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## **The Public Sphere and Jamaican Anticolonial Politics: Public Opinion, Focus, and the Place of the Literary**

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# The Public Sphere and Jamaican Anticolonial Politics: *Public Opinion*, *Focus*, and the Place of the Literary

Raphael Dalleo

The 1930s and 1940s are pivotal to accounts of the history of anticolonial nationalism throughout the Caribbean, and especially in Jamaica. It has become commonplace to acknowledge that alongside the development of a powerful labor movement and the nation's two major political parties, Jamaica's literature also came into its own during this period. An image from *Drumblair*, the memoir of Norman and Edna Manley's granddaughter Rachel, captures the most idealized sense of the complementarity between literature and politics within the anticolonial movement: "In addition to the party executive, the *Focus* group was meeting from time to time to work on the third edition. It seemed quite natural to me that the progress towards nationhood should be made culturally in one room and politically in another."<sup>1</sup> Norman, the lawyer turned nationalist politician, and Edna, the sculptor and literary intellectual, are shown working in different rooms, although Rachel notes that in 1955, on the eve of Norman's election, the "groups had merged, and they were all coming and going in each other's times and voicing opinions on each other's subjects. Though the cause was common to the artists, reformers and charitable hearts alike, the joining of their forces often proved volatile."<sup>2</sup> Rachel Manley clearly wants to emphasize that these rooms both have places within the larger

<sup>1</sup> Rachel Manley, *Drumblair: Memories of a Jamaican Childhood* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 1996), 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 131. For clarity, I will have to frequently refer to members of the Manley family by their first names.

nationalist movement, and accounts of Caribbean literary history frequently repeat this idea of anticolonialism as a marriage of the political and the artistic. But the image of the separate rooms also reminds us that this alliance was never untroubled. I am interested in how the different kinds of work carried out in two of the publications from this period associated with the Manley family—the newspaper *Public Opinion* and the literary journal *Focus*—speak to the alliances but also the cleavages between the political and the literary. An exploration of these two publications shows that literary writing seeking to claim a public role displayed ambivalence toward the instrumentality of politics while resisting association with a gendered notion of the private. Alignment with the anticolonial movement at times temporarily submerged some of these tensions but never entirely resolved them.

The ideal of anticolonial leaders as heroic men of action was one attempt at resolving the tension between intellectual and actor. Rex Nettleford's introduction to Norman Manley's speeches places Manley within this narrative in terms of his ability to unite ideas with action: Nettleford emphasizes how the great man "did not however simply dream dreams; he also worked actively in the shaping" and that "most important of all he transformed these cherished ideas into practice."<sup>3</sup> While Norman thus connects theory and practice, these examples also imply a hierarchy: speeches are of value when action is the outcome, and Nettleford anxiously assures his readers that his collection of Manley's words "is not concerned with rhetoric—Manley's urbanity and the masculine elegance of a legal style notwithstanding."<sup>4</sup> Nettleford's language is also a reminder of the gendered associations of action and rhetoric: *Drumblair* repeatedly associates the public world of politics with the rational Norman, while the artistic world is the realm of the intuitive Edna.<sup>5</sup> *Public Opinion* and *Focus* become emblems of these different spheres, sometimes crossing over from one realm into the other but also calling attention to the fissures between them. This essay therefore looks at *Public Opinion*'s history, from its founding in 1937 through the publication of the first issue of *Focus* in December 1943, to see how the place of literature and the literary in *Public Opinion*'s pages changes over time. I find that *Public Opinion* during these years went through three stages in terms of its relationship to literary publication: an uneven beginning in 1937 up to the formation of the People's National Party (PNP) in 1938, a sort of golden age for literature in the newspaper from 1939 to 1942, and then a period beginning in 1942 in which literature drops out of the newspaper's pages almost entirely and ends up split off from other kinds of writing in the pages of *Focus*.

3 Rex Nettleford, introduction to *Norman Washington Manley and the New Jamaica: Selected Speeches and Writings, 1938–68*, ed. Rex Nettleford (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1971), xviii.

4 Ibid., xi.

5 See Wayne Brown, *Edna Manley: The Private Years, 1900–1938* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1975). Brown reinforces the gendered opposition between Norman's rationalism and his wife's emotional sensitivity, even extending it to Edna's parents: "In the struggle within [Edna] of two worlds, the one Christian, rational, the other Animist, instinctual, the fact of [her father's] presence had been a powerful argument for the former: through him she might yet have entered the caviling world of her family. His death severed that argument; it cast her adrift, for the time being at least, on her own inner ocean of imagination" (34). Even Brown's subtitle sets up an opposition between the "private" time before the Manleys' involvement in the PNP and the public years that followed.

Literary histories of the Caribbean often mention *Public Opinion* and *Focus* as belonging to the boom in literary journals that came into existence during the 1930s and 1940s. Victor Ramraj, writing on the development of short fiction in the anglophone Caribbean, lists “the most prominent . . . literary magazines” as *Trinidad* and its successor the *Beacon*, as well as *Kyk-Over-Al*, *Focus*, and *Public Opinion*; Edward Baugh’s history of West Indian poetry names the same journals as well as Barbados’s *Forum*; and Leah Rosenberg mentions *Focus* and *Public Opinion* as “the influential nationalist journals of the late 1930s and the 1940s.”<sup>6</sup> These critics emphasize the importance of *Public Opinion* and *Focus* to the development of a locally published literature and place them together in the context of the rise of nationalist political movements and the explosion of literary outlets throughout the region. But while all of these publications certainly responded to the larger social context, listing them together can suggest that the responses were more identical than they actually were. Examining the differences between how *Public Opinion* and *Focus* each carved out a distinct space in the public sphere illuminates the positions available within the modern colonial literary field. Alison Donnell suggests such differences when she calls *Public Opinion* “the weekly paper of the People’s National Party” and *Focus*, “its successor in the 1940s, . . . the literary journal of the PNP.”<sup>7</sup> I want to interrogate what it meant for one publication to position itself as the organ of a political party and the other as a literary institution, but I also want to point to the fact that *Focus* was not a successor: *Public Opinion* continued to publish after the launch of *Focus*, and in fact began to publish more frequently, going from weekly to daily less than a year after *Focus*’s first appearance. The relationship of *Focus* to *Public Opinion* thus seems more like that of a supplement, meant to add something to the original publication.

*Public Opinion* was launched as a weekly newspaper on 20 February 1937 by a group that would in 1938 create Jamaica’s first political party. Richard Hart, an original member of the PNP, describes the political party as coming out of the discussions between the New York-based Jamaica Progressive League (including W. A. Domingo and Adolphe Roberts) along with the *Public Opinion* editors O. T. Fairclough, Frank Hill, and H. P. Jacobs. According to Hart, these debates led to the meeting in August 1938 at which Norman Manley was appointed chair of the new People’s National Party. Manley himself seems only incidental to the early issues of *Public Opinion*; Hart and V. S. Reid both identify Manley as providing funding for printing the newspaper, but he is barely mentioned in the first few issues and none of the articles are attributed to him.<sup>8</sup> Edna’s first contribution, “To Our Young Artists,” appears in September 1938 and is framed explicitly as coming only at the request of Fairclough. By

6 Victor Ramraj, “Short Fiction,” in James Arnold, ed., *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, vol. 2, *English- and Dutch-Speaking Regions* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2001), 199; Edward Baugh, “A History of Poetry,” in *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, 238–39; Leah Rosenberg, *Nationalism and the Formation of Caribbean Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 35.

7 Alison Donnell, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature: Critical Moments in Anglophone Literary History* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 47.

8 See Richard Hart, *Towards Decolonisation: Political, Labour and Economic Development in Jamaica, 1938–1945* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1999), xiv; V. S. Reid, *The Horses of the Morning: About the Rt. Excellent N. W. Manley, Q.C., M.M., National Hero of Jamaica* (Kingston: Caribbean Authors, 1985), 174.

the end of 1938, with Norman Manley's article "A National Jamaica" in the Christmas issue, the couple had begun to contribute to *Public Opinion*, the timing coinciding with Norman's official entry into the PNP.

Even before the founding of the PNP, though, *Public Opinion* had expressed political aspirations combined with an interest in the literary. Throughout 1937, articles about public policy issues ranging from education to taxation coexisted with short stories, poetry, and literary reviews. At the time of *Public Opinion*'s launch, Jamaica's dominant newspaper was the *Daily Gleaner*. Despite being edited by the novelist H. G. de Lisser, the *Gleaner* had a more traditional format, dominated by news from Europe and with only occasional mention of literary events. *Public Opinion* instead resembled the freewheeling Trinidadian *Beacon* as it attempted to map out the new nation by putting the cultural and the political together on the same page. The paper's name itself signified its aspirations to create a public sphere capable of articulating the nation,<sup>9</sup> and it is worth noting that Hart describes *Public Opinion* as a successor to the Garveyite publication *Plain Talk*; both names invoke the idea of being heard, but *Public Opinion*, in title and in content, clearly aspires to a more intellectualized, codified forum of expression.<sup>10</sup>

The first issue of *Public Opinion* in February of 1937 begins with a front-page article explaining that the "reason that *Public Opinion* has appeared" is to give Jamaica "voice in her own destinies."<sup>11</sup> But as the editorial statement continues, it becomes clear that the writers envision that voice differing from the plain talk already in existence: "There is abundance of ineffective discussion at present . . . , [therefore] there must be an *effective* public opinion on topics of importance."<sup>12</sup> This situation, that "public opinion is unorganised," demands

9 See Annie Paul, "No Space for Race? The Bleaching of the Nation in Postcolonial Jamaica," in Horace Levy, ed., *The African-Caribbean Worldview and the Making of Caribbean Society* (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2009), 94–113. Paul describes "the spirit of Drumblair" embodied by the Manleys and the PNP as this kind of "bourgeois [nationalism] whose emphasis in producing suitable subjects for the new nation was on Jamaicanness, taken to be synonymous with non-racialism, denying the existence of discrimination based on race and claiming that, in countries such as Jamaica, all races exist in harmony" (98–99). Paul calls attention to this willful covering over of differences of race, class, and gender in much the same way that critics of Jürgen Habermas's theorization in *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* have disputed the assumption that the public sphere was truly equally open to all to enter into debates about the nation. For critics of Habermas, see Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 109–42; Houston Baker, "Critical Memory and the Black Public Sphere," *Public Culture* 7, no. 1 (Fall 1994): 3–33; and Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002).

10 See Richard Hart, *Rise and Organise: The Birth of the Workers and National Movements in Jamaica (1936–1939)* (London: Karia, 1989). Hart says that *Plain Talk* was published in 1934 and 1935 (21–22). However, the National Library in Kingston has copies beginning on 18 May 1935 and running until February 1939, meaning that *Plain Talk* and *Public Opinion* were publishing at the same time for over two years. *Plain Talk* does feature a series called "Jamaica for Jamaicans" by Patriotic Pioneer beginning at the end of 1935, but aside from that nationalist orientation *Plain Talk* seems to have little in common with *Public Opinion*. In particular, *Plain Talk* has none of *Public Opinion*'s literary aspirations; rather than short stories, poetry, or book reviews, *Plain Talk* supplements its news coverage with a science column, and the 2 May 1936 issue lists a board that includes Cyrus Parker McDonald, described as a chemist and druggist, as well as William Ashley, a marine engineer, suggesting it was less the work of cultural intellectuals than of technocratic professionals. The foreign news emphasized in each newspaper also gives an interesting window into their priorities: while the early issues of *Public Opinion* frequently discuss the Spanish Civil War, which would have been a prime site of concern for left intellectuals worldwide, almost every issue of *Plain Talk* contains front-page news about Italian attempts to invade Ethiopia, in keeping with the newspaper's Pan-Africanist orientation.

11 "New Wine in New Bottles," *Public Opinion*, 20 February 1937, 1.

12 *Ibid.* (italics in original).

organization; the newspaper itself thus aspires to be the necessary rationalized space where writers and intellectuals can debate “topics with a direct bearing on the welfare of Jamaica” and therefore participate in “moulding a more effective national life.”<sup>13</sup> A few issues later, another piece further teases out the value of this kind of discourse, urging the reader: “Once you have made up your mind what should be done, talk about it. . . . Don’t be misled by the cant which says that talk is just talk: it depends on whether there is any thinking behind the talk. Democracy is government by discussion instead of government by brute force.”<sup>14</sup> Talk is more than just talk—it becomes a form of action once it has been processed by rational thought, thus explaining how publication can be the institution on which a just, responsive government is built. To make the pages of the newspaper into this kind of idealized public sphere where the direction of the nation can be debated, many of the articles take on public policy. The early issues from 1937 feature sections defining terms such as *fascism* and *communism* or discussing the Spanish Civil War, as well as articles about taxation or Jamaica’s place in the empire; women like Amy Bailey and Una Marson feature frequently in these early issues, in debates on the educational system and the role of women in politics.<sup>15</sup>

While this focus on public policy demonstrates the newspaper’s desire to influence Jamaica’s governance, all of these early issues give equally prominent place to the literary: fifteen of the first twenty issues feature a short story and almost every issue includes book reviews as well as a section titled Literary Snapshots. Even in the columns a creative orientation is visible, with surrealist contributions such as A. E. T. Henry’s essays “Hitler and I” and “Mussolini and I”<sup>16</sup> or the column appearing in each issue under the byline “The Philosopher.”<sup>17</sup> The importance of the literary in governance is perhaps best understood through the political vision articulated in the article “Bureaucracy” from the newspaper’s second issue, which critiques government functionaries for lacking connection to creativity: “Jamaica is largely governed by officials: those officials have routine work to do: and the pressure of routine is usually so great that the head of a department has no time for constructive thinking. It is for this reason that bureaucracy has been condemned so often all over the world—that it cannot see beyond the walls of its office.”<sup>18</sup> Colonial governance is here criticized for relying on repetitive routine, a blindness that can only be overcome by a way of seeing supplemented with imagination.

13 Ibid.

14 “You,” *Public Opinion*, 24 April 1937, 2.

15 The contributions of Amy Bailey, Una Marson, Eulalie Domingo, Dorothy Barnes, Aimee Webster, and others appear to predate Edna’s participation in the newspaper. See Delia Jarrett-Macauley, *The Life of Una Marson, 1905–1965* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1998). Jarrett-Macauley mentions Marson’s close friendship with Frank Hill, while Bailey appears to have been an associate of O. T. Fairclough’s, suggesting that the male editors of *Public Opinion* sought out the participation of these women (112, 119).

16 Henry also contributes throughout 1937 a column titled Frivolous Remembrances, a set of short descriptions of scenes in Kingston that often use dialect speech. This “local color” of characters such as market women or policemen is contrasted with the (often self-)mocking highbrow irony of the narrator and his world-weary bourgeois compatriots.

17 The practice of using pseudonyms was very common in *Public Opinion*, probably in part because of concern for colonial censorship, which did land various contributors in prison during the 1940s.

18 “Bureaucracy,” *Public Opinion*, 27 February 1937, 1.

The early issues of *Public Opinion* seek to give roles to both the political and the literary, the technical and the creative, in the movement toward Jamaican nationhood.

The early issues thus stake out a public role for creativity, but the relationship between literature and politics was always tenuous. The stories published in *Public Opinion* during 1937 frequently engaged in political commentary through mockery of the professional middle class, like the politicians in Peter Wayne's "Supernumeraries" (13 March) or the shade-obsessed "average middle-class home in Jamaica" of Frank Hill's "The Family" (6 March). A story from 1 May titled "The Mad Tea-Party" transports Lewis Carroll's Alice to Jamaica's Headquarters House to protest the "selfish" behavior of officials who offer her only "vocational training" and refuse to share their bread and butter.<sup>19</sup> This mockery of the professional middle class is not coupled by an idealization of folk characters that would later come to define anticolonial writing; in fact, working-class occupations are often depicted as just as lacking in creativity as the professional class. Dorothy Barnes's "The Poincettia Bush" from the first issue, for example, describes the anxiety its main character, Miranda, feels in "becom[ing] a factory worker" and "shed[ding] her individualism." The story contrasts the "dreary monotony" of Miranda's vocation with the beautiful poinsettia bush with which she shares her hopes and dreams. When Miranda leaves and the bush droops, the story opposes scientific explanation with poetic: "Probably the prosaic would put it down to the fact that the weather was too hot, the rainfall too scanty, . . . but the poets and the wind said that all this was due to the missing Miranda."<sup>20</sup> At the end of the story, Miranda's death from diving into the picturesque pool next to the poinsettia bush shows the ornamental beauty and private sentiment associated with poetry as an ultimately unsustainable escape from the rationalized public world of factory work.

The uneasy alliance of the literary orientation and nationalist politics meant that literature's place in *Public Opinion*'s pages was constantly in flux. By 1938, the PNP had become an established political party and short stories ran much less frequently in *Public Opinion*: while twenty-five stories appeared in *Public Opinion* in 1937, some of them serials extending over several issues, in 1938 only ten stories were published.<sup>21</sup> The space previously given to literary reviews and fiction was by 1938 running debates on nationalism by political men like Domingo and Hart. That year was a pivotal one in Jamaican history: May and June of 1938 saw widespread strikes and rioting in Jamaica and the PNP was founded in August.<sup>22</sup> As early as July 1938, as the labor disturbances were still dominating the news, *Public Opinion*

19 Hobnailes, "The Mad Tea-Party," *Public Opinion*, 1 May 1937, 5. In an interview conducted on 17 November 2008, former *Public Opinion* editor John Maxwell informed me that "Hobnailes" was one of the pseudonyms used by H. P. Jacobs.

20 Dorothy Barnes, "The Poincettia Bush," *Public Opinion*, 20 February 1937, 5.

21 I'm emphasizing the number of short stories published, rather than poems, because while poems were sometimes marginal and fit into corners surrounded by news, stories took up more space on the page and when included in an issue commanded a greater presence. Table 1 compares the number of stories, poems, and plays published by *Public Opinion* in its first eight years. The appendix to this essay includes a full catalog of the literary work published in *Public Opinion* from its founding in 1937 as a weekly until it became a daily newspaper in 1944.

22 The Frome sugar estate in western Jamaica was the site of a strike in late April 1938 that set off riots and labor disturbances throughout the island. See Richard Hart's *Rise and Organise* for more on the events of 1938 and their connection to the founding of the PNP.



displayed a new look, with an intimidating futurist font for its banner as well as a change in subtitle from “The Weekly News Magazine” to “The National Weekly.” In one of the first issues of 1939, Domingo writes of the need for a national history of Jamaica that no longer “lays more emphasis upon the glories of England than upon events that occurred in Jamaica”; the goal is to create feelings of nationalism because “the masses must be imbued with those facts and interpretations that will bolster their love of country and develop a healthy respect for their rulers.”<sup>23</sup> Domingo clearly puts weight on a paternalistic notion of leadership meant not to encourage independent thought but to disseminate a worldview by “imbuing” the “masses” with certain “facts” that will make them “respect” their presumably Jamaican “rulers.”

The Philosopher’s column perhaps best captures the shift in *Public Opinion* during this period. Throughout 1937 and 1938, a sort of editor’s column ran in almost every issue under the title “The Philosopher Views the Passing Show,” suggesting a detachment from which the writer could mock the mores of the colonial bourgeoisie. Ken Post identifies “The Philosopher” as the pseudonym of Frank Hill, who in addition to working as editor of *Public Opinion* from 1937 to 1939 also wrote short stories and plays during this period.<sup>24</sup> The Philosopher’s pieces mix references to high culture—mentioning Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw or lamenting the “unlettered island”—but also contain incisive social commentary, for example asking, “Isn’t it time we broke the tradition of a slave mentality?”<sup>25</sup> The column from 27 March 1937 shows how advocacy for the literary is tied to protest against the rationalization of everyday life: it criticizes not only the “drifting, apathetic crowd” but also the “single-purposed minority who would turn the island into an efficient machine.” Instead, the Philosopher suggests, “Let us take our island seriously—but not too seriously,” listing a variety of ways to avoid “stifl[ing] humanity”: “Let us work—while we are on the job—and play afterwards with the same zest we put into our work. . . . Let us read the best books, not confining ourselves to a specified theme.”<sup>26</sup> The early columns by the Philosopher advocate for a politics of openness and play, explicitly linked to the literary that is captured by *Public Opinion*’s inclusiveness toward multiple genres and points of view. By January 1939, however, the column loses its whimsical name. Instead, “The Jamaican Labour Movement, by the Philosopher” opens: “If we accept the materialistic interpretation of history, . . . if we believe that all the incidents that go to make up the history of a country have their major roots in economic causes, then we come to the logical thought that our labour movement marks the first mile post in our evolution towards a new social order.”<sup>27</sup> Instead of the literary, the authority of scientific reason is invoked. The Philosopher’s new voice, when seen in light of the vanguardist role for the intellectual

23 W. A. Domingo, “Wanted—A National History,” *Public Opinion*, 14 January 1939, 10.

24 Ken Post, *Arise Ye Starvelings: The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and Its Aftermath* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 224.

25 “The Philosopher Views the Passing Show,” *Public Opinion*, 20 February 1937, 4.

26 *Ibid.*, 27 March 1937, 4.

27 “The Jamaican Labour Movement, by the Philosopher,” *Public Opinion*, 21 January 1939, 4.



**Table 1.** Literary work published in *Public Opinion* between February 1937 and April 1944

	Short Stories	Poems	Plays
1937	25	9	0
1938	10	27	0
1939	39	36	1
1940	65	63	4
1941	41	69	3
1942	20	48	0
1943	5	20	0
1944	0	1	0

NOTE: Compiled by Raphael Dalleo. See appendix for specific titles and authors.

articulated in the previous issue by Domingo, suggests the more instrumental direction in which the publication moved during 1938.

The first period of *Public Opinion*, from its founding in February 1937 through the founding of the PNP in September 1938, thus demonstrates a shift from the whimsy of the early issues to the seriousness associated with political organization. At the same time, publication of literary work drops off, with the most noticeable decline coming during the final months of 1938, when no literary works appear in twelve consecutive issues during October, November, and December. At the time of the newspaper's founding, Frank Hill would have been the editor most connected to the literary: in addition to writing the columns by the Philosopher and contributing short stories, he was, along with Una Marson, in 1938 a founder of the Readers and Writers Club that sought to promote locally produced literature. But Hill appears to become more invested in political organizing throughout 1938, eventually leaving *Public Opinion* in 1939 to found a newspaper called the *Evening News* (and later renamed the *Worker*), intended to advocate for workers' rights. Hill's changing ideas about newspaper publishing seem to have been a driving force behind *Public Opinion*'s waning interest in publishing literature during 1938.

If literature's place in the newspaper was on the decline in 1938, however, Hill's departure was part of the major changes in the editorial board in 1939 that initiated the golden age of literary publication in *Public Opinion*. In September 1939, at the same time that Hill left to found the *Evening News*, Fairclough and Jacobs accepted positions at the *Jamaica Standard*.<sup>28</sup> With the departures of Hill, Jacobs, and Fairclough, Henry Fowler took over as editor, beginning with the 23 September 1939 issue, which included an announcement listing an editorial board of Fowler, Vernon Arnett, E. H. J. King, and Edna Manley.<sup>29</sup> This move proved decisive for

<sup>28</sup> Hart, *Towards Decolonisation*, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Along with Edna Manley, Fowler was the member of this board best known for support of the arts. The others were much more political figures: Arnett was at that time secretary of the PNP, while King was an English socialist living in Jamaica.

literary publication: during the twelve months before this change, *Public Opinion* had published eighteen stories and fifteen poems, while in the twelve months following, seventy-five stories, sixty-seven poems, and four plays appeared in the newspaper's pages. That group continued to act as editorial board until early 1940, when Jacobs returned to replace King on the board; a few months later, in April 1940, Fairclough returned as managing editor and N. N. Nethersole, a founding member of the PNP, joined the board. Whatever the personnel changes during this period, the participation of Edna Manley in the newspaper seemed to ensure regular contributions from poets and fiction writers, including Roger Mais, George Campbell, Cicely Howland, M. G. Smith, and H. D. Carberry.

The editorial changes were thus part of a new orientation in the newspaper toward more overtly nationalist literature. One of Fowler's first columns after taking over as editor laments the "narrow bourgeois type of culture" that "has subdivided all human activity into watertight compartments"; he insists, instead, that "true culture must be all embracing" and "to do this it must concern itself with politics, and every other branch of human activity."<sup>30</sup> Early in 1940, the newspaper staked out its new ideology of literature as explicitly socially engaged through a spirited back-and-forth between various contributors to *Public Opinion* and Clare McFarlane, founder of the Poetry League of Jamaica. Under the previous editors, *Public Opinion* had featured frequent contributions from McFarlane, publishing in weekly installments his manuscripts "Jamaica's Crisis" during the middle of 1937 and "A Literature in the Making" during the second half of 1938. For the contributors to *Public Opinion* in 1940, however, McFarlane came to represent an Anglophile view of poetry from which they wanted to distinguish themselves.<sup>31</sup> The weekly notes in the 9 March 1940 issue contained a brief summary of the speeches made at a Poetry League meeting. The article, attributed to the pseudonym "Commentator," sarcastically associates McFarlane's call for "Jamaican poets to accept their responsibilities and give Jamaica a poetry, taking England for an example" with the meeting organizers' decision to "intersperse the speeches with violin solos and singing"; the Commentator contrasts this ornamental view of literature with speeches given by *Public Opinion* regulars W. H. Mittins and Frank Hill, who lament a situation in which "the poet is kept aloof from the vital issues, the need for political economy and social reforms, that they preferred to escape to the beauties of nature."<sup>32</sup> In a flurry of letters to the editor in the following weeks, McFarlane defends his view that poetry should be judged primarily for its "sincerity"

Fowler, meanwhile, was founder, along with his wife, of the Little Theater Movement in Kingston, and eventually left *Public Opinion* to found the Priory School. Ken Post suggests that the changes in the *Public Opinion* board may have come at the suggestion of the colonial governor, who persuaded Norman Manley to install his wife and other close associates like Arnett and Nethersole as a way of keeping the party's left wing in check. See Ken Post, *Strike the Iron: A Colony at War, Jamaica, 1939–1945* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1981), 81n69.

30 "This Culture Business," *Public Opinion*, 4 November 1939, 9.

31 In *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature*, Alison Donnell notes that McFarlane was "irreverently known as 'the black Englishman'" because of his "conventional" views on poetry (44). She also points out that the Poetry League of Jamaica was "a branch of the Empire Poetry League" that "functioned as a means for the educated minority to assert their knowledge and appreciation of what they supposed to be high culture" (45).

32 "The Week," *Public Opinion*, 9 March 1940, 15.

and “sentiments,” the Commentator urges that Jamaican poetry “must express whatever is unique and personal in the experience of a given people at a given time,” and a variety of letters supporting or attacking McFarlane follow.<sup>33</sup>

Debates about literature’s engagement with current events and local culture continued to appear in *Public Opinion* throughout the early 1940s. Edna Manley weighs in with a substantial review of the 1940 Poetry League Year Book, about which she writes:

On the whole the work produced in this book is typical of what has been produced for say the last fifteen years. But the world has changed completely, irrevocably during those fifteen years and Jamaica has changed as definitely as anywhere else, and yet the poetry of this group has managed to stay almost tranquilly the same. It may or it may not be criticism of poetry that it does not reflect the most vital aspects of life, but . . . if poetry is to play a vital part in the life of a country it must change, it must grow, it must reflect some of the sweeping changes of the thought and the life of its people.<sup>34</sup>

This passage foreshadows Edna’s foreword to the 1943 issue of *Focus* by articulating the view of literature that the other writers from *Public Opinion* had taken in their quarrel with McFarlane. Opposing themselves to the Poetry League, the writers of *Public Opinion* put forward ideas about literature’s social utility that would be reflected in the publication of locally (and often politically) engaged work. George Campbell and Roger Mais have become most readily recognized for this kind of nationalist writing.<sup>35</sup> While their frequent contributions certainly helped transform the type of creative writing included in *Public Opinion*, this shift toward the local and the culture of the popular classes can be seen even more prominently (in terms of sheer volume) in the appearance in almost every issue from September 1939 to August 1940 of a “Brer Nancy” story, credited with the byline “as told to Dorothy Clarke” and meant to replicate Jamaican oral speech. This regular feature—which an appreciative letter writer describes as “priceless to those who love these stories” in the same set of letters to the editor in which McFarlane complains of the “unauthoritative opinions” about poetry expressed by the Commentator—ensured that (admittedly mediated) folk voices would be given space in *Public Opinion* in almost every issue of this period.<sup>36</sup>

The golden age of literary publication in *Public Opinion* lasted a little less than three years. During 1942, war rationing required weekly newspapers to cut their length, so in June 1942 *Public Opinion* changed its format from twelve pages to eight, in August 1942 from eight pages to six, and in September 1942 from six pages to four. With the rationing, the first thing to go from the pages of *Public Opinion* was literary writing. While in 1940 sixty-five stories,

33 “Correspondence,” *Public Opinion*, 30 March 1940, 14; *ibid.*, 23 March 1940, 14.

34 “The Poetry League Year Book,” reviewed by Edna Manley, *Public Opinion*, 2 November 1940, 13.

35 See Laurence Breiner, *An Introduction to West Indian Poetry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Breiner discusses the importance of George Campbell to the development of West Indian poetry in terms of how his poetry “not only expresses but inspires anger at injustice and affection for the land and those who work it” (66). See also Evelyn Hawthorne, *The Writer in Transition: Roger Mais and the Decolonization of Caribbean Culture* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989). Hawthorne provides an insightful look at how the stories Mais published in *Public Opinion* sought to negotiate the writer’s social role and relationship to the lower classes.

36 “Correspondence,” *Public Opinion*, 30 March 1940, 14.

sixty-three poems, and four plays ran in the pages of *Public Opinion* and 1941 featured forty-one stories, sixty-nine poems, and three plays, in 1942 that output dropped to twenty stories and forty-eight poems—many of the poems from late 1941 and 1942, contributed by H. P. Jacobs using the pseudonym “Y.O.Y.,” are only a few lines about topics in the news—and in all of 1943 only five stories and twenty poems appeared.<sup>37</sup> Even before the rationing led to the virtual elimination of literary writing in *Public Opinion*, literature had become less central. The 5 April 1941 issue announces the PNP executive committee’s decision to change the newspaper’s format, and beginning with that issue, Edna Manley, Henry Fowler, and the others are no longer listed as the editorial board; the last page mentions only Fairclough as manager, beginning in April 1941, making it difficult to determine exactly when Edna stopped working regularly with *Public Opinion*. Poetry and stories continue to appear in the newspaper, though less frequently, through the rest of 1941; as of the 5 April issue, the column “PNP Notes,” detailing the proceedings of party meetings, becomes a regular feature.

While paper rationing is thus one factor in the changes to *Public Opinion*, this period is also notable as the moment in which the PNP began to prepare for a new constitution and Jamaica’s first national elections, and the content of *Public Opinion* reflected this context. The new format initiated in April 1941 resembles a traditional newspaper, with fewer subjective and essayistic articles; those that remain are now grouped together on an editorial page. The new format includes a sports page and the “Culture and Entertainment” column by Archie Lindo, but the newspaper is dominated by the Week Abroad and Week at Home pages that cover standard news stories. The sorts of regular features included during 1942 and 1943 are less likely to be cultural and less likely to be written by women: instead, there are columns by Domingo comparing the political and economic situation of Jamaica and Puerto Rico, Ken Hill’s column “With the Workers” describing labor organizing, and debates about land policy. Editorials talk about India and the independence movement, or criticize the PNP’s main political rival, Alexander Bustamante. As Nettleford puts it, “After 1943 the PNP stopped being a ‘movement’” as they began to focus on contesting elections.”<sup>38</sup> Just as the 1938 founding of the party had seemed to make literature a secondary concern for the nationalist movement, beginning in 1942 impending elections nudged out the amount of space available to literature.

At the same time that *Public Opinion* was being reoriented away from the literary, Edna Manley became a much less regular contributor, while her husband Norman began to be featured more frequently as either writer or subject of articles. The changes in *Public Opinion* provide a context for understanding Edna’s launch of the literary journal *Focus* in the early 1940s. Having left the board of *Public Opinion* at some point during 1942, Edna edited a collection of literary work and issued the first edition of *Focus* in December 1943. *Focus*,

37 In “The Creative Writer and West Indian Society: Jamaica, 1900–1950” (PhD diss., University of St. Andrews, 1982) Rhonda Cobham-Sander identifies Jacobs as “Y.O.Y.” Cobham-Sander also notices the changing format of *Public Opinion* during 1941, crediting the “Manley-Bustamante split” (99) with “the transformation of the *Public Opinion* weekly from a broadly based liberal news and cultural magazine to a party newspaper” (98).

38 Nettleford, introduction, 6.

featuring fiction, poetry, drama, and creative essays, is a much different publication from *Public Opinion*. While it did not publish news or political debate, the writings were still framed as nationalist and political. Edna Manley's foreword explains this context: "It is, we feel the first collection of works to be published, that have sprung directly out of the great changes that have been and still are taking place."<sup>39</sup> But separating out literary works from the other kinds of writing found in *Public Opinion* makes *Focus* part of the regional trend away from the catch-all political, social, and cultural newspapers of the 1930s, like the *Beacon*, and toward the more exclusively literary journals of the 1940s, like *Bim*, *Kyk-Over-Al*, *Orígenes*, *La poesía sorprendida*, and *Tropiques*.

In her diary, Edna Manley suggests some of the uneasiness in the marriage of the literary to the political. The contrast between Edna's preferred mode of expression, the diary, the most private kind of writing, and her husband's published speeches, the most public of rhetorical occasions, where the body and the voice are present for all to see and hear, reveals some of the gendered differences in the opposition between rhetoric and action, private and public, art and politics. Edna's diary refers to political debates or rallies only in passing; the names are dropped into the narrative with more attention to the person's character than his or her historical importance. She explains her relationship with politics in an entry from 25 January 1940:

The creative artist has only one contact with reality and that is through his highly sensitive and delicately adjusted sensory system approach. He trains it to register every nuance of change and impression. . . . What happens to me in the political world is what happens when I step out of my sphere into any other world. I start getting emotional experiences crammed down my throat through entirely foreign and wrong channels and the result is that the creative artist in me starts stifling and struggling most frightfully for air and the means of life.<sup>40</sup>

I want to point to Edna Manley's description not to necessarily agree with what she suggests here—that too much politics kills off true art. Rather, I want to note how the understanding of *Focus* as a cultural arm of the PNP needs to be considered in light of its editor expressing ideas like this one.

The works collected in *Focus* follow Edna in articulating a vision of art as a realm of absolute freedom from all forms of everyday demands.<sup>41</sup> In many cases, this ideology leads to

39 Edna Manley, foreword to *Focus*, 1943:1.

40 Edna Manley, *Edna Manley: The Diaries*, ed. Rachel Manley (London: Andre Deutsch, 1989), 7.

41 The letter from George Campbell to Edna Manley reproduced by Cobham-Sander in "The Creative Writer and West Indian Society" shows just how influential Edna's ideas about art as detached from the everyday would have been for the writers published in *Focus*. Campbell thanks Edna for encouraging his poetry and for showing him "the real life of an artist" (51). Cobham-Sander explains the letter's context: "Campbell had turned to Edna Manley in the late 1930s after failing to graduate with a school certificate as he felt pedestrian school exams were a waste of his newly found poetic energies. Mrs. Manley had encouraged him to see the obtaining of certificates as neither here nor there" (ibid.). Cobham-Sander suggests that Edna's "'anti-certificate' attitude" marks her Europeanness, because "such contempt for qualifications was only really viable in a society such as England where the artist was recognized as an integral part of the economy" (ibid.) and "in Jamaica in the 1940s a black man with no qualifications could not hope to earn a living from his writing and did not stand a chance of getting a job that would allow him leisure time in which to write poetry" (52). While I agree that the *Focus* writers articulate this kind of desire to stand apart from the practical concerns of the materialist middle class, I'm not sure how easily this attitude can be described as entirely European, especially considering how prevalent it is in Caribbean writers of the time. Not only *Focus* but other Caribbean literary journals, such as *Tropiques* in Martinique, *Bim* in Barbados, *Orígenes* in Cuba, *La poesía sorprendida* in the Dominican Republic, and *Kyk-Over-Al* in Guyana, develop a similar idea of the literary

doubt about the compatibility of art and politics. Vera Bell's "The Bamboo Pipe" shows music as a welcome distraction from a "world [that] seemed very large and frightening as people went past on foot, on bicycles and in large motor cars";<sup>42</sup> but this escape from a distasteful modern reality is also a refusal to acknowledge the reality of the surrounding world, leading the protagonist to ignore the infant in his care and allow him to die. The career of another contributor, M. G. Smith, illustrates this concern that literature might not be an effective way of social engagement: Smith's poetry stakes out a space of aestheticism so extreme that he would soon decide that this form of writing could not "cope with . . . the modern world," leading Smith to move into a career as a social scientist in the late 1940s.<sup>43</sup> This anxiety is gendered in a play by Frank Hill published in *Focus*. *Betrayal* places its main character between politically active male friends who want him to join their movement and his girlfriend and mother who want him to continue working on his art; the male artist thus occupies the intersection of the gendered division of politics and art, and finds himself unable to participate effectively in either realm.<sup>44</sup> Hill's *Betrayal* is probably the most explicit expression from *Focus* of the fear that literature might be a private and therefore feminine activity.

Despite these anxieties, the idea articulated in *Focus* of literature as an autonomous alternative to the demands of governance and power was not apolitical; it is more accurately read as a political ideology connected to the distrust of bureaucratic instrumentality seen in the early issues of *Public Opinion*. A number of poems couple the ideology of the literary with social critique and opposition. George Campbell's "In Our Land" makes the poem itself a utopian hope against the disappointment of everyday reality; the present in which "golden haired strangers . . . find glory" contrasts with a future in which "we are shining suns also" and "we will find glory."<sup>45</sup> H. D. Carberry's "To Unhappy Dives" asks those with "so much money" and those who "have no money" to see their common enslavement "to our economic system" created by "systematic sterile minds."<sup>46</sup> The destructive force of these spiritually empty rationalizing

as a set of values opposed to the instrumental reason of colonial capitalism. Annie Paul describes this form of "romanticism" in Edna Manley as fundamentally a product of European modernism ("The Mother Who Fathered Jamaican Art: Edna Manley—The Ancestor," unpublished essay presented at the Caribbean Intellectual Traditions Conference, Department of History, University of the West Indies, Mona, 1999). But seeing the editorial statements made by Aimé and Suzanne Césaire in *Tropiques* or the idealization of the life of the mind in Claude McKay's *Banana Bottom* shows that the modernist rejection of rationalism and utilitarianism was not just European. Caribbean anticolonialist movements—most obviously Négritude—turned this critique into a rejection of Europe. Instead of reading this rejection as a simple mapping of Europe's own internal critique onto a different setting, I want to emphasize how writers in the Caribbean made this critique as a way of positioning themselves within their own anticolonial movements. Some of Aimé and Suzanne Césaire's contributions to *Tropiques* are collected in Michael Richardson, ed., *Refusal of the Shadow: Surrealism and the Caribbean* (New York: Verso, 1996); for a reading of *Banana Bottom* in terms of the distinction between the literary intellectual and the technocratic elite, see Raphael Dalleo, "Bita Plant as Literary Intellectual: The Anticolonial Public Sphere and *Banana Bottom*," *Journal of West Indian Literature* 17, no. 1 (2008): 54–67.

42 Vera Bell, "The Bamboo Pipe," *Focus*, 1943:62.

43 Douglas Hall, *A Man Divided: Michael Garfield Smith, Jamaican Poet and Anthropologist, 1921–1993* (Kingston: The Press University of the West Indies, 1997), 27. See also Mary Smith, "Biographical Note," in Wayne Brown, ed., *In the Kingdom of Light: M. G. Smith, Collected Poems* (Kingston: Mill Press, 2003). Mary Smith adds that after 1945 M. G. Smith "still wrote poetry occasionally, but he used to say that the poetic state of mind was so different from the scientific that (though both were equally valid) it was not easy to move from one to the other" (xxxvii).

44 Frank Hill, *Betrayal*, *Focus*, 1943:85–97.

45 George Campbell, "In Our Land," *Focus*, 1943:65.

46 H. D. Carberry, "To Unhappy Dives," *Focus*, 1943:74.

systems is thematized as the intrusion of modernity into organic Jamaican life. Roger Mais's story "The Little Cobbler" perfectly captures this sense of modernization as tragedy, depicting the traditional work of a cobbler driven out of business by a neon-lit "Electric Shoe Repair Shop."<sup>47</sup> This attitude toward modernity gives a context for the celebration of Jamaican nature that occurs in a number of other works from *Focus*, such as Carberry's "Nature," K. E. Ingram's "Okra Flowers," or E. H. J. King's "Debris."<sup>48</sup> The aligning of the literary with the organic or natural world in opposition to modernization may not be the banner-carrying nationalist political writing that the 1948 issue of *Focus* features with poems like M. G. Smith's "Jamaica" or Basil McFarlane's "I Am Jamaica."<sup>49</sup> Despite *Focus* 1943's not featuring such overtly political work, its critique of instrumental reason was part of the broader contest by artists and literary intellectuals for a place in a nationalist movement in which professionals and technocrats were seen as competitors for power.

While *Public Opinion* sought to use the pages of the newspaper as a public sphere aimed toward governance, *Focus* emphasized literariness as a mode of opposition to the instrumentality of capitalist colonial culture. The idea of literature as political but also non- or antigovernmental proved productive for anticolonial writing, even if keeping this critical vision of the literary attached to party politics was often impossible. The back and forth between *Public Opinion* and *Focus* shows that the marriage of the political and the literary was not always easy. While the political project articulated in the nationalist newspapers paved the way for the transfer of governance to the local middle class, the literary project of the little magazines remained an alternative logic even into the postcolonial era. Nettleford's description of Norman Manley as heroic man of action able to unite thought and practice recalls the anticolonial writers who achieved the most canonical status—men like C. L. R. James or V. S. Reid from the anglophone Caribbean, José Martí or Nicolás Guillén from the Hispanic Caribbean, or Jacques Roumain and Aimé Césaire from the francophone Caribbean—who successfully crafted a heroic role for the writer in decolonization. But in idealizing the masculinist writers best able to unite the literary and the political, it is important not to overlook the fissures within this project, especially the gendered hierarchy between saying and doing. Keeping those contradictions in mind provides a context for the crisis of anticolonial writing during the 1960s and 1970s that produces the uncertain place of literature in the Caribbean public sphere today.<sup>50</sup>

47 Roger Mais, "The Little Cobbler," *Focus*, 1943:24–30.

48 H. D. Carberry, "Nature," *Focus*, 1943:73; K. E. Ingram, "Okra Flowers," *Focus*, 1943:77; E. H. J. King, "Debris," *Focus*, 1943:128.

49 M. G. Smith, "Jamaica," *Focus*, 1948:127; Basil McFarlane, "I Am Jamaica," *Focus*, 1948:142–43. In her diary, Edna Manley distinguishes two visions of publication that reflect the differences between the poetry represented by "Jamaica" and "I Am Jamaica" in 1948 and the work featured in the 1943 edition of *Focus*: that "every inch of space" should be used "to propagandize the new ideas" versus the view that writing "had to spring out of all the new ideas that were coming alive politically—but it had to have a freedom to criticize or support." She associates "over-enthusiastic politicians" with the first view, and "the literary and artistic" with the second (*Edna Manley: The Diaries*, 256).

50 I discuss the works of George Lamming and Martin Carter in the context of these shifts in the Caribbean public sphere from the 1950s to the 1970s in the essay "Authority and the Occasion for Speaking in the Caribbean Literary Field: George Lamming and Martin Carter," *Small Axe*, no. 20 (June 2006): 19–39.



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## Appendix

Stories, poetry, and plays published in *Public Opinion* between its founding in 1937 and its change to becoming a daily newspaper in April 1944. Some were reprinted in *Focus* (see key below). Approximately thirty-eight issues from 1939 and 1940 featured “Brer Nancy” stories, most of which were credited “as told by Dorothy Clarke.” For reasons of space, titles of those stories are not included here; issues including a “Brer Nancy” story are marked by an asterisk. List compiled by Raphael Dalleo.

### ***Public Opinion*, Volume 1**

Feb 20, 1937 (1.1)	“The Poinsettia Bush” by Dorothy Barnes (story), 5
Feb 27 (1.2)	“The Funniest Suicide” by Oliver Kirkpatrick (story), 5
	“A Bargain Sale” by H. E. Romney (poem), 5
Mar 6 (1.3)	“The Family” by Frank St. A. Hill (story), 5
Mar 13 (1.4)	“Supernumeraries” by Peter Wayne (story), 5
Mar 20 (1.5)	“The Locket” by Peter Wayne (story), 5
	“Catching John” by F. V. Romney (poem), 9
Mar 27 (1.6)	“Broken Laughter” by Cissy Serrant (story), 5
Apr 3 (1.7)	“Casting Spells” by Archie Lindo (story), 5
	“Ode to Jamaica” by Rev. Ethelred Brown (poem), 10
Apr 10 (1.8)	“Water, Please” by Beta (poem), 10
Apr 17, 24 (1.9, 1.10)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
May 1 (1.11)	“The Mad Tea-Party” by Hobnails (story), 5
May 8 (1.12)	“The Lobster Hunt” by Archie Lindo (story), 5
May 15, 22 (1.13, 1.14)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
May 29, Jun 5 (1.15, 1.16)	“Week End” (pts. 1 and 2) by Frank St. A. Hill (story), 5; 5
Jun 12, 19 (1.17, 1.18)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jun 26 (1.19)	“The Error” by Pat Woodford (story), 5, 13
Jul 3 (1.20)	“Rolling Calf” by Archie Lindo (story), 5, 14
Jul 10 (1.21)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 17 (1.22)	“The Chap Who Walked Home” by Frank St. A. Hill (story), 5
Jul 24, 31 (1.23, 1.24)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Aug 7, 14 (1.25, 1.26)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Aug 21 (1.27)	“The Monkey’s Paw” [no attribution] (poem), 5
Aug 28 (1.28)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 4, 11, 18 (1.29–1.31)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 25 (1.32)	“Band Concert Special” by Pat Woodford (story), 5, 11
Oct 2 (1.33)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Oct 9 (1.34)	“Hurricane” by Archie Lindo (story), 5, 14
Oct 16 (1.35)	“Staging a Play” (pt. 1) by Rudolph McDowell (story), 13, 14
	“Exile’s Hymn” by W. Adolphe Roberts (poem), 10
Oct 23 (1.36)	“Staging a Play” (pt. 2) by Rudolph McDowell (story), 13, 14
	“Jamaica” by Ben E. Burrell (poem), 7
Oct 30 (1.37)	“Staging a Play” (pt. 3) by Rudolph McDowell (story), 13, 14
	“Honorable Parrot” by Pat Woodford (story), 5
Nov 6 (1.38)	“Morning Mist” by Frank St. A. Hill (story), 5, 10
Nov 13 (1.39)	“No Business Here” by Rudolph McDowell (story), 5
Nov 20 (1.40)	“Divine Boy” by Archie Lindo (story), 5

Nov 27 (1.41)	"Man of Might" by Pat Woodford (story), 5, 13
	"Black Beauty" by H. A. Palmer (poem), 9
Dec 4 (1.42)	"Money He Had" by Dorothy Barnes (story), 5
	"The Moon" by Hugh B. Sherlock (poem), 9
Dec 11 (1.43)	"Cigarette" by Archie Lindo (story), 5, 15
Dec 18 (1.44)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 24 (1.45)	"Potter's Perfect System" by Pat Woodford (story), 9, 10
	"Dudley Mason's Christmas" by Archie Lindo (story), 13, 16
Jan 1, 1938 (1.46)	"Manumission" by H.S.B. (poem), 9
Jan 8 (1.47)	"Busman's Holiday" by Archie Lindo (story), 5
	"To Yesteryears" by H.S.B. (poem), 9
Jan 15, 22 (1.48, 1.49)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jan 29 (1.50)	"I Love" by H.S.B. (poem), 9
Feb 5 (1.51)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 12 (1.52)	"River and Sea" by Vivian Virtue (poem), 9

### ***Public Opinion, Volume 2***

Feb 19, 1938 (2.1)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 26, Mar 5 (2.2, 2.3)	"The Victorious Troubadour" (pts. 1 and 2) by W. G. Ogilvie (story), 5, 15; 5, 15
Mar 12 (2.4)	"Vagabond" by Aimee Webster (story), 8, 10
	"Beauty" by Leo Evans (poem), 9
Mar 19 (2.5)	"If You Were Here" by Leo Evans (poem), 9
Mar 26 (2.6)	"The China Plate" by W. G. Ogilvie (story), 5, 10, 15
	"We Make Mistakes" by Claude Thompson (poem), 9
Apr 2 (2.7)	"End of the Rope" by Aimee Webster (story), 5, 15
Apr 9 (2.8)	"The Three-Keeled Hawksbill" by W. G. Ogilvie (story), 5, 12
Apr 16, 23 (2.9, 2.10)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 30 (2.11)	"It Fell—The Rain" by Claude Thompson (poem), 6
	"Yard Boys Aren't Decent" by W. G. Ogilvie (story), 11
May 7 (2.12)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
May 14 (2.13)	"Ticky-Picky Boom-Boom" retold by Philip Sherlock (story), 6
May 21, 28 (2.14, 2.15)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jun 4, 11 (2.16, 2.17)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jun 18 (2.18)	"Spirit of Youth" by Calvin Bowen (poem), 11
	"Moon Madness" by Claude Thompson (poem), 11
Jun 25 (2.19)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 2 (2.20)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 9 (2.21)	"Telephone Call" by Claude Thompson (poem), 8
Jul 16 (2.22)	["Both of us are dreaming"] by George Campbell (poem), 5
	"Laughter in Ascalon" by Claude Thompson (poem), 6
Jul 23 (2.23)	"Negro Mother at the Bed of Her Dying Son" by George Campbell (poem), 8
Jul 30 (2.24)	"Villanelle" by Astley Clerk (poem), 8
	"Negro Worn-Out" by George Campbell (poem), 10
Aug 6 (2.25)	"Negro Aroused!" by George Campbell (poem), 8
Aug 13 (2.26)	"Cave" by Claude Thompson (poem), 8
	"Second Childhood" by Claude Thompson (poem), 8
Aug 20 (2.27)	["I have done wrong"] by George Campbell (poem), 7
	"To a Snob" by Claude Thompson (poem), 7
Aug 27 (2.28)	"Last Queries" by George Campbell (poem), 7

Sep 3 (2.29)	"Negro Aroused" by Z. Taylor (poem), 7
Sep 10 (2.30)	"Night" by George Campbell (poem), 2
	"Forlorn" by Geo. W. Beckford (poem), 10
Sep 17 (2.31)	"You Remind Me Of" by Claude Thompson (poem), 8
Sep 24 (2.32)	"Death" by Z. Taylor (poem), 8
Oct 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 (2.33–2.37)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Nov 5, 12, 19, 26 (2.38–2.41)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 3, 10, 17 (2.42–2.44)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 24 (2.45)	"God Save the People" by Ebenezer Elliott (poem), 4
	"Corn Puss" by W. G. Ogilvie (story), 6, 18
	"The Christmas Dance" by Archie Lindo (story), 15, 22
Dec 31 (2.46)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jan 7, 1939 (2.47)	["I have no wish for friends"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 4
	"Dance with Me" by Claude Thompson (story), 6
Jan 14 (2.48)	"Tomorrow" by P. M. Sherlock (poem), 4
Jan 21 (2.49)	["There is a void"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 8
	"Self-Government" by Geo. W. Beckford (poem), 4
Jan 28 (2.50)	"Maring Men" by Claude Thompson (story), 6
	["There is a loneliness"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 11
Feb 4 (2.51)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 11 (2.52)	["I know my soul"] by John Davies (poem), 8

### **Public Opinion, Volume 3**

Feb 18, 1939 (3.1)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 25 (3.2)	"The Man Who Hated Music" by Lawrence Penn (story), 5
Mar 4, 11 (3.3, 3.4)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Mar 18 (3.5)	"Te Deum" by Sagittarius (poem), 4
Mar 25 (3.6)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 1 (3.7)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 8 (3.8)	"If We Must Die" by Claude McKay (poem), 10
Apr 15 (3.9)	"While the Negro Slept" by George Campbell (story), 5, 11
Apr 22 (3.10)	"The Curse of God" by Ethel Rovere (1st prize story), 6–7, 12
Apr 29 (3.11)	"The Cow that Laughed" by R. L. C. Aarons (2nd prize story), 6–7
May 6 (3.12)	"Blossoms" by Emma Noad (highly commended story), 6–7, 11
May 13 (3.13)	"De Will of de Lud" by Carl Lewis (highly commended story), 6–7
May 20, 27 (3.14, 3.15)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jun 3 (3.16)	"Desolation of a Loveless Soul" by M. G. Smith (poem), 9
Jun 10 (3.17)	"Coolie Bangle" by Ethel Rovere (story), 6
Jun 17 (3.18)	["I do not accuse God"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 8
	"Her Mother's People" by Z. Taylor (story), 9, 11
Jun 24 (3.19)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 1, 8 (3.20, 3.21)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 15 (3.22)	"Democracy" by George Campbell (poem), 5 [also in Jun 7, 1941]
	"Caught" by A. A. Chaplain (story), 6
Jul 22 (3.23)	"Canefield" by H. D. Carberry (story), 6
Jul 29 (3.24)	["I paddle patting fingers"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 11
Aug 5 (3.25)	"The Dancer Remembers" by Adolphe Roberts (story), 6–7
Aug 12 (3.26)	"The Guileless Rain" by Marjorie Foster-Davis (poem), 7
	"After the Funeral" by K.J.A. (story), 11

Aug 19 (3.27)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Aug 26 (3.28)	"Who Never to Himself Hath Said" by Z. Taylor (story), 7, 11
Sep 2 (3.29)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 9 (3.30)	"The Ghost" by Edna Manley (story), 7
	"The Short Story" by M. G. Smith (story), 11
Sep 16 (3.31)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 23 (3.32)	<b>Changes to editorial board, including addition of Edna Manley</b>
	["New world flowers"] by George Campbell (poem), 6
	"The Harvest" by D. J. Judah (story), 9
Sep 30 (3.33)*	"The Lion" (pt. 1) by K.J.A. (story), 5
	"Sugar Canes in Flag" by Marorie Foster Davis (poem), 9
Oct 7 (3.34)*	"The Lion" (pt. 2) by K.J.A. (story), 5
	"Observation" by Roger Mais (poem), 6
Oct 14 (3.35)	"The Lion" (pt. 3) by K.J.A. (story), 7
	"Two Trees at Twilight" by Roger Mais (poem), 6
Oct 21 (3.36)*	"Let Us Assure the Ellipse" by M. G. Smith (poem), 6
Oct 28 (3.37)*	"A Lovely Funeral to the Sea" by George Campbell (poem), 6
	"On an Old Lady, the Victim of a Stroke" by P. M. Sherlock (poem), 6
	"The Stunt Girl" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 7
	"The Man Who Never Came Back" by Claude Thompson (story), 10
Nov 4 (3.38)*	"Duet at Midnight" by Geo. W. Beckford (poem), 4
	"Ebb Tide" by Roger Mais (poem), 6
	["I think I could turn"] by Walt Whitman (poem), 6
	"Natural" by M. G. Smith (story), 6
Nov 11 (3.39)*	"Reply to George Campbell" by H.W. (poem), 3
	"Life Is a Set of Glass Paintings" by M. G. Smith (poem), 7
	"The Strangers" [no attribution] (story), 7
Nov 18 (3.40)*	"Poetic Dialogue" (part of play <i>Iscariot</i> ) by George Campbell and M. G. Smith, 6
	"Joy Unspeakable" by A. Chaplain (story), 7
Nov 25 (3.41)*	"The Alibi" by R. A. Percival (story), 5
	"Peacock" by Roger Mais (poem), 6
	"Evening Phantasies" by Geo. W. Beckford (poem), 6
Dec 2 (3.42)*	"Pegs" by A. Chaplain (story), 6 [also in Dec 21, 1940]
	["I never knew you"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 7
Dec 9 (3.43)*	"City Asides" by Aimee Webster (story), 5
	"The Chart" by Frank Hill (story), 6
	"Night Picnic" by Archie Lindo (story), 10
	["The deeply conscious night"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 10
Dec 16 (3.44)*	["Moon, hung on high"]† by M. G. Smith (poem), 6
	"Education" by Louise Bennett (poem), 9
	"Father Neville" [no attribution] (poem), 9
	"Crime Does Not Pay" by M. G. Smith (story), 12
	"Quest" by Roger Mais (poem), 14
Dec 23 (3.45)	"The Sweepstake Mento" by Slim and Sam (poem), 2
Dec 30 (3.46)	"The Wind's Song" by Roger Mais (poem), 2
	"They Shall Be Driven" (pt. 1) by K.J.A. (story), 7
	"Another Journey by Bus" by Claude Thompson (story), 10
Jan 6, 1940 (3.47)*	"They Shall Be Driven" (pt. 2) by K.J.A. (story), 7
	["I saw a woman naked in a river"] by George Campbell (poem), 10

Jan 13 (3.48)*	["I am a chord in this twilight lyric"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 5
	"Five Thousand Miles Away" by Douglas Judah (story), 7
Jan 20, 27 (3.49*, 3.50*)	
Feb 3 (3.51)*	"This Happened" by M. G. Smith (story), 11
Feb 10 (3.52)*	"Tropic Review" by Firefly (poem), 4

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Feb 17, 1940 (4.1)*	["Life kills all"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8
Feb 24 (4.2)*	"Renewal" by Firefly (poem), 6
Mar 2 (4.3)*	["The well fed, well clothed, puffing long cigars"]† by George Campbell (poem), 3 [later titled "Smells Like Hell"]
	"Escape from Life" by H. D. Carberry (story), 8
Mar 9 (4.4)*	"Song" ["Oh kiss and caress me"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 6
	"Rain" (pt. 1) by K.J.A. (story), 8
Mar 16 (4.5)*	"Brown Boy" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 9
	"Rain" (pt. 2) by K.J.A. (story), 14
Mar 23 (4.6)*	"Me an' Me Gal (1933)" by George Campbell (poem), 4
Mar 30 (4.6)*	[numbering of issues incorrect; 4.6 repeated]
	"The Portrait" by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9
	"Us" by Ruth Horner (poem), 6
Apr 6 (4.7)*	"To the Forever"† by M. G. Smith (poem), 8
	"Imagination" by K. J. Alexander (story), 10–11
Apr 13 (4.7)*	[numbering of issues incorrect; 4.7 repeated]
	"Forgotten (for Claude McKay)" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 4
	"Cherry Time" by Cicely Howland (story), 10–11
Apr 20 (4.8)*	"The Brown Man" (Anonymous poem in reply to Carberry), 4
	"Street Corner in Kingston" by Archie Lindo (story), 13
Apr 27 (4.9)*	
May 4 (4.10)*	"Desire" by Louis Simpson (poem), 9
May 11 (4.11)*	"The Plunderer" by R. M. Murray (poem), 6
May 18 (4.12)*	
May 25 (4.13)*	"The Little Peasant" by Cicely Howland (story), 8
	"Dinner Party 1940"† by P. M. Sherlock (poem), 12
Jun 1 (4.14)*	"In Love and Puberty" by Louis Simpson (story), 8–9
	"Litany"† by George Campbell (poem), 8
	"Tales of Old Jamaica" by Archie Lindo (story), 10
Jun 8 (4.15)	"Everyman"† by Thomas Lo Hung (story), 8
	["Who plundered us"] by K. E. Ingram (poem), 8
	"The Wind" by Roger Mais (poem), 9
	"Shadow" by Rupert Mickle (story), 9
Jun 15 (4.16)	"Big Bage" by Roger Mais (story), 8, 15
	"Wild Thyme" by Agnes Maxwell Hall (poem), 8
Jun 22 (4.17)*	"Escape—An Excuse for Miming" by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9
	"Strange Solitude" by Roger Mais (poem), 8
	"You Mek Me So" by M. G. Smith (poem), 11
Jun 29 (4.18)	"Symbols"† by H. D. Carberry (story), 8–9
	"Apollo Old" by Louis Simpson (poem), 8
	"These People"† by George Campbell (poem), 9
Jul 6 (4.19)	"And So Death Came" by Claude Thompson (story), 8, 10
	"Bronze" by Archie Lindo (poem), 8

Jul 13 (4.20)	<p>"Salome" by Roger Mais (story), 8–9</p> <p>"The Sycophants"† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8</p> <p>["Thy love is all I have"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 9</p>
Jul 20 (4.21)*	<p>"Release" by George Campbell (poem), 8</p> <p>"Vision" by E. H. J. King (story), 8</p>
Jul 27 (4.22)	<p>"The Road Home" by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9</p> <p>["Green woods within my flesh"] by M. G. Smith (poem), 8</p> <p>"Ochre Flowers"† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 9</p>
Aug 3 (4.23)	<p>"Life of the Poultry" by Louis Simpson (poem), 8</p> <p>"Clorinda Dresses" by Louis Simpson (poem), 8</p> <p>"Kingston Vignettes" by Archie Lindo (story), 8</p> <p><i>Man and Wife</i> by Frank Hill (play), 9</p>
Aug 10 (4.24)	<p>"Tantrum" by Roger Mais (poem), 7</p> <p>"Silhouette"† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8</p> <p>"If Wishes Were Spotted Cows" by Roger Mais (story), 8, 10</p>
Aug 17 (4.25)*	<p><i>Grandfather Is Dying</i>† by Cicely Howland (play), 8–9</p> <p>["In the slums"]† by George Campbell (poem), 9 [later titled "The World We Accept"]</p>
Aug 24 (4.26)	<p>"Six Days Departmental Leave" by Claude Thompson (story), 8–9, 10</p> <p>"Jamaica" by Ruth Horner (poem), 9</p> <p>"So It Go" by George Campbell (poem), 11</p>
Aug 31 (4.27)	<p>"Black Magic" by Roger Mais (story), 8–9, 10</p> <p>"The Morning After" by Molly Fordham (poem), 8</p> <p>["Fruit on the fertile sky"]† by M. G. Smith (poem), 9 [later titled "Pattern"]</p>
Sep 7 (4.28)	<p>"He Touched Me" by H. D. Carberry (story), 8–9</p> <p>["Sorrow distils into your heart"]† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 9</p> <p>["And Jesus wept"]† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 10 [also in Jan 11, 1941]</p>
Sep 14 (4.29)	<p>["The wind breathes a mellow oboe"]† by M. G. Smith (poem), 8 [also in Dec 18, 1943; later titled "Mellow Oboe"]</p> <p>["The night is naked"]† by George Campbell (poem), 8</p> <p><i>Melodrama</i> by H. D. Carberry (play), 10</p>
Sep 21 (4.30)*	<p>"Sky Pilots" by Vera Bell (story), 8</p> <p>"Interval" by Roger Mais (poem), 9</p>
Sep 28 (4.31)	<p><i>Edna and Joe</i> (an adaptation for Jamaica of <i>Waiting for Lefty</i>) by Frank Hill (play), 8–9</p>
Oct 5 (4.32)	<p>"Cosmos" by Basil McFarlane (poem), 8</p> <p>["There were those who were walking"]† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 9</p>
Oct 12 (4.33)	<p>"Model in Clay"† by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9</p> <p>"The Cooliemens" by m.l.i. (poem), 8</p> <p>"Iridescence" by Roger Mais (poem), 9</p>
Oct 19 (4.34)	<p>"Glory Road" by Roger Mais (story), 8–9</p> <p>"Lunch Time" by Molly Fordham (poem), 8</p> <p>"Song of the Small Belly" by Louis Simpson (poem), 9</p>
Oct 26 (4.35)	<p>"Kingston Vignettes" by Archie Lindo (story), 8</p> <p>"It Is Autumn"† by Claude Thompson (story), 9</p> <p>"Unemployment" by Archie Lindo (poem), 9</p>
Nov 2 (4.36)	<p>"Drums in the Night" by Roger Mais (story), 8</p> <p>["And if they see my heart"]† by George Campbell (poem), 8 [later titled "Essential"]</p>



- Nov 9 (4.37) "Against All Suffering" by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9  
"Orchard" by Roger Mais (poem), 9
- Nov 16 (4.38) "The Bamboo Pipe"† by Vera Bell (story), 8–9  
["How can I be free"] by Ada Carter (poem), 8  
["Blue dew from heaven"] by George Campbell (poem), 9
- Nov 23 (4.39)\* "Palisadoes Road" by R. M. Murray (poem), 8  
["I have been an Indian"]† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 9 [later titled "Morning"]
- Nov 30 (4.40) "Prize Fight" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8  
"Nine O'Clock" by Louis Simpson (poem), 9  
"Debris"† by E. H. J. King (story), 9
- Dec 7 (4.41) "Mr. Briggs Looks in the Mirror" (pt. 1) by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9, 15  
"Little Jamaican Song" by m.l.i. (poem), 8
- Dec 14 (4.42) "Mr. Briggs Looks in the Mirror" (pt. 2) by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9  
"Down in the Harbour" by Lucy Norman (poem), 8
- Dec 21 (4.43) "Pegs"† by A. A. Chaplain (story), 8–9 [also in Dec 2, 1939]  
["Exuberant buds burst"]† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 8
- Dec 28 (4.44) "Intangible" by Claude Thompson (story), 8–9  
"The Harvest"† by Dorothy Whitfield (poem), 9
- Jan 4, 1941 (4.45) "Dancer" by R. L. C. Aarons (story), 8–9  
"Rain (a poem for this war)" by Louis Simpson (poem), 8  
"It Is True" by Louis Simpson (poem), 9
- Jan 11 (4.46) "The Offering" by Dorothy Hunter (story), 8–9  
["And Jesus wept"]† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8 [also in Sep 7, 1940]
- Jan 18 (4.47) *Frontispiece* by V.T. (play), 8  
"Police Lick We Yessiday" [no attribution] (poem), 8  
"Her Majesty's Hotel" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 9
- Jan 25 (4.48) "Donkey Man" by J. F. Riel (story), 8–9, 15  
"The Modern Man"† by Basil McFarlane (poem), 8  
"Song" ["The boat whose bowsprit . . ."] by Louis Simpson (poem), 9  
"The White Dog" by m.l.i. (story), 9
- Feb 1 (4.49) "Pretty Things" by E. H. J. King (story), 8  
["God made sheep"]† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 8  
["When my leaves touched"]† by M. G. Smith (poem), 9 [later titled "Flame"]
- Feb 8 (4.50) "Against the Current" by Cicely Howland (story), 8–9, 10  
["Now reigns a quietude"] by Selene (poem), 8  
["There is not much poetry in the market place"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 9
- Feb 15 (4.51) "Tennis" by Monyca Henderson (story), 8–9  
["Look at us, value us"] by George Campbell (poem), 8  
"Contrast" by G.T.S. (story), 9
- Feb 22 (4.52) "Listen, the Wind"† by Roger Mais (story), 8–9  
"Brother"† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 9

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- Mar 1, 1941 (5.1) "Song of the Rain" by Claude Thompson (story), 8–9  
["Peasant men"] by George Campbell (poem), 8  
["In our land"]† by George Campbell (poem), 9
- Mar 8 (5.2) *The Humanist and the Harlot* by Frank Hill (play), 8–9  
"Road Menders" by Roger Mais (poem), 9

Mar 15 (5.3)	from a "Legend Passing" by Margaret Lind (poem), 8 ["Women stone breakers"]† by George Campbell (poem), 9 [later titled "History Makers"]
Mar 22 (5.4)	"King's Jubilee"† by George Campbell (story), 8 "The Man with the Hoe" by Edwin Markham (poem), 9
Mar 29 (5.5)	"Epitaph"† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8
Apr 5 (5.6)	"The House of Many Doors"† by Claude Thompson (story), 7–8 "Song of the Middle Aged Clerk" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8 "Street Vendor" by Archie Lindo (poem), 8
Apr 12 (5.7)	"Tig" by Roger Mais (story), 8, 10
Apr 19 (5.8)	["It was near the end of this street"]† by M. G. Smith (poem), 7 [later titled "Stars O Stars"] ["Holy be the white head"] by George Campbell (poem), 7 "The Choice" by Cicely Howland (poem), 8
Apr 26 (5.9)	"Beauty Comes to Mr. Pavis" by R. L. C. Aarons (story), 7 "Ozone"† by Basil McFarlane (poem), 7 "Matins"† by Basil McFarlane (poem), 9
May 3 (5.10)	"A Tree Falls" by Roger Mais (story), 8 ["On this momentous night"] by George Campbell (poem), 9
May 10 (5.11)	"The Miracle" by Roger Mais (story), 7–8 ["We have neither Summer nor Winter"]† by H. D. Carberry (poem), 8 [later titled "Nature"] "To Unhappy Dives" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 9
May 17 (5.12)	<i>The Evil Spirits</i> by Cicely Howland (play), 8–9 ["No song hath life"] by H.C.B. (poem), 9 "Abbey Green" by R. M. Murray (poem), 9
May 24 (5.13)	"You 'Membra?" by Archie Lindo (poem), 9 "Problem" [no attribution] (poem), 9
May 31 (5.14)	"Melita" by Vera Bell (story), 8
Jun 7 (5.15)	"Another Spring" by Claude Thompson (story), 8 "Democracy" by George Campbell (poem), 8 [also in Jul 15, 1939]
Jun 14 (5.16)	"Sour Grapes" by Roy Woodham (story), 8 "The Rains"† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 8
Jun 21 (5.17)	"The Wine Is More Precious Than the Skins" (pt. 1) by Roger Mais (story), 8–9 "Two O'Clock in the Morning" by Basil McFarlane (poem), 8
Jun 28, Jul 5 (5.18, 5.19)	"The Wine Is More Precious Than the Skins" (pts. 2 and 3) by Roger Mais (story), 8–9; 6
Jul 12 (5.20)	["The black feet of my people"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 5
Jul 19 (5.21)	"Revolution (to B.D.)" by Edna Manley (story), 6 ["It was well done"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 6
Jul 26 (5.22)	"The New Man Naaman" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 "The Dog-Catcher" by K. E. Ingram (story), 6 "Last Stand" by Louis Simpson (poem), 6
Aug 2 (5.23)	"The Outside" by R. L. C. Aarons (story), 6–7
Aug 9 (5.24)	"Portrait of a 'Dead'" by Aston Pitkin (story), 6
Aug 16 (5.25)	"Jewel in the Snow" by Cicely Howland (story), 6
Aug 23 (5.26)	"The Mountains Are Fresh and Wet" by K. E. Ingram (story), 6

Aug 30 (5.27)	"Complaining Echoes" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 2
	"The Incorruptible" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"Sidewalk Interlude" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7
Sep 6 (5.28)	"The Mantle of Greatness" by Roy Nathan (story), 6
Sep 13 (5.29)	"The Yellow Plague" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 6
	"The White Cockerel" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7
Sep 20 (5.30)	"Behind the Façade of Reality" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 4
	"The Inheritance" by Roger Mais (story), 7
Sep 27 (5.31)	"Jack and the Soybean" from Time magazine (story), 6
Oct 4 (5.32)	"High Wind in Jamaica" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	["Cry out"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 7 [later titled "To My Boy"]
	"Exodus" by H. D. Carberry (story), 9, 12
	"Hire Purpose" by Sydney Barnes (poem), 12
Oct 11 (5.33)	"The Cat"‡ by K. E. Ingram (poem), 5
	"Opportunity at the Door" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"Mock Trial" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"In Baal's House" by J.B. (poem), 6
	"La Mediterranee" (pt. 1) by Cicely Howland (story), 7, 11, 12
Oct 18 (5.34)	"Skeletons for Mother Hubbard" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"I Am Jamaica"‡ by Basil McFarlane (poem), 7 [also in Jun 26, 1943]
	"La Mediterranee" (pt. 2) by Cicely Howland (story), 6, 11
Oct 25 (5.35)	"Pocomania" by Archie Lindo (story), 6
	"Spoken In Heat" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 6
	["A somnolent moon"] by Sydney Barnes (poem), 9
Nov 1 (5.36)	["Voo doo! Die drum under my will"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 7
	"Mother and Son" by Alfred Kelly (story), 6
Nov 8 (5.37)	"Remember! Remember!" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"A Piece of Rope" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7
	"Romance" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 12
Nov 15 (5.38)	"The Intruder" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"Monday Mawnin" by Claude Thompson (story), 6, 11
	["The hills are like great waves"] by K. E. Ingram (poem), 6
Nov 22 (5.39)	"Him Was a Good Boy" by Pennibb (story), 6, 10
	["How could you expect to find beauty"] by Archie Lindo (poem), 10
Nov 29 (5.40)	"Pocomania"† by Philip Sherlock (poem), 6
Dec 6 (5.41)	"The King Maker" by The Wall (poem), 4
Dec 13 (5.42)	"Blackout" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"The Future" by H. D. Carberry (story), 7
Dec 20 (5.43)	"A Beauty Too of Twisted Trees"† by Philip Sherlock (poem), 6
	"Cananapooh" by Astley Clerk (poem), 10
Dec 27 (5.44)	"Jamaica, Arise!" by William Sevreight (poem), 2
	"Long Shadows" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"Lunch Hour Rush" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7
Jan 3, 1942 (5.45)	"Proscription" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
	"Sheeps" by Archie Lindo (story), 11, 12
Jan 10 (5.46)	["I dreamed Lenin kissed Jesus"]† by George Campbell (poem), 2
	"The Burdens of Empire" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
Jan 17 (5.47)	"Rain for the Hills" by Cicely Howland (story), 5, 7

Jan 24 (5.48)	"The Reaping" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7, 9
Jan 31 (5.49)	"What a World a Word Reveals" by Philip Sherlock (poem), 6 "Dropping the Pilot" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 2 "Joy Ride" by H. D. Carberry (story), 6 "Pro Patria Mori" by Philip Sherlock (poem), 6
Feb 7 (5.50)	"My Country Grows" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 2 "Rain for the Plains" by Cicely Howland (story), 6–7, 11 ["As if a ghost stole through the home"] by Philip Sherlock (poem), 7
Feb 14 (5.51)	"Let No Dog Bark" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
Feb 21 (5.52)	"Song of Thanksgiving" by Bessie B. (poem), 4
<b><i>Public Opinion</i>, Volume 6</b>	
Feb 28, 1942 (6.1)	"Some West African Stories" as related by J.B. (stories), 7–8 Two sonnets by Roy de Coverley (poems), 6
Mar 7 (6.2)	"The Hero" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 "Rationed" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 "The Witch" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7 ["Green flaming wilderness"]† by George Campbell (poem), 6 [later titled "The Last Negro"]
Mar 14 (6.3)	"Mice and Men" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
Mar 21 (6.4)	"Poetic Justice" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 Two sonnets by Dorothy Carey (poems), 6 <i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Mar 28 (6.5)	"Man Waiting for a Train" by Roger Mais (story), 6–7
Apr 4 (6.6)	"Nothing Happens" by Roger Mais (story), 6, 11
Apr 11 (6.7)	"A Jamaica Boy's Song to His Homeland" by M. M. Kilner (poem), 7
Apr 18 (6.8)	"Saul Leaves the Prophets" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 "Mother India" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 6
Apr 25 (6.9)	"Disillusioned" by Raymond Barrow (poem), 12 "Rain" by Raymond Barrow (poem), 12
May 2 (6.10)	"Futile" by Archie Lindo (poem), 6
May 9 (6.11)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
May 16 (6.12)	["O too—real unreality"]‡ by Basil McFarlane (poem), 6
May 23 (6.13)	"Moonshine on the Molehills" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 "Lost People" by H. D. Carberry (poem), 6
May 30 (6.14)	"Vindicated" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 ["How empty cities are in wan moonlight . . ."] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 5
Jun 6 (6.15)	<b><i>Public Opinion</i> goes from twelve pages to eight pages</b> "In Deep Waters" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4 "So Now With Comprehension" by Philip Sherlock (poem), 5 [Missing from Schomburg Center and Jamaican National Library]
Jun 13 (6.16)	"The Ties That Bind" by H. A. Hamilton (poem), 6
Jun 20 (6.17)	"The Black Man" by A. G. Bennett (poem), 6
Jun 27 (6.18)	"In a Bombed House: 1941" by William Plomer (poem), 6 "Uncle Silas' Old Gray Mule" by Roger Mais (story), 7 <i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 4 (6.19)	"Pacific Charter" by Clyde Hoyte (poem), 6
Jul 11 (6.20)	"Past Instalment [ <i>sic</i> ]" by Roy Woodham (story), 5
Jul 18 (6.21)	"Ancestor on the Auction Block"‡ by Vera Bell (poem), 6 "The Man Who Brought Faith" by Edna Manley (story), 6

Jul 25 (6.22)	"Spring Has Come to the City" by Claude Thompson (story), 6
	["And what have I of sorrow known"]‡ by H. D. Carberry (poem), 6
Aug 1 (6.23)	"Fiddle Fiddle" by Roger Mais (story), 6
	["Heart weariness"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 6
Aug 8 (6.24)	"Confession" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 3
	"An Old Woman's Last Word" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
Aug 15 (6.25)	"Fishing" by H. D. Carberry (story), 6
	"The Old Man" by Archie Lindo (poem), 6
Aug 22 (6.26)	<b>Public Opinion goes from eight pages to six pages</b>
	"The Monkey's Paw" [no attribution] (poem), 3
	"Grit; or Sand in the Sugar" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 4
Aug 29 (6.27)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 5, 12, 19 (6.28–6.30)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 26 (6.31)	<b>Public Opinion goes from six pages to four pages</b>
	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Oct 3 (6.32)	"My Public" by Margaret Shedd (story reprinted from <i>Harper's</i> ), 3, 4
Oct 10 (6.33)	["Is it a rose-red morning"] by K. E. Ingram (poem), 3
	"After That" by Roger Mais (story), 3
Oct 17 (6.34)	"Blackout" by Roger Mais (story), 3, 4
Oct 24, 31 (6.35, 6.36)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Nov 7 (6.36)	[numbering of issues incorrect; 6.36 repeated]
	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Nov 14 (6.37)	"To the Men in the Internment Camp" by George Campbell (poem), 3
Nov 21 (6.38)	"Time and the Rope" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 3
	"Perhaps an Aspirin" by Roger Mais (story), 3
Nov 28 (6.39)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 5 (6.40)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 12 (6.41)	"Cerebus on Guard" by E. H. J. King (poem), 2
Dec 19 (6.42)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 26 (6.43)	"Christmas Dinner" by Cicely Howland (story), 2, 4
Jan 2, 9, 1943 (6.44, 6.45)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jan 16 (6.46)	"The Happy Warriors" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 2
Jan 23, 30 (6.47, 6.48)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 6 (6.49)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 13 (6.50)	<b>Public Opinion goes from four pages to six pages</b>
	"Gift of Laughter" by Roger Mais (story), 4
Feb 20, 27 (6.51, 6.52)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>

### **Public Opinion, Volume 7**

Mar 6, 1943 (7.1)	"All Above Board" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 2
	"A Night in Spring" by R. L. C. Aarons (story), 3, 5
Mar 13 (7.2)	["Now we are tenants at will no longer"] by George Campbell (poem), 2
Mar 20, 27 (7.3, 7.4)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 3 (7.5)	"Lighten Our Darkness" by Y.O.Y. (poem), 2
Apr 10 (7.6)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 17 (7.7)	["Something of Mary in her face"] by P. M. Sherlock (poem), 2
Apr 24 (7.8)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
May 1 (7.9)	["It Takes a Mighty Fire"] by H. D. Carberry (poem), 2
May 8, 15 (7.10, 7.11)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
May 22 (7.12)	"Song of the Conscious Self" by Wesley Levy (poem), 2

May 29 (7.13)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jun 5, 12, 19 (7.14–7.16)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jun 26 (7.17)	“I Am Jamaica”‡ by Basil McFarlane (poem), 3 [also in Oct 18, 1941]
Jul 3 (7.18)	“These” by P. M. Sherlock (poem), 2
Jul 10 (7.19)	[“O Spirit in Me”] by Basil McFarlane (poem), 2
Jul 17 (7.20)	“Heartbreak” by Frank Waite-Smith (poem), 2
Jul 24 (7.21)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jul 31 (7.22)	[“Life might be good”] by Honor Holden (poem), 2
Aug 7 (7.23)	“My Son”‡ by Vera Bell (story), 2
Aug 14, 21, 28 (7.24–7.26)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 4 (7.27)	“Going to the Country” by M. G. Smith (story), 2, 6
Sep 11 (7.28)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Sep 18 (7.29)	[“I’m stumbling, Lord, I’m stumbling”] by W. A. Domingo (poem), 2
Sep 25 (7.30)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Oct 2, 9 (7.31, 7.32)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Oct 16 (7.33)	“Civilization” by W. A. Domingo (poem), 4
Oct 23, 30 (7.34, 7.35)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Nov 6, 13, 20, 27 (7.36–7.39)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 4 (7.40)	“To the Airplane” by W. A. Domingo (poem), 5
Dec 11 (7.41)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Dec 18 (7.42)	“Like the Indians” by Cicely Howland (story), 6–7
	“Oh America” and “Return”† by H. D. Carberry (poems), 7
	“Mellow Oboe”† by M. G. Smith (poem), 7 [also in Sep 14, 1940]
	“Evening”† by K. E. Ingram (poem), 7
	“Music”† by George Campbell (poem), 7
Dec 24, 31 (7.43, 7.44)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Jan 8, 15, 22, 29, 1944 (7.45–7.48)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 5, 12 (7.49, 7.50)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Feb 19 (7.52)	[numbering of issues incorrect; sequence skips 7.51]
	“Ode to Music” by E. S. Alphonse (poem), 3

### ***Public Opinion*, Volume 8**

Feb 26, 1944 (8.1)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Mar 4, 11, 18, 25 (8.2–8.5)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 1 (8.6)	<i>No short stories, poems, or plays</i>
Apr 4, 1944	<b><i>Public Opinion</i> becomes a daily newspaper</b>

\* Issue includes a “Brer Nancy” story “as told by Dorothy Clarke.”

† Reprinted in *Focus* 1943.

‡ Reprinted in *Focus* 1948.