DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA

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INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Editorial

It is a pleasure to bring you the 48th newsletter of the Social History Project. This edition is a compilation of interesting pieces, which speak to the immense work of the Department of History and Archaeology over the past few months. The 6th Symposium of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica held on April 10, 2008 is represented in this issue by a report of the day's activities by Ivor Conolley. Also included in this edition is the first of two parts of an interview with the late Prof. Kenneth Ingram by graduate student Jessica Lewis. Professor Ingram passed away in 2007 and while saddened by this loss, we are pleased to publish one of his final interviews in this medium. The second part of the interview will feature in the December 2008 edition of the newsletter.

The Department's 24th Annual Elsa Goveia Memorial lecture was held on April 15 2008 at the Phillip Sherlock Centre for the Creative Arts. It was delivered by Professor David Buisseret on the topic "The Fortifications of Jamaica in their Caribbean Context". The event was, as usual, a resounding success and a fitting memorial to a great historian and person, Elsa Goveia. A few pictures of the evening are included in this issue and the SHP would like to thank Thera Edwards for allowing her pictures to be used for this purpose.

The final feature of this issue is an interesting review of Maureen Warner Lewis' book *Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian* by Patrick Bryan. This review will also be published in the *Jamaica Journal.* The SHP would like to remind all interested to submit proposals for the upcoming SHP Symposium on

Heritage Management and Preservation scheduled for October 2008. Please see our call for proposals at the end of the newsletter.

Please enjoy this issue of the newsletter and thank you for your continued support of the SHP.

Dalea Bean
Newsletter Editor

Director's Report

October 2008 Heritage Symposium

Over the last months, the SHP has been focused on the planning of its 8th Symposium, titled, *Heritage, Its Management and Preservation*, to be held in October 2008. Letters of invitation to participate have been sent out to a variety of institutions and individuals, which also set out the details of the conference. The two day symposium hopes to generate discussion amongst those involved in the research, management and preservation of Jamaican and Caribbean heritage, to provide sufficient quality papers for publication which would be of interest to the general public, and be useful for courses in heritage studies. The symposium will also provide a forum for publicizing the Department of History & Archaeology's programme in Heritage Studies, offered since 1993, and is therefore a timely event to be part of the activities to commemorate the University's 60th anniversary.

CAPE Lecture Book

The book should be ready for publication by the end of May. The editors, Drs. Josephs and Jemmott are working on the Introduction.

Oral History Project

This year, the SHP's oral history project forms part of the activities of the Department of History and Archaeology to commemorate the University's 60th anniversary, and involves the interviewing of long-serving individuals and former students of the University, and the Department. The interviews are being conducted through the MA

History/Heritage course H67D in which 14 students are registered. Those who have been or will be interviewed include Professors Sir Roy Augier, Carl Campbell, Patrick Bryan, Maureen Warner Lewis, Dr. Swithin Wilmot, Dr. Erna Brodber, Dr. Trevor Munroe, and Dr. Alfred Sangster.

This set of interviews will add to a number of interviews that have been conducted through H67D over the last 3 years, which have focused on various aspects of Jamaican/Caribbean heritage, and the experiences of Jamaican returnee residents. The value of the SHP's oral history project was brought home forcibly to us with the sudden death of the celebrated Belizean artiste, Andy Palacio in January, who was dedicated to preserving Garifuna culture through his music, and with the passing of Kenneth Ingram, both of whom were recently interviewed by students who received As for their work. The Ingram interview is published in this May issue of the *SHP Newsletter*.

SHP Office & Filing of MA History and Heritage Research Papers

Ritamae Hyde and Ayodele Rosemann, MA Heritage studies students have diligently manned the SHP office, as well as worked to come up with a useful system of filing the MA History/Heritage Research papers housed in the SHP office. This filing system will facilitate the identification and retrieval of these papers, putting to use the filing boxes which were acquired by the SHP a few years ago. We thank them for their dedicated service.

SHP Executive

Regrettably, the executive met only once this year, due mainly to intense work pressures from other quarters, but nevertheless remains fully committed to the task. Newly co opted members this year include Ivor Connelly and Jeannette Corniffe, complementing Julian Cresser, Dalea Bean, Nicole Plummer, Veront Satchell, Aleric Josephs, Jenny Jemmott. Matthew Smith, who is away on Leave.

Kathleen Monteith

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Report of the 6th Archaeological Society of Jamaica Symposium

"Caribbean Archaeology and Sustainable Development" was the theme of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica's 6th Symposium held on Thursday April 10, 2008 at the Multifunctional Room of the University of the West Indies.

The theme was borne out in the presentations on areas such as Archaeology and Sustainable Development, Historical Archaeology, Prehistoric Archaeology and Looking at Historical Architecture.

Evelyn Thompson, President of the Archaeological society of Jamaica, welcomed the gathering with questions as to true development; its opportunity costs and the role the past plays in the advancement process, indicating that the symposium addresses the discipline of heritage and how to delicately balance the past with the future, using the tools of the present. In a brief message, Sidney Bartley, Principal Director of Culture at the Division of Culture in the Ministry of Information, Sports, Youth and Culture brought greetings and good wishes from the Minister, the Hon. Olivia "Babsy" Grange. A highlight of the presentation was the announcement of a new publication Archaeology and Geoinformatics edited by Basil Reid, Lecturer in Archaeology at the St. Augustine Campus of the University of the West Indies.

The first session was titled "Archaeology and Sustainable Development" and was chaired by Jamaica National Heritage Trust Executive director, Laleta Davis-Mattis with input from Janice Francis-Lindsay addressing the value of cultural heritage and its relationship to tourism development; Ainsley Henriques, Rachel Frankel and Andrea Richards discussing how the study of cemeteries played a role in genealogy and also in understanding and interpreting the past. Byron Wilson, Andrew Pearson and Rick van Veen presented on the Hellshire area, looking at old buildings and iguanas. Dorrick Gray made the point that Archaeological Impact Assessments are emerging as a necessary input before development can occur and that such assessments are ensuring that ancient sites are identified and where possible integrated into the development project.

Under "Historical Archaeology" chaired by Ann-Marie Howard-Brown, a number of presentations were made focussing on the colonial period. Suzanne Francis-Brown looked at the reconstruction of the Papine Village estate by means of archaeology; Thera Edwards reconstructed the route network of St. George's parish. Rosemarie Whittaker looked at burial patterns in 20th century Jamaica.

In the session on Pre-Historic Archaeology chaired by Maaike de Waal, Sabrina Rampersad shared her findings on the Blue Marlin site in St. Elizabeth which explore the Redware culture. Dianne Golding Frankson addressed Jamaican Taino Shellsmithing. George Aarons was not present but his paper exploring the derivation of the word Maroon was read by Ms Frankson. Basil Reid introduced his book mentioned above, sharing the areas covered by the publication.
Another interesting and new feature of the symposium was the poster

segment. Here Audene Brooks presented posters commemorating the lives of Samuel Bandara, Leopold Sheldon and James Lee. Allison West Martin showed cave art from the Mountain River Cave, Andrew Francis dealt with Landscape History of the Fort Augusta area and Elizabeth Pigou-Dennis looked at Colonial and post-colonial Architecture in Jamaica.

In the session on Looking at Historical Architecture, chaired by Veront Satchell, Aleric Josephs looked through women's eyes at the architectural sketches of the West Indies, Christienna Frar focused on urban space and Colonial Rule in Post-Emancipation Jamaica. Daphne Degizon Hobson looked at Castles of the British and French Caribbean focussing on the issue of Military and Patrician Structures. James Robertson shed new light on Spanish town's main square throughout the period 1534 to 2000.

The Symposium ended with a vote of thanks by Dorrick Gray and the audience milling around and conversing over snacks and drinks, in anticipation of next year's presentations.

Ivor C. Conolley

The SHP would like to apologise for an incorrect insert in the article: "World War II on Two Sides of the Atlantic: the Aub family 1939-47" by Gertrud Aub-Buscher.

A line in the first paragraph should have read:

"Their presence was noted from the 18th century, groups of people from North Germany came to work the land during the 1830s, and a major wave arrived in the 20th century, escaping from Nazi Germany" **rather than** *"Their presence was noted from the 18th century,* ***when*** *groups of people from North Germany came to work the land during the 1830s, and a major wave arrived in the 20th century, escaping from Nazi Germany."*

We thank Professor Aub-Buscher once again, for her entry and sincerely apologise for the error.

Interview with Dr. Kenneth Ingram on Wednesday, April 18, 2007 by Jessica Lewis

JL: Good Afternoon Mr. Ingram

Q. Thank you for the opportunity to speak with you, I would like to start with some biographical information, like when and where were you born?

A. When and where was I born ... I was born on the 2nd of March 1921, that is eighty-six years ago, in the Parish of St. Ann.

Q. How did you relationship with libraries start?

A. I can't be too precise, except I can tell you where it started and that was at the Institute of Jamaica. But what

spurred me on to be a librarian I am not all together clear so I won't bother to spend too much time on that. Except to point out that after I left school, I taught for a year and two terms as a part time teacher at Wolmers. I had gotten what was called in those days the "Eighty-pound" scholarship, but you couldn't do anything much with it except part time studies and so I got some tutoring in the subjects that I wanted and did part time teaching at Wolmers. So I began teaching West Indian history, literature and a basic sort of civics course in an imaginary village called Pine Tree village. But at the end of that year and two terms, I realized that that wasn't going to be permanent occupation of mine. I was interested, I suppose from I was school, deeply interested in history, literature and Latin. I knew I wanted to work in a culture field and not in the more accessible, commercial jobs that were available and the Institute was just about the only place. So I applied for a job at the Institute (Institute of Jamaica, henceforth IOJ), and began to work there in September 1941 under Phillip Sherlock.

I worked in all the libraries, General library, West India Reference Library (WIRL), Junior Centre, but most of my time towards the end was in the WIRL. On the matter of libraries, I would like to pay tribute to a lady, Miss Florence Thompson. Who was then a graduate of the Columbia School of Library Science. And she had just at that time when I went there, or slightly previously, joined the staff at the IOJ to reorganize, re-catalogue and reclassify the libraries of the Institute. She was, busy introducing the Dewey Decimal System and the Anglo-American Cataloguing Code. This was a golden opportunity for me; it awakened a lot of interest in Librarianship as such. I was not just going into the old home made systems but I was being introduced to new methods of information retrieval, information organization.

Q. The science of it?

A. The whole science of it and of course, I think I mentioned once briefly to you my interest in history was stimulated there, you know, I was aware of the enormous sort of resources in studying West Indian. And so that began, that is the beginning of my association with libraries starting at the institute.

Q. In the 1940's the predecessor for the NLJ would have been the WIRL; can you give me an idea about that library, its collection, usage and policy?

A. The collection, I can't be too clear, specific about the numbers, because obviously I would have to go back to some very detailed reports. But I would say there were probably somewhere in the region of about 2,000 books, an extensive collection maps, photographs, clippings and some periodical as well. It was certainly the best collection in the world as it was considered then. So that's in terms, you know, of the basic materials you had to work with. In terms of the use and policies, the WIRL, it was not as some people like to think, that is was a very elitist body, it was not elitist! Because all manner of people came in there. But they had to have a serious purpose. That was the point. It was not a library that you could just walk in. Like a general reference, public reference library. And say I want to get this information and I want to get that. You had to have a serious purpose. It tended to be research workers because at that time the university of course did not exist. But there were people interested locally in research and there

were a lot of visiting people doing PHD studies from abroad who used the library either by correspondence or by personal visit. I can remember one or two of them. A lady, Miss Mildred Dantry, she used it quite considerably, she came as a visitor. And then there were government servants looking for information relative to their jobs in government. I can remember the Census Office, Mr. Osmond Royes was the census officer. He used it extensively, looking through the Jamaica Almanacs. All were serious users, either in the public interest or in their own private research interest. So does that cover it in some sort of a way?

Q. I am glad to hear it wasn't as closed off as some people like to. If people came in with queries they would have been granted access?

A. Yes but it was not a walk in library to just ask any question.

Q. Were there policies regarding preservation at the time? Was Management constantly thinking about preserving for the next generation, was that an essential function?

A. It was ... a function that was recognized. But frankly it did not have the priority it should have had, simply because of the lack of resources. It was an enormous collection in terms of what needed to be conserved. Apart from a small bindery, there was really no conservation lab as such. And material had been acquired from various sources all over the world over a long period of time. And I think Mr. Cundall and his successors were concerned very much with the acquisitions side and with very limited resources, they just couldn't spare the money for the staffing. They didn't have the staffing to indulge but it wasn't that they were completely ignorant of it, but certainly it needed a much stronger focus, given the value and extent of the collection and also the lack of air conditioning. Remember a lot of these things had some out of hot storage rooms CJ and cellars.

Q. You were one of the first qualified Librarians in Jamaica. I wanted to get a sense of what were the options for librarians at that time, I know you went away to England, were there any other options to become a librarian?

A. Well I think I would like to say, I think I was the first qualified Librarian, Jamaican. And you know, my option was that I was just fortunate enough that apart from working in the Institute libraries, I was awarded because I suppose I worked there and I must have been judged to have some aptitude. I got a British Council scholarship, which enabled me to go away and study librarianship. I went away for a year in the first instance. So frankly I don't think there were any other options, or at least I was not aware of them. It was very limited. And indeed, what would they have done? Because how many libraries were there to be serviced? When I went away, when I joined the staff in 1941 the UWI didn't exist. Even when I went away in 1943 to study and came back in '47, the University had just then begun. There were a few small private libraries or small parish libraries with volunteer librarians like the Manchester Parish library, long ago. There were a few small collections in government but I can't think of anything that would have warranted employing a qualified librarian outside of the Institute.

Q. So at the time what was the professional staffing like at WIRL?

A. At WIRL well I think when I left in 1950, I can't go beyond the WIRL, to the other libraries, but in WIRL. When I left the services of the 10J in Feb 1950, there was a supervisor; another name for the librarian, which was myself. There was one clerical assistant who did all the typing her name was Miss Hall. Well there was more than one person, so perhaps I shouldn't have announced the name, she wasn't the only one, and there was another lady that helped with all the searches and searching all the newspapers. You could call her a Research Assistant. So one research assistant, one clerical assistant, one supervisor and that was it. And we had to do everything, acquisitions, cataloguing, classification, dealing with the public and handling correspondence and the basic administration which any library does. We got a little supplementation in the subordinate staff of the general Institute. There was a watchman and that sort of thing. Basically, there were just three of us, just three. It was a little refrain in one or two reports that I wrote at the time. I was looking at one I wrote in 1950 in which I told the board that at the rate that we were going, it would take twelve years to finish. One board member was said to have remarked that I was a timeless man.

JL. Unfortunately, those problems are still with us.

A. I am afraid so.

Q. On to Mr. Cundall, the former Secretary and Librarian of the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ). He was responsible for the collection and acquisitions of the WIRL's early materials. What is the resonance/ impact of his acquisitions?

A. Well the impact is enormous not solitary but enormous; but if he hadn't done that I doubt that we would have had a WIRL. We would have been in the basic stage of building up our national library. So it provided an enormous and rich inheritance.

Q. I remember you saying earlier that the WIRL collection was unparalleled. Some of the things I have read say that it is unparalleled except and apart from the British Museum. I know you have traveled extensively, can I get a sense as to whether this is true. Is the collection that we have gotten from WIRL, really and truly unparalleled?

A. I would say it is. I don't think it is an exaggeration - as a collection. I'm not saying that say eighty percent of the WIRL collection was not to be found say in the British library or between the British Library and the Bodleian Library. But certainly, not as a collection. And certainly not in its entirety, because I am quite sure that WIRL contains some almost unique, if not unique items, given the fact that it goes back to Mr. Cundall's assiduous collection of material; an almost extraordinary effort that goes back to 1891, I think. So don't think that's an exaggeration. But I don't think it's a kind of laurel to sit back on. We better make sure that we keep up with it otherwise it won't be. But I think Mr. Cundall, I couldn't go into a full appreciation. But others have written, I think H.P Jacobs wrote an article on the achievement of Frank Cundall. I think it was really remarkable that a man who came from outside, he didn't have as far as I know any connection with Jamaica prior to his coming here should have had this passion for building up West Indiana, and I think it was his passion for historical research as well.

Q. I think that you have a similar passion for the collection?

A. I have had in a sense, a similar passion. But I don't have the same passion now actually. I am not in a position to have the same passion. I still have the same intense interest I would always wish that the National Library would prosper and always felt that a little of my heart would remain there.

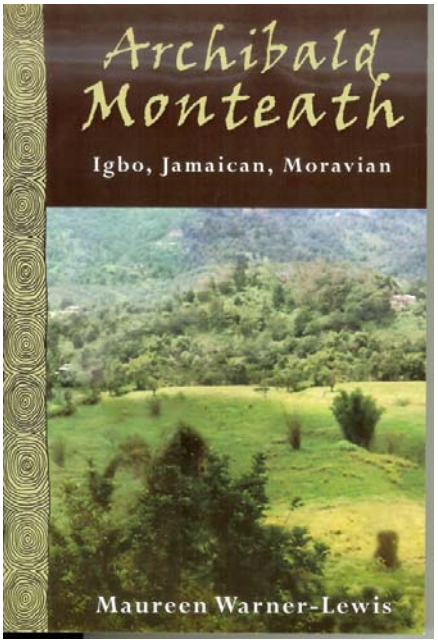
At podium: Prof. Gordon Shirley, Pro-Vice Chancellor and Principal, Mona Campus bringing greetings.

Snapshots of the 24th Annual Elsa Goveia Memorial Lecture

Left to right: Prof. Buisseret, Sir Roy Augier, Prof Waibinte Wariboko (Department Head), and Dr Swithin Wilmot (Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Education) who brought greetings to the gathering

Prof. Buisseret giving the lecture

Book Review: Maureen Warner-Lewis' Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian



In some senses, this book is not only about Archibald Monteath. It is in many respects a synthesis of the author's ideas that have evolved over several years of academic life, including several studies on Caribbean linguistics, and the impact of African languages on the languages of the Caribbean. Maureen Warner Lewis has in various works established the need to identify the mainstream of Caribbean culture as something more complex than a mere transfer of European civilisation to the Caribbean. In her work on *Central Africa in the Caribbean*, (2003), Warner-Lewis states: 'The aim has been to contribute to a reorientation of Caribbean cultural history away from an exclusively public Eurocentric focus, which is the colonial heritage of the West Atlantic, and which not only imbues the thinking of the ordinary citizen, but is reinforced by the indifference, ignorance and calculated prejudices of opinion-leading elites, whether in business, bureaucracies, the media, or academia...According to this myopic schema, the beginnings of the modern West Atlantic reside solely in the agency of European conquistadores and colonists; while the cosmological, organizational and practical contributions made by other peoples in the ethnic amalgam of the region are often neglected or treated in disparaging fashion.' [1] And here we have the consummate irony that the subject of this study, Archibald Monteath, was precisely on the ground floor of the building of a westernised black elite, that turned their back on African culture. Yet, looking back at an earlier publication of Maureen Warner Lewis (1979 now seems so far away) there emerges a strong sense of the awareness of the contradictions that have guided, and continue to guide, Caribbean society. She notes : 'The picture that emerges indicates ambivalent attitudes of resentment and accommodation including the pragmatic concession of an immigrant people to objective social reality, and at the same time, faith in mystical redemption from an alien law and social environment.'[2]

This work, which is presently being launched, is consistent with her awareness of a contradictory Caribbean in which conflict coexists with accommodation (sometimes in the same person), and culture manifests itself in a continuing process of creolisation, undergirded by issues of race and colour. Warner-Lewis, the linguist, is very present in this book.

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[1] Maureen Warner Lewis, *Central Africa, in the Caribbean.* Kingston: UWI Press 2003, p. 330.

[2] Maureen Warner-Lewis, 'The African Impact on Language and Literature in the English-Speaking Caribbean' in Margaret Crahan & Franklin Knight, *Africa and the Caribbean: Legacies of a Link* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1979, pp. 102-3

But it is the tools of history, of social history and historical sociology, rather than linguistics that have carved this seminal work.

Aniaso, the Igbo name of our protagonist Archibald Monteath was born an Igbo in southern Nigeria, in 1789 or sometime after. It is not clear. He is born into a family where his mother, and his father, are people of high rank, within Igbo society. As he approaches his teen years, a young man enters the village, begins, it is assumed, to pay court to one of his sisters. The young man, who is nameless in the account, wins the confidence of the boy Aniaso, kidnaps and sells him to slave traders. This first Act of conscienceless and violent betrayal initiates the second Act, the delivery of Aniaso into the bowels of a slave ship, which crosses the Atlantic, and ensures that Aniaso, the only son of his parents, landed in Jamaica, and would be forever separated from his family in West Africa. The third Act is the long enslavement (until 1837) of Aniaso, renamed Toby and later Archibald Monteath – the latter surname derived from his owners. The fourth Act is the conversion of Archibald Monteath to Christianity and the tremendous impact that his conversion has on his life-style – including the discarding of a life with four women - followed by unwavering monogamy. Baptised in the Anglican Church in 1821 Archy entered the Moravian Church in 1827, along with several others in the 1830s. In this Act Monteath becomes a major assistant and asset to the Moravian Church's programme in Jamaica, and becomes widely known for his pastoral eloquence, his keen spirit of evangelism, and his commitment to the Christian Gospel. The Fifth and final Act is the decision of Monteith to purchase his freedom in 1837, one year before final Emancipation. Here Monteath copied the pattern of other slaves who chose to free themselves rather than be freed by the British government. Monteath qualified, then, to be an *ancien libres* rather than a 'first of August Negro'. (fuss of Augus Nigger). In the Windward Islands it has been established that in spite of advice to save their cash several of the enslaved applied to purchase their freedom between May and July 1838. They wished to secure their freedom because there was no telling that 'Massa might change his mind'. [3] In this Act Archibald continues his work with the Church, successfully cultivates fifteen acres of land, attends to the welfare of his children, and joins his beloved Lord and Saviour in 1864.

As social history, argues the author, "Monteath's life story offers a paradigm of the processes by which a child, conditioned towards high socio-political status eventually achieved in adulthood, though enslaved and exiled, leadership roles in new and hostile economic environments." [4]

The account of the life of Archibald Monteath ("a tall, stately man with very black skin and thick woolly hair") demonstrates the author's well-known capacity for meticulous attention to detail, including a thorough examination of all the manuscripts of Monteath's account of his life- one of which was in German. The use of a methodology that encompasses the

[3] Bridget Brereton, 'A Social History of Emancipation Day in the *August 1: A Celebration of Emancipation*. Kingston: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1995, p. 33.British Caribbean: The First Fifty Years' in Patrick Bryan ed., August 1: A Celebration of Emancipation. Kingston: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1995, p. 33.

[4] Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Archibald Monteath: Igbo, Jamaican, Moravian,*UWI Press, 2007, p. 22.

historical, linguistic, and genealogical disciplines, searches in Scotland's Archives to establish the progeny of the Monteath owners, a voyage to Nigeria to have a first-hand view of the environment from which Aniaso sprang, the ploughing of Moravian birth and death records in Jamaica (Bethlehem) and Germany, create in this work the richly textured background in which Monteath moved, lived and had his being.

The landscape that emerges is not so much slavery per se but a slave society in which people made choices, even in an environment of limited choice. Those seeking to find 'resistance' against the system by Monteath, whose search for Christian piety was sometimes mocked, will be disappointed. Warner-Lewis's comment on Monteath's choice is an appropriate slap on the wrist of historians who have ignored this document which was first published in 1864: "More pertinent to the matter of its relegation is the fact that this biography was not intended for the anti-slavery agenda, does not therefore fit the conventions of anti-slavery discourses and does not satisfy the post-1970s unidimensional lionization of the slave as resister, runaway, or rebel. There is no harrowing account of physical and psychological brutality here, there is no carte blanche verbal attack on slave owners… though there is critique of both the white slave owners and administrative personnel for their sexual abuses of female slaves and general encouragement of hedonistic attitudes among the slave cohorts. Worse still, Monteath portrays himself as loyal to the interests of his owners during the December 1831-January 1832 slave uprising in western Jamaica." [5] The Monteath story, then, is an illustration of the non-resisting enslaved, who exercises the option of struggling on a moral, ethical and spiritual rather than a physical plane. Monteath's rebellion which is not against the Euro-centred system, but against the African socio-religious tradition, meets the disapproval of his peers, including the woman with whom he lived. Monteath's contemporary, Sam Sharpe, uses Christianity to further the ideology of freedom ('No man can serve two masters') in a major slave rebellion. Monteath uses it, more or less as the Moravians intended him to use it - for the salvation of his soul. Sam Sharpe, choosing the path of martyrdom, dies on the gallows. Monteath choosing the path of accommodation prospers, and dies in his bed.

We can never be sure how complete conversion is, or the extent to which new beliefs sit on each other and/ or are merged with traditional beliefs. Certainly, for some of the enslaved, Christianity and Baptism in particular were sometimes additional magic to counteract Obeah. In Chapter 9, the author analyses the world of African religion Christianity challenged the world of spirits, ancestral and otherwise, questioned African funerary rights, ancestral worship, and other aspects of African culture, which did not fit tidily into Christian teachings. Since so much of the African mind-set centred around religion, conversion meant the surrender of customs, which did not fit easily into Christian doctrine, itself permeated by aspects of European civilisation and experience. The author elaborates on Igbo religious practice, though she admits that Monteath's knowledge of Igbo religion was probably truncated by his youth. In Monteath's case, conversion to Christianity may very well have been facilitated by his own limited

[5] Ibid. p. 18.

knowledge of religion in the Igbo state, and the little that he knew was belittled by the Christianised Archibald. [6] If the Monteath autobiography is not by itself enough for a conventional biography, the 'vast collection of disconnected facts' ensured that Monteath's autobiography would become a "matrix from which to reconstruct the pen-keeping and agricultural plantation and post-plantation societies in southwestern Jamaica as experienced by slaves, slave owners and missionaries in the late eighteenth century and into the sixth decade of the nineteenth' [7]Warner Lewis, therefore, uses the autobiography to construct a 'life and times' of Archibald Monteath.

That autobiography actually takes us to the heart of Igboland, the religious beliefs, the economic activity, naming of children, scarification in the ceremonial rite of *ichi*, the nature of the Igbo 'state', the dominant role of the Aros in the slave trade. Most touching of all is the naïveté and simplicity of a child who dared to trust an adult. The captain who in Aniaso's perspective had white face and hands,' with shining black feet without toes' appears to have been sufficiently indulgent of the children on board. But the impending catastrophe is marked in Aniaso's mind by the groans and moans of unhappiness of the adult chained captives. [8]

Aniaso becomes Toby attached to a plantation specialising in coffee production and cattle. Conditions on cattle estates differed significantly form conditions on sugar plantations, and probably explains why nothing emerges in Monteath's account of tense relations between owner and enslaved. Two or so chapters are dedicated to the planter Monteath family, their position in the militia, the expansion of their estates, the exchange or bequests of assets.

In this book slave society no longer appears as an impersonal institution, but encompasses the interaction between people. The historical records do refer to shipmates, who establish long-standing friendships, bonds that tied the soul to the African continent. But here we are told was Mary Brown, whom Archy helped build her house; and an unknown male who remained close to Archy. And there is Archy attending Baptisms, Weddings, acting as an inspiration to other enslaved.

The author is far from reluctant to take on the question of eurocentrism head-on. While respecting the choice of Monteith to lead the Christian life, she does not hesitate to record the negative views that white missionaries preached about Africa- the continent of darkness, nightmares, cannibalism, wild beasts and wild people. [9] One of the ironies of Jamaican cultural life was that, unlike the Spanish Conquest of the Americas where the Catholic Church proceeded to substitute the Judaeo-Christian God for indigenous gods, Africans had been left for nearly two hundred years in the British Caribbean to maintain African religious practices, except those that may have been interpreted to challenge peace and order.

With restraint- even stoicism – the author notes: "One way or another, if black, you were depraved. While this was the opinion of Europeans, Christianised blacks imbibed this point of view, which coloured their intra-ethnic relations, and this attitude was

[6] Ibid., p. 207.
[7] Ibid., p. 22
[8] Ibid., p. 66.
[9] Ibid., p. 145.

compounded when the Christianized also happened to be educated as well." [10] Thus she points to the cultural dichotomy between blacks- based largely on Afro as opposed to Euro-centricity- which, always a dynamic and fluid process, continues to play itself out in contemporary Jamaica.

This book, encyclopaedic in scope is, therefore, also about the activity of the Moravian Church in Jamaica, and by extension of the Christian Churches in Jamaica, all of which challenged the supposed depravity of African religious customs, and cosmology. All missionaries assumed cultural inferiority, and contributed to the conversion of African culture to a minority culture. The work of Catherine Hall by offering a sound analysis of the mindset of missionaries coming out of Birmingham presents us with their motivations, which varied from a Las Casian paternalistic 'they would be perfect if only they worshipped the true God' to a desire to use religion as an opiate to ensure the maintenance of social peace. In this respect Warner Lewis notes the 'silence' of the Moravians 'with regard to the economic and moral degradation of slavery.' [11] However, spiritual conversion has never been incompatible with the maintenance of an oppressive status quo, and on the contrary is often complementary to it. As Monteath himself said: 'By the Grace of the Lord, although I was outwardly bound, I had now become inwardly free.' Surely, this was the same principle that guided the early Christians. The inward freedom also, however, provided the positive benefits of educational opportunities that were to create a growing mass of black teachers and black pastors. Black Jamaicans, as slaves or as freedmen, have learned to live with duality of status.

Christian theology, African theology, the brutality of the day to day slave regime in Jamaica and its modification in cattle rearing areas, the role of the Moravian Church in matters of the spirit and matters of education, the caste-like features of Jamaican society, the passion of the Igbo Monteath, who seemed born to lead, the exercise of the option to resist or to accommodate, are all delved into in this work, which will be of interest to all students of Caribbean society in its broadest sense.

I congratulate Maureen on a job well done. It is for us even now in the twenty-first century to decide whether we will join the militant military bands of Deacon Sam Sharpe, or the Church militant of Moravian lay worker Archibald Monteath. Such decisions are, ultimately, the product of our character formation, what we perceive our identity to be. Once we can accept the dialectic of human existence, and cease to think that there is a single ideology that should guide communal action, which leads inevitably to accusations of treachery and betrayal, we will find it easier to accept that both Sam Sharpe and Archibald Monteath, each in his own way, and faced with the same options, did the right thing.

My congratulations to Professor Warner Lewis on a job well done!

Patrick E. Bryan.

[10] Ibid., p. 146.
[11] Ibid., p. 175.

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