

Emiel Martens

The History of Film and Tourism in Jamaica

In the summer of 2006, the Sandals Resort in Ocho Rios on the north coast of Jamaica served as a location for the Hollywood film *License to Wed* (2007). The resort was chosen as the setting for the closing scenes of the Warner Bros. romantic comedy starring Robin Williams, Mandy Moore, and John Krasinski. While the actual filming on the property took less than a week, the entire production lasted well over a month. In total, almost one hundred cast and crew members flew to the island for the film's location shooting. In Jamaica, the filming was praised for bringing major economic benefits. According to the *Jamaica Gleaner* (*JG*), Jamaica's oldest and largest newspaper, the shooting had injected US\$3 million into the economy through the use of local labour, goods, and services (*JG*, 28 April 2010). The success was largely attributed to Dell Crooks, at the time Jamaica's film commissioner. Originally, Warner Bros. intended to shoot the film's ending at one of their studio backlots in L.A. However, at the 2005 Locations Show of the Association of Film Commissioners International, Crooks met the location manager of *License to Wed* and invited him and his team to come to Jamaica instead. She offered them tax incentives and preferential treatments, including highly reduced rates on air travel and accommodation. Considering the full package, and especially its low cost, the *License to Wed* team decided to move the production of the ending to Jamaica (personal interview, 21 June 2006).

Sandals Resorts and Air Jamaica were willing to offer substantial discounts as they considered the film as a unique promotion opportunity. Not only was Jamaica written into the script (instead of serving as a generic tropical locale), the film's plot also showed the island as a perfect holiday destination. In doing so, the 10-minute sequence taking place in Jamaica was considered a high-value product placement for Air Jamaica and, even more so, for Sandals, where most of the filming took place. Around the US premiere of the film in July 2007, Sandals, in collaboration with Warner Bros., launched a major marketing campaign aimed at "promoting *License to Wed*, Sandals and Jamaica." (*JG*, 26 July 2007) The Jamaican company pushed a new holiday package, the *License to Wed* Bundle Package, offering customers reduced rates and special discounts on several

romantic amenities. The package was promoted in the US by travel agents and through TV and print ads, multi-city promotions, and a consumer sweepstakes program (*Travel Weekly*, 5 July 2007). Then, during the countdown to the film's DVD release in the US in October 2007, a new sweepstakes contest was launched where American couples could win an all-inclusive honeymoon holiday. This time, Warner Bros. and Sandals Resorts entered a partnership with Air Jamaica and MyWedding. Overall, from the initial meeting to its final promotion, the project had been running for almost three years.

The location shooting of *License to Wed* offers an insightful example of the close ties between today's film and tourism industries. The film's production and marketing expose a synergistic relationship between the two industries. Since the 2000s, scholars have increasingly explored the connections between tourism and media (Crouch/Jackson/Thompson 2005; Thurlow/Jaworski 2010; Gravari-Barbas/Graburn 2016). Correspondingly, film tourism, i.e. the rapidly growing trend of tourists visiting the locations where movie productions have been filmed, became a new field of inquiry within both media and tourism studies. Most researchers either looked at the phenomenon from a marketing perspective (Beeton 2005; Hudson/Ritchie 2006; Croy 2010) or investigated the experiences of film tourists through ethnography (Roesch 2009; Reijnders 2011; Zoeteman 2011). While most of these studies focused on the tourist activities generated *after* the making and release of a film, Ward and O'Regan (2009: 216), among others, have proposed to approach film tourism as a type of "long-stay business tourism" *during* the location production as well. In other words, Ward and O'Regan (2009: 218) point to the ways in which tourism boards (and particularly film commissions) increasingly respond to "the film producer as a long-stay business tourist, and film production itself as potentially another event to be managed and catered for."

Both types of film tourism are often referred to as recent phenomena. However, although their current size and scope are indeed unprecedented, both types (or at least their envisioned potential) originated almost as soon as cinema emerged as a medium. In the case of Jamaica, the interwoven history of film and tourism began in the early twentieth century, when the first filmmakers arrived on its shores. The aim of this article is to review the foreign feature films shot in Jamaica throughout the twentieth century and up to the present, and to demonstrate the close ties between film and tourism on the island during this period.¹ Although recent studies have begun to explore the current connections between film and tourism, relatively little attention has been paid

¹ This is of course not to say that there are no "home-grown Jamaican creators of film" (JG, 29 June 2008). From the 1970s onwards, local feature filmmakers started to emerge on the island. While the films they produced, from *The Harder They Come* (1972) to *Des-*

to the historical intersections between the two. Historical studies on the collaboration between the film and tourism industries in the Global South are particularly scant. In fact, the film and tourism histories of countries in the Global South have received little scholarly notice in comparison to their counterparts in the Global North. Despite the emergence of “postcolonial cinema historiography” (Ponzanesi/Waller 2012: 11), the film histories of the Caribbean have largely remained unexposed. Jamaica’s film history has been hardly dealt with, especially in relation to the island’s tourism industry. This article could serve as a starting point to fill this gap. While film and tourism in Jamaica could and should be discussed in relation to empire and (neo-)colonial conceptions and uses of tropical paradise (Martens 2013), the focus here is, for the first time, on mapping the practices of film and filming on the island throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century and on the tourism activities and developments that came with them.

1 “Advertisement without Cost”: Early Film Production in Jamaica

Moving pictures were introduced in Jamaica in 1897, a little more than a year after the first commercial film projections in Europe and the US. That year, film projectionist Edwin Porter teamed up with showman Harry Daniels to tour the Caribbean. According to Ramsaye (1929: n.p.), “Porter and Daniels bought a Projectorscope [...] and set sail for the ports of the ancient galleons.” They first travelled to Jamaica, where they hosted the earliest known public screening of motion pictures on the island on January 5, 1897. In the following years, motion picture shows rapidly grew into a popular form of entertainment in Jamaica. Various travelling film exhibitors toured the island every year, presenting their films in a variety of public venues. In October 1904, for example, the *Jamaica Gleaner* announced a series of moving picture shows in Kingston organized by the Ireland Brothers. Like many other film exhibitors, they offered their audiences glimpses of European and American cities. The newspaper reported that the Ireland Brothers brought the “finest collection of views” from London, Paris, Berlin, and New York (*JG*, 21 October 1907). Concurrently, as in the rest of the Caribbean, the motion pictures shows held in Jamaica occasionally contained views of the islands. According to Paddington (2003–2004: 108), “the early exhibitions often included sequences of local scenery and some local news that were filmed by the film companies’ agents to promote the sale of their equipment and to attract the local audiences to the screenings.” The first moving pic-

tiny (2014), are not the focus of this article, they are listed in Appendix II. For Appendix I see https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1699316/126622_14.pdf.

tures known to depict Jamaica consisted of “a number of views in and around Kingston” (*JG*, 11 September 1901) filmed by Guy Bradford, an itinerant cameraman and travelling exhibitor. He shot a series of films in Jamaica in 1901 to be released by the British Warwick Trading Company. Bradford may therefore have been the first cameraman in Jamaica.

The first time that moving pictures were discussed in the *Gleaner* as tools to advertise tourism appears to be in 1906, when the West India Committee, a colonial institution promoting commerce in the West Indies, emphasized the opportunities of films for overseas publicity. Algeron Edward Aspinall, at the time the Committee’s Secretary, published a letter proposing a scheme for “advertising the West Indies by means of biograph cinematograph views.” (*JG*, 12 March 1906) He found British photographer and cinematographer Alfred J. West willing to travel to the British West Indies to secure “a series of cinematograph, or moving, pictures” of “our life, industry and scenery” for “exhibition overseas.” (*JG*, 26 March 1906) After visiting various other Caribbean islands, West arrived in Jamaica in March 1906. From the start, the *Gleaner* applauded West for “his endeavours to popularise our colonies” as an investment location and tourism destination (*JG*, 6 October 1906). Covering West’s trip across the island, the newspaper reported that the filmmaker had secured moving pictures of “the magnificent scenery,” “vegetable life in the locality,” “the vegetable products of the island,” and “the activities of life here,” all with the intention to display “what a magnificent opportunity the island presents” to potential investors and tourists (*JG*, 4 April 1906). *Westward Ho! Our Colonies* (1906–1907), as West entitled his series of travelogues, scenics and phantom rides, included twelve short films depicting Jamaican industries, sceneries, and “scenes of life.” (*JG*, 6 October 1906) The West India Committee anticipated that the series, which was to be shown across the UK and throughout the British Empire, would become “a splendid advertisement [...] for the West Indian Colonies.” (*JG*, 5 May 1906) They considered West’s films as “a valuable advertisement without cost” and expected that “many of the visitors eventually become interested commercially in the islands and purchase properties.” (*JG*, 5 May 1906) Indeed, as early as the 1900s, moving pictures were regarded as effective means of free publicity for Jamaican trade and tourism.

The first fiction filmmakers arrived in Jamaica in the 1910s. By that time, most major British and American film companies relied heavily on studio filmmaking, but some firms still sent out crews to different parts of the world. One of them was the Vitagraph Company, a prolific American production company. As early as 1910, they sent a team to Jamaica to shoot a short fiction film on the island. Though not much is known about the production, the resulting moving picture, *Between Love and Honor* (1910), was announced in American film trade magazines as a “powerful drama of fisher folk life [...] photographed amid the

beautiful scenery of Kingston, Jamaica.” (*The Moving Picture World*, 28 June 1910) The moving picture was a 10-minute drama made with a small cast that presented a “story of heart throbs and absorbing interest” (*The Moving Picture World*, 28 June 1910). As such, *Between Love and Honor* probably became the first fiction film ever made in Jamaica.

2 The Controversy over the “Farrell Features”: Protecting Jamaica’s Infant Tourist Trade

A few years after the filming of *Between Love and Honor*, the London-based British and Colonial Kinematograph Company (B&C) came to Jamaica for a location shooting. Founded in 1909, its members began travelling throughout the British Empire to obtain film footage by 1912. Their filmmaking trips were sponsored by Elders & Fyffe, a British banana shipping company that had just entered the passenger market. The “full company of artistes” arrived in Kingston in January 1913 (*JG*, 3 January 1913). Over the next two months, they shot several “views of local industries and scenes” (*JG*, 27 January 1913) on the island as well as a series of “big dramas,” (*JG*, February 1914) nine in total: *Favourite for the Jamaica Cup* (1913), *Tom Cringle in Jamaica* (1913), *The Old College Badge* (1913), *A Flirtation at Sea* (1913), *The Creole’s Love Story* (1913), *The Overseer’s Revenge* (1913), *The Planter’s Daughter* (1913), *Lieutenant Daring and the Labour Riots* (1913), and *Lieutenant Daring and the Dancing Girl* (1913).

The B&C series extended the links between cinema and tourism into the realm of fiction filmmaking. Not only were the productions the result of an agreement between a film and transportation company, the public response they provoked in Jamaica also showed the local interests and perceptions regarding fictional film practices on the island. While early filmmakers producing travelogues, scenic views, and phantom rides were readily embraced by tourism promoters, B&C “met with strong opposition, as members of the Jamaican public, articulating their concerns through the press, condemned the company’s representation of Jamaica” (Rice 2009) in its fiction films and particularly in *Lieutenant Daring and the Labour Riots*. This film was part of a “series of 13 *Lieutenant Daring* films between 1911 and 1914 relating the adventures of a naval officer who saved Great Britain from the plots of assorted spies and anarchists.” (Chapman/Cull 2009: 3) The episode shot in Jamaica caused “quite a furore in certain quarters in Kingston” (*JG*, 19 April 1913) as the film portrayed the colony as a dangerous place and, as such, could negatively affect the island’s infant tourism trade.

The debate broke out when a reporter of the *Jamaica Gleaner* visited the film location. According to Taylor (1993: 117), the reporter “saw some scenes

acted with such realism that he began to wonder what effect the picture would have on the people overseas who saw it". He was particularly alarmed by a scene that featured "an uprising in which black rebels decide to besiege and burn the home of a white missionary," for which the B&C Company had hired a group of banana plantation workers who were instructed to "bring along their cutlasses and forks." (Taylor 1993: 117) Ernest Price, Reverend and Principal of Calabar College, responded with a letter to the newspaper, expressing his disapproval of the company's work. He stated that "the Jamaican public should resent the action of men who come here and enlist some of the poorer people in a show which libels their own race." (*JG*, 29 January 1913) According to Price, the film would leave the impression that "the people of this island are half-savage, that 'missionaries' here live in danger of their lives." Price emphasized the potential harm that this impression could cause to tourism: "The way to encourage tourists is not to allow cinematographers to suggest that Jamaicans 'rush up' to houses 'armed with cutlasses and pitchforks' and attack the people within." (*JG*, 29 January 1913)

James O'Neill Farrell, one of the performers and B&C's chief of publicity, attempted to refute the accusations by arguing that Jamaica would not feature in the film as an identifiable setting. He claimed that the tourism industry would only gain from their filmmaking efforts as they had taken moving pictures depicting "places and things a tourist would like to see." (*JG*, 29 January 1913) Price, however, was not convinced by Farrell's explanation. In a further letter, he stated that "the whole thing is ridiculous, and is bound to convey a wrong impression, and the absence of the printed word 'Jamaica' from the films will not affect it a bit." (*JG*, 31 January 1913) Other Jamaican citizens stressed similar discontent. According to one reader, the B&C pictures would do no good for tourism as "no one desires to visit a country which is the abode of such 'cutthroats' as the pictures depict." (*JG*, 31 January 1913) Another reader denounced the "gross-misrepresentation of Jamaican conditions" and wished that the Jamaican government would "exercise a rapid censorship" as "our tourist trade [will] suffer if a scene like that is thrown on the screen abroad." (*JG*, 1 February 1913)

The debate on the "Farrell Feature[s]" (*JG*, 13 February 1914) illustrates the early nexus between film and tourism in Jamaica, providing insights into how local tourism advocates thought of the connection between the two in the early twentieth century. According to Rice (2009), "the discourses surrounding the production of these B&C films indicate that there was already a popular awareness of, and concern for, the influence of film on foreign perceptions of Jamaica." While being "fake pictures," (*JG*, 31 January 1913) early tourism promoters were afraid that they would produce a strong reality effect "on the minds and hearts of the people abroad who see them." (*JG*, 31 January 1913)

Later, when the films were classified as not detrimental to Jamaica's tourist image, they were praised for "depicting several scenes laid in Jamaica [...] clear and distinct" (*JG*, 7 February 1914) and providing the Jamaican tourism industry with valuable free publicity. It seems that tourism promoters gradually became aware that fiction films were becoming the most popular choice "for use at motion shows all over the world" (*JG*, 29 January 1913). From this moment onwards, fiction filmmakers visiting Jamaica would almost invariably be hailed for their contributions to the island's tourism promotion.

3 *Pearl of the Antilles* (1915) and *Flame of Passion* (1916): "The Last Word in the Advertisement of a Place and People"

A year after the release of the Farrell features, another film company visited the island, this time from New York. In March 1915, about 25 members of the Terriss Feature Film Company arrived in Kingston to make "two large feature films" on the island (*JG*, 4 March 1915). The company had recently been formed by Tom Terriss, "one of England's foremost actors." (*JG*, 12 April 1915) He decided to travel to Jamaica for "the making of the organization's initial photoplay[s]." (*The Moving Picture World*, 3 April 1915) From the start, the Jamaica Tourist Association (JTA), set up in 1910 by a group of local business men with the objectives of "making the island better known, providing the visitor with reliable information, and using every effort to make the island more attractive from a tourist's standpoint," (*JG*, 4 November 1910) showed great interest in using Terriss' films as tools to advertise Jamaica abroad. Their interest was driven by the hope for free publicity in a time that their advertising budget had nearly dried up following the outbreak of World War I. Due to limited resources, they were unable to set up "an extensive system of advertising" while "the attractions of rival resorts" such as Cuba and Hawai'i, two islands under heavy control of the US (which did not participate in the war until 1917), were "being liberally displayed." (*JG*, 19 October 1915) Alternatively, the JTA tried to capitalize on the possibilities of non-conventional promotional tools, including moving pictures produced by other's resources. According to the *Gleaner*, the Terriss films represented valuable publicity in times of global conflict:

In these days when everything goes adverse it will be gratifying to learn that Jamaica is to have a big boom abroad through the moving picture shows; two famous plays are to be acted here amidst Jamaica scenes by artistes of considerable reputation, for moving picture purposes. Everyone will immediately recognise the vast benefits Jamaica will derive from such a scheme. (*JG*, 4 March 1915)

The JTA anticipated that the Terriss Feature Film Company would “help to popularise the island as a tourist resort” through “their pictures and the reports of the members.” (*JG*, 19 October 1915) By now, with the spread of feature-length cinema exhibition worldwide, especially of American fiction films, the *Gleaner* considered moving pictures as “the ‘last word’ in the advertising of a place and its people.” (*JG*, 14 May 1915)

The two moving pictures filmed by Terriss, *Pearl of the Antilles* (1915) and *Flame of Passion* (1916), marked the first feature-length dramas made in Jamaica. During the eleven weeks that the production team stayed in Kingston, the *Gleaner* regularly reported on the location filming. In these reports, the company’s efforts were continuously linked, if not equated, with the island’s tourism promotion agenda. It was emphasized that the “new motion pictures dramas” would prominently feature “Jamaican scenery,” and that the island’s stagnant tourism industry was expected to “benefit largely by the work Mr. Terriss.” (*JG*, 14 May 1915) The local business elites especially welcomed Terriss’ representation of Jamaica as a “producer’s field.” (*The Moving Picture World*, 26 June, 1915) The Business Men’s Association of Kingston, for example, hoped that the company’s recognition of Jamaica as “a producing place of pictures” would “turn attention of other picture producers to the ‘Gem of the West Indies.’” (*The Moving Picture World*, 1 May 1915)

For the first time in Jamaica’s film history, the local business elites explicitly aimed to seize the potential associated with hosting a film production. As such, the production marked an early instance of the idea of location filming as a form of business tourism, with film producers being addressed as long-stay visitors. Local entrepreneurs tried to create such a pleasurable experience for the members of the Terriss Company so that they and other film companies would be persuaded to shoot more moving pictures on the island – an attempt that, at least initially, seemed to succeed. In an interview with the *Gleaner*, Terriss indicated that he was so pleased with his stay in Jamaica that he planned to return to the island to build a film studio (*JG*, 14 May 1915). Although Terriss never carried out his plan, he did induce another film company to the island. A few months after his return to New York, Terriss announced that through his efforts “a very large organization for taking moving pictures” was to spend “a great deal of money” in Jamaica (*JG*, 24 August 1915). He further added that his films “turned out to be so extraordinarily successful that it has filled other people with a desire of coming down to Jamaica.” (*JG*, 24 August 1915) Once more, Terriss was praised for the “splendid service” of “booming us.” (*JG*, 24 August 1915) The *Gleaner* stated that “through the efforts of Mr. Tom Terriss, Jamaica is coming in for a lot of useful advertisement abroad, and it would seem that this island will, in [the] future, figure large in moving picture shows.” (*JG*, 24 August 1915)

4 *A Daughter of the Gods* (1916): “The Greatest Advertising Boom in the History of the Island”

The company Terriss had lured to Jamaica was the Fox Film Corporation, which had just been formed by American theatre chain pioneer William Fox. In August 1915, a team of “moving picture artists” (*JG*, 11 September 1915) arrived in Kingston. The team consisted of about thirty studio representatives, including general director Herbert Brenon and silent-era film star, “Australia’s Diving Venus, Annette Kellerman.” (*The North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times*, 20 February 1917) According to the *Gleaner*, the delegation was “really the first batch of a large number of the leading moving picture actors and actresses that will come to these shores.” (*JG*, 31 August 1915) Their trip resulted in five films: *A Wife’s Sacrifice* (1916), *The Spider and the Fly* (1916), *The Marble Heart* (1916), *The Ruling Passion* (1916), and *A Daughter of the Gods* (1916). The latter, an aquatic fantasy adventure set in “The Land of the Orient,” (*JG*, 1 November 1915) was by far the most ambitious production ever made in Jamaica. In fact, the four other pictures were primarily “by-products of the great drama,” (*JG*, 3 February 1916) mainly filmed to “offset the expense of the big one.” (*JG*, 19 October 1915) With a record-budget of over one million dollars, *A Daughter of the Gods* allegedly became the most expensive production ever attempted by an American film company (Gibson 2005). Largely for this reason, it was reported that *A Daughter of the Gods* would become “the greatest advertising boom in the history of the island.” (*JG*, 11 April 1916)

Jamaica’s tourism advocates did much to “facilitate the operations of the company.” (*JG*, 4 March 1916) During the filming in Jamaica, which took over seven months, Brenon received “special permission of the British government” (*Pinnacle News*, 20 March 1917) to film at various locations across the island. The shooting reportedly made quite a significant impact on Jamaica’s economy. It was claimed that Brenon had “spent on native labour here over \$165,000,” including “dressmakers,” “an average of 550 people [...] in the Manufacturing and Construction Departments,” and “from time to time in the capacity of extra actors, 61,000 local people.” (*JG*, 27 April 1916) According to the newspaper, he even established “a special municipality” for the thousands of locals hired during the production (*JG*, 8 October 1915). Concurrently, the team’s stay in Kingston and their transportation to the various sets across the island created many temporary jobs in the accommodation and transport sectors. The *Gleaner* stated that “the company maintained its own transportation facilities [...] and its own automobile service [...] during their operations.” (*JG*, 27 April 1916) On average, the production team consisted of “230 people.” (*JG*, 27 April 1916) For the duration of their stay, they lived in the Myrtle Bank Hotel in Kingston. Apart from occupying its rooms, they also built “huge laboratories” on the property to

develop their film recordings so as to avoid the trouble and expense to send them back to New York (*JG*, 19 October 1915). At the same time, the “headquarters of the Fox Film Company in Jamaica” were set up at Rose Gardens in Kingston (*JG*, 3 February 1916), which allegedly became “the finest outdoor moving picture studio that has ever been built.” (*JG*, 19 October 1915)

Apart from coverage by regular reporters, the *Gleaner* published a series of articles on the filming written by James Sullivan, Kellerman’s husband and manager, who had accompanied his wife. In these articles, Sullivan stressed the indirect economic benefits through the island’s inclusion in what he called “the greatest film play of modern times.” (*JG*, 28 October 1915) He anticipated that *A Daughter of the Gods* would publicize Jamaica’s natural scenery “in a way no amount of advertising could have done” (*JG*, 20 December 1915) due to the great scope of popular cinema across social classes and national boundaries:

[Cinema is] an entirely new channel that spreads its separate threads to the far distant parts of the world, for the Kellerman picture is such that it will be understood by all classes of people. Picture [...] this vast audience [...] hoping that sometime they will be able to visit this little island of Jamaica and gaze at these scenes in reality. This is what I want the Jamaicans to realize and prepare for. (*JG*, 28 October 1915)

The expectations with regard to the tourist potential of *A Daughter of the Gods* engendered considerable enthusiasm among local tourist advocates. They realized “the benefit that is sure to accrue to the island from the picture” (*JG*, 4 March 1916) and supported the showcase of “the beauties of our land” to “millions of people all over the world.” (*JG*, 28 October 1915) Like with the Terriss features, the JTA expressed the hope that the film would help promote Jamaica as a tourist destination. Clearly, the location shooting of *A Daughter of the Gods* brought the awareness of cinema as a promotional instrument and the collaboration between film and tourism stakeholders, more generally, to a new level. The film not only set the tone for Hollywood blockbusters but also for interlocking advertisement ventures between the film and tourism industries. In the years to come, Jamaican tourism promoters aimed to further capitalize on the international film location market.

5 *Love’s Redemption* (1921) and *Satan’s Sister* (1925): Jamaica’s Desire to Become “Tropical Hollywood within the Empire”

After the filming of *A Daughter of the Gods*, tourism advocates wished that more Hollywood studios would come to Jamaica to produce moving pictures. One Jamaican expressed the general desire as follows:

I'd like to see Jamaica become a sort of tropical Hollywood. I would love to have moving pictures companies coming down here year after year to make photoplays that require a tropical setting. That would be one of our best advertisements abroad, [...] the travelling public would decide that a country favoured by the moving-picture people must indeed be well worth visiting. (JG, 16 November 1925)

The commentator advised the newly established Jamaica Tourist Trade Development Board (JTTDB), which was set up in 1922 to develop “the tourist business of the island” (JG, 19 March 1923) alongside the JTA, to assist foreign film companies “in any effort they might put forward to establish tropical studios here.” (JG, 18 November 1925) The “propaganda work” (JG, 27 June 1925) of the JTTDB mainly focused on placing advertisements in the British and American print media. However, they also wished to produce a “moving picture depicting scenery and industrial life in Jamaica.” (JG, 25 April 1924) In fact, from the very beginning, the JTTDB emphasized the importance “to arrange for moving pictures of Jamaica.” (JG, 23 March 1923) By late 1923, the board’s committee had hired a team of “motion picture camera men” from Canada to produce “film propaganda on the island.” (JG, 13 March 1924)

The initiative to produce “moving picture views” of Jamaica (JG, 12 March 1923) for tourism promotion purposes was widely supported by the local business elites. However, they also advised the board to focus on inviting foreign companies to make fiction films on the island. One of them noted that “the Tourist Development Board will do still better if it manages to get in touch with a company or companies who will produce not only travelogues but plays of Jamaica,” as that would “increase its usefulness and benefit Jamaica immensely.” (JG, 30 November 1923) In a similar vein, another commentator stated that it would be “an immense flip” for the tourist trade if the government would allocate funds for “an up-to-date moving picture company to visit these shores and to arrange to tell in pictures with short, pithy stories the charms of this wonderful land.” (JG, 24 August 1923) Despite these recommendations, only two production teams would travel to Jamaica during the 1920s. Thus, following *A Daughter of the Gods*, only two fiction films were shot in Jamaica in the remainder of the late silent era: *Love’s Redemption* (1921) and *Satan’s Sister* (1925).

The arrival of the team of *Love’s Redemption* was announced as the first “American moving picture concern [...] coming to Jamaica to make films here” after “a lapse of several years.” (JG, 19 October 1920) In October 1920, a party of the Norma Talmadge Film Corporation came to Jamaica. The party was headed by Norma Talmadge herself, one of the most popular female film stars of the late silent era, and her husband Joseph Schenck. In contrast to *A Daughter of the Gods*, *Love’s Redemption* was identifiably set in Jamaica, displaying “large picturesque settings.” (*Variety*, 13 January 1922) The beauty of the Jamaican

locale received much attention in the film's advertisements. Most billings mentioned the film was "enacted amidst the vines and vistas of Jamaica" (*Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1922) or that it "was made on the island gem of the Atlantic – Jamaica," adding that "all the tropical beauty of this garden spot has been retained." (*The Charleston Daily Mail*, 2 April 1922) Many reviewers praised the film's "real tropical scenery." (*The Janesville Daily Gazette*, 9–10 September 1922) According to one reviewer, "the choice of exquisitely beautiful exterior shots photographed on the island of Jamaica" was "one of the most valuable assets of the production." (*Moving Picture World*, 1 January 1922) *Love's Redemption* clearly displayed Jamaica as the "beauty spot of the West Indies" (*Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1922) – very much the destination image of the island that local tourism promoters pursued.

The second runaway production in the 1920s, *Satan's Sister*, was an adaptation of the 1921 novel *Satan: A Romance of the Bahamas* by Henry de Vere Stacpool. In January 1925, a party of the UK-based Balfour-Welsh-Pearson Company arrived in Kingston "to make a picture on Jamaican soil." (*JG*, 22 January 1925) The filming of "the outside scenes" of the moving picture (*JG*, 13 January 1925) spanned about one month and took place on multiple locations in and around Kingston, Montego Bay, and Port Antonio. According to the *Gleaner*, "a number of local people" got hired for the production (*JG*, 13 January 1925). On February 9, 1925, the party completed their work and left for "the mother country," (*JG*, 10 February 1925) where *Satan's Sister* was released in May that year. The hosting of the production had given local tourism promoters the idea to focus more on attracting British instead of American film companies. After all, Jamaica was a British colony and could be of assistance to "the resuscitation of the British film industry" in the face of Hollywood's dominance (*JG*, 7 August 1925). The island could, it was thought, function as a year-round sunshine location of the British Empire in the same way as California serviced the American film industry. In August 1925, the JTTDB sent a cablegram to British film producer Oswald Stoll, pointing him to "Jamaica's advantages" as a film location:

If permanent sunshine [is] essential for [the] proper development [of the] British film industry. Jamaica's glorious climate can give 365 days of it every year. This combined with scenic beauty and charm would assist British producers to quickly rival the productions of foreigners and lead to the establishment of a British Hollywood within the Empire. (*JG*, 7 August 1925)

However, the call of the JTTDB never got answered. In fact, it would last almost another thirty years until the next British production company made its way to Jamaica, when Coronado Productions came to film *Saturday Island* in the early 1950s.

6 *Ouanga* (1935), *Obeah* (1935) and *The Devil's Daughter* (1939): “The Secret Places of Paradise Island”

With the introduction of sound in the late 1920s, filmmaking became a highly centralized and standardized studio process, making runaway productions a rare occurrence in the US film industry. Although shooting on location was believed to add realism, most studios considered it as too expensive and risky. As a result, location filming chiefly remained the domain of independent, low-budget producers who found studio rental more costly (Hozic 2001: 92–93). Throughout the 1930s, three small American film companies would head to Jamaica to produce a horror adventure film dealing with black magic. First, in 1933, Ouanga Productions, a Toronto-based company, decided to set sail to the island after the location shooting of their black-and-white film *Ouanga* (1935) had failed in Haiti. Then, in the following year, the Arcturus Picture Corporation journeyed from New York to Jamaica to shoot several sequences of their independent film *Obeah* (1935) on the island. Finally, in 1939, the crew of *The Devil's Daughter* (1939) landed on Jamaican shores.

Ouanga marked the first feature film production to be shot in Jamaica in eight years. Having moved into the sound era, the film became “the first talking picture to be made in Jamaica.” (JG, 16 November 1933) While *Ouanga* was being shot on the island, the discussion on “Jamaica’s possibility as a big movie location” (JG, 25 October 1933) flared up again. A member of Ouanga Productions explained to the *Gleaner* why Jamaica was an ideal film location:

Jamaica possesses [...] very many advantages from the point of view of making moving pictures [...]: it has a light and climate every bit as good as Hollywood; Magnificent natural scenery; is easily accessible from New York; it is British; and the people of Jamaica are orderly and intelligent, which is a good deal more than we can say of some of the other countries around the Caribbean. (JG, 25 October 1933)

Ouanga premiered in Britain in 1935, more than a year after the location shooting. From then, it would last another seven years before the film got released in the US. According to Senn (1998, 41), the film “was not shown in America until early 1942,” when it was briefly exhibited “under the new title of *The Love Wanga*” before languishing in obscurity. The hope that the film would boost Jamaica to “a higher rung on the ladder of movie-making history,” (JG, 4 October 1933) again, largely failed to materialize.

The next feature film to be shot in Jamaica was *Obeah*, another horror adventure film, this time set in the South Seas. The Arctures Picture Corporation, headed by director-producer F. Herrick, arrived in Jamaica in April 1934 to shoot sequences of their production on the island. In total, the filming took

place over a period of eight weeks in both Kingston and Port Royal. According to the *Gleaner*, the location filming of *Obeah* “afforded employment to a total number of approximately one hundred and fifty Jamaicans who acted in the capacities of actors, actresses, assistants, electricians, etc.” (*JG*, 12 May 1994) Once more, a local resident pointed to “the benefits that would accrue to the island if pictures were made here.” (*JG*, 17 October 1934) He claimed that Jamaica had much to offer to foreign film companies as the island was able to supply “all a film company can desire – sunshine, scenery, climate, cheap labour, etc.” (*JG*, 17 October 1934) Like the year before, when *Ouanga* was made on the island, hope increased that Jamaica could become a shining location for international filmmakers.

However, in the remainder of the 1930s, only one additional feature-length film production was shot on the island – another low-budget horror movie, now designed for the all-black film circuit. In August 1939, the production team of *The Devil’s Daughter* landed on Jamaican soil, for the first time “by ‘plane.” (*JG*, 10 August 1939) The film they came to make was a reworked remake of *Ouanga*, again written by George Terwilliger but this time directed by Arthur Leonard, an American filmmaker who wanted to enter the African-American film market (Senn 1998: 47). The cast of the “Sensational All-Negro Drama” was made up of “a troupe of first-class coloured artists” and included the “internationally known coloured star, singer and dancer” Nina Mae McKinney (*JG*, 16 August 1939). The film, which was tentatively named *Daughters of Jamaica* (*JG*, 31 August 1939), presented a much altered version of Terwilliger’s original tale. As the working title suggests, Jamaica was made the setting of the film, associating black magic with the island.

The British government saw *The Devil’s Daughter* as a chance to demonstrate throughout the Empire that Africa-derived religions were nothing more than primitive superstitions. When the film was released in Jamaica in 1940, now carrying the title *Pocomania*, it was explicitly stated that the British Board of Censors had “permitted the exhibition to the public [...] on understanding that it made clear to the public that it has been passed for the purpose of demonstrating the wickedness of pocomania and other pagan rites.” (*JG*, 14 February 1940) Interestingly, following its release in Jamaica, the *Gleaner* almost exclusively focused on the picturesque qualities of the production. According to the newspaper, the film merely functioned as a travelogue providing emblematic images of the island: “*Pocomania* takes full advantage of the natural beauties and background of Jamaica by weaving the story in the framework of a Travelogue, which opens the picture and leads the story.” (*JG*, 17 February 1940)

7 From Errol Flynn to *A High Wind in Jamaica* (1965): Putting Jamaica “on the Film Map”

In the winter of 1947, Errol Flynn, “the dashing hero of Hollywood motion pictures,” (*JG*, 2 January 1947) arrived in Jamaica on his yacht, the *Zaca*. Although popular myth has it that Flynn washed ashore near Port Antonio, in fact he docked at Kingston Harbour after having been lost at sea for a few days. After staying in Kingston a few days, he decided to travel the north coast to see what the island had to offer “in the line of entertainment.” (*JG*, 10 February 1947) According to the actor, Port Antonio was “one of the most beautiful spots he had ever seen.” (*JG*, 20 February 1947) When Flynn left, he said that he would return to Jamaica to “carry through certain plans” for tourism development in the area (*JG*, 20 February, 1947). In the following years, and until his death in 1959, Flynn made Port Antonio his second home. He bought Navy Island, the Titchfield Hotel, some other properties, and 5,000-acres of coastal real estate that became known as the Errol Flynn Estates. At the same time, Flynn prompted both Hollywood film celebrities and production companies to travel to Jamaica, reportedly putting the island finally “on the film map.” (*JG*, 5 October 1950)

Flynn’s stay on the island was immediately translated in terms of tourist potential, especially among the Hollywood elite. When Flynn was asked by a *Gleaner* reporter if more people in Hollywood were getting interested in Jamaica because of his connection with the island, he answered:

I can assure you I have been selling Jamaica and Port Antonio in particular to all my friends – and with air travel so convenient Jamaica is not such a remote place as it was previously. It is now quite near to Hollywood and there is no reason why others from Hollywood should not be influenced to come out and acquire holdings here. (*JG*, 21 August 1947)

In the next few years, Port Antonio, the proclaimed birthplace of Jamaican tourism, gained a new reputation as a playground for the rich and famous.

Flynn also revitalized the hope that Jamaica had the potential to become a favourite film location for Hollywood producers. In 1948, he set out to make “a moving picture of the sea world which surrounded Jamaica.” (Flynn 1959: 385) The film, which was tentatively titled *The Zaca Jamaican Adventure*, was to become “a full length technicolour film” starring Flynn and his then wife Nora Edington (*JG*, 21 May 1948). According to Flynn, the film would help Jamaica’s efforts to become a tourist resort:

The film is intended to show how lovely Jamaica is, how its people live, laugh, sing and play. [...] The film will show as much as possible of the fish

life around the island [...]. This I hope will be a contribution which I am very happy to make to the general welfare of the Jamaican people. (JG, 21 May 1948)

Another production that Flynn took under his wing was *Sunken Treasure*. This moving picture was originally “the first picture” initiated by Kingswood Films (JG, 4 May 1950), a production company founded in Jamaica in the late 1940s by Hollywood filmmaker Robert Cumming with the purpose of producing films on the island. Kingswood Films received “strong backing” from the Jamaican government (JG, 15 May 1950) and even attracted “local investors” to support their first film (JG, 19 April 1951). However, when the film was nearly completed, the production entered into financial difficulties and legal battles. The company got defunct and was revoked as “a recognised motion picture producer in Jamaica.” (JG, 11 July 1952) The Jamaican investors were able to obtain “the film with a cleared title (including the story rights) and a guarantee from Flynn Enterprises that [they] would now complete the film in Jamaica.” (JG, 11 July 1952)

However, neither *The Zaca Jamaica Adventure* nor *Sunken Treasure* would eventually be released as feature-length movies. *The Zaca Jamaica Adventure* got delayed due to Flynn’s divorce from Nora Eddington and was not released until late in 1951. By this time, the film had been reduced to a 20-minute short entitled *The Cruise of the Zaca* (1951) and consisted of footage of several ‘scientific’ cruises as well as scenes of Flynn and Eddington in Jamaica. *Sunken Treasure* was never completed nor released. Once more, the vulnerabilities of movie production and location filming were exposed. Like so many times before, foreign film projects were announced, often with much fanfare, and then never started, completed, or released. The fickle and erratic nature of the commercial film industry, dependent on so many external factors, makes it a risky enterprise to rely on for host communities.

Through the remainder of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, Jamaica came to host about a dozen of location shootings, eight of which were Hollywood productions: *City Beneath the Sea* (1953), *All the Brothers Were Valiant* (1953), *2000 Leagues under the Sea* (1954), *Island in the Sun* (1957), *Sea Wife* (1957), *Dr. No* (1962), *Father Goose* (1964), and *A High Wind in Jamaica* (1965). Particularly the latter, *A High Wind in Jamaica*, brought the potential of Jamaica as an international film location once more to the fore. In the summer of 1964, the film’s production team sojourned on Jamaica’s north coast (JG, 23 June 1964). During their ten week stay, they “established a film colony at Rio Buena.” (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965) When the film premiered in Kingston in July 1965, the screening was attended by several government officials and tourism operators (JG, 14 October 1965). They all showed great interest in developing Jamaica as a film-

ing location as they rated international runaway productions as offering great benefits in terms of tourism revenue and promotion abroad.

Within the next few weeks, the Jamaican government signed an “exclusive contract” with Hollywood producer William Marshall to “produce films in Jamaica for five years” on a regular basis (*JG*, 1 May 1964). Around the same time, the American company Cinema City Productions bought some land from the government to set up “Jamaica’s first movie studio.” (*JG*, 24 October 1964) The agreement followed after the filming of *The Confession* (1964) on the island in 1964. Though Marshall had reportedly “already scheduled [...] three [films] for 1965,” (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965) he never materialized any of them. In a similar vein, Cinema City Productions was never able to realize the stream of film production that the launch of the film studio promised. In 1965, they shot *Brown-Eyed Picapie* “at Jamaica’s first permanent movie studio, Torada Heights, just outside Montego Bay.” (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965) However, the film was never released and no other production by Cinema City ever got made. Still, although both filmmaking initiatives did not get off the ground in the years to come, which seems to be a recurrent pattern, the “film bonanza” (*JG*, 28 August 1964) of the early 1960s reportedly brought Jamaica into the popular consciousness as an “ideal film-making island.” (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965)

8 The Establishment of the Jamaican Film Commission: Securing “the Island’s Role as a Tropical Paradise for Celluloid Dreams”?

Despite its image of being a go-to film location, from the mid-1960s until the mid-1980s Jamaica only hosted about a dozen American and European feature films. These included *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Momma’s Hung You in the Closet and I’m Feeling So Sad* (1967), *In Like Flint* (1967), *The Mercenaries* (1968), *Live and Let Die* (1973), *The Devil’s Garden* (1973), *Vudu Sangriento* (1973), *Papillion* (1973), *Evil in the Deep* (1976), *The Treasure Seekers/Jamaican Gold* (1979), *Piranha 2* (1981), and *Eureka* (1981). According to Joseph Treaster, at the time correspondent for *The New York Times*, “filmmaking [in Jamaica] collapsed, like tourism and many other enterprises, as political turmoil and violence engulfed the country” during the 1970s (*New York Times*, 12 June 1988). This collapse lasted until the late 1980s, when a new wave of runaway productions started to evolve. This wave was largely the result of the work of the Jamaican Film Commission (JFC), which was launched in 1984 “to help restore Jamaica’s economic health” (*New York Times*, 27 August 1984) by the then Prime Minister of Jamaica, Edward Seaga. The commission set out to offer foreign filmmakers “tax incentives, waivers on customs restrictions [...], escorts and guides for scouting shooting sites and, at a modest fee, the rental of jeeps, tanks, helicop-

ters and troops from Jamaica’s small army.” (*New York Times*, 27 August 1984) The activities of the Jamaican Film Commission, the first of its kind in the independent Caribbean, sparked a modest cycle of Hollywood productions to be filmed on the island in the years to come.

The first indication of this cycle was the Warner Bros. comedy film *Club Paradise* (1986), featuring Robin Williams playing “an ex-fireman trying to run a swinging Caribbean resort during the middle of an island revolution.” (*JG*, 9 November 1985) According to the *Gleaner*, Sally Porteous, the first director of the JFC, was able to win the film project in a context of “stiff competition from a number of other Caribbean islands.” (*JG*, 30 July 1985) Almost the entire film was “made on location in Port Antonio” (*JG*, 6 June 1985) over the span of about three months. The filming got “considerable press” coverage on the island (*JG*, 9 November, 1985). Most reports emphasized the benefits of employment and earnings resulting from the project:

The film’s US\$5 million expenditure benefitted a range of persons and sectors in Jamaica including a Jamaican cast and stand-ins, transportation and shipping, set dressers and prop manufacturers, office and site rental, utilities and equipment and caterers. The increased activity which the film brought to Port Antonio during filming [...] further benefitted hotels, clubs and entertainment complexes in the parish. A substantial amount of money was also spent in giving Port Antonio a face-lift including the painting and repairing of some of the town’s landmarks. (*JG*, 30 July 1985)

When the film team left the island, the Port Antonio community placed a major notice in the *Jamaica Gleaner* to thank them for the business they had brought to the area (*JG*, 6 July 1985).

In the remainder of the 1980s and the 1990s, the JFC assisted the location shooting for fifteen Hollywood feature films: *Cocktail* (1987), *Clara’s Heart* (1988), *The Mighty Quinn* (1989), *Lord of the Flies* (1990), *Marked for Death* (1990), *Prelude to a Kiss* (1992), *Cool Runnings* (1993), *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1993), *Legends of the Falls* (1993), *White Squall* (1996), *The Man Who Knew too Little* (1997), *Belly* (1998), *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (1998), *Shattered Image* (1998) and *Instinct* (1999). In addition, several low-budget independent feature films were shot on the island, e.g. *Together at Last* (1986, Finland), *Fury in the Tropics* (1986, Spain), *Hammerhead* (1987, Italy), *Popcorn* (1989, UK/USA), and *Fool’s Paradise* (1997, USA). Many of these films were partially or completely laid in hotel settings, usually along the north coast. At the same time, nearly all of them used Jamaica as a backdrop for exotic adventure or romance (or a mix of the two), seemingly cementing “the island’s role as a tropical paradise for celluloid dreams.” (*New York Times*, 12 June, 1988)

However, from the 2000s onwards, Jamaica's role as a location for Hollywood films gradually declined. Although the film commission "continued to market Jamaica as a destination for film production," (Planning Institute of Jamaica 2010, 18.3) the number of feature film projects realized on the island between 2000 and 2015 experienced a significant drop. During this period, the overseas feature films shot on the island were few indeed. In fact, *A Perfect Getaway* (2009) and *Knight and Day* (2010) account for the only major Hollywood studio productions – and thus "high-impact film investments" (JG, 10 February 2010) – administered by the JFC since the 2006 location shooting of *License to Wed*. Though merely incidental, these two productions received wide coverage in the *Gleaner*, once more stressing Jamaica as "a prime location for films." (JG, 29 June 2008) In 2008, the newspaper interviewed film commissioner Crooks on the filming of a 2-minute sequence for the American film *A Perfect Getaway*, which had just taken place along the cliffs of Negril along the northwest coast. She stated that filming on the island was "good for an inflow of exchange, as well as for the hotel, catering and technical equipment industries." (JG, 29 June 2008)

The direct economic benefits of location filming were again, and even more so, emphasized in 2010, when the JFC facilitated the shooting of some scenes for the 20th Century Fox blockbuster *Knight and Day*. According to the *Gleaner*, JFC's "facilitation of the film project included scouting locations, facilitating waivers and approvals, as well as VIP clearance." (JG, 10 February 2010) Filming took place at Frenchman's Cove and Pellow Island (also known as Monkey Island) in the Portland parish. The five-day production of the "funny spy movie with adventure and romance" starring Tom Cruise and Cameron Diaz, allegedly "pumped US\$1.35 million (J\$121 million) into the economy and created employment for 80 Jamaicans." (JG, 26 June 2010) The location shooting of *Knight and Day* reportedly provided high value to local businesses: "Some 100 crew members from overseas worked on the project, resulting in full occupancy levels of hotels and a demand for providers of transportation and catering services throughout the filming of the project." (*Jamaica Observer*, 29 August 2010) Although the film created some controversy in the Jamaican newspapers as the plot did not identify the setting as Jamaica (and would therefore allegedly attract less tourists to the island), the high and quick investment return on *Knight and Day* prompted the Jamaican government again, as in the entire century of film and tourism that preceded, "to explore ways of bringing more films to the shores of Jamaica." (JG, 26 June 2010)

9 Epilogue: “Trinidad Wanted the Production”

As this article has demonstrated, the over one hundred-year history of film and tourism in Jamaica has been one of high expectations and sporadic deliveries. Still, despite the uncertain and unpredictable nature of film tourism, the Jamaican Film Commission continues to “present Jamaica as a filming destination” (JG, 23 January 2017) – this while in today’s global marketplace the competition among tropical film locations has become even more intense. Over the past few years, Jamaica has missed out on hosting several foreign film crews. For example, in 2012, the JFC failed to attract the production of *Home Again* (2012), a Canadian feature film about “three young people deported ‘home’ to Jamaica after being raised abroad since infancy.” (JG, 28 April 2013) The film’s producer, Jamaican-born Canadian filmmaker Jennifer Holness, intended to shoot the film in Jamaica but eventually went to Trinidad instead – where it became “the biggest production [...] ever done.” (JG, 28 April 2013) This was, apparently, due to the low level of tax credits and professional services offered by the JFC. According to Holness, “it was impossible for us to think we could film in Jamaica [...], when all failed. [...] We spent C\$1.2 million in Trinidad and got back 35 per cent, because Trinidad wanted the production.” (JG, 28 April 2013) Kim Marie Spence, at the time Jamaica’s film commissioner, responded that the JFC “did not have the negotiating power” to compete with Trinidad, which drew criticism within Jamaica’s public sphere for this “big loss” (JG, 28 April 2013) – and familiar promises to do better in the future. Looking at Jamaica’s history of film location production, the road to success might indeed be a hard one to travel.

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Appendix I

See https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1699316/126622_14.pdf.

Appendix II: Overview of Jamaican Feature Films, 1972–2015

Title	Year	Director	Additional Information
<i>The Harder They Come</i>	1972	Perry Henzell	Considered the first Jamaican feature film, largely set in Kingston
<i>The Marijuana Affair</i>	1974	William Greaves	Diasporic cinema (USA), not released until 2011
<i>No Place Like Home</i>	1975	Perry Henzell	Not released until 2006
<i>Smile Orange</i>	1976	Trevor Rhone	-
<i>Rockers</i>	1978	Ted Bafaloukos	Foreign director (Greece), largely shot and set in Kingston
<i>Children of Babylon</i>	1980	Lennie Little-White	-
<i>Countryman</i>	1982	Dickie Jobson	-
<i>Milk and Honey</i>	1988	Glen Salzman	Foreign directors (Canada), co-writer Trevor and Rebecca Yates Rhone, largely set in Canada
<i>The Lunatic</i>	1991	Lol Crème	Foreign director (UK)
<i>The Journey of the Lion</i>	1992	Fritz Baumann	Foreign director (Ger), shot and set in Jamaica, the UK and Africa
<i>Kla\$h</i>	1995	Bill Parker	Foreign director (USA), largely shot and set in Kingston
<i>Dancehall Queen</i>	1997	Rick Elgood & Don Letts	Foreign directors (UK), shot and set in Kingston
<i>Third World Cop</i>	1999	Chris Browne	Shot and set in Kingston
<i>Shottas</i>	2002	Cess Silvera	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Miami and Kingston
<i>One Love</i>	2003	Rick Elgood & Don Letts	Foreign filmmakers (UK)
<i>Rude Boy</i>	2003	Desmond Gumbs	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Los Angeles and Kingston
<i>Gangsta's Paradise</i>	2004	Trenten Gumbs	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Los Angeles and Kingston
<i>Runt</i>	2005	Michael Phillip Edwards	Diasporic cinema (Canada), largely shot and set in Los Angeles and Jamaica
<i>Glory to Glorianna</i>	2006	Lennie Little-White	Largely set in Montego Bay

Title	Year	Director	Additional Information
<i>Cop and a Bad Man</i>	2006	Trenten Gumbs	Diasporic cinema (USA), largely set in California
<i>The Candy Shop</i>	2008	Joel Burke	Shot and set in Kingston
<i>Surf Rasta</i>	2008	Rick Elgood	Foreign director (UK)
<i>Better Mus' Come</i>	2010	Storm Saulter	Largely shot and set in Kingston
<i>A Dance for Grace</i>	2010	Orville Matherson & Junior Powell	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Georgia and Kingston
<i>Ghett'a Life</i>	2011	Chris Browne	Largely shot and set in Kingston
<i>Out the Gate</i>	2011	R. Steven Johnson & Qmillion Riddim	Diasporic cinema (USA), largely set in Los Angeles, the directors are collectively known as the Village Brothers
<i>Home Again</i>	2012	Sudz Sutherland	Diasporic cinema (Canada), shot in Trinidad & Tobago with additional footage in Canada
<i>Kingston Paradise</i>	2013	Mary Wells	Largely shot and set in Kingston
<i>Destiny</i>	2014	Jeremy Whittaker	Diasporic cinema (Canada), shot in Jamaica with additional footage in Canada

N.B.: Akin to continuing debates around what is national cinema, the question of what is a Jamaican film is not easily answered. Warner (1992: 52; 2000: 71) has defined a Caribbean film as a film that is “produced in the region by and with a majority of Caribbean personnel, and whose conception, realization and flavor present a distinct Caribbean world view.” For the purpose of this overview, I largely follow Warner’s definition. In addition, while Warner (1992: 52) did not (yet) “include films by Caribbean filmmakers that are set outside the Caribbean,” this overview includes films made by Jamaican diasporic filmmakers. Furthermore, only (completed) Jamaican feature-length fiction films that have had an official theatrical release and/or international film festival selection have been selected.

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