter One it was hypothesized that only a dialectical theoretical model would adequately fit the empirical findings in England and Jamaica. By a dialectical model we meant one that would comprehend both static and dynamic features of the educational system. Static features of the educational system were its functions of social control through the reproduction and legitimation of the relations of production. These features functioned very much in the interests of the ruling class in a particular conjuncture. Theories giving prominence to these functional aspects of education can be called theories of education as stasis. However, the sociologist must also articulate the dynamic processes which tend to undermine a particular stasis and erect the foundations for its successor. We hypothesized that educational change should be understood as a process of political conflict among definite social classes. This conflict is structured in the first place by social relations of production but in addition it takes place in and through ideological forms which are not independent of, but also not reducible to, social relations of production.

The case-study of Jamaica vindicates the dialectical method. Educational change in Jamaica (or the absence of change which is of equal significance sociologically) through-

out the colonial period manifestly occurred through political conflict between the various social classes. A simplified sketch of educational dynamics over the period demonstrates this clearly. Prior to the missionary initiative there was no formal schooling for slaves. Rather various informal socialization processes carried out the production of labour power. There was no need for an ideological apparatus carrying on the functions of legitimating and reproducing social relations of production. The repressive apparatus of slave society (militia, slave-catchers, Draconian legal code, etc.) more or less maintained social order. Rebellions were usually containable. Into this brutal but functional society entered the missionary emissaries of bourgeois ideology.

The missionaries view of education for the slaves as necessary to the maintenance of social order brought them into conflict with the planter ruling-class of Jamaica. Missionary education was avidly pursued by the slaves and the demand created a multiplier effect which resulted in increased educational provision despite the opposition of the planters. The effective inputs to the educational dynamic during slavery, and following Emancipation up to 1865, were missionary supply, black proletarian demand, and planter ruling class efforts to restrict provision. After 1865 with the eclipse of planter-political power the satellite ruling class seemed to accept education for the masses as a fait accompli. Its efforts were diverted to various attempts to

vocationalize elementary education. However, the masses stoutly resisted any tampering with what they saw as the only route towards social mobility which was open to them. Political conflict over education had become realigned from the planter-missionary axis to the planter-peasant axis. Successive efforts to transform elementary education into a form of low-level agricultural-training for plantation labour were defeated by a united black working class and its various solidary associations.

The black working class continued to seek favourable outcomes from the educational system in terms of social mobility. It was not content to see education simply perpetuating the status quo. One of the demands which emerged from the working class militancy of the 1930's was for better educational opportunities. Education became a bargaining counter in the process of political conciliation and government Commissions of Inquiry in the 1930's recommended the expansion of educational opportunity for the working class. Every Jamaican government since that time has had to take the aspirations of the working class into account in formulating educational policy. 'New Deals' 'Educational Thrusts' and the like have been the common parlance of Jamaican governments on the topic of education over the last decades. It may be argued that educational reforms are merely ameliorative while the educational structure remains fundamentally an arm of the ideological apparatus of the bourgeois state. What cannot be

denied is that the dynamic of class struggle continues and remains the impetus behind even the least controversial of educational reforms. The words of the British historian Brian Simon, although written about education in 19th Century England, seem no less applicable in the context of Jamaica in the 20th Century.

...The capitalist class could, in fact, take no step which was not conditioned by the attitude of the working class. To win the workers' support for their own ends, and curb independent action, they must always make more concessions than they wished, in the educational no less than political field. To counter these concessions they might try to neutralise the workers' minds through carefully planned and restricted schooling and other teaching; but this was a frail enough defence. ...the working-class movement would always rediscover its own needs and interests and take up the struggle for its own aims.⁴⁸

The dialectical method gives the fundamental insight into education that its static aspects are constantly being attacked, modified or eliminated by its dynamic processes. This can be concretely demonstrated with reference to the developments in the educational structure of Jamaica over the last 100 years. The basic configuration of the educational apparatus has been dichotomous. The dichotomy between elementary and secondary sectors replicated the class nature of the society. The ruling class benefitted from the provision of secondary schooling while the working class was largely excluded. Historically the secondary sector has been more a source of prestige and legitimation for ruling groups than a

practical education in the mechanics of domination. There was nothing inherently superior in learning Latin and Greek. Rather the value of such education lay in its scarcity and its exclusivity. It reproduced dominant groups by excluding subordinate groups and perpetuating the myth of gentility that the manners and mores it imparted were inseparable from the right to dominate.

The structural position of the elementary school alongside but inferior to the High School replicated the social relations of the larger class society. Scholarships and the myth of open competition served to legitimate the class structure and yet obscure it at the same time. Thus the ideology was that the 'deserving', 'industrious' and 'intelligent' boy went to High School. The reality which this meritocratic myth obscured was that it was the monied, privileged, upper-class boy who went to High School. The 'static' aspect of the High School-elementary school dichotomy - its function in reproducing and legitimating the fundamental class relation of Jamaican society - probably remained intact in 1944. However, it was under attack from working class militancy and Marriott-Mayhew and Moyne commissioners were unanimous in proposing reform. The reforms - free places, eased entrance, and the creation of intermediate schools, the 'New Secondaries', took a long time to come and, arguably, changed little. The increased accessibility at the secondary level has conceivably resulted merely in a shift of the

the reproduction and legitimation of the ruling class to the tertiary level. However, we do not argue this point to support the notion that Jamaican education is becoming more egalitarian. Rather we have simply demonstrated in a concrete way how apparently static aspects of the educational structure do respond to dynamic processes. The emergent stasis in turn becomes subject to the forces of change in the inexorable logic of the dialectical method.

The scope of this thesis precludes any extended discussion of the contemporary situation of education in Jamaica. However, this remains a fruitful area for future sociological investigation. The greater abundance of statistics in educational reports since the second World War and the existence of a full time data gathering instrument in the shape of the Ministry of Education suggest the possibility of a more rigorous, quantitative analysis of Jamaican education with a view to confirming some of the hypotheses of this thesis. Qualitative techniques of participant observation and classroom observation suggest themselves as an obvious method of linking up the macro-sociology which analyses the relationship of relations of production to education, to the micro-sociology which analyses the interactions between individuals in an institutional context. The sociology of education offers a unique opportunity of fusing methodologies. Education is an institution which has historical continuity and in which various reforms approximate to experimental

manipulations. Education generates its own statistics in the form of examination results, drop-outs rates, graduates, budgetary expenditures and literacy rates. Education is directly observable at all levels and is blessed with a population which is at least notionally literate. It is manned by a professional group whose job it is to interpret reality to others and which should provide the sociologist with an abundance of data which he may choose to discount or not. The advantage of analysing a society such as Jamaica is that its comparative smallness and simplicity make a fairly comprehensive study feasible both in terms of strategy and finance.

Assuming that the hypotheses which have been examined in this thesis are confirmed by a contemporary study what then would be the sociologist's strategy? If he or she feels compelled to provide social policy recommendations then clearly the next step is to consider various radical alternatives to the existing educational system including the most radical perhaps - that of deschooling. If schooling has historically failed Jamaican society then the logical solution may be to do away with it completely.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Brown, op. cit., pp. 64-74.
2. comprador: '(In China) chief agent or factotum of European house of business'. Oxford Concise Dictionary. The term is appropriate in the Jamaican context in reference to the role of the satellite bourgeoisie vis a vis metropolitan capital.
3. Sherlock, op. cit., p. 235.
4. Gordon, op. cit., p. 80.
5. Foner, op. cit., p. 43.
6. 'Memorandum on Primary Education in Jamaica from the Synod of the Church of England to the Governor, 2 March, 1855', in Gordon, op. cit., p. 113.
7. Ruby King, 'The Jamaica Schools Commission and the Development of Secondary Schooling' in Vincent D. Oyley and Reginald Murray, op. cit., p. 42.
8. Trevor Turner, op. cit., pp. 64-81.
9. Shirley C. Gordon, 'Report upon the Condition of the Juvenile Population of Jamaica 1879', Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. 19 #4, December 1963, pp. 15-23.
10. Idem.
11. 'Acting Governor of Trinidad to Secretary of State, 22 September, 1900' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 131.
12. Shirley C. Gordon, 'Lumb Report 1898', Caribbean Quarterly, #1, March 1964, pp. 12-24.
13. 'The Echo' British Guiana, 18 June 1898, cited in Gordon, op. cit. p. 135.
14. Turner, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
15. Idem.
16. Ibid, p. 66.

17. Gisela Eisner, Jamaica 1830-1930 A Study in Economic Growth, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1961, pp. 216-221.
18. Turner, op. cit., p. 66.
19. Ibid, p. 69.
20. Idem.
21. 'Inspector's Report, Barbados, 3 January 1869' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 94.
22. Patterson, op. cit., pp. 165-167.
23. 'Rev. W. H. Prideaux to Education Committee, 18 February 1873' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 250.
24. 'Trinidad, Inspector of Schools 1872' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 244.
25. King, op. cit., pp. 46-50.
26. 'Mitchinson Report 1875' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 244.
27. 'Burslem, Memorandum to the Trinidad Education Commission 1916' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 253.
28. 'The Palladium, British Guiana, 7 March 1890' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 253.
29. 'The Daily Chronicle, British Guiana, 7 March 189', cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 138.
30. Robert A. Hill and Richard Small, 'The Teaching of Robert E. Ramble - a Jamaican Peasant Leader' in Education and Black Struggle: Harvard Educational Review Monograph #2, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, p. 177.
31. Turner, op. cit., pp. 73-75.
32. Ibid, p. 76.
33. Idem.
34. 'c/o 884/6, No. 94, Chamberlain to the Governors of W.I Colonies, Circular, 11 March 1899' cited in Turner, op. cit., p. 73.
35. Turner, op. cit., p. 77.

36. The Farmer, Jamaica Agricultural Society, Vol. 8, No. 1, (January 1904) p. 68, cited in Turner, op. cit., p. 78.
37. Turner, op. cit., p. 78.
38. The Jamaica Advocate, 4 February 1905, 18 February 1905, in Turner, op. cit., p. 80.
39. Turner, op. cit. p. 79.
40. Sherlock, op. cit., p. 279.
41. Gordon, op. cit. p. 267.
42. 'Marriott-Mayhew Report 1933' cited in Gordon, op. cit. p. 267.
43. Idem.
44. Sherlock, op. cit., p. 290.
45. Ibid, p. 288 my emphasis.
46. Lewis, op. cit. p. 173.
47. 'Vaughan Green of the Dominica Representative Government Association, Letter to the People of Dominica, Dominica Chronicle, 17 September 1921' cited in Gordon, op. cit., p. 143.
48. Simon, op. cit., pp. 366-367.

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