This joint research project examines the interaction of the peoples and cultures of the many ethnic groups in the Jamaican society in the years between the cataclysmic events of Morant Bay and the end of the First World War. It analyses the competitive interrelationships among these groups as they jostled for space to preserve and express the uniqueness of their cultural traditions in a colonial environment that was repressive of any heritage other than the dominant Victorian one. The study includes an assessment of the role of British elite (especially missionaries) in imposing their culture and values, the preservation of African culture and the importation of new immigrant cultures (especially Indian and Chinese), and the impact of this dialectical interplay of cultures in Jamaica. Close examination is done of cultural phenomena such as religion (e.g. Christianity, Revivalism, Hinduism, Islam), Obeah and Myal, customs relating to the rites of passage, marriage and family, sport and entertainment, music and dance, intellectual activity and ideas, languages, food, dress, gambling, drinking, ganja and opium usage, values and attitudes and marital culture. The study seeks to determine the extent to which an identifiable Jamaican Creole culture evolved during the period under review.

The research is intended to fill major gaps both in the general historiography of Jamaica and the wider Anglophone Caribbean, both of which are remarkably under-researched. Several publications are expected to result from this work aimed both at advancing the current state of historical knowledge for academic purposes and providing general information and descriptions of Jamaican cultural forms to the wider public. Work has also been done on the living conditions and culture of the people in both urban and rural Jamaica during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and includes the following publications:

* **Land We Live In: Jamaica in 1890** (Kingston: The Social History Project, UWI, 2000). This book provides a physical description of Jamaica and valuable information about the social institutions and the daily lives of its people just over a half century after the emancipation of slavery. It is based mainly on newspaper articles published in the Gleaner in 1890.

* **“Squalid Kingston” 1890-1920: How the Poor Lived, Moved and had their Being** (Kingston: The Social History Project, UWI, 2000).
Religious and Secular Culture in Jamaica 1865-1920  continued

Researchers:
Professor Brian L. Moore and Dr. Michele A. Johnson
Department of History

Based on articles that appeared in the Jamaica Times and the Gleaner, this book explores the desperate living conditions of the people of West Kingston that have persisted and given rise to the violence so prevalent today. It demonstrates that the plight of the poor in that part of the city has existed ever since the nineteenth century with very little change.


Power to the People: George William Gordon and Grassroots Politics in Post Slavery Jamaica

Researcher:
Dr. Swithin Wilmot
Department of History

This project sought to research and write a political biography of George William Gordon, one of Jamaica’s national heroes, who was considered a catalyst for the protest and political involvement of the local black people which took place in the immediate post slavery period. The study focused on Gordon’s public career, which spanned a period of 21 years, between 1844 and 1865. There was an investigation of both his formal political activity as well as his participation in broader social movements representing the politics of protest. These activities represented early attempts at mass politicization in post slavery Jamaica and climaxed with the Morant Bay Rebellion. These developments as well as Gordon’s organizational work were studied with the intention of reassessing the nature and causes of the confrontation at Morant Bay. Therefore, Gordon’s public life as a vehicle through which the political views and general aspirations of the freed people, men and women, were expressed was highlighted.

An analysis of Gordon’s career and his links with Black Jamaica should serve to deepen our understanding of the early formation of Jamaica’s political culture as it found embryonic expression in the immediate post slavery period, thereby extending the body of Jamaican/Caribbean historiography concerned with the history “from below).

Findings from the research have been used in the preparation of publications:


Power to the People: George William Gordon and Grassroots Politics in Post Slavery Jamaica

Researcher:
Dr. Swithin Wilmot
Department of History

*A Stake in the Soil*: Land and Creole Politics in Free Jamaica, the 1849 Elections, has been accepted for publication in a forthcoming collection of essays.

Conference Papers include:

* "We not slave again": Enslaved Jamaicans in Freedom, presented at an International Conference hosted by The International Center for the History of Slavery at Nottingham University, September 10-12, 2001. The Conference’s theme was Freed Slaves—Integration and Exclusion.

* The Historians and George William Gordon*, presented at the 2nd International Conference on Caribbean Culture, the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, January 9-12, 2002.
The focus of the investigation has been on the purposes, characteristics, growth and development of elementary education as it evolved and was practised in Jamaica during the period of Crown Colony Government. In addition to documentary/archival research, the analysis of the content of reading books, syllabi, and examination papers in use at elementary schools and teachers colleges during the period, was undertaken.

The investigation clarified how the roots of the present system were established during the period from 1892-1914. In this period, the system of elementary education introduced by Sir John Peter Grant was defined and honed. All major characteristic features of the present education system may be traced back to that period, when the culture of the elementary schools and teachers colleges was established. The fact that the weaknesses in our system have proven to be largely intractable is due to the way the system was structured in the beginning. A significant finding was that of the key role of individuals and groups in shaping educational policies and practices. Inspector Savage, Superintendent Inspector Thomas Capper, Senior Inspector Hicks, Archbishop Nuttall, the denominational groups, teachers associations, the Board of Education and the Education Department all impacted the system.

A significant feature of the curriculum in the early years was the emphasis on morals, which were included with the scriptures as a prescribed subject. The morals to be inculcated were set out in Schedule A of the various Codes of Regulations. For example, the morals to be inculcated in the upper grades included, reverence, self-respect, courage, self-control and self-denial. Perhaps the greatest virtue was loyalty to the Empire and to the Crown. Through education in morals and the scriptures the educational decision-makers of the time sought to produce peaceful, docile citizens and contain any possibility of violence.

The research has been extended by work carried out in the USA into the way in which the education for ex-slaves in that country was structured and also into the substantial linkages between educators in Jamaica and that country during the period. Indeed the research points to the existence of a community of educators in the North Atlantic during the late nineteenth century of which Jamaica was a significant part. Two papers on this aspect of the research, Education in Late Nineteenth Century Jamaica: the American Connection and Education and Emancipation: Jamaica and the USA in the Late Nineteenth Century, were presented at international conferences. An investigation of English links in the educational system resulted in a conference paper, Education in Jamaica in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: The English Connection.
A number of articles based on the research have been published in refereed journals or as chapters in books. Among these are:


A book is being prepared on *The History of Working-Class Education in Jamaica.*
This research project has been undertaken in response to the dominance of foreign television programming and the sensational, advertising-driven radio content in the Jamaican electronic media. It sought to create a renewed vision of the electronic media in Jamaica and the Region, through the creation of alternative policy framework and by direct assistance with policy-making and institution building. It was hoped that the findings would act as catalyst for the opening up of additional public spaces for audiences who wish to access alternative media programming with emphasis on public education, community life, alternative music and social development.

Under the project, direct technical assistance was provided to the Jamaican government in re-designing and re-drafting the Broadcasting and Radio Rediffusion Act and in re-formulating the associated Broadcasting Regulations. As a result, legal Drafting Instructions for a revised Telecommunications and Broadcasting Act were prepared and the framework developed for a new integrated Telecoms and Broadcasting Authority to regulate the sector and help foster a renewed educational role for the media. Additionally, the findings of on-going research into appropriate public policies for the Jamaican media were made available and are being acted upon by the Ministry of Information.

Some recommendations based on findings from the study have been implemented and others are still being considered. The recommendation for the functions of the Broadcasting Commission to be combined with those of the Telecommunications Division of the Office of Utilities Regulation (OUR) has been officially announced as government policy. Based on another recommendation, a new national educational cable channel called Creative Television (CTV) was established within the Creative Production and Training Centre (CPTC) in December 2000.

The recommendations also advocated: strengthening of the (CPTC), including the development of a multi-media educational service for schools, to replace the former Educational Broadcasting Service (EBS); greater use of cable TV for community education and for disseminating more local programming; and, a reversal of the existing policy banning local advertising on cable television, as means of generating some resources to finance more local programmes.

The project facilitated, further, a process of research.
Revisioning Electronic and Community Media
towards Education and Development

Researcher:
Dr. Hopeton S. Dunn
Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication (CARIMAC)

and technical assistance in support of community radio stations in Jamaica, which culminated in a one-day ‘Round Table and Policy Consultation on Community and Educational Radio’, in December 2000.

The project also involved comparative communications policy research in South Africa, the United Kingdom and the Caribbean. The work in South Africa resulted in the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between CARIMAC and the University of Natal’s Graduate Programme in Cultural and Media Studies in South Africa. This Agreement provides for staff and student research visits and inter-institutional co-operation.

The study resulted in the production of the following two publications and facilitated the completion of the third:


Work is still ongoing on a fourth publication, Changing Channels: Caribbean Media Policy in Transition.

Two journal articles and one book chapter were also published, with a second chapter awaiting publication:

The purpose of this ongoing project is to provide an assessment of the state of English Language and Literacy teaching in Jamaican schools. The work proceeds on the assumption that English is learned in a Creole-speaking environment in which it can be said to be a foreign, second and native language to different segments of the population. In order to record instances of good language and literacy practice, 32 interviews were conducted with various persons in the education sector. Of this number, 7 were done with education officers of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Jamaica), 17 with teachers and principals in Jamaican schools, and 8 with teachers and principals in British schools. In addition, 20 classroom sessions were videotaped to reflect instances of good teaching practices. Several workshops for teachers were held and presentations given at meetings and conferences. Work commenced on the production of training resources (CD-ROMs) for teachers.

One of the most significant findings from the research pertained to the role of the Principal in the promotion of good language teaching in a manner that complements and supports the efforts of the teachers. It has been observed that successful experiences occur when the Principal not only sets the tone in terms of influencing the administrative culture but also acts as a curriculum manager involved in planning and devising teaching strategies. The principal’s role in engendering a spirit of teamwork among teachers cannot be overstated.

It was also found that the appointment of Literacy Coordinators, as was the case in British schools, to spearhead the literacy initiative, proved most beneficial. The importance of setting literacy targets to positively affect performance levels was also noted. For example, a local inner city primary school successfully attained their target of having 75% of their grade 1 pupils reading at the required level.

A number of findings have emerged from the research.
that can be used by policy planners in the development of sustainable teaching programmes in English and Literacy at local schools, among them:

- the active involvement of the community, particularly, parents and businesses, in promoting literacy;
- the increased use of an interactive and structured curriculum;
- the importance of the teacher’s own commitment and attitude to the teaching effort;
- the need to have an adequate supply of teaching material, especially books;
- the need for teachers to receive training in areas related to the revised primary school curriculum, and also in record-keeping;
- the important role of literacy-inducing behaviour in the home to reinforce good language teaching;
- the need to devise measures to address the problems of overcrowded classrooms;
- the negative impact of violence on the learning environment; and
- the low motivation levels in teachers.

continued
Between Nationalism and Diaspora: Revisioning the Fictions of Samuel Selvon and George Lamming

Researcher:
Dr. Curdella Forbes
Department of Literatures in English

The research project, originally conceived under the working title ‘Gender, Postmodernism and the Caribbean: Revisioning the Fictions of Samuel Selvon, George Lamming and Wilson Harris’, is nearing completion under the revised title ‘Between Nationalism and Diaspora: Revisioning the Fictions of Samuel Selvon and George Lamming’. The revised title reflects a reconceptualisation of the project based on its findings and conclusions to date.

The study addresses the representation of gender in selected novels produced by Selvon and Lamming during the 1950s to the 1970s. It places the representation of gender in these works within the context of nationalism, which has been the primary organising rubric of West Indian political thought, literary theory and criticism for most of the 20th century and which reached its ascendancy during the 50s to 70s. But the study looks beyond nationalism to ways in which Selvon’s and Lamming’s treatments of gender anticipate and provide an originating context for the discourses of diaspora which are among the primary conceptual frames which began to replace nationalism in the imaging of the West Indies from the last third of the 20th century.

The texts are seen as imaging in different ways the complex, transgressive gender ethos which characterises West Indian society, and which cannot be adequately described by traditional vocabularies of gender. Chapter One explores the manifestation of this transgressive gender ethos in West Indian society, and serves as a context for the exploration of the fictional texts. The chapter concludes with a concept of West Indian gender and its cultural (including literary) representations as potentially hermaphroditic.

The texts’ treatment of gender is seen as part of larger issues of West Indian textuality, which is marked by what one could call a carnival approach to life and writing. This carnival approach is in effect the governing principle of discourses of diaspora and the main difference between its appearance in Selvon’s and Lamming’s texts and current diaspora discourses, is its globalisation based on changed West Indian migration patterns in the last third of the twentieth century.

The novels examined are *The Lonely Londoners, Moses Ascending, The Housing Lark, A Brighter Sun*, and *Turn Again Tiger*, but reference is made to other works in Selvon’s oeuvre.
The section entitled ‘Resisting the Voyeuristic Gaze’ looks at the work of George Lamming. It identifies Lamming as essentially a literary and cultural theorist working in a fictional mode and situates his treatment of gender within his larger theoretical project. This project involves: (a) the argument that humanity is both expressed in and undefinable by language; and (b) an attempt to chart a linguistic genealogy of the West Indian nation, exploring and suggesting specific, historically conditioned ways in which that nation may image forth the paradox of humanity’s relation to language. The West Indian relation to language is in Lamming an ideology of liberation from the colonial. Finding new ways of speaking and writing and new, shockingly unorthodox types of gender identity are, in Lamming, twin marks of such liberation.

The study will go on to survey current discourses of diaspora and their representation in West Indian fictions written after the 1980s, showing how these and the way gender is presented within them, owe a debt and a genealogy to nationalist era fictions such as Selvon’s and Lamming’s. It will also show how this debt and genealogy have been masked by new vocabularies developed in the context of postmodernism, postcolonialism and the situation of West Indian migration within new global currents. The new vocabularies, however, reflect differences of emphasis rather than substance and show West Indian representations of gender in the nationalist era to be prototypes and/or narratives of the conditions that spawn postmodernism, postcoloniality and their contingent/attendant concepts of diaspora.
The study aims to produce wide-ranging general histories of three Eastern Caribbean countries, namely: Antigua and Barbuda, Nevis and St. Kitts which are now independent Commonwealth Caribbean states. The project involves an examination of the evolution of these former sugar plantation colonies into young nation-states that presently face the challenge of providing economic stability and lawful and secure societies for their citizens.

Although the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis today comprise one unitary state, the very different historical trajectories of both islands, particularly after 1900, dictate the need to publish separate volumes on each island. This approach is also in keeping with the efforts of the people of the smaller island, Nevis, to establish their separate identity.

The research will focus on the inter-ethnic and cultural contact between the various peoples and races that have been part of the history of these islands, namely, the Amerindians, French, English, Africans, Indians and Syrians, rather than on slavery and the plantation system - the institutions that have been the traditional focus of Caribbean history. This is intended to reclaim the history of these islands not merely as fields of European expansion but as sites of cultural contact between the various populations and cultures that laid the foundation of their societies.

These general histories will be part of The University of the West Indies National History Series to be published by the UWI Press and should be helpful to students in the upper levels of Commonwealth Caribbean schools who are preparing for the Caribbean Examination Council and Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examinations. However, they are primarily intended to fill a glaring gap in the published historical record of the Commonwealth Caribbean region where the vast majority of historical publications focus on Jamaica and the larger Commonwealth Caribbean territories to the almost total exclusion of the smaller territories in the Leeward Islands. The three publications will provide, primarily for nationals but also for persons interested in the history of the Caribbean region, a comprehensive historical analysis of the evolution of these island societies which is not currently available.
Robert Bradshaw, Leader of the Trade Union and Nationalist Movement in St. Kitts, 1946-1979

Workers housing on the outskirts of St. Johns, Antigua, c. 1910

Moving house in rural St. Kitts, c. 1920

Robert Bradshaw, Leader of the Trade Union and Nationalist Movement in St. Kitts, 1946-1979

The University of the West Indies National History Series: General Histories of Antigua and Barbuda, Nevis and St. Kitts from Carib Settlement (c1000AD) to Independence (1981/1983) continued

Researcher: Dr. Glen Richards
Department of History
This research project seeks to provide a definitive history of commercial banking in the Commonwealth Caribbean, placing it within the wider context of the international economy and the region's economic, societal and political developments. It will make special reference to the history of commercial banking in Jamaica, examining the emergence and expansion of indigenous commercial banking, the conditions which allowed for their emergence, and the reasons for the difficulties experienced and in some cases, the failure of some of these institutions in the 1990s.

The study has three distinct phases. The first traces the emergence of multinational banking in the Commonwealth Caribbean in the 19th Century. The second phase involves the examination of the commercial banking in the West Indies from 1926-1962; the products, services and competition; regulation and currency reform and; performance and bank strategies. The final phase will focus on the Jamaican experience from 1962-2000. It looks at the development of indigenous commercial banks, competitive strategies, managerial and organisational structures, products and services, performance: success and failure (crisis in the 1990s), and regulation.

It is hoped that this research will add to the growing number of international publications on banking history. It should also contribute to efforts to increase the visibility of the region’s banking history within the international context of business history.

Business History is a well-established field in History at universities in Europe, North America and Latin America and was recently introduced at the Mona Campus in the Department of History. The findings from this research should be useful to the courses that are currently being taught in the Department of History and should also contribute to the development of more inter-disciplinary teaching across the campus, particularly with departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

One paper emanating from this research to date is, “Competition between Barclays Bank (DCO) and the Canadian banks in the West Indies, 1926-1945”, Financial History Review, Vol.7, 2000, pp. 67-87.
“Outwardly Bound but Inwardly Free”: Archibald John Monteath of Jamaica

Researcher:
Professor Maureen Warner-Lewis
Department of Literatures in English

The study of the biography of Archibald Monteath, dictated to Moravian missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century, establishes the social and historical contexts of this slave’s existence. It outlines his Igbo childhood, his kidnap and transference to western Jamaica, his work on St. Elizabeth/Westmoreland pens, his progress from house servant to field driver to overseer, his acceptance of Christianity and literacy, his purchase of freedom in 1837 and his full-time ministry for the Moravian Church.

Within the rare genre of Caribbean slave narrative, this biography emerges, not as an anti-slavery document, but as a memoir of an exemplary life and a conversion testimonial. Yet an investigation of Monteath’s origins reveals that his religious commitment replicated the spiritual role of males in the Nri sub-group of the Igbo to which he belonged. His awareness of his elite family background appears instrumental in his attitudes towards command and leadership in estate work and church activity. Meanwhile, data from Moravian and Anglican archives allow for a reconstruction of aspects of the social and spiritual life of selected slave communities in nineteenth century south-western Jamaica.

The demographic prominence of Scots and mulattos as estate owners in this region of Jamaica is noteworthy, as is the transference of Scots place names to the Jamaican landscape. An investigation of the financial background of Monteath’s Scots owner reveals the role played by slavery and colonial land-ownership in the resolution of metropolitan family and financial complications. The complex entanglements of personal loyalties, economic interdependence and sexual liaisons among whites, blacks, and mulattoes are much in evidence, within and despite the contemporary asymmetric legal and power relations based on colour and gender. Monteath’s life-story in the post-emancipation period addresses the issue of parcelling off of large properties into smaller peasant holdings and village agglomerations, Monteath himself being a purchaser.

The commitment of the Moravian missionaries to the evangelisation of the slaves is chronicled, their seminal role in the introduction of formal education to the slaves and the moral and cultural values they promoted. The function of the church as an important site for fashioning an identity somewhat separate from the social, colour, and ethical constraints of the plantation is apparent in Monteath’s biography. His story together with missionary eyewitness accounts touch on the 1831-32 rebellion and the 1860s Myal revivals.

The findings of the study will in several respects corroborate our general knowledge about Caribbean slavery, but its specificity regarding the life of an individual and its re-creation of cross-plantation social, religious, ethnic and labour networks nuance and even disprove facile perceptions of slave society as monolithic and unrelentingly claustrophobic. The work will also finesse the literature regarding the relationship under slavery between the Church and estate owners, and between sugar estates and pens. This study is to be published as a book.
“Outwardly Bound but Inwardly Free”: Archibald John Monteath of Jamaica

**Researcher:**
Professor Maureen Warner-Lewis
Department of Literatures in English

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Part of a letter written by Archibald Monteath

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Archibald Monteath’s gravestone at Carmel Moravian Church, Westmoreland
Two Poetry Collections and an Author’s Life

Researcher:
Professor Mervyn Morris
Department of Literatures in English

This was a three-part project, which involved the preparation of a book on Leonie Forbes, the compilation and selection of poems by the late Dennis Scott, with a view to publishing another collection and the completion of the manuscript of a new volume of poems done by the researcher himself.

The project provided assistance in the preparation of the autobiography of one of the best West Indian actors, Leonie Forbes, a well-trained performer of great skill and extraordinary emotional power. The book is based on a series of interviews with Ms. Forbes, in which she talked *inter alia* about her personal life and family background, her training as an actress and her preparation for various roles, including that of the famous Miss Aggey in *Old Story Time*. The main focus was on her theatre work, but it also recalls her experience as a broadcaster in the early years of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation. The book should be of particular interest to students of social history, gender, theatre and media.

A new volume of poems by Dennis Scott (1939-1991) has been prepared for publication. Scott, the author of *Uncle Time* (1973, winner of the Commonwealth Poetry Prize), *Dreadwalk* (1982) and *Strategies* (1989), was a prodigious writer who left a significant body of work not yet made available to the public. His widow granted the project access to papers that include a number of publishable poems not previously collected. Additional material has also been solicited from friends.

The researcher, who also authors *The Pond* (1973; rev. ed. 1997) *Shadowboxing* (1978), *Examination Centre* (1992) and *On Holy Week* (1993), has completed work on a new collection of his own poems as part of the project.
Imaging the Caribbean

Researcher:
Dr. Patricia Mohammed
Centre for Gender and Development Studies

Very young children draw and paint unselfconsciously. They pick up a pencil or paintbrush and are not afraid of the paper. They are not confined by organic shapes or fixed colour schemes in depicting another reality: a tree can be purple or red or yellow, and still be a tree; their friends can be pink or brown or black or yellow and simply be a friend. The freedom to trust our eyes and hearts and what they tell us as a way of seeing is a knowledge to which we no longer give credence. Yet, as Aristotle observed, “The soul does not think without an image”. Before we put thought into words, we draw on mental images, which frame the thought that we then translate into the language in which we communicate. We process all knowledge through that which we have seen or known to be true. Yet we place greater emphasis and value on the written word and on learning acquired through the disciplined art of study.

This research project was aimed at collecting visual images alongside textual narratives of the last five centuries within the Caribbean. The emanating publication consciously attempts to disrupt our dominant ways of seeing and interpreting the Caribbean and its cultural development over the last five centuries, by inserting and reading the image along with the written word. A wonderful array of nearly two hundred images, focusing particularly on the societies of Haiti, Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad, alongside the scripted narratives of history, anthropology, fiction and non-fiction on and about the region, were examined. These paintings, sketches, lithographs, engravings, photographs and artefacts made it possible to trace the evolution of the Caribbean through visual imagery. While imagery, it may be argued, can trivialise or distort social experiences, they nonetheless become inscribed into the practices of visualisation. For example, images executed by local or itinerant painters of the past are reproduced in the present as if they hold some sacred truth about the “way things were”. The problem is not with the image itself but with its use and abuse.

The research used an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on the methods and materials of such diverse disciplines as art history, traditional history, anthropology and gender studies. This generated a significant amount of data, which was documented in eight main chapters of the book. Each chapter deals with a different layer of Caribbean history and culture,
beginning with the first set of images which depict the region, that of maps and iconography (Figure 3); to paintings, sketches and photographs executed by a European hand or trained eye (Figure 4); to aesthetics and belief systems of African and Asian peoples (Figures 5 and 6); to the images which demonstrate the invention of a picturesque Caribbean (Figure 7). While acknowledging a history of exploitation and colonisation, the book does not dwell on this unrequited history. It goes beyond dissenting or celebratory views, to suggest a new perspective. Building on Sylvia Wynter’s visionary approach, the book suggests “the emergence of a new and ecumenically human view... not only of natural history, but also of a newly conceived cultural history”. The final chapters therefore, bring us closer to a comprehension of the mutual exchanges and the variegated differences that make up Caribbean culture and the remarkable offspring produced.

It is asserted that we would do far better to celebrate rather than to persistently reject aspects of our culture as the “Other” in our midst. Components of culture such as artistic production and music are not submissive to theory and by moving beyond the essentialism of popular aesthetics and beliefs, beyond dominant theories and clichéd concepts, a voyage through Caribbean images invites us to see and interpret not only ourselves, but others differently.